THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE AT THE TIME OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

by

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Literature and Philosophy

in the subject

SEMITIC LANGUAGES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Promoter: Dr P S VERMAAK

JUNE 1995

"Blessed be he who invented writing" -

Jean Paul from a pious saying of the ancient Indians.

"Je tiens l'affaire" -

Jean Francois Champollion, 1822.

DEDICATION

To my parents

עליהם השלום, זכרונם לברכה

שמע בני מוסר אביך
ואל תטש תורת אמך

THANKS

I wish to thank Professor H J Dreyer for teaching me Egyptian and Coptic and Akkadian and Sumerian and much else besides. I recall with much delight and satisfaction many reading sessions with him, through which I gained many insights and a relish of knowledge.

עשה לך רב וקנה לך חבר

פרקי אבות

(Ethics of the Fathers)

Thank you

I thank Dr. P S Vermaak too for promoting this work and for his teaching, guidance, availability, kindness and patience in helping to mould a vast subject into a single descriptive and analytic entity.

I wish to express my gratitude too to Mrs S C M Terblanche. She not only typed and retyped the manuscript and organised its structure and presentation, but she always encouraged, advised and helped me with infinite patience.

SUMMARY

The Nineteenth Dynasty, which ushered in the Ramesside period in ± 1308 B.C.E. is an important period in which to study the development of the Egyptian language, falling as it does between the time of the Middle Egyptian (ME) idiom and the Late Egyptian (LE) language. Regarding the Egyptian language, Gardiner (1982:1) writes "... the idiom in which the public records of the Twentieth Dynasty are couched differs widely from that found, for example in the royal decrees of the Sixth Dynasty". There was a gradual change from a "synthetic" language in ME into an "analytical" one in LE and later Coptic. The synthetic tenses are first supplemented and then gradually replaced by "analytic" forms. And this happened during the time of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

This thesis addresses the Nineteenth Dynasty texts, with respect to grammar, semantics and syntax (mainly verbal forms). It studies the occurrence of Middle Egyptian synthetic forms and Late Egyptian analytic forms in the Nineteenth Dynasty texts and makes observations on forms which appear to be unique to the Nineteenth Dynasty Egyptian (NDE) too.

This study describes and analyses the language, both in a synchronic way - "frozen" in its time (as a type of grammar book), and comparing literary and non-literary uses of the time, - and in a diachronic manner, seeking to show the evolution and development of language forms, their ancestors and their successors.

A study of these texts as shown in this thesis demonstrates that the written language of the Nineteenth Dynasty is a unique blend of grammatical and syntactic forms: pure ME forms, LE literary and non-literary forms, as well as forms peculiar to NDE. Thus NDE is "an independent self-sufficient system, which is neither Middle Egyptian nor Late Egyptian of the Twentieth Dynasty." (Groll 1973:70)

Key Terms:

Middle Egyptian (language); Late Egyptian (language); Nineteenth Dynasty Egyptian (language); Synchronic study; Diachronic study; Synthetic language; Analytic language; Tense; Aspect.

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INTRODUCTION

I. SETTING THE SCENE

The Nineteenth Dynasty followed the collapse of Akhenaten's religious revolution, when his successors, Smenkhare, Tutankhamun, Ay and Horemhab had passed on.[1] Ramesses I founded this dynasty, and he was followed in turn by Seti I, (1308-1291), Ramesses II (1290-1224), Merneptah (1224 to 1214) and then Seti II, Amenmesse, Siptah, and the female Pharaoh, Twosre", she "who in Homer is called Polybus, husband of Alcandra and in whose time Troy was taken" (Gardiner 1982:445); the traditional date for this last event is 1183 B.C.E.[2]

Gardiner (1961:247) writes that after the recovery from Akhenaten's religious revolution, Egypt was a changed world, "It is not easy to define the exact nature of the changes, since there are many exceptions; yet it is impossible not to notice the marked deterioration of the art, the literature, and indeed, the general culture of the people. The *language* which they wrote approximates more closely to the vernacular, and incorporates many foreign words; the copies of ancient texts are incredibly careless, as if the scribes utterly failed to understand their meaning."

Goldwasser (1985:55), writing of the epistolary formula, suggests that the model normative Nineteenth Dynasty letters show "a synthesis between the new and the

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1 The conjectural dates of the Nineteenth Dynasty are about 1308 to 1184 B.C.E. Cf. the chapter on the history of Egypt and the chronological tables of the kingdoms and dynasties.

2 The succeeding Twentieth Dynasty - the Late Ramesside Period - began with the reign of Setnakhte and he was followed by the 32-year reign of Ramesses III, and then in turn by eight more relatively unimportant Ramesses. This dynasty came to an end in about 1087 after the brief era called "Repetition of Births" (*whm mswt*), within which Herihor, the high priest of Amen-Re at Karnak, temporarily arrogated to himself the kingship.

old", and she notes further (Goldwasser 1985:51) that a synchronic grammar of the Twentieth Dynasty has been well defined, by Cerny and Groll, but that this has not been done for the Nineteenth Dynasty.

In discussing the Hieratic Ostracon pl. XLVI, 2 recto, 2 verso, a Nineteenth Dynasty non-literary Late Egyptian (LE) text, Sarah Groll (1973:67) writes, "Our main source of information for LE is the non-literary texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (the Ramesside period). But even in the framework of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, one can trace a considerable grammatical development. It seems that Middle Egyptian (ME) elements still exist in the non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Indeed, since they occur only under specific conditions, which are peculiar to the Nineteenth Dynasty, one is entitled to describe the LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty as an independent, self-sufficient system, which is neither ME nor the LE of the Twentieth Dynasty".

Ophel (1985:153) in discussing the Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh poem writes, "We note the clear use of the perfect active *śḏm.f*'s with their negative counterpart, the *bw śḏm.f* of the past (a Nineteenth Dynasty formation). These specific LE formations stand side by side with ME elements, e.g. the emphatic *šm.n.f* formations, and a narrative *śᶜḥᶜ.n.j* (in line 105)."

It has been noted that the written language used at this time combined ME grammatical elements and formations side-by-side with the newer later LE forms.

Vernus (1985:311) is of opinion that there is a diachronic shift from a mostly aspect-oriented system in Old and Middle Egyptian towards a mostly time-oriented system in Late Egyptian. For example, in the performative statement *dj.n.j* became *jw.j ḥr rdjt* and then *tw.j ḥr djt* - a performative statement within a time limit. But what about the language used in the time between ME usage before and during the Eighteenth Dynasty and that of the LE of the Late Ramesside period of the Twentieth Dynasty? The author has called this the Nineteenth Dynasty Egyptian language, and has abbreviated it to NDE in the text.

Regarding the Egyptian language, Gardiner (1982:1-24c) writes "... the idiom in which the public records of the Twentieth Dynasty are couched differs widely from that found, for example in the royal decrees of the Sixth Dynasty (about 2420-2294 B.C.E.)". There was a gradual change from a "synthetic" language into

an "analytic" one. The "synthetic" tenses *sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* are first supplemented and then gradually replaced by "analytic" forms. There are but few texts however (Gardiner 1982) wherein the vernacular shows itself unmixed with the "classical" idiom of ME.

Middle Egyptian (abbreviated in the text as ME) is the idiom employed in the stories and other literary compositions of the Middle Kingdom (Dynasties IX to XIII; about 2240 to 1740 B.C.E.), as well as in the public and private monumental inscriptions of that period and also far down into the Eighteenth Dynasty (1573-1314).[3]

Late Egyptian (abbreviated in the text as LE) is the vernacular of Dynasties XVIII to XXIV (about 1573 to 715), and is exhibited chiefly in business documents and letters, but also in stories and other literary compositions, and to some extent also in the official documents from Dynasty XIX onwards.

"The LE *non-literary* language is the nearest alternative to the spoken language. On the other hand, the *literary* language is the language of an esoteric group (i.e. the scribes), and is an acquired (second) language, based on the writings of the past. It is of course, the more artificial, sophisticated, and very often shows some inventive professionalism" (Groll 1975/6:245).

The LE literary language included ME elements for a long time side-by-side with the newer LE forms. They therefore used many varied verbal forms. The non-literary texts (and presumably spoken language), however, used mainly the pure well established LE elements, which continued to become Demotic and Coptic in most instances.

Gardiner (1982:1-24c) compared the relationship of LE to ME to that of French and Romance languages to Latin:

(i) There was a substitution of analytic for synthetic forms.

(ii) The possession of an indefinite article derived from the word for one (*wꜥ* in LE).

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3 Černý and Groll (1975:iii to vii) write of the following principles - (i). The priority of the spoken language over the written one - but that, unfortunately this is out of the question. (ii) The priority of the non-literary texts over the literary ones. Černý and Groll stress too the priority of synchronic over diachronic description.

(iii) A definite article derived from a demonstrative adjective (*p3* in Egyptian).

(iv) Substitution of new words for old words, signifying common things (e.g. "head" - *tp* in ME, *ḏ3ḏ3* in LE), and

(v) The fact that ME survived as the monumental and learned language long after it has perished as the language of everyday life.

Pascal Vernus (1978:139, footnote 136) writes of "Egyptien de tradition" - a language appearing in the non-judicial texts which goes back to the Middle Kingdom, "They remembered". People were still using - during a very long time - Old Egyptian or Middle Egyptian - but only in formal texts.

II. AIMS

The aim of this thesis is to study the Nineteenth Dynasty language by collating and correlating the grammatical, syntactic and semantic (mainly verbal) forms in their contexts in a selected group of writings, both literary and non-literary.

This work attempts to address a universally recognized void in the history of the Egyptian language during the period of the Nineteenth Dynasty - the early Ramesside period. The history of the language (and the language itself) prior to and after this period has attracted much interest and has been well documented. In essence, this thesis serves to bridge a gap and to provide insights into the development of hieroglyphs during the Nineteenth Dynasty in its own right, and also to provide a measure of continuity in understanding the thought and developmental processes of the peoples of ancient Egypt with regard to the way in which they expressed themselves.

The aims of the thesis are, briefly, to study the language in a contextual setting in both a *descriptive* and an *analytical* way; and with both a synchronic and diachronic component. (See IV. Method).

i. As far as the synchronic component of the study is concerned, Černý and Groll (1975:iii to vii) write that each stage of a language is entitled to be *described* in its own terms. It is hoped that this dissertation will achieve this for NDE.

ii. To tentatively suggest a development or evolution of grammatical formulations with their diverse meanings from ME to LE (and even to Coptic) as reflected in the intervening NDE. This *diachronic* component of this study would then show the development of a time-oriented system from a preceding aspect-oriented grammar (Vernus 1985:311) and the development of absolute tense from earlier taxis (Allen 1986, Callender 1986), and the evolution of an analytic system from a previous synthetic expression (Gardiner 1982:1-24c) in a Hamito-Semitic language.

iii. To show the forms in their contexts. This too would provide a miscellany of charming vignettes, which would show how the peoples of Egypt expressed themselves under very different circumstances.

iv. The discussion will also try to determine certain differences in grammatical usages between literary and non-literary texts in NDE.

III. HYPOTHESIS

The problem is created by the historical development as reflected in the language. Both Groll (1973:67) and Goldwasser (1985:55) have suggested that the language of the Nineteenth Dynasty may be described as "an independent self-sufficient system", "a synthesis between the new and the old".

Goldwasser (1985:55) stresses that a *synchronic* grammar for the Nineteenth Dynasty has not to date been defined. This thesis hopes to do this to some extent.

Vernus (1985:311) has felt that there are developments - a *diachronic* shift from an aspect orientated language in ME to a time oriented system in LE. This has not yet been fully studied. This thesis hopes to accomplish this.

This historical period in fact might be the core place to study development of the Egyptian language, and even of the Semitic languages in general. Therefore, the hypothesis of this dissertation is threefold:

i. Egyptian as a synthetic, mostly aspect-oriented Hamito-Semitic language, and one mostly expressing taxis rather than absolute tense (ME) developed or evolved into an analytic, mostly time oriented language (LE).

ii. NDE is a mixture of forms of ME and LE, and, in addition, being a bridge between ME and LE, it undoubtedly has some unique prototypic forms as well as inimitable hybrid forms (even hapax legomenon).

iii. NDE reflects an independent, self-sufficient system, a synthesis between the new and the old.

IV. METHOD

Regarding the methodology and theoretical base, this dissertation has a holistic, comprehensive, contextual approach, both descriptive and analytic with synchronic and diachronic components.

A **diachronic** study traces a word or grammatical form or language backwards (and possibly forwards) through its stages of usage and development. Since languages are constantly changing, every language, at any given time, represents, in fact, a distinctive grammatical system. Thus, each state of a language is entitled to be described in its own terms. The diachronic component of this study would therefore tend to show too the development of a time-oriented system from a preceding aspect - oriented grammar (Vernus 1985:311), and the development of absolute tense from earlier taxis (Allen 1986, Callender 1986), and the evolution of an analytic system from a previous synthetic expression (Gardiner 1982:1-24c) in a Hamito-Semitic language. The diachronic study dealing with development or evolution is used to outline the basis of the synchronic study.

The **synchronic** discussion of a language is the grammatical description of that language at some given point in time. By this synchronic study is meant that the word or grammatical form or language is frozen in the course of its historical development and it is analysed right there; i.e. it is studied purely from the immediate contexts in which it occurs.

Dependence on **context** is unavoidable when dealing with any stage of Egyptian grammar. One has to bear in mind that the "first" grammatical classification of Egyptian was based on intuitive translation. This may lead one to posit whether a sentence or clause seems to reflect an aspect or a state, taxis or absolute tense. Many ME and LE forms are presented side by side in context, showing that

various writers used both (or more) constructions in conjunction with one another.

The dissertation provides examples of various grammatical constructions, known as either ME or LE and examples of hybrid forms or forms unique to the texts studied. In other words this work is presented much in the manner of a grammar textbook of the language of this period,[4] thus attempting to fill the lacuna/hiatus of lack of a synchronic grammar for the Nineteenth Dynasty (Goldwasser 1985:51). Goldwasser (1985:55), writing of the epistolary formula, suggests that the model normative Nineteenth Dynasty letters show "a synthesis between the new and the old", and she notes further (Goldwasser 1985:51) that a synchronic grammar of the Twentieth Dynasty has been well defined, by Černý and Groll (1975), but that this has not been done for the Nineteenth Dynasty.

V. SOURCES

The texts and papyri translated and studied are all Nineteenth Dynasty writings. Some of the examples are, in fact, included as examples of LE in the textbook of Černý and Groll (1975) and in that of Frandsen (1974). However, the author artificially created as it were, a separate NDE language by extracting the Nineteenth Dynasty texts, where so-called developed LE examples may be found.

The Nineteenth Dynasty texts and papyri discussed in this dissertation can be found in Addendum I.

There was an attempt too at a synchronic study, comparing extant literary and non-literary texts. The **non-literary** written documents are those which deal with everyday life and affairs, such as genuine letters, accounts, court reports, oracles. Since the very purpose of their existence is to communicate and inform native speakers about practical matters concerning them, they are the nearest alternative to the spoken language. **Literary** texts include the LE "novels", songs, wisdom literature, and "documents" serving as exercises for apprentice scribes. Thus, in the literate community of the Egyptian scribes, imbued with a profound knowledge and admiration of the writings of the past, there developed a situation of diaglossia, wherein literary and non-literary languages were learnt and used by educated Egyptian scribes as independent languages, a situation reminiscent of

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4 This was done essentially according to the method of Černý & Groll (1975).

the peculiar status of Latin in medieval and Renaissance Europe. This is not to say that literary texts have no grammatical system. On the contrary, they constitute a grammatical system of their own, which differs from that of the non-literary language. The literary language contains many specific verbal formations, many ME verbal formations, and also the verbal formations which occur in non-literary texts.

VI. LAYOUT

In this introduction the author has drafted some paradigms, and drawn up some tables in an attempt to show various grammatical forms, and the way they occur in ME, NDE and LE and to tentatively suggest their evolution, and development.

The possible combinations or paradigms are:

I.	ME	-	-
II.	ME	NDE	-
III.	ME	NDE	LE
IV.	-	NDE	-
V.	-	NDE	LE
VI.	-	-	LE
VII.	ME	-	LE

As all the examples in this thesis are from NDE, paradigms I and VI and VII are not relevant. And paradigm VII is in any case most unlikely or improbable.

So I will number the relevant paradigms as follows:

1.	ME	NDE	-
2.	ME	NDE	LE
3.	-	NDE	-
4.	-	NDE	LE.

The work is presented as follows. Each chapter deals with a particular grammatical form or construction, well known to be specific for either ME or LE, and to give examples of these in the NDE texts. This is done as in the textbooks

of Gardiner (1982) for ME and Cerny and Groll (1975) for LE. In this way, the hybrid, deviant or unique forms will be clearly evident. The conclusions at the end of each chapter describe and clarify the uses of each grammatical form in the Nineteenth Dynasty texts.

In some chapters, however, as there are sometimes no clear morphological difference between the ME and LE forms, although their usages may be very different - I grouped these forms together in a single chapter, and their ME and LE usages are discussed with examples and explanations. For example, the *śḏm.f, jw, wn(n)* and negative forms.

This method was used in the hope that what might emerge would be, in effect, the framework of a grammar-book of the written language of the Nineteenth Dynasty. This was obviously done in a synchronic way, as grammar books are.

NDE though, appears to be a unique, "independent, self-sufficient system, which is neither ME nor LE of the Twentieth Dynasty" (Groll 1973:70), nor just an amalgamation of the two. In addition to evident ME and LE forms, there are archaic forms, hybrid forms, and unique forms, some of which developed or evolved further and others which did not. This therefore necessitated something of a diachronic study, and this is done in certain chapters (e.g. *śḏm.f* and Negative Sentences (in which there is even a discussion and tabulation of Coptic descendants)) and in a final summary of Paradigms and Tables, showing development, evolution or disappearance of grammatical forms.

An alternative to the grammar-book method might have been to study each of the texts in isolation, and review each separately. This is done to some extent in Addendum IV, where some special characteristics and singularities of several texts are highlighted. For example, the special language of a court case, of dream interpretation, a peace treaty, a poem and a bulletin of a battle, Israel stele, tales and myths.

This thesis deals mainly with verbal formations, but it does not entirely neglect nominal forms - Chapter 3 discusses the participial statement or the cleft sentence and Chapter 24 analyzes nominal and adjectival sentences.

The examples in the non-literary and literary texts have been grouped separately for the most part. It was hoped to indicate whether there were any notable omissions of grammatical forms in either the non-literary or literary inscriptions or papyri, and if this appeared significant or not. (See Addendum III).

Abundant examples of NDE in context are shown with ME and LE forms, as well as disparate, motley, inconsistent forms side-by-side interchanging and sometimes expressing the very same thing - to let the Nineteenth Dynasty language shine forth as a living, vibrant language.

The body of the disssertaton consists mainly of two sections. Section A provides the two introductory chapers and section B provides the core with twenty seven chapers.

In the first introductory chapter a historical survey of the history of Egypt is given, especially that of the Nineteenth Dynasty to show the sitz im leben of the times. This is done mainly with reference to the literature of the periods. This, then sets the stage for this study of the Nineteenth Dynasty texts.

There is an second introductory chapter on "Tense in Egyptian", in which there are examples in NDE of ME taxis and LE absolute tense, examples showing ME specific situations vs. generalisations (with or without *jw*) and examples of predicative or emphatic forms.

The dissertation has been structured as follows. As far as possible, the well-known ME grammatical forms are discussed as far as Chapter 12.[5]

Chapter 1: *jjt pw jrjw.n.f*

Chapter 2: The auxiliary verb *ḫ*

Chapter 3: The *jn* . construction, participial statement or cleft sentence.

Chapter 4: The so-called pseudoverbal construction.

Chapter 6: *śḏm.n.f*

Chapter 7: *śḏm.f*

Chapter 8: Noun + *śḏm.f*

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[5] The notation of section headings and sub-headings of necessity vary in each chapter. As an example chapter 12, Egyptian negative forms, have examples of both ME and LE expressions. These have been labelled A and B respectively. There are many types of negative forms in each e.g *n*, *nn*, *bwpw.f sdm*, *bn* etc, and these are labelled I, II, III, etc. Their appearance in non-literary and literary works respectively are sub-headed (i) and (ii). The varying uses of say *bw* or *bn* are in turn labelled (a), (b) etc. This was not possible in all chapters, as some refer exclusively to ME forms and others to LE forms, some do not have examples in either non-literary or literary texts. However, the notations, while appearing in different ways throughout the book, are consistent and can easily be followed within each individual chapter.

Chapter 9: The *jr* conditional clauses

Chapter 10: The imperative forms

Chapter 11: The *śḏm.jn.f*

Chapter 12: Negative forms.

Chapter 5 deals with the LE First Present. This follows Chapter 4 - the ME Pseudoverbal construction, as I have reason to believe that the LE First Present derived from the pseudoverbal construction. So they are compared and contrasted side-by-side in these two chapters.

In Chapters 7, 9, 10 and 12, the *śḏm.f*, the conditional clauses, the imperatives and the negative forms are discussed respectively, not only in a synchronic NDE way, but in a diachronic way too, following their developments from ME to LE through NDE.

Chapters 13 to 27 address mainly LE forms, and are "analytic" rather than ME "synthetic". However, some chapters discuss forms in a diachronic way too, (e.g. Chapters 16, 18, 19, 22 and 24).

Chapter 13: The LE Third Future

Chapter 14: The LE Conjunctive (and its ME precursor)

Chapter 15: LE Sequential forms (where a comparison with Biblical Hebrew is made)

Chapter 16: The verb *jrj* as an auxiliary to another verb.

Chapter 17: The LE emphatic Second Tense (the "that"-form)

Chapter 18: The temporal *wnn* in LE and the development of an epistolary formula.

Chapter 19: The various uses of *wn* and of *wnn* in ME and in LE.

Chapter 20: The LE pattern *jw.f ḫr śḏm.f* of the successive future.

Chapter 21: A brief reference to the LE First Future.

Chapter 22: *jw* in ME and in LE

Chapter 23: The converter *jw* in LE and its various syntactic uses.

Chapter 24: Nominal and adjectival sentences

Chapter 25: Some indicators of direct speech and greetings

Chapter 26: Participles

Chapter 27: Miscellaneous.

Of course, because of the description in context, the reader will no doubt refer back and forth. For example, when I discuss LE imperatives or Third Futures and mention that at times they are followed by the sequential conjunctive, or that initial *śḏm.f* of the past tense in LE is followed by a sequential tense, or that *jr* conditional clauses are followed by various grammatical forms in the apodosis, - different examples of each will be found in each relevant chapter. It has not always been possible to place these types of chapters in sequence.

Finally, there is a *Summary and Conclusions* which consist of two sections, the summary being mainly a descriptive and the conclusions mainly an analytic layout, in which the author discusses the NDE texts in both a synchronic and a diachronic way. The synchronic approach is stressed and highlighted in the section of paradigms. The diachronic presentation showing language development is tabulated and summarised in the second set of tables or catalogues, showing the evolution of forms and expressions through Egyptian history.

There are four addenda -

ADDENDUM I: The texts and papyri studied.

ADDENDUM II: A chronological chart of the Egyptian dynasties.

ADDENDUM III: An assessment of literary and non-literary texts.

ADDENDUM IV: Afterthoughts on texts in context.

SECTION A

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY OF THE NEW KINGDOM[1,2]

"Egypt is the gift of the Nile" the Greek historian, Herodotus said. Egypt is mainly the Nile valley, irrigated by the annual inundation of the Nile, which would deposit a rich black silt layer over the fields. Because of this black deposit over their lands, the Egyptians called the land "*Ḳmt*", "the black one" in contrast with the desert "*dšrt*" "the red one".

Manetho, an Egyptian priest living under the Ptolemies Soter and Philadelphus, compiled a history of Egypt based on old records and archive lists of kings. History-writing was a concept alien to Egyptian thinking, and although his was a good native name (manehto 'horse-groom') and his origins from an important provincial town of Sebennytos in the central Delta were beyond reproach, it was a foreign culture and an un-Egyptian world outlook which inspired the work. Manetho's Aigyptiaka was written in Greek and has come down to us only in the form of excerpts made from it by later chroniclers, but it has exerted a lasting effect on the formal division of the political history of ancient Egypt and the way it is traditionally interpreted.

Following the usage of his time, Manetho divided the kings known to him into thirty dynasties or ruling houses, starting with the legendary Menes and concluding with the last native king, Nektanebos. Some of these divisions followed ancient king-lists, others seem to have resulted from his

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1 Much of this chapter is based on the following literature: Gardiner, (1961:212-315), Breasted, (1956:399-422), Faulkner, (1975:217-251).

2 This survey refers to and places in context many of the written records of the period. The preceding Eighteenth Dynasty and succeeding Twentieth Dynasty are highlighted too, with special stress on their writings. This is done mainly to show that the Eighteenth Dynasty language used Middle Egyptian forms, while the later Twentieth Dynasty texts were Late Egyptian.

misunderstanding of the sources, or their imperfection, and several may have been introduced by him simply for convenience. Nevertheless, Manetho's dynastic division is still generally used and its author is deservedly regarded as the first Egyptian historian.

The ancient Egyptians did not record history for its own sake and our knowledge is, therefore, based on history's raw materials and on texts which were composed for other purposes. Yet the Egyptians were not entirely oblivious of their past. A rare insight into their awareness of it is still visible in a large memorial temple built by King Seti I for the perpetuation of his cult in the Upper Egyptian town of Abdju (Abydos) a thousand years before Manetho, around 1300 BCE - the Nineteenth Dynasty studied in this thesis. In the maze of its chapels, columned halls, and vestibules there is a corridor known as "The Gallery of the Lists" (Malek & Forman 1986:7). In the relief carved on its east wall Seti I and his son, the future Ramesses II, are shown symbolically offering libation and incense to a large number of Egyptian deities represented by their names. On the opposite west wall the father and son appear in a similar scene before two long rows of cartouches containing the names of their royal ancestors. The list, by its nature, did not aspire to historical completeness. It included only the groups of rulers regarded by its compiler as the most illustrious and worthy of commemoration, while the kings of the less famous periods of Egyptian history were simply omitted. At its beginning it presents a series of fifty-six names, introduced by that of Meni (Menes of Manetho), and is the most complete record of successive kings of the earliest part of Egyptian history. (Malek and Forman 1986:7).

The history of Egypt can be traced back to about 3000 BCE, but archaeological excavations have revealed a great deal about the various cultures of the prehistoric period, e.g. the Neolithic (Fayyum-Neolithic and Merimda cultures) and the Chalcolithic (Tasian, Badarian, Amratean, Gerzean, Semainian, the latter three known as Naqada I, II and III).

The dates of the chronological chart are subject to corrections, and are often only approximate, based on the informed guesses of historians and archaeologists, for example Gardiner 1961, Ninth Printing 1982:429-453, Murray 1964, Steindorff and Seele 1957, Wilson 1961, Malek and Forman 1986:124, Egypt: Land of the Pharaohs: Time Life Books 1992:158-159. (See Addendum II)

After Akhenaten's dramatic Eighteenth Dynasty religious revolution, during which he claimed the Aten to be the sole god of Egypt, and following the short reigns of Smenkhare, Tutankhamun and Ay, Horemhab, an able organizer and skilful man of affairs gained a position of power and influence. At the great feast of Opet, at which the image of Amun at Karnak was carried to Luxor, Horemhab was now confirmed as the new Pharaoh, and he then married the princess, Mutnezmet, the sister of Akhenaten's queen, making Horemhab's accession quite legal. He was untiring in restoring to the land the orderly organization which it had once enjoyed. He did not forget the temples, which had been closed so long under the Aten regime. "He restored the temples from the pools of the Delta marshes to Nubia. He shaped all their images in number more than before, increasing the beauty in that which he made ... He raised up their temples; he fashioned a hundred images with all their bodies correct and with all splendid costly stones. He sought the precincts of the gods which were in the districts in this land; he furnished them as they had been since the time of the first beginning. He established for them daily offerings every day. All the vessels of their temples were wrought of silver and gold. He equipped them with priests and with ritual priests and with the choicest of the army. He transferred to them lands and cattle, supplied with all equipment."

Thus Amun received again his own endowments and the incomes of all the disinherited temples were restored. The people resumed in public the worship of the innumerable gods which they had practised in secret during the supremacy of Aten. The sculptors reinserted on the monuments defaced by Akhenaten, the names of the gods, whom he had dishonoured and erased.

Horemhab also sent to Akhetaten (El Amarna) (Akhenaten's capital) and carried away the materials of the Aten temple there which were available for his buildings. Every effort was made to annihilate all trace of the reign of such a man.

There were other directions in which the restoration of what Horemhab regarded as normal conditions was not so easy. Gross laxity in the oversight of the local administration had characterized the reign of Akhenaten and his successors, and these abuses had grown to excess. These included extortions, bribery and corruption.

Horemhab dictated to his personal scribe a remarkable series of special and highly particularized laws to suit every case of which he had learned. He warned

against the acceptance of a bribe: "Receive not the reward of another ... How shall those like you judge others while there is one among you committing a crime against justice?" He added "My Majesty is legislating for Egypt to prosper the life of her inhabitants."

These same and philanthropic reforms give Horemhab a high place in the history of humane government.

He did not accomplish much in foreign wars. On the contrary, we should possibly place in his reign the treaty of alliance and friendship with the Hittites, referred to by Ramesses II some fifty years later as having existed before (Kitchen 1971:II, 225).[3] He did put down a revolt in Nubia, and sent an expedition to Punt.

All his powers and all his great ability were necessarily employed exclusively in reorganizing the kingdom after the long period of unparalleled laxity which preceded him. "Behold, his majesty spent the whole time seeking the welfare of Egypt."

He probably reigned for about 27 years. He appointed his vizier, Pramesse to succeed him, and he ascended the throne as Ramesses I, thus inaugurating the Nineteenth Dynasty. He was probably well advanced in years when he became king.

After the recovery from the religious revolution, Egypt was a changed world. It is not easy to define the exact nature of the changes, since there are many exceptions; yet it is impossible not to notice the marked deterioration of the art, the literature and indeed the general culture of the people. The language which they wrote approximates more closely to the vernacular and incorporates many foreign words; the copies of ancient texts are incredibly careless, as if the scribes utterly failed to understand their meaning. At Thebes the tombs no longer display the bright and happy scenes of everyday life which characterized the Eighteenth Dynasty, but concentrate rather upon the perils to be faced in the hereafter; the judgement of the heart before Osiris is a favourite theme, and the Book of Gates illustrates the obstacles to be encountered during the nightly journey through the netherworld. The temples elsewhere depict upon their walls many vivid representations of warfare, but the workmanship is relatively coarse

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3 K. Kitchen's books consists of several volumes (I, II, III etc.) each commencing with page 1. These have therefore been referred to in the thesis e.g. as above (Kitchen 1971:II, 225).

and the explanatory legends are often more adulatory than informative. In spite of all, Egypt still presents an aspect of wonderful grandeur, which the greater abundance of this period's monuments makes better known to the present-day tourist than the far finer products of earlier times.

Ramesses I was of relatively humble origin, and his statues portray him as a royal scribe squatting upon his haunches with the half-opened papyrus on his lap enumerating the various high offices to which his land had raised him.

He was not destined to enjoy the royal power for long. There was probably a co-regency with his son Sethos (Seti) I, which began in Ramesses I's second year. Manetho, as quoted by Josephus allows him only one year and four months of reign. The sole dated monument we possess is dated Year 2, and records the establishment at Buhen (Wâdy Halfa) of a temple and new offerings to Min-Amun. He initiated a stupendous change (near the second pylon at Karnak) from Horemhab's open court with a central double line of giant columns like that at Luxor, to the great Hypostyle Hall, which is among the chief surviving wonders of Pharaonic Egypt.

The great ruler who occupied the throne for the next fifteen or more years was imbued with true affection and loyalty towards his father. Yet for all the recognition which Sethos I was prepared to pay his father, he was not averse to regarding himself as the inaugurator of a new period. This he showed by means of the phrase *wḥm mśwt* (Repetition of Births). But there may be an additional reason for this. According to the astronomical chronologies, a new Sothic period began about 1317 BCE (Černý 1961:150). The Alexandrian mathematician, Theon, referring to the Sothic period, speaks of it as the era "From Menophres", and an attempt has been made to derive the name from *mrj.n.ptḥ* "Beloved of Ptah", an epithet regularly attached to the personal name of Sethos I. However another theory suggests a derivation of the Greek name from Menpehre, the current form of the praenomen of Ramesses I.

As a stranger from the extreme north and with no royal lineage behind him, Sethos was concerned about being viewed as an upstart. So to win popularity, he set about restoring the mutilated inscriptions of his predecessors. He founded a magnificent temple too in Abydos, the reputed home of Osiris, with wall reliefs of perfect craftsmanship. The inherited name of Seti ("the Sethian") attests a devotion to the very god who had been the murderer of Osiris. So he had to placate Osiris and his powerful priesthood. The temple was conceived of as a

national shrine. Chapels were set apart for Osiris, for his wife, Isis, and for his son Horus, the age-old triad of Abydos. There were also important chapels dedicated to Amun-of-Thebes, to Ptah of Memphis and to Reᶜ Harakhti of Heliopolis, and a chapel consecrated to Sethos I himself.

Good fortune has preserved for us part of the charter granted by Sethos I to his great new sanctuary at Abydos, and this, strange to say, is inscribed on a high rock at Nauri, a short distance to the north of the Third Cataract.

Many paragraphs deal with the ways in which the privileges of the temple staff might be infringed; and justice was to be exacted from the offenders by the officials. The entire decree though is very carelessly drafted, and leaves the impression rather of artificial legalistic form than of precise legal enactment. (Kitchen 1971:I, 46; Griffith, F.LI 1927:193).

Among the dependents of the Abydos temple mentioned in the Nauri text are the gold-washers who were employed at the mines in the neighbourhood of the Red Sea. The lot of these poor wretches was a hard one. In a long inscription of Year 9 engraved on the walls of a small temple in the Wâdy Abbâd some thirty five miles east of Edfu, Sethos describes the measures he has taken to remedy their situation. A brief extract will illustrate the style and substance of the narration: "He stopped on the way to take counsel with his heart, and said: How shall travellers fare? Surely their throats will be parched. What will slake their thirst? The homeland is far away, the desert wide. Woe to him, a man thirsty in the wilderness! Come now, I will take thought for their welfare and make for them the means of preserving them alive, so that they may bless my name in years to come, and that future generations may boast of me for my energy, inasmuch as I am one compassionate and regardful of travellers." (Kitchen 1971:I, 46).

Sethos then recounts the digging of a well and the founding of a settlement in this locality. Another inscription in the speos warns later rulers and their subjects not to misappropriate the gold which was to be delivered to the Abydos temple, and ends with a curse:

"As to whosoever shall ignore this decree, Osiris will pursue him, and Isis his wife, and Horus his children; and the Great Ones, the lords of the Sacred Land, will make their reckoning with him.

Warlike scenes are depicted upon the exterior north wall of the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, and these combine with the conventional illustrations of the King's personal prowess much information of a genuine historical character. (Kitchen 1975:I, 6).

On the eastern side, the lowest register shows the military road along which Sethos' army had to pass to reach northern Syria; from Tjel (Latin Sile or Selle; Zaru) (Albright 1920:6) across the desert of the Sinai peninsula beyond a small canal through fortified stations built to protect the wells to a town 110 miles from Tjel, which is evidently Raphia. This is the earliest equivalent of a map that the ancient world has to show (Gardiner 1920:99). The map goes 20 miles further to the town of Canaan, which is the Philistine Gaza. The expedition reached as far as Lebanon, but the top register on the east half of the wall is lost. What the accompanying hieroglyphic legend describes as "the ascent which Pharaoh made to destroy the land of Kadesh and the land of the Amor" probably belongs to a later year. A battle against the Libyans is recorded too, and the lowest register shows Sethos at grips with the Hittites, a growing empire in the hands of Suppiluliuma's son, Mursilis II. A stele at Beisan (Beth-Shean) tells of Sethos' exploits, and deals with the 'Apiru people, and another mentions Hamath, Bethshael, Pehel, Rehob, and Yenoam. The capture of Yenoam is depicted in the Karnak reliefs. Mention is made too of the three army corps of Amun, Pre and Sutekh. These reappear later in the Kadesh campaign of Ramesses II, and they seem to imply the presence of really strong forces in the Palestine area. Perhaps in the quarter of a century from the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Egypt possessed as much of an Asian empire as at any other period in her history. The main administration though lay in the hands of the local princes. In Nubia on the other hand, real governors were the King's Son of Kush and his two lieutenants.

Apart from the temples of Kurna and Abydos and the work on the great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Sethos I's buildings are relatively unimportant. On the other hand, the sepulchre which he caused to be excavated for himself in the Bibân el-Molûk is the most imposing of the entire necropolis.

If the greatness of an Egyptian Pharaoh be measured by the size and number of the monuments remaining to perpetuate his memory, Sethos' son and successor, Ramesses II would have to be adjudged the equal or even the superior of the proudest pyramid builders. The great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak is in the main

his achievement, and the Ramesseum, his funerary temple of Thebes still retains a large part of its original grandeur. At Abydos his temple stands beside that of his father. There are the remains of a vast temple at Memphis, and there is an amazing temple at Abu Simbel with its four colossal seated statues of Ramesses fronting the river (recently moved because of the Aswan dam.)

Lately, his glamour as a triumphant conqueror has been much dimmed by evidence from the Boghazköy (Hattusas) records. None the less, the events of his sixty seven years of reign are better known and present more of interest than those of any other equal span of Egyptian history.

There is an inscription occupying an entire wall in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, and it is in the main a boastful account of Ramesses' virtue in completing his father's splendid sanctuary. It tells us that he came to Thebes to take part in Amun's great festival of Ope, and then set forth by river to his new Delta capital after stopping at Abydos. He arrived at Pi-Ra^{c}messe, thenceforth to be, with Memphis as an alternative, the main royal residence in the north through the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. This, the Biblical Raamses shows the multitude of the remains from the reign of Ramesses II.

We now have the first mention of the Sherden, and there was a naval battle somewhere near the river mouths. Later they are shown in the Pharaoh's body-guard, and they were rewarded for their military services. Ramesses used other foreign prisoners of war in the same way, e.g. Libyans, Kehek, Meshwesh and Nubians.

A great trial of strength between Egypt and the Hittites could not be delayed. A story of one of the struggles is told in two separate narratives, which supplement one another, and are illustrated by sculptured reliefs, accompanied by verbal explanations - the "Poem" (previously known as the "Poem of Pentaur") and the "Report" or the "Bulletin" (Kitchen 1969:II, 2-124). There is much in poetic strain before lauding Ramesses' feat of arms, telling how his Majesty routed the foe single-handed, hurling them into the Orontes. The tale of the battle is well known.

What actually happened? Unhappily, the Boghazköy tablets tell a very different tale. Whatever the exact truth of all these warlike proceedings, everything pointed to the necessity of ending a conflict profitable to neither side, and this necessity was fully realized a few years later.

It is one of the great romances of Near Eastern discovery that the treaty concluded in Year 21 of Ramesses II between him and Hattusil III should have come to light in separate copies found in both the Egyptian capital of Thebes and the Hittite capital of Boghazköy, cities a thousand miles apart on opposite sides of the Mediterranean. The Egyptian version, written in hieroglyphic, can be read on a stele standing upright against a wall in the temple of Karnak. (Kitchen 1971:II, 225, Spalinger, 1981:299). The Hittite version, a little less complete is given on two clay tablets inscribed in Babylonian cuneiform; it is not an exact duplicate, but to a large extent shows identical clauses and expressions, all the more interesting because they triumphantly confirm the accuracy of the labours of philologists in the two distinct fields of study. An offensive and defensive alliance is concluded between the two monarchs, reaffirming one that had existed in the reign of Suppiluliumas, and this alliance is to hold good in the event of either of the parties' death. Neither is to encroach upon the territory of the other, and each is pledged to render assistance in the case of attack from any other quarter. Provision is made for the extradition of refugees in either direction, but these are not to be treated as criminals on their return. The Egyptian document differs from the Hittite by invoking as witnesses many gods of both countries, and by describing the silver tablets which are to be exchanged; no doubt similar perorations would have been found in the Hittite tablets had these been preserved in their entirety.

A lively correspondence between two Courts followed. Some of the letter writing turns upon a marriage arranged between Ramesses and a daughter of Hattusil. This foreign alliance was long remembered. Ramesses had an extensive progeny, and many Great Wives and concubines. But it was Merneptah, the thirteenth in the Ramesseum list, who survived to succeed his father.

Merneptah was probably well over fifty years of age when he succeeded to the throne, and he inherited a difficult situation, for during his father's old age, the vigilance of the frontier patrol had slackened, and the army had fallen into neglect, with the result that, driven by famine in their own land, roving bands of Libyans were raiding into the western Delta and terrorizing the people. With the threat of invasion, Egypt was on the defensive and the king had to reorganize the army. This was not a foray in quest of plunder that had been attempted, but permanent settlement in a new home.

The principal sources for the Libyan war, in which the "Peoples of the Sea" allied themselves with the invading Libyans, are a long inscription at Karnak, and a stele from Athribis, but there is a third inscription which must be mentioned, the so-called Israel Stele (Kitchen 1968:IV, 12-19). The latter expresses at length the intense relief felt by the Egyptians at the defeat of the invaders. A few sentences will be sufficient to convey the emotion caused by the victory:

"Men come and go with singing, and there is no cry of men in trouble. Towns are populated once again, and he who plants his harvest shall eat it. Re^{c} has turned himself back to Egypt".

Of even greater interest is a passage which has long been familiar to scholars.

"The chieftains are prostrate, saying "Shalom", and no one lifts his head among the Nine Bows. Destruction is for Tjeḥenu, Khatti is at peace, the Canaan is plundered with every evil. Ashkelon is carried off, Gezer is captured, Yenoam is made non-existent, Israel is waste and has no seed, Khor has become a widow because of Egypt." (Kitchen 1968, IV:12-19) In the first place, we have here clear evidence of the suppression of a revolt in Palestine. The second point that arises is the mention of Israel, the only instance known from any Egyptian text. In the middle of Merneptah's reign, we find Israel already settled in Palestine, so it is unlikely that he was the Pharaoh of the Exodus. A third significant point is the reference to Khatti - "Khatti is at peace." The power of the Hittite kings was diminishing, and they did not wish to embroil themselves with Egypt. The peace made between Egypt and Khatti half a century before still held.

Merneptah reigned for ten years, and did little in the way of erecting new public buildings, though inscriptions including usurpations of older monuments are not rare.

Mining operations in Sinai went on, and journals and papyri have been found. A curious text on papyrus probably dates from this reign. It purports to be a letter from a scribe, Hori to his friend Amenemope, in which he points out that Amenemope is a failure in all he undertakes. (This is Papyrus Anastasi I) (Gardiner 1964:1-40). Among other duties, the latter claims to be a "maher", a scribe accustomed to foreign travel who could be sent on errands abroad, and Hori names a number of places to which such messengers might be sent, including Byblos, Tyre, Beth Shean and Kadesh. It seems that, while Egyptian

suzerainty in Palestine was maintained, there was constant traffic on the roads between Egypt and the Asian principalities.

After the death of Merneptah the Nineteenth Dynasty died out in short reigns and dynastic intrigue and even the order of succession of its kings is not certain. The names in question are those of Amenmesses, Sethos II, Sekhaenre Ramesses-Siptah, Akhenre-setepenre Merneptah-Siptah and Queen Twosre.

The "Great Chancellor of the entire land", Bay was an imposing figure during that time, a king-maker and a man of immense influence. On Siptah's death, Queen Twosre herself ascended the throne, the fourth queen-regent in Egypt's long history, the others being Nitocris, Sobekneferu and the illustrious Hatshepsut. With her the Nineteenth Dynasty came to an end. Not more than about twenty three years can be reckoned for the remaining rulers of the Nineteenth Dynasty after Merneptah's death. There may have been a short interregnum following the death of Twosre before the accession of Setnakhte, the first king of the Twentieth Dynasty.

The period here dealt with showed great activity in the literary field. In addition to the masterpieces of the Middle Kingdom being copied and read, there was no lack of new composition. This was especially the case in the realm of fiction. Here we have historical tales - "The Tale of Two Brothers" (Gardiner 1973:9-30). The Contendings of Horus and Seth (Gardiner 1973:37-60) "The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood" (Gardiner 1973:30-36) and "The Doomed Prince" (Gardiner 1973:1-9). More serious works, intended for the instruction of boys and young men with regard to conduct, the writing of letters, the learning of geography, the adoption of the profession of scribe, etc. include Papyrus Anastasi I, and Papyrus Koller (Gardiner 1964:41-49), and the curious medley known today as Late Egyptian Miscellanies (including "Prayers used as school texts") (Gardiner 1937:99-116). There are magical and medical compilations and a work on the interpretation of dreams (Papyrus Chester Beatty III) (Groll 1985:71-118), while poetry is represented by some charming love songs (Papyrus Chester Beatty I) (Gardiner 1935:27) and possibly the Poem of the Battle of Kadesh (Kitchen 1971:II, 2).

Also a number of lengthy and highly informative writings from the Twentieth Dynasty have survived. The language of these writings are a good representative of the Late Egyptian language.

The written records of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty on the other hand are examples of the Middle Egyptian written language (see Addendum I).

TENSE IN EGYPTIAN

INTRODUCTION

The chapter on "Tense in Egyptian" was included to precede the chapters with examples of the various grammatical forms in NDE, and the Summary and Conclusions. This is of special worth to an English speaker or to a student of English language and grammar.

It discusses and differentiates between aspect, absolute tense and taxis in ME, and obviously therefore in the ME examples in the NDE texts. It concludes with LE, in which primary verbal tense, easily morphologically recognised now occurs.

For most of the past hundred years, Egyptologists have looked for answers largely in the factors of tense (e.g. past vs. present) and aspect (e.g. perfective vs. imperfective), within the overall framework of broad syntactic categories (e.g. "attributive" vs. "predicative" forms.) (Allen 1986:1). Our appreciation of syntactic values has matured in the past three or four decades, thanks first of all to the work of Polotsky.[1]

There was a gradual change from a "synthetic" language into an "analytic" one (Gardiner 1982:1-24c). The "synthetic" tenses *śḏm.f* and *śḏm.n.f* are first supplemented and then gradually replaced by "analytic" forms.

Vernus (1985:311) feels that there is a diachronic shift from a mostly aspect-oriented system in Old and Middle Egyptian towards a mostly time-oriented system in Late Egyptian.

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1 Syntax refers to the arrangement of words in a sentence showing their connection and relation.

Groll (1973:67) is of the opinion that even in the framework of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, one can trace a considerable grammatical development.

We can now pretend to understand fairly well the grammatical function of the verb in later stages of the language (Late Egyptian through Coptic), where its analytic structure makes it relatively transparent. In other words, we can identify a form such as *jw jrj.f* as circumstantial past tense with some confidence that this describes its syntactic and temporal features in opposition to the forms such as *jrj.f* (independent past tense) or *jw.f* (*ḥr*) *jrt* (circumstantial present tense). Such an analysis is a comprehensive explanation of the value of these forms - it leaves few loose ends. Moreover, the fact that nearly all Egyptologists would agree with the analysis is some indication of its accuracy.

The situation is relatively less clear for earlier stages of the language. There has been a tendency to regard syntactic motives as primary in the use of particular forms or constructions, while other motives such as tense (and aspect) have been downplayed or disregarded altogether. This leaves a number of loose ends in our understanding of the Middle Egyptian verb. (Allen 1986:1-21).[2]

A.

The best illustration is the ME use of *jw*. Polotsky (1968:75-100) regarded as syntactic the *jw* in compound verbal constructions viz. to enable the circumstantial verb-forms to serve as indicative predicative forms, e.g.

cf.

jw wḏ.n ḥm.f rdjt ḥn.tw — His Majesty hath commanded that ordinance be made

(Nauri Decree, 51/1)

with

śr.n.j wᶜw r śwḏ3.tn — It is from afar that I have foretold so as to protect you

(Kanais (Wady Mia) 67/9, 10)

and cf.

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2 All the examples in this chapter are from the NDE texts I studied.

jw rwj ḥr p3j.ś šrj ḏ3ḏ3.ś — Her son Horus has cut off her head.

(Horus and Seth 50/4, 5)

with

ḥrw 3 r sf ḏr śpr.j ḥr rn.s
pr.ś mᶜ.j ḥr ḥrw 5 — (It is) three days to yesterday since I petitioned in her name.

It is for five days that she has gone from me.

(Papyrus Chester-Beatty I. Verso C3/9)

The first of these couplets (<u>with</u> *jw*: - *jw wḏ.n ḥm.f* and *jw rwj ḥr*) would be analysed as syntactic: independent/predicative, and the second of each (<u>without</u> *jw* - *śr.n.j* and *pr.ś*) as dependent (nominal/"emphatic"). The latter use (without *jw*) may be circumstantial/continuative too, e.g.

bw m33j śnt
ᶜkᶜk.n ḫ3jt jm.j — I cannot visit (see) (my) sister, since an illness got hold of me.

(Papyrus Chester-Beatty I, C4/6-7)

This purely syntactical analysis is not adequate to account for all the uses of *jw*, or for the change in its use throughout history.

Some of its loose ends are the following:

(i) Both verbal and non-verbal predicates can appear with and without *jw* in Old Egyptian and in ME. If the function of *jw* is to signal the distinction between independent ("indicative/predicative") and dependent ("nominal" or "circumstantial") use, however, this can be argued consistently only for the (transitive) *śḏm.n.f*, and generally within ME only. In Old Egyptian, bare initial forms can be used independently, at least for the *śḏm.f* and the stative (and transitive

śḏm.n.f). Despite the existence of constructions with *jw*, these uses appear also in ME.

For example:

mk jrj.n nṯr śprt.j
bśw.f n.j mw ḫr ḏw.w

God has granted my wish. He has made water come forth for me from the mountains.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/12)

(ii) *jw* appears in some environments in which its purpose is apparently not to signal or facilitate independent predication, e.g. after *jn*, e.g.

jn jw nfr p3j.k ḫdb
n3j.k b3k.w

Is it good that you slay your servants?

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 94/7)

Adjectival predicates can be used independently with or without *jw*, e.g.

with *jw*

jw nfr św r p3 ḥtp r p3
śnn ḥ3wtj
wn m p3 t3

It is better than the former peace and the former brotherhood, which was in the land.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/11)

and without *jw*

nḏm św r šdḥ

It pleases more than pomegranate wine.

(Papyrus Lansing, 100/12, 13)

With adverbial predicate constructions, the use of *jw* is especially difficult to characterize on syntactic grounds alone. Independent uses occur with and without *jw*, as in -

with *jw*

jw.f nmḥ	He is poor,
bn ntf wśr	he is not rich.
	(Prayers as School Texts, 17/11, 12)

and without *jw*

j.šmt jjt m ḥśj	Going and coming are with song.
	(Merneptah's Stele 18/13)

(iii) In some cases, *jw* seems to behave more like the LE "circumstantial converter" *jw*, e.g.

gm.(w)j wpt.k	Your messenger found me as I was sitting beside the horse which is in my charge.
jw.j śnḏm.k(wj) r m p3 śśmt ntj m drt.j	
	(Papyrus Anastasi I, 10/2)

(iv) The use of *jw* is not a general feature of ME grammar. Rather, it appears limited to direct discourse and is rare in contexts where the first person is not involved. (Polotsky 1968:90). This restriction is difficult to explain on purely syntactic grounds.

Unless we are to posit the existence of several different kinds of *jw*, it seems clear that we cannot hope to create a consistent explanation of the various features of *jw* in ME (and its diachronic development) on the basis of syntax alone.

Polotsky noted that ME *jw* has properties other than the purely syntactic. He writes that "it has the effect of relating the statement to the sphere of interest and to the time of the speaker" (Polotsky 1968:91

and footnote 48). This feature is not a mere syntactic curiosity. It may be the basic motivating factor in the use of *jw* in ME.

(v) See later (D); the use of *jw* possibly referring to a specific situation, while omission of the *jw* refers to a general state of affairs. This fits in context there.

B. The expression of tense in general

Tense is a factor that operates between Utterance and Speech. It characterizes the time of a situation or action within the utterance with respect to the speech act. In most languages, the Speech act itself is the reference point for tense: present tense is simultaneous with the moment of speaking, past tense is prior to the moment of speaking and future tense is subsequent to it. But tense can also operate on the level of utterance, to characterize the time of one event or situation with respect to another. And it can do so either with or without reference to the speech act (Allen 1986:6, Callender 1986:8).

Theoretically, therefore, a verb can express three kinds of tense relationship:

(i) time relationship to the Speech act alone. This is generally what is understood by the term "tense"

(ii) time relationship to the Utterance alone. This is often referred to as "relative tense". The term "taxis", introduced by the linguist, Roman Jakobson is preferred (Allen 1986:6). Taxical relationships are the same as those of absolute tense - prior, simultaneous and subsequent - but they are independent of absolute tense. Temporal and taxical relationships may differ - for example, when an action that is characterized as prior to another in the Utterance has yet to occur with respect to the moment of speaking. "He said: 'I will return <u>after doing it</u>'." (the action of doing is prior to that of returning, but subsequent to the moment of speaking).

(iii) time with relationship to both the Speech and the Utterance. This is called "taxical sense" e.g. the English future perfect which characterizes one action as prior to another and also as subsequent to the moment of speaking: "He said: 'By the time I return, <u>I will have done it</u>'."

An appreciation for the difference between these three kinds of relationship is crucial to an understanding of how tense operates. More to the point, it can also help in understanding the verbal system of ME.

C. The expression of tense in ME

The basic verb-forms and constructions of the language, with few exceptions, express taxis rather than absolute tense, insofar as they express temporal relationships at all.

The *śḏm.n.f*, for example, characterizes the action of the verb as prior to another action or situation, but not necessarily as past with respect to the moment of speaking. The action of the *śḏm.n.f* can be prior to an action that is itself past, present or future with respect to the moment of speaking:

(i)

św3b.n.j śt.j ḫḥw n sp
ḫwj.n.j jmj.w.ś m wḥm
dj.n.j mrt
ntt śḫpr.n.j r śt.j

I have purified my house millions of times, having privileged those who are in it again.
I have set the serfs, whom I have produced, in my house
(Nauri Decree, 50/7)

(*ḫwj.n.j* prior to <u>past</u> *św3b.n.j* and *śḫpr.n.j* prior to <u>past</u> *dj.n.j*)

3tp 3tp.n.k r mr.n.k

You have piled up (words) as you wished
(Papyrus Anastasi I, 30/7)

(*mr.n.k* prior to <u>past</u> *3tp.n.k*).

(ii)

jr m33.ś św m rśwt
dr.n.f n nṯr rmj.f

If a man sees himself in a dream after he has driven a god to tears.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III)

(Groll 1985:80 - example 23).

(*dr.n.f* prior to <u>present</u> *m33*)

bw m33.j śnt
ᶜkᶜk.n ḫ3jt jm.j

I cannot visit (see) (my) sister, since my illness got hold of me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C4/6, 7)

(*ᶜkᶜk.n* prior to <u>present</u> *bw m33*)

(iii)

wpw.ḫr wnn p3 k3r n jᶜw nbw
jrj.n.j r t3 ḫwt mn.m3ᶜ.rᶜ ḫwj.w mk.w

In particular, the group of gold-washers, whom I have appointed for the House of Menmare shall be exempted and protected.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/12-14)

(*jrj.n.j* prior to <u>future</u> *wnn ḫwj.w mk.w*)

jw wḏ.n ḥm.f rdjt ḥn.tw

His majesty hath commanded that ordinance be made.

(Nauri Decree, 51/1)

(*wḏ.n* prior to <u>future</u> *rdt ḥn.tw*)

In the same way, the *śḏm.f* in circumstantial clauses expresses present taxis: the action with which it is concomitant can be itself past, present or future with respect to the moment of speaking:

śkm.ś 3bd.w n mś
ᶜḥᶜ.n mśj wᶜ n s3 ṯ3j

A son was born, when she had completed the months of childbearing.

(Doomed Prince, 1/4, 5)

(*śkm.ś* concomitant with <u>past</u> *ᶜḥᶜ.n*)

mk jrj.n nṯr śprt.j
bśw.f n.j mw ḥr ḏw.w

God granted my wish, when he made water come forth for me from the mountains.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/12)

(*bśw.f* concomitant with <u>past</u> *jrj.n nṯr* .)

mk jb.j ḥḏn
śḥ3.tw.f

My heart is in a turmoil when he is remembered.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, Verso C2/1)

(*śḥ3.tw.f* concomitant with a <u>present</u> *jb.j ḥḏn*)

(t)jfd św jb.j 3ś
ḏr śḥ3.j mrt.k

Leaping is my heart in haste when I recall (my) love for you.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty, Verso C2/9-10 and C3/1-2)

(*śḥ3.j* concomitant with a present *(t)jfd jb.j*. It is concomitant too with several consecutive clearly present *bw śḏm.f*'s)

ḥtp p3 šw
jw.j mt.k(wj)

I shall be dead when the sun sets.

(Doomed Prince, 5/14, 15)

(*ḥtp.f* concomitant with future *jw.j mt.k(wj)*)

jr ptr.k św m rwh3 n p3 ḳḳw
ḫr ḏd.k 3pd r.f

If/When you were to see him at evening in the darkness, you would fancy him as a passing bird.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 19/7-9)

(*ptr.k* concomitant with a habitual or present continuing into the future *ḫr ḏd.k*.)

Callender (1986:8) analyses Middle Egyptian verbal distinctions at ten levels (locutionary standpoint, performative level, phase, transposition, aspect, long-termedness, mood, verb-type, person and time). He gives examples of sentences, in which he analyses events occurring at the moment of speech, the primary point of deictic reference, prior to this (remote or near), and those occurring in the future. He uses two exclamation marks to denote the time of speech and asterisks to the left for events prior to this and to the right for future events. This corresponds to taxis, discussed above.

In the NDE texts I studied, these would be tabulated thus:

ptr.j ḥrj3

jw.ś ḥr jṯ3 p3j.k ḫ3

j.n.ś(t)

"I saw Heria (a) while she was stealing your chisel (b)" So she said (c)

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 5, 6)

Moment of speech

* (a) * (c) !!

* (b)

jw.ś ḥr jnj p3 ḫ3 ...

jw tjmś.śt ...

jw jṯ3j.ś ...

ḫr jw jrj.ś ᶜnḫ ᶜ3

And she brought the chisel (a) ...,

which she had buried (b) ...,

after she had stolen (c) ...,

although she had taken a great oath (d).

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 13-17)

Moment of speech

* (c) * (b) * (d) * (a) !!

sjn ḥr.ś jm.w

ḏr ṙśwt nbwt ḏwwt m33.n.f

The man's face should be rubbed with them (a)

so that every bad dream, which he dreamt (b) should be driven away (c)

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, 85/10.19)

Moment of speech

* (b) !! * (a) * (c)

j.jrj.j jj n.k
r.ḏd ḏ3j.k r r p3 jw ḥrj jb

It is in order that you ferry me across to the Island-in-the-Midst (a) that I have come (and am now here (b))

(Horus and Seth, 43/9)

Moment of speech

!!

* (b) * (a)

It should be noted that the expression of taxis is primarily a feature of use rather than an essential characteristic of particular forms or constructions. Taxis is merely one of the values that the Egyptian verb can express, along with aspect, mood and voice.

Of the basic verb-forms, there are only a few that may express true and consistent tense. The *śḏm.tj.fj* (26.15) and *śḏm.k3.f* (e.g. *k3.f* 25.19) seem always to refer to actions subsequent to the moment of speaking. The imperative, if it expresses tense at all, is consistently future in reference. For the most part, however, the basic verb-forms and constructions of Middle Egyptian either carry no temporal reference or express taxis but not absolute tense.

This characteristic, in turn (Allen 1986:8) lies at the base of the use of *jw* in ME. *jw śḏm.f* refers to an action that holds specifically at the moment of speaking, e.g.

jw ḫm.f ḏt.f ḥ^{c}t.f

He does not know what he is about.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/4)

D.

jw **with adverbial-predicate constructions** seems to refer to a specific situation, while omitting the *jw* refers to a general state of affairs, e.g.

with *jw* - a specific situation

wnn ḥ3nnt m ḫnw ḳwḳw	There are kernels in the nuts.
jw mw m ḫnw ḥ3nnt	There is water in the kernels.
	(Prayers as School Texts, 86/3, 4)

Water is (at present) in the kernels. cf. *wnn* - Kernels exist (are to be found) in the nuts.

jw jtrw ʿ3 t3j.f śt śḏr	The river is its resting place.
	(Truth and Falsehood, 35/5, 6)
ḥr jw s3 t3 bwt n p3j dmjt ṯ3wt m jm.f	And since the greatest abomination of this town is stealing copper in it ...
	(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 7, 8)

Compare

3ḥ k3p	Hiding is useful
	(Stele of Merneptah, 15/12)

and

šfjt.ś pw ḥr djt n.ś	Its nobility is that which gives it splendour.
	(Nauri Decree, 47/9)

No *jw*, - indicating general state of affairs.

The difference between predicate-subject and subject-predicate constructions has to do with the nature of predication (Allen 1986:9), e.g.

When the predicate precedes the subject, an action or quality is predicated with respect to the subject. The action is true with respect to the subject, e.g.

ḥtp p3 šw ... When the sun sets ...

(Doomed Prince, 5/14, 15)

and

wḏ t3 ... When dawn comes ...

(Papyrus Lansing, 105/2)

When the subject is first, a situation is predicated with respect to the subject, e.g.

ḫr jr p3 šw ḫr ḥtp Now when the sun had set ...

(Two Brothers, 14/6)

These constructions have no inherent tense.

We can trace the historical development of *jw* from its original temporal function to its eventual syntactic function in three stages:

(i) Originally, (absolute) tense is not a feature of the basic verbal system. When tense is marked overtly (rather than by implication, through the context) it is marked secondarily, through the addition of *jw* (*wnt/ntt* in noun-clauses, *ntj* in relative clauses). *jw* indicates that the content of the clause is specifically relevant to the circumstance in which it is uttered. This productive stage exists through Old into Middle Egyptian.

(ii) In time, the absolute tenses become incorporated into the basic verbal system: tense becomes a primary feature of the system. *jw* at this stage is part of the morphology of the primary tenses rather than a separate, productive element - much as English "have" in the perfect tenses has developed from an independent verb to a part of the tense morphology ('I have it done' > 'I have done it'). At the same time, *jw* retains its own inherent meaning of circumstantiality - much as English 'have'

remains a verb in its own right alongside the perfect tenses ('I have it'). In this stage, therefore, *jw* is bivalent. In the primary tenses it is - or is becoming - a "frozen" morphological element. Where still productive, however, it signals circumstantiality - now no longer (merely) to the moment of speaking, but more broadly, to the context in which it is used. This is the stage we find in ME, where *jw* both marks absolute tenses and is also a mark of specific taxis. Both uses have in common the notion of circumstantiality.

(iii) ME represents a stage in which the language is acquiring tense as a primary feature of the verbal system. The older, nontemporal forms exist alongside the newer tenses. As the language moved towards a system of primary verbal tenses, *jw* lost correspondingly more of its inherent temporal value. The final stage is visible in LE, where most of the primary verb-forms do express tense. Here the circumstantial value of *jw* is no longer temporal (except as a "frozen" element of the future tense *jw.f r śḏm*), but has become instead purely taxical.

Polotsky's syntactic analysis (Polotsky 1968:75) shows that the unmarked sentence comes to imply not merely the absence of a specific temporal reference, but the absence of an essential element of predication - the initial predicative nexus. From that point, the development of the unmarked sentence into an "emphatic" construction is a short - and logical - next step.

In the three-stage development outlined above, the inception of the "emphatic" construction fits logically into the second stage, and the construction emerges as a fully-fledged feature of the verbal system in stage three (LE.)

CONCLUSION

The current syntactic analysis of LE through Coptic, which we owe largely to Polotsky's insight, seems to be a comprehensive and satisfactory model.

There is still disagreement though in our understanding of the earlier stages of Egyptian.

All the examples of ME forms in this chapter, those expressing aspect or taxis rather than absolute tense, and those indicating "present situation" and "general state of affairs", and those pointing to an action or a situation with respect to the subject, as well as those suggesting the "independent" or the "emphatic" - all appear in NDE.

SECTION B

CHAPTER 1

THE MIDDLE EGYPTIAN *jjt pw jrjw.n.f*

jjt pw jrjw.n.f indicates the beginning of a new action and it is a mode of narrating events, which is much employed in the Middle Kingdom stories. Here it is the action itself which is the centre of interest, and accordingly the action has to appear as a verbal noun, i.e. infinitive, to which are added the words *pw jrjw.n.f* (*sḏmw.n.f* relative form) "it is ... which he did" (Gardiner 1982:312).

jjt pw jrjw.n.f, which is actually a non-verbal sentence with *pw* as copula, an infinitive as predicate, and the (always masculine) relative form of *jrj* as subject, is found almost exclusively with verbs of motion (Brunner 1979:39). No examples are found in the non-literary NDE texts, but are found occasionally in the literary NDE texts, e.g.

1.1

jjt pw jrjw.n n3 n [1] *ḥwt hrjt*
r š3 n.f š3w[2]

Then came the Hathors to determine a fate for him. (Lit. Coming is what the Hathors did.).

(The Tale of the Doomed Prince, 1/5, 6)

---

1 Note *n3 . n* for the definite article is still occasionally written in the 19th Dynasty as *n3.n*, thereby retaining the memory of the ME demonstrative pronoun, but by the 20th Dynasty seems to have disappeared (Goldwasser 1985:50).

2 *r* + infinitive is a purpose clause.

1.2

spr pw jrjw.n.f r p3 śr n n3hm

He reached the Prince of Nahrin (Kingdom of Mitanni on the Upper Euphrates).

(The Tale of the Doomed Prince, 3/3)

1.3

prj pw jrj.n w^{c} n ḥftjw
m t3j.f ṯpḥt r psḏ
p3 šrj

Thereupon a snake came out of its hole to bite the youth.

(The Tale of the Doomed Prince, 7/13-15)

1.4

spr pw jrjw.n.f
r p3j.f pr
jw.f ḥr ḫdb t3j.f ḥmt[3]

And he reached his house and he slew his wife.

(Two Brothers, 18/7-9)

1.5

šmt pw jrjw.n ḥm.f
r nw n ḫ3.f
gm.n.f[4] *jnḥ.św 2500*
n ^{c} n ḥtr
m t3(j).f w3t bnr

His majesty proceeded to look about him, and found 2 500 chariots ringing him on his way out.

(Ramesses II. Battle of Kadesh, 31/3-7)

These forms occur in ME and in NDE and not in LE.

---

3 *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of LE continuative past tense.
4 *gm.n.f* is a ME narrative *šdm.n.f*.

An interesting ME formation is eg.

1.6

jjt jn ḥ3p

Then came a scout.

(Ramesses II. Battle of Kadesh, 109/8)

A bare infinitive + *jn* as agent.

A rare example, known in ME and, as here, in NDE.

CONCLUSION

This form of narrating events is much employed in the Middle Kingdom stories. It persisted into NDE, where, as we can see here, it could be followed by a ME narrative *śḏm.n.f* (1.5) or by a LE *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the continuative past (1.4).

This form is not found in LE, where the perfect active *śḏm.f* is now occurring.

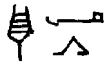
The LE cleft sentence pattern Type XII (Černý & Groll 1975:534) may just possibly be a remnant of this ME form (3.43). (Pap. CB I C4/9).

The Middle Egyptian *jjt pw jrjw.n.f* formation is still found in the literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

CHAPTER 2

THE MIDDLE EGYPTIAN AUXILIARY VERB *ḫˁ* [1]

INTRODUCTION

The Middle Egyptian auxiliary verb *ḫˁ*  is a common verbal narrative form, which indicates the start of a new action. The finite verb-forms compounded with *ḫˁ* 'stand up', 'arise', occur only in main clauses, and always carry the action which is being described one step further on. Originally, no doubt, the subject of *ḫˁ* was the same as that of the following verb, the form *ḫˁ.n sḏm.n.f* - to quote only the commonest construction - thus meaning 'he rose up and heard' (two verbs with one subject). But in further developments this original meaning seems to have become obscured; the passive *ḫˁ.n sḏm.f*, for example, can barely have been understood as 'he rose up and was heard'. The verb *ḫˁ* becomes, in fact, less and less literally significant. This may well be the reason that, as an auxiliary, it very often lacks its determinative . Many and varied examples of the Middle Egyptian *ḫˁ* are found in both the non-literary and literary texts of NDE. They do not occur in Late Egyptian.

---

1 Regarding the use of auxiliary verbs, note that -

1. The use of *jw* as an auxiliary verb and its other numerous uses in ME, NDE and LE is studied in Chapter 22.
2. *wn* and *wnn* as auxiliary verbs and their other uses are described in Chapter 19.
3. *jrj* as an auxiliary verb is discussed in Chapter 16.

I. The $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ $śḏm.n.f$ is a common Middle Egyptian narrative form, also found in NDE.

2.1

$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ $wḏ.n$ $ḥm.f$ r ^{c}t
m $ḥr$ n $ḫrp$ n $nśjwt$ $k3wt$
$ḥn^{c}.f$ m $ḫrtj.w$ $nṯr$

His majesty commanded to give directions to the leader of the royal workers, (who were) with him as stone-cutters.

(Kanais (Wady Mia) Inscription, 67/1, 2)

This is a non-literary text.

2.2

$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ $dj.n.f$ jwt $śrw$ $ḳnw$

Then he caused many chiefs to come

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh 49/14)

($^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.f$ $śḏm.n.f$ - with $ḏj$ causative - common narrative form - a new action).

This is a literary text.

ME & NDE
not LE

II. The auxiliary verb $^{c}ḥ^{c}$ with the verb $ḏd$ - "to say, speak" is a specific formation of NDE. It indicates a new phase in the actual trial investigation.

2.3

$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ $ḏd.n$ $t3$ $ḳnbt$ n $ḥrj3$

Then the court said to Heria.

(Hieratic Ostracon, 2 Recto 6)

This is ME or LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Although a common ME formation, it can be classified here as a specific formation of the LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty:

(i) it occurs only with the verb *ḏd*

(ii) it indicates a new phase in the actual trial investigation, and a change of personnel.

(iii) the *ᶜḥᶜ.n* subject *ḥr ḏd* (as in 2 Verso 1, 2 see below) is used to express the last phase of the trial, i.e. the verdict.

i.e. although these are morphologically ME formations, as far as syntactic uses are concerned, they are specific Nineteenth Dynasty formations.[2]

NDE only

III. The *ᶜḥᶜ.n* subject *ḥr ḏd* is unusual, perhaps a hybrid form or perhaps a ME pseudoverbal formation. It too is a specific NDE formation used to express the verdict of a trial.

2.4

ᶜḥᶜ.n t3 ḳnbt ḥr ḏd	Then the court stated:
ᶜḏ3.t ᶜ3(t) ᶜnḫ n njwt ḥrj3	"A great wrongdoer is the citiziness, Heria"
	(Hieratic Ostracon, 2 Verso 1,2)

The Hieratic Ostracon is a non-literary text.

NDE only

---

2 Note: In the Twentieth Dynasty they do not occur. (Groll 1973:69; Brunner 1979:31).

IV. The $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ with passive *śḏm(w).f* corresponds to the active construction $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ *śḏm.n.f* in non-literary (2.5) as well as literary texts (2.6).

2.5

$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ *ḫwśj st tn*
ḥr m wr mnm3$^{c}r^{c}$

Then this place was built, bearing the great name of Menmare.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/11)

2.6

śkm.ś[3] *3bdw n mś*
$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ *mśj* w^{c} *n s3 ṯ3j*

When she had completed the months of childbearing, a son was born.

(The Doomed Prince, 4/5)

V. $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.tw$ *śḏm.f*. Then "one" did something, i.e. something was done.

2.7

$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.$ *tw jṯj n.f p3 tsm*

Then one brought him a greyhound.

(The Doomed Prince, 2/9, 10)

tw is the indefinite "one" or passive *śḏm.tw*

The above three examples occur in ME and NDE and not LE

[3] *śkm.ś* is a circumstantial *śḏm.f*.

VI. The *ʿḥʿ.n śḏm.f* is a rare formation (Gardiner 1982:393).

2.8

ʿḥʿ.n śḏm n3 n[4] *rmṯ*

ntj m p3 ḫrd

wn.jn.śn ḥr wḥm.śn[5]

n ḥm.f ʿnḫ wḏ3 śnb[6]

When the people, who were with the child heard (it), they reported/repeated it to his majesty, l.p.h.

(The Doomed Prince, 1/7-9)

ME & NDE
- not LE

VII. The *ʿḥʿ.f śḏm* (not *ʿḥʿ.n.f*) is unusual (*ʿḥʿ.f* or noun + verb).

2.9

ʿḥʿ 3śt ʿš śgb ʿ3

jw.ś ršwt r jkr sp sn

Then Isis uttered a loud shout, and was overjoyed.

(Horus and Seth, 37/8)

ME & NDE
- not LE

---

4 *n3. n* is a Nineteenth Dynasty definite article (Goldwasser 1985:51).

5 *wn.jn.sn + ḥr + śḏm.f* is a ME pseudoverbal construction with *ḫr* + infinitive).

6 *ʿnḫ wḏ3 śnb* - "May he live long, be prosperous, be healthy" is a ME formation, the verbs all being pseudoparticiples.

VIII. *ʿḥʿ.n.tw jw r.ḏd* **is a rare form (cf. the more common** *ʿḥʿ.n.tw śḏm* **(2.7).**

2.10

ʿḥʿ.n.tw jw r ḏd

n ḥm.f

n3.n ḫrw n š3sw

šn.sn bdš

One came to say to his majesty "The vanquished Shasu, they plan rebellion".

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, I/9/3, 4)

The direct speech is an example of NOUN + *śḏm.f* of LE (Doret 1980:37).

NDE only - hybrid form

IX. In the Battle of Kadesh, there is a very unusual formation - perhaps a combination of *ʿḥʿ.n.f + jw.f ḥrʿḳ* **of the LE continuative past.**

2.11

ʿḥʿ.n.f jw.f ḥr ʿk

m ḫnw p3 ḫrw n n3.n

p3 ḫr n ḫt3

His majesty charged into the force of the foe from Khatti.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 121/2)

A very unusual formation - perhaps a combination of *ʿḥʿ.n.f + jw.f ḥr ʿk* of the LE continuative past.

NDE only - hybrid form

X. Finally $^{c}ḥ^{c}$ may be used in a ME pseudoverbal construction with either (i) $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ + subject + pseudoparticiple (2.12) or (ii) $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ + noun + $ḥr$ + infinitive (2.13).

2.12

$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ nb r ḏr gr m j3dt ^{c}3t

jw.f kndt r t3j pśḏt

Then the All-Lord was silent for a long moment for he was angry with the Ennead.

(Horus and Seth, 38/1,2)

This is $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ + subject + old perfective or pseudoparticiple. The subject in this formation always follows $^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ (Brunner 1979:31)

2.13

$^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ 3śt ḥr jrt

ḥpr.ś m w^{c} ḏrjt

jw.ś pwj jw.ś ḥmśj

ḥr ḏ3ḏ3 n w^{c} n šnḏt

Thereupon, Isis changed herself into a kite, flew up, and sat on top of an acacia.

(Horus and Seth, 45/9, 10)

($^{c}ḥ^{c}.n$ + Noun + $ḥr$ + infinitive)

($ḏ3ḏ3$ = head or top - a LE word, replacing tp)

(cf. 2.4 with the verb $ḏd$, which has become a unique NDE formation).

Both the above are ME & NDE forms not found in LE.

CONCLUSION

The use of the Egyptian auxiliary verb *ᶜḥᶜ* is confined to ME, but is found in NDE too, but not in LE.

The Middle Egyptian *ᶜḥᶜ* is found in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts.

ᶜḥᶜ.n śḏm.n.f is found in ME and in NDE, and the passive *ᶜḥᶜ.n śḏm.w.f* and *ᶜḥᶜ.n.tw śḏm* are too.

ᶜḥᶜ used in a pseudoverbal construction is also confined to ME and NDE only.

ᶜḥᶜ.n śḏm.f, and *ᶜḥᶜ.f śḏm* are rare forms, found in ME and in NDE.

ᶜḥᶜ.n.tw jw r ḏd and *ᶜḥᶜ.n.f jw.f ḥr śḏm* are very unusual forms, probably hybrid forms confined to NDE.

ᶜḥᶜ.n ḏd.n.f and *ᶜḥᶜ.n.f ḥr ḏd* are specific formations of NDE, occurring respectively in trial investigation and verdict, and are unique NDE forms.

Polotsky (1968:95) believes that *ᶜḥᶜ.n* may be a ME emphatic form, and the following verb a circumstantial form. (a *śḏm.n.f*) (he stood up, having heard).

The *ᶜḥᶜ* did not continue or develop in LE. It is possible that the LE perfective *śḏm.f* or the *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the successive past was used to express this meaning.

CHAPTER 3

THE MIDDLE EGYPTIAN *jn*-CONSTRUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Middle Egyptian *jn* construction is a participial statement or cleft sentence (Brunner 1979:39). The emphasis is upon the subject:

1. The subject may be
   - i. a noun subject preceded by *jn* or by *m* or
   - ii. a pronominal subject, in the form of an independent personal pronoun, and this precedes
2. The predicate, which is for
   - . the Past, a Perfective Participle
   - . the Present, an Imperfective Participle
   - . the Future, a Prospective *śḏm.f*.

In Late Egyptian, there was a development resulting in many ways of expressing these forms. In Groll (1967:47) the author classifies these into two Groups (A and B), Group A being subdivided into four categories, and Group B into thirteen categories. In Černý and Groll (1975:525), there is a division into at least 17 types (I - XVII).

Many of the Middle Egyptian forms and of the Late Egyptian groups, types and categories are found in the NDE texts studied in this thesis.

SECTION A

The Middle Egyptian *jn* construction in NDE

I. Examples with a perfective participle for the past.

(i) Non-literary texts

3.1

jn rᶜ mśś ḥm.f

ntf pw ḳm3 p3 nfrw.f

sj3.n.f św m ḫnt s3 n ḥḥw r jrt nswt bjtj

It was Re who formed his majesty, it was he that created his beauties; he recognised him as one to be chosen from a million to be king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

(Nauri Decree, 46/12)

This is a ME formation - two participial statements both with the perfective participle. The second uses *pw* as the copula.

These are followed by a ME *śḏm.n.f*, which may possibly be emphatic.

3.2

nṯ jṯ3 p3j ḫ3 n nbnfr

m m3ᶜt n3w m bj3t

ḏd.n ḥrj3 m bj3t

bn jnk r jṯ3 św

"It was you, who stole this chisel of Nebnufer.

Is it true or is it not?" Then Heria answered:

"No. It was not I who stole it."

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 7,8)

An affirmative and a corresponding negative participial statement. (Černý & Groll 1975: Type I).

The second has *r.jṯ3* for *j.jṯ3*, a specific formation of the participle for the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The first has no prothetic yod or *r*.

is the independent pronoun *nṯṯ*

m m3ᶜt n3w is negation of a *nfr św* adjectival question.

(ii) Examples in the Literary Texts

3.3

jw.k m s3 mrwt n śnt
jn nbw wḏ.ś n.k p3j.j ḫnmś

As you pursue (your) sister's love, it is the Golden One, who has decreed her to you, my friend

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, G III/5)

A perfective participle.

This could possibly also be Late Egyptian Group A, category 1. (*jn A.f śḏm.św*) (Groll 1967:48)

3.4

ḫr jw jnk jrj jt bdt r sᶜnḫ nṯrw

Although it was I who made barley and emmer to nourish the gods.

(Horus and Seth, 57/6,7)

This is Frandsen's (1974) Function D, viz.

a *jw* preceded by *ḫr*.

The participle *jrj* here is not preceded by a prothetic yod.

3.5

jnj.j n.k tḫnw m 3bw
jw jnk jrj ms jnr

I brought you obelisks from Elephantine, and it was I, who fetched stones.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 38/7)

The participle is not preceded by the LE prothetic yod, and *jrj* is used as an auxiliary verb to *ms*.

3.6

jḫ p3j jrj.tn ...

What is this, which you are doing (here)?

(Doomed Prince, 4/5)

3.7

ntf śḫpr.wj

It is he who brought me up.

(Two Brothers, 12/16 - 13/1)

Cleft sentence Type I.

3.8

m n3j.n śnw
ntj m ᶜ3w n mhwt ...
dj jwt.n n ḥm.f

It is our brothers, who are chiefs of tribes ...
who have sent us to his majesty

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 104/1)

ntj is the ME relative adjective.

dj jwt.n is participle of *dj* = to cause *jwt.n* = us to come.

3.9

jw m p3 ḫr ḫsj
n ḫt3
dj jwt.sn
r ptr p3 ntj ḥm.f jm

For it was the vile foe from Khatti, who had sent them to observe where his majesty was.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 106/7)

3.10

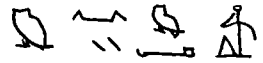
ntf dj jwt.n r ptr
p3 ntj ḥm.f jm

It is he, who sent us to observe where his majesty is.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 110/5)

The above three examples all have the causative *dj* before the verb.

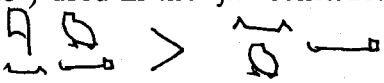
3.11



mdt m.dj.ṯ

Who is it that has spoken with you?

(Two Brothers, 14/1,2)

This is the interrogative pronoun *m* ("who") used in the *jn* construction, and fuses with *jn* to form a new word in ME  , Coptic NIM

(Brunner 1979:39).

II. Examples with an imperfective participle for the Present.

3.12

ntk 3ḫ n nb.f (for *.k*)
śᶜnḫ śmdt

It is you who serves your lord, who nourishes your people.

(Papyrus Lansing, 115/4)

Probable imperfective participles.

3.13

m jmn wᶜf sw m drt.f

It is Amun, who curbs him with his hand.

(Merneptah's stele, 17/12-14)

3.14

mk ntk wḫ3.śt n.k

Behold, it is you who are bestirring them for yourself.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 27/14)

This is not a pseudoverbal construction of ME. *mk* here is followed by an independent personal pronoun and not by a dependent personal pronoun.

3.15

ntk śꜥ3 ḥmsj ḫnw rwj.k

You are one who sits grandly (exalted) in your house.

(Papyrus Lansing, 115/1)

3.16

ḏw.ø nṯr.f pw šp r.f

Bad, (it can mean that) it is (even) his (own) god who may be blind towards him.

(Dream interpretation Ex. 80 (p. 100) *r.8 18.b*)

In a nominal cleft sentence *pw* follows the nominal subject immediately.

III. Examples with a Prospective *śḏm.f* (not a participle) for the Future.

(i) Non-literary NDE texts:

3.17

m pśḏt śḫn.sn ḥnꜥ.f

It is the Ennead who will deal with him.

(Kanais-Wady Mia, 69/7)

3.18

m n3 śrw nbw t3 ḏsr
jrj.śn wpw.sn ḥn^{c}.f

It is the great ones, the lords of the necropolis who will make their reckoning/(judgement) with him.

(Kanais-Wady Mia, 70/4)

(ii) Literary NDE texts

3.19

Sander-Hansen 1933:29, 13-15

jr p3 ntj nb
jw.f r sḫ ḥr wḏ tn
jrj wśjr m.s3.f
jw 3śt m.s3 ḥmt.f
jw ḥr m.s3 ḫrdw.f
m n3 śrw nbw t3 ḏsr
jrj.sn wpw.sn ḥn^{c}.f

As for anyone who will be deaf to this inscription, Osiris will be after him, while Isis will be after his wife, while Horus will be after his children

And it is all the noblemen of the necropolis who will dispute with him.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III (Groll 1985:101)

In Literary LE, the *jw* of the Third Future may act as a base for adverbial phrases.

The *jw* of *jrj wśjr m.s3.f* takes the form *jrj* before a nominal subject, although it acts as a base for the adverbial phrase. It is sufficient to maintain that *jw.f r śḫ* of the Third Future and *jrj wśjr m.s3.f* are in complementary relationship.

The *jn* - construction is identical to that of Kanais 70/4.

3.20

ntś jnj.s pḥ n ḫftjw.s ḫr.w

"It is it (the eye of every god) which will make an end of all its foes". So they say.

(Merneptah's stele, 16/2)

A prospective *śḏm.f.*

All the above are ME forms, found here in NDE too.

SECTION B

The Late Egyptian cleft sentences in NDE.

(i) Non-literary texts:

3.21

ntṯ jṯ3 p3j ḥ3 n nbnfr

m m3ᶜt n3w m bj3t

ḏd.n ḥrj3 m bj3t

bn jnk r jṯ3 św

"It was you, who stole this chisel of Nebnufer.

Is it true or is it not?" Then Heria answered:

"No. It was not I who stole it."

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 7,8)

An affirmative and a corresponding negative participial statement. (Type I).

The second has *r.jṯ3* for *j.jṯ3*, a specific formation of the participle for the eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The first has no prothetic yod or *r*.

is the independent pronoun *ntṯ*

m m3ᶜt n3w is negation of a *nfr św* adjectival question.

3.22

ḫr ntt pw ᶜnḫ.śn

For that it is on which they live.

(Nauri Decree, 47/6)

A ME cleft sentence, including *pw*, corresponding perhaps to LE type VI participial statement. *ᶜnḫ* is an intransitive verb.

3.23

bn jnk r jṯ3j.św — It was not I who stole it.

(Hieratic Ostracon Recto 8)

A negative participial statement *r. jṯ3j* = *j.jṯ3j*, a specific formation of the participle for the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (Groll 1973:69).

Note - the time indication of this Type I cleft sentence is identical to *bwpw.f śtp.f*. The negative however is *bn jnk* (Černý and Groll 1975:527).

3.24

mtw.tw gmt r.ḏd
jnk jṯ3 p3j ḫ3 — If it will be found that it is I that am the one who stole this chisel ....

(Hieratic Ostracon 2 Recto 10-11)

The *r.ḏd jnk śḏm św* pattern in an oath.

3.25

šfḫt.ś pw ḥr djt n.ś
mj 3ḫt r^{c} m wbn.f[1] — Its nobility is that which gives it splendour, like the horizon of Re at his rising (when he rises).

(Nauri Decree, 47/9)

Or it could be LE - defined A + *ḥr djt*.

Another ME cleft sentence with copula *pw* for *p3j*.

---

1 *m wbn.f* is *m* + infinitive, and corresponds to Biblical Hebrew בבאו "in his coming" - temporal clause "when he comes".

(ii) Examples in Literary NDE texts.

3.26

jn m r^{c}.k j.ḏd św — It is your own mouth that has said it.

jn sš3 ḥr.k wpt.k ḏs.k — It is your own wisdom that has judged you.

(Horus and Seth, 45/11,12)

A Group A, category (i) form

(*jn A.f j.śḏm sw.*)

Note - Both *jn* + *m* here. This is unusual.

3.27

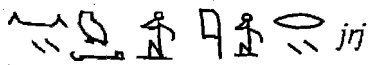
m p3 šw r nhsj n3j.w — It is (only) sunlight which wakes the watchmen.

(Merneptah's stele, 18/7)

r. nhsj = *j. nhsj* (cf. Ostracon Recto 8),

An Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty participle.

3.28

njm  *jrj k3mn.tw* — Who was it who quarrelled with you?

(Blinding of Truth by Falsehood, 33/11)

(A *njm j.śḏm św* pattern Group A, category (ii).

cf.

3.29

m njm mdt m.dj.t

Who was it who quarrelled with you?

(Two Brothers, 14/1-2)

3.30

p3j.j. śn šrj j.k3mn.j

It was my young brother that blinded me.

(Blinding of Truth by Falsehood, 33/11-12)

Note no *jn* or *m* precedes the noun.

A *p3j.j A j.śḏm św* pattern.

(Group A, category (ii))

3.31

jw jnk j.jrj.tn m.nḫt

ḫr jw jnk jrj jt bdt r śᶜnḫ nṯrw

jw bw gm.św nṯr nb nṯrt nb(t) r jrj.f

Seeing that it was I who have transformed you into champions, and seeing that it was I only that was capable of creating barley and wheat (*jrj* + a direct object with a zero article) to nourish the gods .... and no god nor any goddess was able to do it.

(Horus and Seth, 57/5-8)

Group A, category (iv) (Groll 1967:55)

3.32

ḫr p3 ᶜ3 r.j

ntf śḫpr.wj

As the elder, it is he who reared me.

(Two Brothers, 12/16 -13/1)

This, of course, is identical to ME *ntf* + a perfective participle. These forms began in ME, persisted into NDE and some continued into LE.

In LE, this is classified as Group A, category (iv).

3.33

ḫr mk ptr ntk j.wpt.tw ḏs.k

Behold, see, it is you, who judged yourself by yourself.

(Horus and Seth, 46/15-16)

Type I (Černý and Groll 1975:525) or Group A, category (iv). (Groll 1967:56).

3.34

(The *jw ntk j.jrj śḏm* pattern as the commencement of a narrative parallel with the "*ntk śḏm* and the *ntk j.jrj śḏm* + a direct object with a zero article" patterns (Groll 1967:57).

jw p3j.f śn šrj m.dj.f mj śḫr n šrj

... And his younger brother was with him like a son,

jw ntf j.jrj n.f ḥbśw

so that it was he who had to make clothes for him

jw.f ḫr šmt m.s3 n3j.f j3wt r śḫt

jw ntf j.jrj šk3

(*j.jrj* + a direct object with a zero article, denoting obligation)

ntf ᶜw3j n.f

whereas he (the young brother) was going behind his cattle to the field,

jw ntf j.jrj n.f wpt nb ntj m śḫt

and it was he who had to plough for him (*j.jrj śḏm*).

It was he who reaped for him (*śḏm*), so that it was he who did (actually) every work in the field for him (*j.jrj* + a direct object followed by *nb*, i.e. a defined direct object).

(Two Brothers, 9/12-16)

3.35

mk śn n mwt n 3śt
p3 dp.k jm.f

Behold, it is the brother of Isis on the mother's side into whom you have bitten.

(Horus and Seth, 49/10,11)

The second member of the pattern is a defined relative form.

3.36

ntk p3j jrj śḫrw n p3 jwtj mwt.f

You are he who offers counsel to the orphan (one who has no mother).

(Prayers as School Texts, 60/9,10)

The *jnk p3 B* (*p3 j.jrj* participle). The first member is an independent pronoun and the second a defined participle.

Group B, category (iv) pattern.

3.37

jḫ m śj m ḫrrt
p3 ntj śtḥ ḫr wnm.f dj m.dj.k

What kind of herb is it that Seth eats here with you?

(Horus and Seth, 52/12,13)

The first member is a noun and the second a relative sentence introduced by *ntj*.

(Group B, category (vi) or Type IX).

3.38

jḫ t3 ntj jj.tj

Who is she, who is coming/has come (actually 'is already here')?

(Horus and Seth, 50/2)

The stative, actually the old perfective of a verb of motion describes the state achieved after the movement has been accomplished.

This is Group B, category (vii) (Groll 1967:75) or Type XIV (Černý and Groll 1975:535).

3.39

jḫ p3j jṛj.tn ...

What is this, which you are doing (here)?

(Doomed Prince, 4/5)

3.40

jḫ p3 ntj ḥr šm m.s3 p3 s ᶜ3

What is this that goes behind the big man?

(Doomed Prince, 2/4,5)

(*šm* follows *ḥr* even when denoting present continuous)

Group B, category (vii)

3.41

jḫ š3 ntj ḥr rmn.k

jw.f ḥr ḏd n.ś

śt bdtj ḫ3r (3) jt ḫ3r (2)

ḏmḏ (5) n3 ntj ḥr rmn.k (for *.j*)

How much is it that you have on your shoulder?

And he said to her -

"Three sacks of wheat and two sacks of barley. They are altogether five sacks that are on my shoulder.

(Two Brothers, 12/6-7)

The "A (a numeral) *n3 ntj m prᶜ*" pattern as a reply to a question.

3.42

p3 ḏd.n.j mk św p3 ntj ś^{c}nḫ.j
m.ś p3 ntj ṯs.j

Saying to me "Here she is" is what revives my heart
It is (only) her name that can uplift me (my spirits)

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, Love Songs, Verso C4,9-10)

3.43

p3 ^{c}ḳ pr n n3j.ś wpwtjw
p3 ntj ś^{c}nḫ jb.j

It is (only) the entering in order to go out (again) of her messengers that can revive my heart.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, Love Songs, Verso C4-9-10)

The above two examples are both Group B, category (vii).

3.44

jḫ p3 ntj jw.tw r jrj.f

What is it that they should do?

(Horus and Seth, 59/15)

This is the *jḫ p3 ntj jw.f r śḏm* pattern, i.e. Third Future, a variation of Type XVI.

3.45

ntk p3 ntj ḥr wpt p3 ^{c}ḏ3 r m3^{c}t

It is you that judge between a wicked man and a righteous man.

(Two Brothers, 15/12,13)

- possibly a variant of Type XV, which would have a *śt* after *ntj*

Group B, category (xi)

CONCLUSION

The ME *jn*-construction was a simple matter in which the emphasised noun subject preceded a predicate, which was -

A perfective participle for the past

An imperfective participle for the present

or A prospective *śḏm.f* for the future.

All these forms are still found in NDE.

In LE, there was an evolution to an analytical language, which could now express the "participal statement" or cleft sentence in many ways. The first member is a noun, independent pronoun, demonstrative or infinitive, and the second member is a relative clause.

These forms occur in LE and in NDE and they are found side by side with the pre-existing ME forms.

CHAPTER 4

THE MIDDLE EGYPTIAN PSEUDOVERBAL CONSTRUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction is a term which has been chosen for want of a better, to bring under one common head those sentences or clauses in which either the old perfective (pseudoparticiple) or *ḥr* (or *m* or *r*) + infinitive serves as predicate to a preceding noun or pronoun. These have the common characteristic that while expressing the meaning of ordinary verbal sentences, they conform to the pattern of the sentence with adverbial predicate.

The ME pseudoverbal constructions, in which the predicate is formed either by a pseudoparticiple or an infinitive following one of the prepositions *ḥr*, *m*, or *r* can be distinguished from the LE First Present only when the subject is a pronoun. The LE First Present has specific pronominal preformatives, while the pronominal subject appears with a supporting particle in the ME pseudoverbal construction (e.g. *jw*, *mk* (with a dependent pronoun), *wnn* or *wn.jn*).[1]

---

1 *jw* takes a suffix pronoun, *mk* a dependent pronoun, i.e. *jw.f* or *mk.św*)

The LE First Present with the pronominal preformatives *tw.j*, *tw.k*, *tw.t*, *św*, *śt*, *tw.n*, *tw.tn*, *śt* and *tw.tw* (*św* and *śt* are proclitic, and not enclitic as the dependent pronouns *św* and *śt* are) or with a defined noun, a bare noun or an undefined noun is followed by a non-verbal predicate, a transitive verb (in the stative or the infinitive - preceded by *ḥr* or *m*) or an intransitive verb.

Note that in the Hieratic Ostracon (Černý and Gardiner 1957:Plate XLVI and Groll 1973:69), - Recto 5 we have

4.1

b3w ntr ḫpr. The power of god exists.

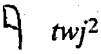
Groll calls this a First Present pattern, the second position of which is filled by a stative of the verb *ḫpr.* It is a specific LE form. Its ME equivalent - a pseudoverbal construction - is either *jw b3w ḫpr* or *mk b3w ḫpr* (Gardiner 1982:319-334).

So using this as a point of departure, the author has distinguished the ME pseudoverbal formations from the LE First Present forms. The former have pronominal subjects or nominal subjects with supporting particles (e.g. *jw* or *mk*) or with *wnn* or *wn.jn.* The LE First Present forms have their specific pronominal preformatives or unsupported nouns.

ME pseudoverbal constructions

I. Examples in the Non-Literary NDE Texts

4.2

jw.k  *twj*[2] *mn.tj ḥr nśt.f* You are here (?) established on his throne.

(Nauri Decree, 47/1)

The predicate is a pseudoparticiple with a passive meaning.

4.3

jw.k tp t3
ḥr grg t3wj
ḥr śḥb pr.w

You are on earth, organising the two lands and making festive (or adorning) the temples.

(Nauri Decree, 47/2)

---

2 *twj* is actually a demonstrative adjective = this, that. Its function here is uncertain.

The predicates are *ḥr* + infinitive with transitive verbs having active sense. The action, itself, its course is considered.

4.4

wnn.śn ḫwj mḳj

jw s3 nb jm.sn ḥr jrt ḥnt.f

jrt[3] *t3 ḫwt* ...

They shall be privileged and protected, while each one of them is pursuing his calling, which is carried out in the house ...

(Nauri Decree, 52/9,10)

The first line is a ME pseudoverbal construction in which the predicates are pseudoparticiples with passive sense, the *wnn.śn* indicating future tense.

The second line could be a ME pseudoverbal construction as a main sentence, but is more likely to be a LE circumstantial First Present with *ḥr* + infinitive.

4.5

wnn k3w.śn mn

św3ḥ ḏf3w.sn

Their provisions shall endure, their foods shall last ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/14 - 69/1)

The first line is ME pseudoverbal construction with the auxiliary *wnn* indicating future sense (Brunner 1979:30, 34), while the second line is a ME initial prospective *śḏm.f*

---

3 *jrt* is a passive participle.

4.6

wpw ḫr wnn p3 ḥrj pḏt
n p3 k3r n jᶜ.w nbw
...
ḫr drt.f ḫr ḫrp ᶜḳw.śn
m nbw r t3 ḫwt mnm3ᶜrᶜ

In particular, the chief of the troop of gold washers shall have a free hand in delivering their produce of gold to the House of Menmare.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 70/1)

II. ME pseudoverbal constructions in the Literary NDE Texts

4.7

mk jb.j ḥḏn

My heart is troubled.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C2/1,2)

The predicate is a pseudoparticiple with an adjective verb, expressing a state of being.

mk . św m jwtj jb.f

He is mindless/foolish (lit.) - one who has not his heart

jwtj is the ME negative relative adjective, corresponding to the affirmative *ntj*.

4.8

jr m33 s św m rswt
jbḥw.f ḫr ḫrj.f

If a man sees himself in a dream while his teeth are falling out

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, 8.12 recto)

(Groll 1985:77, ex. 7)

Nominal actor expression, predicate is stative of an intransitive verb.

4.9

njwtw.f pḫr.tj ḥ3(.f)

... while his townsfolk are surrounding him.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, 2.5 recto and p. 78, ex. 9)

4.10

ḫr jr m.ḫt hrw ḳnw m s3 nn

wn.jn p3j.f k3 śkm 3bd ḳnw m.dj p3 mjnjw k3 n grg

wn.jn grg ḫr šmt r śḥtj r ptr n3j.f k3w

Now many days after this (when) his ox had spent many months with the herdsmen of Falsehood,

Falsehood came to the fields to view his cattle.

(Truth and Falsehood, 34/4-7)

This is the verb *wnn* appearing in the *jn*-form, particularly to indicate a sequence of events.

4.11

jw.śn nḫt.tj wśr m j.jrr.k

They are strong and rich through your help (through what you have done - a LE relative form).

(Prayers as School Texts, 60/9)

4.12

jw.j ᶜḳ.kwj m.b3ḥ nbw

I enter in before the lords

(Prayers as School Texts, 86/2,3)

The predicate, a pseudoparticiple is a verb of motion, when the result of the action is being considered.

4.13

jw.j rḫ.kwj pḥtj.f

I know his might.

(Prayers as School Texts, 18/3)

The predicate is a pseudoparticiple of a transitive verb. It usually has passive sense, but *rḫ* "know" is the exception.

4.14

wn.jn p3 šḏmw ḥr šmt ḥr whm.śn n ḥm.f ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb

Then the servant went and reported it to his majesty, 1ph.

(The Doomed Prince, 2/7,8)

4.15

ḫr mk.wj wḏ.kwj n p3 š3w

I am committed to Fate.

(The Doomed Prince, 2/12,13)

4.16

jw.n dj ḥr jrt nw ḥr

We are here, passing the time in leaping.

(The Doomed Prince, 4/6,7)

4.17

wn.jn.ś ḥr jnj ᶜḏ pdr

jw.ś ḥr ḫpr mj nj ḳnḳn.tj n ᶜḏ3

So she took fat and grease and made as though she had been cruelly beaten.

(Two Brothers, 13/10,11)

4.18

mk 3ḫ3 jnj n 3ḫ3

Lo, the swift will catch the swift.

(Merneptah stele, 17/12)

mk here before a noun

4.19

w3ḥ mk jj

Wait! I come.

(Merneptah stele, 18/13)

An unusual example. No subject attached to *mk*.

The above two are unusual forms. The author is uncertain whether any similar examples existed in ME, so maybe these are NDE hybrid forms.

4.20

wnn.j ḥr śgb n.sn
bw śḏm.n n.j wᶜ jm.sn
jw.j ḥr ᶜš

I keep on shouting for them, but none of them heeds when I call.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 41/3)

jw.j ḥr ᶜš is LE circumstantial First Present.

4.21

wn.jn.śn ḥr ḫpr ᶜḥᶜ w3w
ḥr śn. t3

Thereupon they stood at a distance, touching the ground.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 88/9)

4.22

wn.jn p3 wr ḥr ḫsj n ḫt3
ḥr h3b ḥr ḥr sw3š
ḥr rn.j

Then the vile chief of Khatti wrote and worshipped/paid honour to my name.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh, 89/12 - 90/4)

4.23

jw.ś rwḏ m mnᶜt s3.ś

She is constant in nursing her son.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/16)

4.24

jw.k 3dt m phtj
jw.k nmḥ m ᶜt.k nbt
jw.k ḥwrw m hᶜ.k

You are lacking in strength, you are weak in all your limbs, you are poor in body

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/10,11)

4.25

mk. wj ḥr mtr.k — I instruct you.

(Papyrus Lansing, 107/6)

4.26

jw.k ḏb3.tw m mnḫt — You are dressed in fine clothes

... — ...

jw.k ᶜpr.tw m šmśw — You are supplied with attendants.

(Papyrus Lansing, 107/9,10)

4.27

jw.w ḥr ᶜk prj — They go in and out

m n3jw wśḫt pr.nśwt — in the halls of the palace

ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb jw.w — *lph*[4] and say

jmj rḫ b3kw — "Get labourers"

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/2,3)

The *jw.w* followed by the quoted speech is common without a following *ḥr ḏd.*

4.28

jw.k rnpj.tj bᶜḥ.tj rᶜ nb — You flourish and prosper every day.

(Papyrus Lansing, 112/6,7)

4.29

mk.św jj — Now, here he comes.

(Horus and Seth, 51/8)

4.30

wn wn.kwj m wḏ.w n mntjw — I am initiated in the decrees of Mont.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 39/9,10)

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4 *lph* = life, prosperity, health

It is unusual for *wn* to precede this sentence.

This is unusual. Perhaps it occurs only in NDE.

4.31

jw kjj ḫr j3d.j — Someone is persecuting me.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 17/1)

4.32

jw.j ḫtḫt.kwj — I have retreated (still further)

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 22/5)

4.33

mk jj.kwj mḥ.kwj m j3wt.k — Behold, I am come, full of your office.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 23/7-9)

This is unusual. *mk* usually bears *.wj*

This too is unusual. Perhaps it occurs only in NDE.

The ME pseudoverbal construction can be negated:

- with a dependent pronoun

  nn wj ... ḫr ... or

  nn śt ...

  (cf. LE First Present *bn tw.j* etc.)

- The idea or concept of the pseudoverbal construction is negated by *n śḏm.n.f*
- *r* + infinitive is negated by *nn śḏm.f*

  i.e. in the latter two, the whole sentence structure is altered, and *n* or *nn* now precedes finite verbs.

Examples of *nn wj* ... or *nn śt* may be

4.34

bn . tw jpt.tj m k3j n mrw.śt

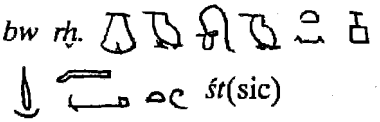
You are not expert in the way of binding it together.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 36/2-4)

This is *bn . tw* rather than *nn tw* ..., but a LE First Present would be *bn tw.k* + stative. So this is somewhere between ME and LE.

This is a hybrid form, perhaps occurring only in NDE.

Note that this is followed immediately by the LE

bw rḫ.  *śt*(sic)

You do not know how to tie it.

4.35

bn św nw n ṯ3.w nh3.w
bw *p3*
hjn

He does not look out for dangerous winds; he does not search for the current.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 43/11-13 (which is really Papyrus Koller))

This is probably negation of LE 1 Praesens followed by a LE *bw śḏm.f*

4.36

mk ntr.w.k ḥtp mᶜ.k nn kndt

Your gods are pleased with you, not being cross.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 7/5,6)

4.37

nn sw nḏm n nḏt.f

It is not good for grinding.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/7,8)

It is not First Present *bn sw*, it is rather the negation of a pseudoverbal *mk . sw* + an adjectival verb.

and note

4.38

bw jj. n.j ḳd m jb.j n hrw
nn sw ḥr ᶜ.j m grḥ

Sleep does not enter my heart by day, nor is it upon me at night.

(Papyrus Lansing, 109/16)

Here too there is a LE *bw śḏm.f* followed by a *nn sw . ḥr ᶜj* negating a *mk sw* + a non-verbal sentence.

CONCLUSION

The pseudoverbal construction is a ME verbal formation and occurs in NDE too. This, clearly evolved into the LE First Present, which occurs in both NDE and in LE (and not in ME).

Many examples of the Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction are well attested to in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts.

Both the ME pseudoverbal construction and the LE First Present are found together in 4.4, while in 4.5 there is a Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction, followed by an initial prospective *śḏm.f*, expressing the same concept.

The particle *mk* in pseudoverbal constructions is usually used with a dependent pronoun directly attached to the supporting particle. (Brunner 1979:33). There are exceptions in these texts e.g. *mk* before a noun (4.18) and *mk* with no subject, either nominal or pronominal (4.19, 4.33).

An interesting example is a hybrid form - negated (4.34).

So NDE clearly spans both ME and LE, with many examples of both the ME pseudoverbal construction and the later LE First Present.

CHAPTER 5[1]

LATE EGYPTIAN FIRST PRESENT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter follows the previous one, because the author is of opinion that the Late Egyptian First Present derived from the Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction. The latter can be distinguished from the former only when the subject is a pronoun. The Late Egyptian First Present has specific pronominal preformatives, while the pronominal subject appears with a supporting particle in the Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction.

Examples will be shown with -

1. Non verbal sentences
2. Transitive verbs
3. Intransitive verbs

Regarding the use of intransitive verbs in this way, it is well to remember that the perfect active *śḏm.f* can only occur with transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs fill the gap usually with the First Present (and occasionally with the emphatic *śḏm.f*). (LE *śḏm.f*'s with intransitive verbs must be prospective or emphatic).

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1 Note that the preposition *ḥr* (or *r* or *m*) before an infinitive is almost always written in these texts. This is a feature of NDE (Groll 1982:11ff). Non-occurrence is common in the Twentieth Dynasty, *ḥr* occuring in only 0-1% of times, whereas in the Ninteenth Dynasty, it ranges from 60-100%.

The author will provide examples of intransitive verbs and their different meanings when used with the stative, with the *ḥr* + infinitive, and rarely, with the *m* + infinitive with verbs of motion. (Groll 1969(b):184).

I. Non-literary NDE texts -

(i) Non-verbal sentences

5.1

št m.dj.j m.mtr

They are with me in agreement.

(Hittite Treaty, 229/13)

(ii) Transitive verbs

5.2

jst grt nṯr ḥr śšm.f
r ᶜt spr mr.n.f

God was guiding him so as to grant the request of one whom he loved.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/8,9)

First Present + *ḥr* + infinitive.

5.3

št r śswn ḥdj śḫrw.j

They shall punish him, who spoils my plans.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/5)

The *r* - (unusual) gives it a future sense.

(iii) Intransitive verbs

5.4

tw.n ḥr pḥ.n.ś ᶜnḫ.n — If we reach it, we live.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/9)

A verb of motion with *ḥr* + infinitive, indicating present time

5.5

jr m.ḫt ḥm.f m ṯsj
m rḫw jtrw ᶜš3w ... — After his majesty had gone up for many miles ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/16 - 66/1)

Verb of motion with *m* + infinitive usually indicates the continuous present tense.

5.6

ᶜḥᶜ.w.sn ḥr tkn ḥr pt — Their heaps reach the sky

(Nauri decree, 50/4)

A verb of motion + *ḥr* + infinitive indicating present time.

5.7

jb ḥrw m 3bdt — The heart is content in Abydos.

(Nauri decree, 52/5)

An adjectival verb in the stative indicating a non-progressive present tense.

5.8

ḥ3t m ṯḥḥt — Hearts exult

(Nauri decree, 47/8)

A verb expressing an emotional state with *m* + infinitive.

5.9

ḥrdw nb ntj r ḫpr
ḥr nḥt n.f nḥḥ

All generations yet to be wish him eternity.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/10)

A non-conclusive verb *ḥr* + infinitive, indicating a non-progressive present tense and cannot take a stative.

5.10

b3w nṯr ḫpr

The power of god exists.

(Hieratic Ostracon Recto 5,)

Stative of the verb *ḫpr* = "to be", "to become".

cf.

5.11

mnj ḥr ḫpr

Loss has resulted.

(Nauri Decree, 55/8,9)

ḥr + infinitive of the verb *ḫpr*

The stative of *ḫpr* appears to indicate a present tense, *ḥr* + infinitive indicating a past or present perfect tense. (As with verbs of dying or living. Note that *ᶜnḫ* "to live" occurs only in the stative.)

5.12

ḏr nṯrw
w3t ksn.tj śnḏm.tj
ḫft nśjwt.j

A way that was arduous since (the time of) the gods has been made pleasant in my reign.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/13)

An interesting chiastic sentence pattern (*ḏr nṯrw* is balanced by *ḥft nsjwt.j*). (Litchtheim 1976:56, footnote 6). The two verbs following the noun *w3t* are both stative. They are adjectival verbs probably indicating a non-progressive present tense and not indicating ongoing activity as a *ḥr* + infinitive might.

II. Literary NDE texts -

(i) Non-verbal sentences

5.13

ptr śt mj śbtt

Behold she is like the star-goddess (Sothis)

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C1/1)

5.14

ptr tw.k m.dj.j m šrjt (sic)

Now you are to me as a son.

(Doomed Prince, 6/5,6)

5.15

tw.j dj m.dj.ṯ šrjt nfrt

I am here with you, beautiful girl.

(Horus and Seth, 44/15,16)

5.16

tw.k m nśwt nfr nw t3 mrj
tw.k m nb ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb nfr
n t3.w nbw r š3ᶜ nḫḥ ḥnᶜ ḏt

You are the good king of Egypt. You are the good lord, lph of all lands for ever and ever.

(Horus and Seth, 59/11,12)

The *m* is the *m* of predication.

5.17

bn tw.k m sš — You are no scribe.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 21/2)

The negation of the First Present, and cf.

5.18

bn tw.k m sš jwn3 — In very sooth you are no scribe.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 22/7,9)

negated by *bn ... jwn3*

5.19

tw.k mj ḫrj.ᶜ n ṯ3w
jw.f sš3 m p3 ᶜḥᶜw — You are like the mate of a skipper, who is skilled in (managing) the boat.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 43/5-7)

First Present, followed by a circumstantial First Present. The converter *jw* is used here as a virtual relative following an indefinite noun (Frandsen's (1974) Function B of the converter *jw*).

5.20

św m b3w n nṯr.w nbw mn.nfr — He is in the power of the gods, the lords of Memphis.

(Merneptah's Stele, 15/1)

5.21

ḫ3śt nb (sic) *tw.k mj mnṯ ḫr* — You are like Montu in every country

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 14/2,3)

5.22

ḫr mk tw.ṯ m.dj.j m śḫr n mwt
ḫr p3j.ṯ h3j m.dj.j m śḫr n jt
ḫr p3 ᶜ3 r.j ntf śḫpr.wj

Lo, you are to me as a mother, your husband is to me as a father, and as for the elder, it is he, who brought me up.

(Two Brothers, 12/15 - 13/1)

mk tw.ṯ in Line 1, is reminiscent of *mk . tw* in ME pseudoverbal constructions but the *tw.ṯ* is clearly LE First Present.

Note *ntf śḫpr.wj* changes the sequence and the emphasis. It is not *św ḫr śḫpr.j* but a ME *jn* construction.

5.23

śt mj p3 snḥm
m.dj ᶜš3w.sn

They were like locusts in their multitude.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 19/12)

5.24

w3ḥ k3 n jt.j jmn
ḥ3 tw.j ḫr kmt

As the ka of my father, Amun endures, would that I were in Egypt.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 61/2)

A First Present after

(ii) Transitive verbs

5.25

wrrt nḥb.tw ḫr śt.ś

The chariot is harnessed in its place.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, G1/3)

Stative verb.

5.26

tw.j wḏ.kwj n 3 š3w p3 mšḥ p3 ḥftjw p3 jw

I am given over to three fates, the crocodile, the snake, the dog.

(Doomed Prince, 6/11,12)

Stative verb.

5.27

ḥr tw.j śm3 p3 p3 (sic)

ḥrt n p3.rᶜ m.mnt

For I slay the enemy of Pre every day.

(Horus and Seth, 41/12,13)

5.28

św ḥr jrt mḥ 30 pḏ ḥr jwtn

It makes 30 cubits, stretched upon the ground.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 28/8)

5.29

jtj.n.f spjt

św 3k m n3 ntj bjn

św šbn m n3 mh3jt š3św

jrj.f św m k3j m ᶜ3mw.

He takes what remains and he joins the ranks of the wicked. He mingles with the people of the Shosu and disguises himself as an Asiatic.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 32/4-6)

Note the changes in sentences. The first is a *śḏm.n.f*, the second and third a First Present, and the fourth, a *śḏm.f*.

5.30

ptr tw.j ḥr djt.k r śmdt n ᶜnḫ

Look, I make you into a staff of life.

(Papyrus Lansing, 13/14)

First Present *ḥr* + infinitive.

5.31

p3 jrj.j nb ḥr ḫpr
tw.j mj mnṯw
tw.j ḥr śtj ḥr jmntj.j ḥr kf^{c} m śmḥ.j

All I did succeeded, I was like Mont, I shot on my right, grasped with my left.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 44/8-13)

5.32

w^{c} ḥr śm3 śnw.f

Each one slayed his neighbour.

(Wars of Sethos I, 9/5)

5.33

jmn ḥr dj n.f p3 ḫpš

Amun gives to him the might.

(Wars of Sethos I, 19/4)

(iii) Intransitive Verbs

Group I: Verbs of Motion

A. *tw.j pr.tw* - stative Past Tense.

5.34

św jj.tj ḥr ḏś.śt r m33.j

She has come back herself to see me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C3/6)

5.35

tw.k jj.tj ḥnw.tw m št3.w ^{c}3.w

You have come furnished with great secrets.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 20/6,7)

5.36

tw.k jj.tj m p3 hrw
bw w3ḥ.k jwᶜ.w

You came back today and left no heirs.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 95/3)

B. The preposition *ḥr* + infinitive = Present Tense

5.37

ḥ3ᶜ.k sš
tw.k ḥr šm ḥr ᶜr

You forsake writing, you depart and flee (repeatedly).

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 42/6)

5.38

bn mjnjw ḥr ḏ3j mḥt jtrw

Herdsmen do not cross the river's floods.

(Merneptah's Stele, 18/11)

C. The preposition *m* + infinitive = Present Continuous Tense

5.39

mrjw m ksj

The young men bowed/or did obeisance (and continually *do.*)

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C3/8)

This is equivalent to the Coptic qualitative verb of motion.

5.40

tw.k ᶜš3.tw
m ᶜk pr

You are busy, (continually) coming and going.

(Papyrus Lansing, 102/4,5)

5.41

ḫr jr św m nᶜj ḫrj n3 šnw — She walked under the trees.

(Horus and Seth, 44/5,6)

Note that *ḫr jr* + First Present refers to past time.

Group II: Verbs of dying and of living

5.42

.. *dj.ṯ jrj.tw śkśk p3 ᶜš n Pr.ᶜ3*
...
tmt. djt ᶜnḫ.kwj
ptr tw.j ᶜnḫ.kwj m rᶜ

You caused Pharaoh to destroy the cedar that I might no longer live. But, behold, I am still alive.

(Two Brothers, 25/11-13)

ᶜnḫ is always in the stative, when filling the second position of the First Present; never *ḫr* + infinitive.

This is present tense.

tmt djt ᶜnḫ.kwj is a ME negative purpose clause.

cf. *r tm djt* + non-initial prospective.

5.43

św mt jw.f ᶜnḫ — He is dead while yet alive.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/6)

św mt is a stative and present tense

jw.f ᶜnḫ is a circumstantial First Present.

(Frandsen's Function A) (1974).

Group III: Verbs of Posture

5.44

jst jr ḥr
św śḏr ḫrj wᶜ nh3 šnwšᶜ

As for Horus, he was lying under a shenusha-tree.

(Horus and Seth, 50/8)

This is stative, and a present tense.

5.45

tw.tn dj ḥmśj.tj ḥr jrt jḫ m.rᶜ

Why are you sitting here again?

(Horus and Seth, 47/9)

This is stative and a present continuous tense.

"*dj*" - "here" and "*jm*" - "there" can convey different time indications when used here through the distinctive use of *jm* or *dj* (Groll 1969(b):187).

5.46

tw.k ᶜḥᶜ ... m.b3ḥ.śt
śt ḥmsj ḥr w3w3

You stand ... before them and they sit, deliberating.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 11/5,6)

Present tense, perhaps continuous.

5.47

św ḥtp jmnt
jw ḥᶜt.f wḏ3

He rests in the Amente (West)
his skin being whole.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/2)

This is probably present tense. *jw ḥᶜt.f* is a circumstantial First Present with a stative verb.

5.48

tw.n ᶜḥᶜ.wjn wᶜ.wjn m ḫnw p3 ḫrw

mkḫ.wjn p3 mšᶜ ṯn.ḥtr

We stand alone in the midst of battle, abandoned by soldiers and chariotry

(Horus and Seth, 67/13 - 68/2)

ᶜḥᶜ.wjn wᶜ.wjn and *mkḫ.wjn* are statives of first person, plural.

This refers to present tense.

Group IV: Verbs of spending time

5.49

mḏ3j.w śḏr n ḳdw

Medjai (foreign tribes whose members were employed as police) were stretched out asleep.

(Merneptah's Stele, 18/7,9)

This is a stative of *śḏr*. It seems that *śḏr* and *wrš* ("spend the day") are able to fill the second position of the First Present only when taking a stative form (and not a *ḥr* + infinitive). When taking a stative form, these verbs are descriptive of posture, rather than of spending time.

This refers to past tense, and the notion of "spending the day or night" is not permissible within the framework of the First Present.

Note too

5.50

jśt jr ḥr św śḏr ḫrj wᶜ nh3 šnwšᶜ

As for Horus, he was lying (not "spending the night") under a shenusha tree.

(Horus and Seth, 50/8)

Group V: Adjectival verbs

5.51

tw.k ḥwrw.tj — You are feeble.

(Horus and Seth, 40/10)

5.52

tw.k śwg.tj r A — You are more foolish than A

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/3)

5.53

tw.j jpt.jb m j3wt nb — I am experienced in every rank

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 39/6)

5.54

ḥ3tj.k śmn — Your heart is calm.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 39/17)

5.55

św rwḏ m ᶜwnt ḥr jnrn (אלון) *ᶜš* — It is overgrown with cypresses and oaks and cedars.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 31/3,4)

5.56

ḥᶜt.f g3ḥ
ḥrjt ᶜk.tj m hᶜt.f — Its limbs are weary, terror enters its limbs.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, G1/III/2)

The first sentence is First Present, with an adjectival verb in the stative.

The second has a verb of motion in the stative, indicating past tense.

The above examples have adjectival verbs in the stative indicating non-progressive present tense.

When *ḥr* + infinitive of an adjectival verb takes the second position of a First Present, it indicates an activity rather than a state.

5.57

tw.j ḥr ṯ3m.kwj — I was ready to fight like an eager bull.

r ᶜḥ3 mj k3 śpd

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 85/8)

"Ready" is an adjectival verb, but here we clearly have preposition *ḥr* + the stative!? This may be a scribal error for *ḥr* + infinitive, which would possibly indicate that the readiness was an activity rather than a state.

This is unusual, and may be a hybrid form occurring only in NDE.

Note that the next two examples show *m* + infinitive, with the verbs "to be anxious" and "to be joyful" respectively. They probably indicate present continuous tense, and possibly an activity rather than a state.

5.58

jb.f m ḫrt n śḏm.w — His heart is anxious to hear it

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, G1/I/2)

5.59

jb.j m ršwt — My heart is joyful that you will brighten the earth with your lustre.

śḥḏ.k t3 m jn.k

(Horus and Seth, 59/13,14)

Group VI: Verbs of Perception.

These do not take a stative form. They usually indicate present tense, and may denote either progressive or repeated action or ability or inability to perceive something.

5.60

mj.t tw.j ḥr m33.ø w3j.ø jm.j Behold, I see (you) far away from me

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Spell against Nightmares, 10/11,12)

(Groll 1985:81).

mj.t is a ME non-enclitic particle. This First Present pattern with a *ḥr* + infinitive of a verb of perception is a typically Ramesside formation.

m33.ø The pronominal suffix object (*t*) is expressed by a zero morpheme, a grammatical phenomenon which occurs in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

w3j.ø is a stative form with zero ending, expressed by a zero morpheme.

This therefore occurs only in NDE and in early LE.

5.61

ḥr jrj.j ḳnḳn.k m ḥt nbt

ḥr bn tw.k śḏm

But though I beat you with every kind of stick, you do not listen.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/10,11)

5.62

tw.k ptr p3j ḳ3mn

ntj ḥmśj r m p3 śb3j p3j.k jt p3j

You see the blind man who sits by the door; he is your father.

(Truth and Falsehood, 33/3,4)

5.63

ḫr ḫ3 n sp n p3j
jw.j m3ᶜ r.f rᶜ nb
ḫr jw bn św nw r.ḏd nb t3 pšḏt

A thousand times now, I have been in the right against him day after day, although he pays no attention to what the Ennead says.

(Horus and Seth, 55/15,16)

The last line is a negative First Present with a verb of perception. It is preceded by *ḫr jw*, making it a concessive clause (Function D of the *jw* converter of Frandsen) (1974).

Group VII: Non-conclusive verbs

(i.e. verbs denoting actions with can neither be initiated nor concluded voluntarily)

e.g. to love, to wish, to understand, to remember.

They may not take a stative form

5.64

ḫr jr p3 šw ḫr ḥtp ...

And when the sun set ...

(Two Brothers, 14/15)

(and see Non-literary texts Kanais Wadi Mia 65/10) (5.9).

Group VIII: Verbs denoting an emotional state

5.65

p3 wᶜw ḥḏn.w

The soldier suffers.

(Papyrus Lansing, 109/5)

Stative.

5.66

ptr.tw nb m ḥb ḫrj bw nfr

All who see you rejoice in good cheer.

(Papyrus Lansing, 115/2,3)

m + infinitive.

5.67

ḥ3śt nbt ḥr jśḏd r ḥ3t.f

All foreign lands tremble before him.

(Horus and Seth, 59/13)

Group IX: Verbs of speaking

e.g. *ḏd*. These may not take a stative form.

5.68

p3 mśḥ ḥr ḏd n p3 šrj

The crocodile said to the youth.

(Doomed Prince, 8/15)

5.69

śt ḥr śḏd m n3 nḫt jrj mr.n.ptḥ m tjḥnw

They relate the victories which Merneptah achieved over the Tjehenu.

(Stele of Merneptah, 18/1)

Examples of the verb *ḫpr* in First Present

(and see Non-literary texts)

5.70

p3 jrj nb ḥr ḫpr

All I did succeeded

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 44/8)

ḥr + infinitive.

5.71

ḫ3rw ḫpr.w m ḫ3rt n t3 mrj

Khor is become a widow for Egypt.

(Stele of Merneptah, 19/7)

Stative.

5.72

ḥr jr m.ḫt t3 ḥḏ
śn n hrw ḫpr.w ...

Now when it was dawn, and a second day had come ...

(Two Brothers, 10/9)

Stative.

Examples of the verb *rḫ* = to know

5.73

ḥr bn tw.tw rḫ wḏ^{c} n.n

But they don't know how to judge between us.

(Horus and Seth, 55/14,15)

5.74

bw ṯmw.j (for *rmw.j*) *n rmṯ*
ršw(.j) n p3j.śn ^{c}m3
r.ḏd tw.k rḫ.wj

I would not weep before people, but would rejoice at their understanding that you know me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C4/3,4,5)

Probably a stative, with a pronominal suffix *.wj*

When the state aspect (i.e. the stative) of a certain verb expresses a past tense, the action aspect (i.e. *ḥr* + infinitive) expresses either a non-progressive or a progressive present tense.

CONCLUSION

There are many fully-developed Late Egyptian First Present forms in the Nineteenth Dynasty (NDE), but also many examples of the earlier Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction from which the First Present evolved. The ME pseudoverbal construction developed into the LE (and NDE) First Present.

The first sentence in 5.29 is a Middle Egyptian *śḏm.n.f*, the second and third Late Egyptian First Presents, and the fourth a *śḏm.f*, demonstrating the interesting appearance in context of Nineteenth Dynasty expression, combining many, varied verbal forms.

There are examples in both literary and non-literary NDE texts with non-verbal sentences, with transitive verbs and with intransitive verbs. Among the intransitive verbs, one find examples of -

verbs of motion,

verbs of dying and of living,

verbs of posture,

verbs of spending time,

adjectival verbs,

verbs of perception,

non-conclusive verbs,

verbs denoting an emotional state,

I have attempted to show the different nuances of meaning when a stative or when a *ḥr* + infinitive is used, indicating respectively a state or an activity.

r + infinitive is unusual, but probably gives the sentence a future sense (e.g. 5.3), while a verb of motion with *m* + infinitive usually indicates the continuous

present tense (e.g. 5.5, 5.39, 5.58, 5.59, 5.66) and adjectival verbs + stative probably indicate a non-progressive present tense (e.g. 5.12).

ḫr jr + First Present refers to past time (e.g. 5.41).

Example 5.42 shows *ꜥnḫ*, which when filling the second position of the First Present is always in the stative, and never *ḫr* + infinitive and this is preceded by a Middle Egyptian negative purpose clause.

Example 5.43 has a First Present main clause followed by a Late Egyptian circumstantial First Present clause.

tw.j + *ḫr* + stative is found in an unusual example (5.57).

A non-conclusive verb may not take a stative form (5.64).

The verb *ḏd* may not take a stative form (5.68).

In conclusion pseudoverbal constructions occur in ME and in NDE while the First Present is found in NDE and in LE.

CHAPTER 6

MIDDLE EGYPTIAN *śḏm.n.f*

INTRODUCTION

This common form of the word is constructed as regards its pronominal or nominal subjects, as well as in its mode of expressing the passive, exactly like the *śḏm.f* form. From that form it differs only in the insertion of an inseparable element immediately after the verb stem.

In its origin the *śḏm.n.f* form appears to have resulted from the combination of a passive participle with a dative of possession or agential interest. Thus *pr.n.f* would mean 'gone out to him', *śḏm.n.f* 'heard to him'.

Since the *śḏm.n.f* form expresses essentially what occurs or happens to someone or by his agency, it was at the start no less indeterminate, as regards time position, than the *śḏm.f* form. With exceptions though, the *śḏm.n.f* form is restricted to past time.

It is thus employed of past time in affirmative sentences[1] (completed action, past, narrative tense), where it may have the meaning of the English past tense ('he heard'), of the English present perfect ('he has heard') or of the English past perfect (pluperfect) ('he had heard) the latter two uses are particularly common in (subordinate) clauses of time.

All types of the Middle Egyptian *śḏm.n.f* are still represented in both non-literary and literary Nineteenth Dynasty (NDE) texts.

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1 Preceded by the negative word *n* ('not'), *śḏm.n.f* corresponds to the positive *śḏm.f*, and must be translated mostly as present or an action over a more or less extended period. The common meaning is "he can not".

Besides the negative *n śḏm.n.f* and *nn śḏm.n.f* and even the unusual *bw* (or *bn*) *śḏm.n.f* and the *ᶜḥᶜ.n śḏm.n.f*, discussed respectively in Chapters 12 and 2, we have the following types of *śḏm.n.f* usage

These include:

(i) The past, completed action or narrative tense

(ii) The relative *śḏm.n.f*

(iii) The circumstantial *śḏm.n.f*

(iv) The emphatic *śḏm.n.f* and

(v) The synchronic present or perfomative *śḏm.n.f*

These do not occur in the later texts of the Twentieth Dynasty, i.e. LE.

I. Non-literary NDE Texts.

(i) Past, completed action or narrative tense.

6.1

šd.n.f ḫnmt m.b3ḥ.ś

nn sp jrt mjtt.ś

He dug a well, the like of which had never been done before ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/5)

6.2

mk jrj.n nṯr śprt.j

bśw.f n.j mw ḫr ḏw.w

God has granted my wish. He has made water come forth for me from the mountains.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/12)

Note - after a *śḏm.n.f*, the next verb is a *śḏm.f*

6.3

św3b.n.j śt.j ḥḥ.w n sp

ḫwj.n.j jmj.w.ś m wḥm

dj.n.j mrt

ntt śḫpr.n.j r śt.j

nn tš.j jm.sn

š3ᶜ.n.j jm ḏr nḫn.j nfrjjt . r ḥk3.j

I have purified my house millions of times, and I have privileged those who are in it again. I have set the serfs, whom I have produced, in my house. I will not separate from them. I began therein from my childhood until my rulership.

(Nauri Decree, 50/7)

Five *śḏm.n.f*'s. *śḫpr.n.j* is a relative form, but preceded too by the relative adjective *ntt.*

nn tš.j is *nn śḏm.f* indicating future time (negative)

6.4

ḥ3t.sp 6 3bd 3 šmw rᶜ 10

rᶜ pn spr jrj.n rmṯ.jšt nb.nfr s3 n3ḫj r t3 ḳnbt śḏmj

śmj.n.f m ᶜnḫ.njwt ḥrj3

Year 6, 3rd month of summer, day 10. This day, the workman Nebnufer, son of Nakhi approached the court of the jury and laid a charge against the citizeness, Heria.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 1,2)

śpr jrj.n A - lit. - "the arriving which the workman A did".

An infinitive (*śpr*) of a verb of motion, followed by a relative form (*śḏm.n.f*). Note - the relative form *śḏm.n.f* does not occur in the non-literary texts of the Twentieth Dynasty.

śmj.n.f is the ME narrative *śḏm.n.f* formation. This does not occur in the non-literary texts of the Twentieth Dynasty. (Groll 1973:68).

All these narrative *śḏm.n.f* forms occur in ME and NDE and not in LE.

(ii) Relative *śḏm.n.f*'s

Hieratic Ostracon Recto 1.

See last example

6.5

jśt grt nṯr ḥr śšm.f

r ᶜt spr mr.n.f

And god was guiding him so as to grant the request of one whom he loved.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/8,9)

6.6

wpw.ḥr wnn p3 k3r n jᶜw nbw jrj.n.j r t3 ḥwt mn.m3ᶜ.rᶜ ḫwj.w mḳ.w

In particular, the troop of gold washers, whom I have appointed for the House of Menmare shall be exempted and protected.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/12-14)

6.7

mjtj n p3 ᶜnw n ḥḏ

rdj.n wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 ḫt3s3rj jnj.tw r pr ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb

Copy of the tablet of silver, which the great prince of Hatti, Hattusili caused to be brought to Pharaoh, 1ph.

(Hittite Treaty, 226/9-10)

Just following this, we read

p3 ntᶜ jrr wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 ...

The customary agreement, which the great prince of Hatti made ...

(Hittite Treaty, 226/11)

Not a relative *śḏm.n.f* - rather a relative perhaps imperfective *śḏm.f*

All the relative *śḏm.n.f* forms occur in ME and in NDE, but not in LE.

(iii) Circumstantial *śḏm.n.f*

There are no examples of the circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* in the non-literary NDE texts, but I have used the notation (iii) here to correspond with the (iii) used in the literary NDE texts later.

(iv) Emphatic *śḏm.n.f*

6.8

ḫr śwt jrj.n ḥm.f tm dj ...
dj.w ḫr tp ḥt

It was for the sake of causing [him that molested them to be cast on the ground] and be put on the end of a stake that his majesty did not cause ...

(Nauri Decree, 57/14,15)

tm.n.f śḏm is indirectly attested by Nineteenth Dynasty epigraphic *jrj.n.f tm śḏm*, a pseudo-archaism for LE *j.jrj.f tm śḏm*. (Polotsky 1957:117).

6.9

jrj.n.j ᶜḥᶜ.j ḳn n.tn
r wḥ3 śnfr.j m.dj.tn

It is in action for you that I pass my lifetime, so as to seek my wellbeing from you.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/9,10)

6.10

śr.n.j wᶜw r śwḏ3.tn

It is from afar that I foretell so as to protect you.

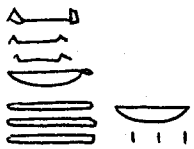
(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/7)

The emphatic *śḏm.n.f* forms are ME forms, which occur in NDE too, but not in LE.

(v) The synchronic present *śḏm.n.f* used with the first person in ritual texts

The performative (Austin 1980)

6.11

n.k 

dj.n(.j) *t3w nbw* *h3śt nbw*

I give to you all foreign lands.

(Hittite Treaty, 225/8)

The performative *dj.n.j* is a ME form, which occurs too in NDE, and not in LE.

(vi) Others

6.12

bw.n nṯr thj rmṯ.f

God abhors him who interferes with his people.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/12)

śḏm.n.f as a sort of ongoing present. A statement.

6.13

jw wḏ.n ḥm.f rdjt ḥn.tw ...

His Majesty has commanded that ordinance be made.

(Nauri Decree, 51/1)

A *jw śḏm.n.f* - ME & NDE. Not LE.

II Literary NDE texts

(i) Past narrative *śḏm.n.f*

6.14

3tp (sic) *3tp.n.k r mr.n.k*

You have piled up (words) as you wished

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 30/7)

6.15

jnj.n ḥm.f ḥr rdwj.f ḏs.f

His majesty carried them before his feet himself.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 14/10)

6.16

jrj.n n.f rᶜ ṯš.f

r ḏr w3t śwbn ḥḏ jtn

Re made for him his boundary, as far as the limits of that which Aten illuminates.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 17/15)

6.17

kd.n.f św m sm3 s3tw

He has built it on the border.

(Papyrus Lansing, 110/11,12)

6.18

ḏ3.n.f mšdt nt jrṯ

He crossed the ford of the Orontes.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 15/8)

6.19

gm.n.j p3 ḫ3ḫ3 500 n ᶜn ḥtr
wn.wj m ḫnw.sn
ḫpr m gbgbjt r ḥ3t śśmt.j

I found the mass (lit. 2 500) of chariots, in whose midst I was, scattering before my horses.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 45/8-14)

Note *śśmt.j* (not *n3j.j śśmt.*)

These forms are ME and NDE and not LE.

(ii) Relative *śḏm.n.f*s

6.20

m pr.t ḫr m3.n.k

Do not move, while you are still possessed by what you saw.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, 10/11)

(Groll 1985:81) - A spell against nightmares

m pr.t is a negative imperative containing the infinitive *pr.t.* The infinitive occurs after the negative element *m* only in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

It is therefore a literary LE construction. In ME, *m* precedes the negative complement.

ḫr "carrying", may be understood as "possessed by".

m3.n.k is a ME *śḏm.n.f* relative form. The neuter gender is not represented by the feminine ending *t*, as in ME, but by the zero morpheme which represents the masculine ending in Ramesside Egyptian.

6.21

sjn ḥr.s jm.w
ḏr rswt nbwt ḏwwt m33.n.f

The man's face should be rubbed with them (bread and fresh herbs, dipped in beer and myrrh), so that every bad dream which he dreamt should be driven away.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, 10.19, p. 85 The Chemical prescription)

sjn ḥr.s jm.w is an initial prospective passive *śḏm.f* formation

ḏr rswt is a non-initial prospective passive *śḏm.f* formation

m33.n.f is a ME *śḏm.n.f* relative form.

6.22

ḏd jrj.n ḏḥwtj n nb r.ḏr

Thoth spoke to the All-Lord

(lit. the saying, which Thoth made.)

(Horus and Seth, 56/7)

6.23

wrw ḫ3swt ḫm n ḳmt
jnj.n ḫm.f m śk ᶜnḫ

Chiefs of the countries, that knew not Egypt, whom his majesty brought as living captives.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 19/6)

6.24

ḥᶜt m śb3jt šᶜt
jrj.n sš nswt

Beginning of the instruction in letter writing, which the royal scribe made.

(Papyrus Lansing, 99/18)

6.25

bwpw nb jrt n mšᶜ.f
n3 jrj.n ḥm.j n jb.tn

No lord has done for his soldiers what my majesty did for your sakes.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 58/14)

Preceding the ME relative *śḏm.n.f* is a LE negative perfect of *śḏm.f* i.e. *bwpw.f śḏm*.

6.26

bw thj.j śḫr wḏ.n.k

I have not neglected an order which you gave.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 35/4)

All the above relative *śḏm.n.f* forms are ME and NDE and not LE.

(iii) Circumstantial *śḏm.n.f*'s

6.27

bw m33 śnt.j
ᶜḳᶜḳ.n.j ḫ3j.t jm.j

I cannot visit (lit. "see") my sister, since an illness got hold of me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C4/6,7)

This is the ME circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* formation.

The circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* is a ME and NDE formation - not LE.

Compare this with

6.28

mk jb.j ḥḏn śḫ3.tw.f
jtj.j mrwt.f

Look, my heart is in a turmoil when recalling him, since my love for him got hold of me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, Verso C2/1)

This is a circumstantial *śḏm.f* of ME (or of literary LE) indicating the relative past tense. The activity expressed by *jtj.j mrwt.f* takes place before that expressed by *mk jb.j ḥḏn śḫ3.tw.f*

The only verbal formation in the LE non-literary system which is capable of expressing the relative past tense, when acting as a circumstantial subordinate clause is the perfect active *śḏm.f* preceded by the converter *jw* (De Buck 1937:152, Groll 1969(b):184). It seems that since the *n* of the ME circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* was dropped from pronounciation in LE, it took the outward form of a *śḏm.f* formation; however the circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* occurs occasionally even in the Twentieth Dynasty.

6.29

bn n.f śrf ḥr w3t
śpr.n.f r pr n śnt
jrj jb.f ṯḥḥ

There is no breathing space for him on the road; and when he reaches his sister's house, his heart jubilates.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, GI(I/4))

6.30

jr m33.s sw m rswt
dr.n.f n nṯr rmj.f

If a man sees himself in a dream after he has driven a god to tears ...

(Papyrus CB III, 7/12 recto)

(Groll 1985:80 - Example 23)

The above two circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* examples are found in ME and NDE and not in LE.

(iv) Emphatic *śḏm.n.f*'s

These are found in an initial syntactic position.

6.31

sw3.n.j m h3w n pr.f

I passed by the neighbourhood of his house.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C3/10)

Groll 1975/6:244 (example 12) assumes that this is an emphatic *śḏm.n.f* formation because it fills an initial syntactic position. The narrative and the circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* cannot fill initial syntactic positions.

Groll writes (1975/6:239) that the emphatic *šm.n.f* was still a living form in the literary system of the Nineteenth Dynasty and that this is easily proved in the combination of *js bn šm.n.f* in the Kadesh inscription.

See the next example.

6.32

jś bn šm.n.j ᶜḥᶜ.n.j ḥr r.k
bw thj.j śḫr wḏ.n.k

Was it not by your word that I walked and halted? I did not disobey any order that you commanded.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 35/4)

The *bw śtp.f* formation indicates past tense, and is parallel to the emphatic *šm.n.j* and *ᶜḥᶜ.n.j*

6.33

pḥ.n.j n3j ḥr śḫr n r..k
jmn bw śnj.j p3j.k śḫr

At the command of your mouth, I came here. O Amun, I have not transgressed your command.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 42/9)

This is the same formation as the last example.

(Ophel 1985:148)

6.34

ḥḏn.n.f mt ḥr ᶜnḫ — It is in death as in life that he suffers.

(Papyrus Lansing, 109/7)

6.35

śwśḫ.n.f tšw ḳmt
· pt ḥr w3t nb — It is as far as the heavens on every side that he has extended the boundaries of Egypt.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 6/16 - 7/1)

The emphatic *śḏm.n.f* formations occur in ME and NDE and not in LE.

(v) **The performative** *śḏm.n.f* (Austin 1955)

6.36

dj.n(.j) n.k t3w ẖr
nḏ.k
nksw n hmhmt.k — I place for you the lands under your fear, bowing down in terror of you.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 15/4)

6.37

ndw dj.n(.j) n.k ḳn nb nḫt nb — Utterance: "I give to you all might and all victory."

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 20/4)

n ritual scenes originating as far back as the Third Dynasty, the caption uttered by ı god suggested a special use of *śḏm.n.f* as a synchronous present. (Vernus

1985:307). This still occurs later, sometimes modernised to fit in its diachronic successor, "perfective" *śḏm.f*.

But it is more than just a synchronous present.

"The representation may agree with the caption, but so doing it works like a redundant symbol. In the same way, to say "I swear" is sufficient in itself to perform the act of swearing; but one may reinforce it by raising the right hand. The creative power of words is a well-established concept in pharaonic Egypt. Now if a statement like *dj.n.j n.k*, being free from describing any act, constitutes in itself the act it states, it enters into a special category called "performative statements" (Austin 1962).

A performative statement must be carefully distinguished from "synchronous present". For instance, "I open the door" is a statement which describes an act performed at the same time; this may be called "synchronous present". But when in a meeting the chairman says "I open the meeting", the statement does not state any other act than itself, the act of saying "I open the meeting". This is a performative statement and expressed in Egyptian as *dj.n.j*. Of course it must be in a direct speech, and he who utters it must be invested, when uttering it, with the right of making an act through a mere statement. "I open the meeting" is performative because when the chairman says it, the situation is such that his speech is felt as an act. Since gods are invested with the power of creating through words, this kind of requirement is fulfilled".

This is similar to the Biblical Hebrew in Genesis נתתי לכם "hereby I give you" and I Kings 3:12

הנה נתתי לך לב חכם and to Arabic

bi'tuka haḏā "hereby I sell you this".

There is not any time indication conveyed by the verbal form itself, such an indication resulting from the situation.

Outside performative statements, there exist also akin uses of "accompli" in the Koran:

ínna Allaha kāna 'alīman

"Indeed Allah is omniscient"

Here the "accompli" *kāna* cannot carry any time value; it would be a terrible heresy to translate "Allah has been or was omniscient".

Later there was a diachronic change from *śḏm.n.f* to subject + *ḥr* + infinitive (i.e. a Present Tense) in expressing performative statements, perhaps because a mostly aspect-oriented system in Old and Middle Egyptian shifted to a mostly time-oriented system in LE.

Vernus (1978:139 and 1985:380) speaks of "Egyptien de tradition" - a language going back to the Middle Kingdom. "They remembered" and were still using during a very long time Old or Middle Egyptian, but only in formal texts.

Polotsky (in Discussion to Vernus 1985:380) feels that the is definitely non-emphatic, as the emphatic form is *rdj.n.j*, and he speculates on the differences between *dj.(n).j*, *jw dj(n).j* and between *jw śḏm.f* and *jw.f śḏm.f*.

The dedication formula was translated by Greek translators either by δίδωμι or δεδωρημαι depending on whether they felt *dj. n.j* was a tense or an aspect. The performative statement was conveyed by a present tense in Greek.

(vi) Miscellaneous or unusual forms of *śḏm.n.f*

6.38

ḥwj ḥ^{c}pj nwjt ...
jtj.n.f j3dt.

The Nile spreads abroad its flood ...
It takes possession of the meadows.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 14/3,4,5)

A *śḏm.n.f* follows a *śḏm.f* of the simple present, and continues what seems to be a statement in the present tense.

Likewise in

6.39

jtj.n.f śpjt
św 3ḳ m n3 ntj bjn

He takes what remains and he joins the ranks of the wicked.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 32/4,5)

This time *śḏm.n.f* is followed by a First Present. In fact this continues with a further First Present and then with a *śḏm.f*.

6.40

jrj.n śmn jb.k r mnw ᶜ3 ...

Your heart is denser than a great obelisk.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/3)

6.41

wḏ t3 św prj r śb3
bw gm.n.f św ḥr śt.f
jrj.f ḥrw 3 n wḫ3.f
gm.n.f św m t3 ᶜmᶜm
bw gm.n.f dḥr.w jm.śn
wšᶜ.sn n3 wnš.w.

Come dawn, he goes to make a start and does not find it in its place. He spends three days searching for it; he finds it in the bag. He finds no hides on them - the jackals have chewed them.

(Papyrus Lansing, 105/3)

św prj is a First Present, then follows a *bw śḏm.n.f* - perhaps this corresponds to ME *n śḏm.n.f*, which denies the occurrence of an action over a more or less extended period. It is mostly present, less often past, commonly meaning "he cannot" (and *bw gm.n.f* is the same). Then a *śḏm.f* and a *śḏm.n.f*.

6.42

ntk ḥn.n.k ḥnkt krḥt
mḥ ᶜᶜb

You are the one who offers/provides the beer-jug and fills the bowl.

(Papyrus Lansing, 115/5)

A *jn* construction - a participial statement.

Why *ḥn.n.k* compared to *mḥ*?

6.43

šśmt ᶜ3 tpj n ḥm.f

jmn ḥr wḏ n.f p3 knt

ḏd.tw.n.f ᶜntjt ḥr.tj

Great first span (of horses) of his majesty "Amun - assigns - to - him - the victory" also called "Anath - is - satisfied"

(The Northern Wars of Sethos I, 7/14)

jmn ḥr wḏ n.f is a First Present with *ḥr* + infinitive and *ᶜntjt ḥr.tj* is a First Present with a stative.

ḏd.tw.n.f is a passive *śḏm.n.f*

6.44

phtj ḥm.f mḳ.n.s mšᶜ.f

His majesty's strength - it had protected his army.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 99/7)

A noun + *śḏm.n.f*

This is unusual (see Doret 1980:37, who discusses mainly NOUN + *śḏm.f* rather than *śḏm.n.f*)

All the above unusual *śḏm.n.f* forms are ME and NDE formations, and they do not occur in LE.

Conclusion

ME *śḏm.n.f* forms are still found in NDE, but not in LE.

The past completed action or narrative tense *śḏm.n.f* became *śḏm.f* of the past or the *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the continuative past in Late Egyptian.

The relative or circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* became *śḏm.f* or *jw śḏm.f* in Late Egyptian.

The emphatic *śḏm.n.f* became *j.jrj.f śḏm* in Late Egyptian.

The synchronic *śḏm.n.f* (or rather *śḏm.n.j*) became the First Present in Late Egyptian.

NDE has therefore both the ME *śḏm.n.f* forms **and** the forms which later developed in LE. (See Chapter 7).

CHAPTER 7

THE *śḏm.f*

INTRODUCTION

The *śḏm.f* form is by far the most important verb form in the Egyptian language. This is the form or tense of the verb in which the subject, sometimes a noun and sometimes a suffix pronoun is added directly to the signs expressing the verbal notion, e.g.

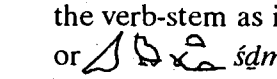
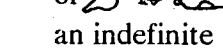
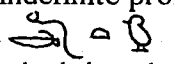
śḏm.f 'he hears'

śḏm sš 'the scribe hears'.

In describing the various parts of the Egyptian verb, it is usual to take the verb *śḏm* 'hear' as a paradigm or model, and since, following the example of Semitic grammar precedence over the first person singular is given to the third person singular, the verb form to which reference has just been made is known as the *śḏm.f* form.

The *śḏm.f* form appears to have originated in a passive participle followed by a genitival suffix pronoun; an original 'heard of him' came to mean 'he hears' or 'he heard'.

To create the passive of the *śḏm.f* form, an element

.tw sometimes more briefly written *.t(w)*, is inserted immediately after the verb-stem as in  *śḏm.tw r pn* 'this utterance is heard', or  *śḏm.tw.f* it (i.e. this utterance) is heard'. The element *.tw* is really an indefinite pronoun, like our 'one', and is sometimes still so used independently, e.g.  *ḏd.tw* 'one says', 'it is said'; from this use *śḏm.tw.f* 'he is heard' was doubtless derived on the analogy of the active *śḏm.f*.

This common form is used in both Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian.

In this chapter detailed examples of the use of *śḏm.f* are discussed in Middle Egyptian, in literary and in non-literary Late Egyptian, NDE (by which time there were definite differences) and even the later Coptic derived forms are discussed. So this chapter includes, in addition to synchronic methods a diachronic comparative study too.

śtp.f is frequently used (rather than *śḏm.f*) in this chapter, as much of the work is based on that of Groll (1975), who uses *śtp.f*.

In ME, there were four forms of *śḏm.f* or *śtp.f* (Doret 1980:37).

1. The indicative form

The indicative form (perfect active in narrative or imperfect), sometimes occurring after the negation *n*, and rarely as a "bare initial form".

2. The circumstantial form

When it appears in clauses of time and circumstance, it indicates a concomitant circumstance. It is also used after the conditional particle *jr* "when", and in compound verbs after the auxiliaries *jw* and *ᶜḥᶜ.n*.

3. The prospective form

The prospective form is used in main clauses as an optative, in dependent clauses as a final form and as the object of certain verbs and prepositions. It also appears after the negation *nn*.

4. The emphatic form

The emphatic form is used in cleft-sentences stressing an adverbial adjunct.

Groll (1975/6:237), notes that LE literary texts tend to preserve archaic forms no longer used in the spoken language, while non-literary texts are closer to the spoken language, i.e. literary texts still contain genuine ME verbal formations which do not behave syntactically as non-literary LE verbal formations. Thus, in order to understand these verbal formations one must use ME texts and grammars, i.e. one must use diachronic comparative methods.

One must use synchronic comparative methods too, i.e. comparison of the verbal system of the literary texts with that of the non-literary texts in the same dynasty.

Groll (1975/6:237), gives some interesting examples, e.g.:

1. The *śtp.f* of the relative past in literary LE, which was the successor of ME *śtp.n.f* co-existed with the *śtp.n.f* as well as the *jw śtp.f* (i.e. the converter *jw* before the perfect active *stp.f*, indicating the pluperfect).

   Only the latter (*jw śtp.f*) occurs with this function in non-literary LE , and this is the ancestor of Coptic ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ.

2. The *śtp.f* of the Simple Present in literary LE, which was the successor of ME *jw śtp.f* co-existed with *ḫr śtp.f* and with *tw.j (ḫr) śtp.f ... rᶜ nb* (i.e. the LE First Present).

   Only the latter occurs in non-literary LE.

   And the Coptic ⲛⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ is a successor of the literary verbal formation *ḫr śtp.f*. This is unusual. Usually Coptic forms are successors of non-literary verbal forms.

3. The literary LE *bw śtp.f* of the Simple Present which was the successor of ME *n śtp.n.f* co-existed with a geminated *bw dd.f* and with *bw jrj.f śtp.f*.

   Only the latter - *bw jrj.f śtp.f* occurs in non-literary LE.

4. The literary LE *bw śtp.f* of the past co-existed with *bwpw.f śtp.f*. The latter was the only form found in non-literary LE.

5. Alongside with the emphatic *j.jrj.f śtp(.f)* formation - the only form found in the non-literary system - there still exists in the literary texts both an emphatic *prj.n.f* or *prj.f* formation of the past and an emphatic ungeminated *prj.f* form of the present tenses.

   In ME *šm.n.f* was the emphatic form, and in Coptic. ⲛⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ. evolved from the non-literary LE *j.jrj.f śtp.f*.

It would appear that the Demotic and Coptic are the successors of the non-literary language, whereas the Ptolemaic and Roman hieroglyphic inscriptions are the successors of the literary texts. (Groll 1975/6:245). The non-literary language is the nearest alternative to the spoken language. On the other hand, the literary language is the language of an esoteric group, the scribes and is an acquired or second language, based on the writings of the past. It is the more artificial, sophisticated and very often shows some inventive professionalism.

The non-literary system is an analytical system rather than the earlier synthetic system. Verbal formations in the non-literary system are built by auxiliary

elements. Every verbal formation in the non literary system has either its marked morpheme or its marked mode of negation. On the whole it is much easier to single out LE non-literary verbal formations than those of ME.

However, when one tries to classify verbal formations in the literary system, he finds that there are too many homographs, i.e. many extant verbal formations are completely unmarked, and one must depend on the context to single them out. Dependence on context is unavoidable when dealing with any stage of Egyptian grammar. One has to bear in mind that the 'first' grammatical classification of Egyptian was based on intuitive translations.

The synthetic verbal formations are entirely unmarked although prevailing, in comparison with the non-literary texts, e.g. a set of *śtp.f* forms which look outwardly alike, but differ syntactically.

In non-literary LE texts, for example, the synthetic verbal formations are in decline and the analytical ones prevail; e.g. of the *śtp.f* forms only three remain in the non-literary system and two of these are very limited in usage, being almost dictionary data.

These are:

1. The perfect active *śtp.f*, the predecessor of Coptic ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ .
2. The initial prospective *śtp.f*, the predecessor of ⲧⲁ in ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄.

and

3. The non-initial prospective *śtp.f*, the predecessor of ⲡⲉ in ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ .

In contradistinction to the above (non-literary texts), there exist too in the literary system the following unmarked *śtp.f* forms

a. The circumstantial pluperfect *śtp.f*
b. The *śtp.f* of the Simple Present
c. The *bw śtp.f* of the Simple Present
d. The *bw śtp.f* of the past
e. The emphatic *śtp.f*.

The non-literary system avoids redundancies of verbal formations, i.e. it is an economical system, a typical feature of a living language.

The literary system seems to accumulate redundancies of verbal formations, a stylistic mean. For purposes of poetical synonymous parallelism and for the avoidance of repetition, accumulative redundancies are ideal.

The literary system sometimes possessed three verbal formations filling the same function, whereas the non-literary (and Coptic) systems possess only one, e.g. the relative past (in non-literary - *jw śtp.f*); the First Present (in non-literary - *tw.j ḥr śtp*); negation of the Simple Present (in non-literary *bw jrj.f śḏm*); and the emphatic (in non-literary Egyptian *j.jrj.f śtp.f*).

Here follow examples - from the texts I studied - of the various types of *śḏm.f* or *śtp.f*, their predecessors in the earlier ME, their co-existent forms in literary LE, and their successors in non-literary LE.

I. Perfect active *śtp.f* in NDE texts

Perfect active *śtp.f* in non-literary (or literary) LE.

(The negative counterpart of this is *bwpw.f śtp(.f)*).

A. The predecessor is ME *jw śtp.n.f*, e.g. in non-literary NDE texts

7.1

jw wḏ.n ḥm.f rdjt ḥn.tw

His majesty has commanded that ordinance be made.

(Nauri Decree, 51/1)

This occurs in ME and NDE and not in LE.

B. LE Perfect active *śtp.f*

(i) Perfect active *śtp.f* in non-literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.2

mḥ.j jm.f — I grasped hold of it.

(Hittite Treaty, 228/2)

7.3

jr jnk tjmś.j w^{c} *ḫ3 jnk* — As for me, I buried a chisel of mine.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 2,3)

In this ostracon, genuine LE formations occur basically in the framework of the actual trial investigation and not in the framework of the technical procedure of the trial.

Not in ME, rather in NDE and LE.

(ii) Example of LE perfect active *śtp.f* in literary NDE texts.

7.4

gm.(w)j wpt.k

jw.j śnḏm.k(wj) r m p3 śśmt ntj m drt.j.

Your messenger found me as I was sitting beside the horse which is in my charge.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 10/2)

Very rarely in ME. Occurs in NDE and LE.

and

Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh 36/2-12 see later.

II. Initial prospective *śtp.f*

Initial prospective *śtp.f*, an LE non-literary (and literary) form persisting from the ME synthetic form.

(i) In non-literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.5

jrj.sn wšb ḥr ḫt.w — They shall answer for the sake of their property.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/4)

7.6

dj.śn mn jrt.j rd — May they make my deeds endure (flourish).

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/1)

(ii) Initial prospective *śtp.f* in literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.7

mjt jrj.n wnwt śḏr.n — Come, we will take our pleasure and sleep.

(Two Brothers, 14/4,5)

These occur in ME, NDE and LE.

An interesting example, confined to Papyrus Anastasi I

7.8

tm.k ḏd ḫnš.k(wj) rn n k3wj

Do not say that I have made (your) name stink before others

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 40/5,6)

7.9

bn nfrt

tm.k djt jnj.tw.ś

It is not good. Do not cause it to be brought.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 13/3-5)

tm.k in these examples may be the prospective *śḏm.f* form optatively used, perhaps confined to Anastasi I. (Gardiner 1964:11, footnote 4).

These therefore, occur only in NDE (unique forms), and not in ME or LE.

III. The non-initial prospective *śtp.f*

(i) The non-initial prospective *śtp.f* persists from the ME form, e.g. in non-literary NDE texts.

7.10

... r tm djt ḫpr ḫrwj r.jwd.śn r nḥḥ

... in order not to cause hostility to occur between them for ever.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/6)

ḫpr is a non-initial prospective *śḏm.f*

(ii) In literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.11

dj.f kn wrw nw ḫ3rw ᶜb nb n rᶜ.sn.

He causes the chiefs of Kharu to cease every contradiction of their mouths.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 7/12)

kn is a non-initial prospective *śḏm.f.*

These occur in ME, NDE and LE.

7.12

Do not move, while you are still possessed by what you saw,

tm sḫw.k ḫt rswt.k

... so that the blockage from your dream may pass.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, 10/12)

(Groll 1985:81, 83).

This occurs in ME and in NDE and not in LE.

The LE way of expressing this (a negative purpose clause), would be *r tm djt śḏm*, and this occurs in LE and in NDE (e.g. Nauri Decree 54/11 - 55/1 (12.11.1)).

tm śḫw.k is the non-initial prospective *śtp.f* used as a clause of purpose (as in Hittite Treaty 227/6 above).

I use the tables which Sarah Groll compiled (1975/6:241), as a guide to the development of the *śḏm.f* (or *śtp.f*) forms from ME through literary and non-literary LE and Coptic. I use this to show examples in the NDE language in these texts, showing that both ME and (literary and non-literary) LE forms are found in almost all instances in these NDE texts.

Following Table A (iv)

A. refers to examples in NDE of the *śtp.n.f* of the relative past found in ME

B. refers to the examples in NDE of *śtp.f* form found in literary LE, and

C. refers to the examples in NDE of *jw śtp.f* known in non-literary LE.

Following Groll's Table B (v)

A. refers to the examples in NDE of the *jw śtp.f* of the simple present of ME

B. refers to the examples in these NDE texts of the *śtp.f* of the simple present found in literary LE

C. refers to an example in NDE of the *ḫr śtp.f* found in literary LE, and having the same meaning as the *śtp.f* of the simple present (see B above), and

D. refers to examples in NDE in the First Present of LE which evolved from *jw śtp.f* of the ME simple present.

Following Groll's Table C (vi)

A. shows examples in the NDE texts of *bw* (for *n*) *śtp.n.f* of ME, which was the precursor of *bw śtp.f* and *bw jrj.f śtp.f* of LE, while

B. and

C. show examples in NDE respectively of the above mentioned *bw śtp.f* and *bw jrj.f śtp.f* of LE.

Following Groll's Table D (vii)

A. shows an example in NDE of the *n śtp.f* of the past, the ME predecessor of the *bw śtp.f* and *bwpw.f śtp.f* found in LE, while

B. and

C. show examples in NDE of *bw śtp.f* of the past and *bwpw.f śtp.f* found in LE.

Following Groll's Table E (viii)

A. shows examples in NDE of the *šm.n.f* ME emphatic, the precursor of the LE emphatics

B. shows examples in NDE of the LE *šm.f* or *mrr.f* emphatic forms, while

C. shows an example in NDE of the fully evolved *j.jrj.f śḏm* of LE.

This then shows clearly both the evolution of these early ME forms and later LE successor forms, and the appearance of all of them in the NDE text.

This is Groll's (1975/6) Table A on page 241:

IV. Table A: the *śtp.f* of the relative past

	ME	Literary LE	Non-literary LE	Coptic
1.	*śtp.n.f*	*śtp.n.f*	x	x
2,	x	*śtp.f*	x	x
3.	x	*jw śtp.f*	*jw śtp.f*	Ɛaycωτm̄

A. No examples of the ME *śtp.n.f* of this type were found in the non-literary texts I studied. In the literary texts, an example is:

7.13

bw m33.j śnt
ᶜḳᶜḳ.n ḫ3jt jm.j

I cannot visit (see) (my) sister, since an illness got hold of me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C4/6-7)

The *ᶜkᶜkn ḫ3jt* is the ME circumstantial *śtp.n.f* formation.

B. It seems (Groll 1975/6:240) that since the *n* of the ME circumstantial *śtp.n.f* was dropped from pronounciation in the LE times, it took the outward form of a *śtp.f* formation, e.g.

7.14

mk jb.j ḥḏn śḫ3.tw.f
jṯj.wj mrwt.f

Look, my heart is in a turmoil when recalling him, since my love for him got hold of me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, Verso C2/1)

Note that the activity expressed by *jtj mrwt.f* takes place before that expressed by *mk jb.j (ḥr) śḫ3.tw.f*

So both *śtp.f* and *śtp.n.f* - circumstantial, expressing the pluperfect - occur in the same text.

These (circumstantial *śtp.n.f* and *śtp.f*) are found in ME and in NDE.

C. These correspond to the later LE non-literary circumstantial First Present, i.e. *jw śtp.f.*

An example of the latter in NDE non-literary texts -

7.15

jw.ś ḥr jnj p3 ḫ3	And she brought the chisel, (together with a *wšb*), which she had buried ...
....	
jw tjmś.śt ...	after she had stolen ...
jw jt3j.ś ...	although she had taken a great oath.
ḥr jw jrj.ś ᶜnḫ ᶜ3	

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 13-17)

An interesting example, showing four different uses of the *jw* in NDE

jw.ś ḥr jnj is a *jw.f ḥr śḏm(.f)* of the LE continuative past.

The other three are converter *jw*'s of LE.

jw tjmś.śt - which she had buried is a LE *jw* + *śḏm.f* of the past - Function B of Frandsen, indicating a virtual relative clause. This indicates absolute past time and not relative past time.

This follows an indefinite noun *wᶜ wšb* = a *wšb.*

This occurs in LE and in NDE, not in ME.

jw jṯ3j.ś - after she had stolen.

This is *jw* + perfect active *śtp.f*, indicating pluperfect (de Buck's law - de Buck 1937:152). This one is the relevant example. (Function A of Frandsen (1974).)

This too occurs in LE and in NDE and not in ME.

ḫr jw + perfect active *śtp.f* expresses the notion of "although" in LE (Frandsen (1974) Function D).

An example of the circumstantial First Present referring to the relative present is -

7.16

ptr.j ḥrj3 jw.ś ḫr jṯ3 p3j.k ḏ3

I saw Heria, while she was stealing your chisel.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 5,6)

j . n.śt - So she said (this refers to preceding direct speech).

An example of the circumstantial First Present, in literary texts indicating pluperfect -

7.17

kmj.tw.k

jw ḏd.k mtr

You are recognised having borne witness (against yourself?)

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 36/15)

These two examples are LE and NDE, and not ME.

An example, perhaps the only example, in which *jw śtp.f* is not pluperfect, but refers to the relative present (Groll 1969(b):184)

7.18

jw.f ḥr ḫd m.s3 jb.f ḥr ḥ3śt
jw ᶜnḫ.f m tpj n j3wt nb n ḥ3st

He went northward across the desert, following his heart, while he lived upon the best of all the desert game.

(Doomed Prince, 3/2,3)

This morphological formation may be ME, NDE and LE, but as for expressing the relative present, it may be unique to NDE. In fact this may be the only example.

V. The following is Groll's Table B on page 242:

***śtp.f of the Simple* Present**

	ME	Literary LE	Non-literary LE	Coptic
1.	*jw śtp.f*	x	x	x
2.	x	*śtp.f*	x	x
3.	x	*ḥr śtp.f*	x	ϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
4.	x	*tw.j (ḥr) śtp.f ... rᶜ nb*	*tw.j (ḥr) śtp.f ... rᶜ nb.*	x

A. There are no examples of the ME *jw śtp.f* of the Simple Present in the non-literary NDE works.

Examples in NDE literary texts.

7.19

jw jrj.ś ḫpr.ś m wᶜ šrj nfrt r. ḥr.j

She has changed herself into a beautiful girl before me.

(Horus and Seth, 46/1)

7.20

jw nhsj.tw.f jw wn wᶜ n wnwt.

He is awakened at any hour.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/4)

7.21

jw ḫm.f ḏt.f

He does not know what he is about.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/14,15)

These *jw.f śtp.f*s of the simple present are ME and NDE, not LE.

B. Literary LE *śtp.f* of the Simple Present.

(i) An example in the non-literary NDE texts

7.22

3ḫ j3dwt n mnjw

Pasture lands profit the herdsman.

(Lichtheim 1976:56, footnote 7.)

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/13)

(ii) And in the literary NDE texts

7.23

wpj jmn p3 t3 ḏb^{c}.f

mdw.f n ḥ3tj

wpj.f p3 ^{c}ḏ3w

dj.f św. r ḫ^{c} nb p3 m3^{c}wt r jmnt

Amun judges the land with his fingers. He speaks to the heart, He judges the guilty, He assigns him to the East, the righteous to the West (the judgment of the dead is meant).

These *śtp.f*'s of the simple present are found in NDE and LE, not in ME.

Note that the negative sentences preceding these are clearly negative LE First Present forms

bn św šsp ḥr fk3.w n ^{c}ḏ3w

bn św ḥr ḏd n jnj.mtr

bn św ḥr nw r š3^{c} r^{c}

He does not take bribes from the guilty, he does not speak to the witness, he does not look at him who promises.

(Prayers as School Texts, 2/14-16)

These forms are LE and found too in NDE, but not in ME.

C. *ḥr śtp.f*

An example is Papyrus Anastasi I 19/7,9.

7.24

jr ptr.k sw m rwh3 n p3 ḳḳw

ḥr ḏd.k 3pd r.f

If you were to see him at evening in the darkness, you would fancy (him as) a (passing) bird.

This is a rare *ḥr stp.f* which occurs only in literary LE and NDE, not in ME or non-literary LE.

D.

(i) The First Present occurs in non-literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.25

jśt grt nṯr ḥr śšm.f And god was guiding him.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/8,9)

(ii) And in literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.26

tw.k ḥr šm ḥr ᶜr You depart and flee (repeatedly).

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 42/6)

These First Present forms occur in LE and NDE and not in ME.

Below is Groll's Table C on page 243:

(VI) The *bw śtp.f* of the Simple Present

	ME	Literary LE	Non-literary LE	Coptic
1.	*n śtp.n.f*	x	x	x
2.	x	*bw śtp.f*	x	x
3.	x	*bw dd.f*	x	x
4.	x	*bw jrj.f śtp.f*	*bw jrj.f stp.f*	ⲙⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄

A. *n śtp.n.f* is not found in the non-literary NDE texts I studied. However, *bw* in LE may be equivalent to *n* in ME, and I refer to Davis (1973). Her sentence type 19 is *bw śḏm.n.f jm*. This has a generalising function,

and is normally negated in ME by *n*. Therefore Hittite Treaty 227/14 may be an example of this

(i)

7.27

jw bw ḫpr.n ḫrwj r.jwd.sn r.nḥḥ — And hostility will never occur between them forever.

"The tense of the verbal form is future, although *bw śḏm.n.f* (archaistic form of LE *bw śḏm.f / bw j.jrj.f śḏm*) and ME *n śḏm.n.f* is properly - speaking timeless" (Spalinger 1981:319).

This form appears to derive from ME, but is a unique (or hybrid form) of NDE and does not occur in LE.

(ii) In the literary texts, we find -

7.28

bw ḫm.n.f dw3w p3 th3 tš.f — He knows no tomorrow, who attacks his border!

(Stele of Merneptah, 15/14 - 16/1)

This is perhaps ME (*bw* for *n*), which has now become a hybrid NDE form. *bw + ḫm* (to be ignorant of) is unusual. It does not occur in LE.

and

7.29

n ḏ^{c}r.n.f ḥḥ m h3śt — He heeds not the foreign multitude.

followed by *śḏm.f* either of the perfect or Simple Present

ptr.f śt mj ḏḥ3 — He regards them as chaff.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 120/14)

The *n dᶜr.n.f* is ME or NDE, not LE.

B.

(i) *bw śtp.f* of the Simple Present in non-literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.30

bw mn sp n grg — A liar's deed does not endure.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/6)

7.31

bw dj p3 nṯr ḫpr ḫrwj r.jwḏ.sn m ntᶜ — The god does not permit hostility to occur between them by means of the customary agreement.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/2,3)

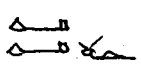
bw śḏm.f as discussed above is equivalent to ME *n śḏm.n.f*, and is timeless, and therefore conveys the concept "never permits" (Polotsky 1976:1). (Example 27/9 and 45/6).

(ii) Examples in literary NDE texts

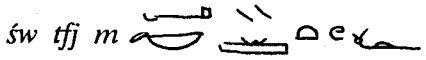
7.32

(t) jfd sw jb.j 3ś — Leaping is my heart

ḏr śḫ3.j mrt.k — When I recall my love for you.

bw ḏd.f  *šm mj rmṯ* — It does not let me walk like a human being.

It jumps out of its place.

św tfj m 

bw dd.f ṯ3j.j mśś — It does not let me put on my garment.

bw wnḥ p3j.j bhn — I cannot use my fan properly.

bw dd śḏm r jrt.j — I cannot put paint to my eye

bw wrḥ.j m.kf3 — I cannot anoint myself at all.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songsVerso C2/9-10 and C3/1-2)

Thus the *bw śtp.f* formation when expressing the Simple Present tense takes a specific form when composed of the verb *dj*, i.e. the geminated form *dd.f*. Thus we are dealing here with a form which is different from the *bw śtp.f* of the past (Groll 1975/6:242).

7.33

b(w) w3ḥ.f jwᶜw jm.sn — He leaves not a limb among them.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 9/8)

7.34

bw nḏ.k ḫrt . wj m ḥ3t n šᶜt.k — You do not salute/greet me at the beginning of your letter.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 14/7,8)

All the above five examples (*bw śḏm.f*) are found in NDE and LE and not in ME. In fact, they are rare, in LE too (esp. non-literary LE) in which *bw jrj.f śḏm* is preferred.

C.

(i) An example of *bw jrj.f śtp(.f)* in the NDE non-literary works.

7.35

jw bw jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3

th(t) r p3 t3 n kmt r nḥḥ r jṯ3 nkt jm.f

And the great prince of Hatti does not (will not) transgress against the land of Egypt for ever, in order to take anything from it.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/15)

(ii) And in the NDE literary texts

7.36

bw jrj.w śḏm

They do not listen.

bw hn(n).w n3j.k śḏḏ.w

They do not heed your tales.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 37/10,11)

cf. *bw jrj.f śḏm.f* and

bw śḏm.f of the Simple Present, and

7.37

śtnw p3j.j k3

bw jrj.j ptr.f m ḫnw n3j.k k3w

Where is my ox? I do not see it among your cattle.

(Truth and Falsehood, 34/15,16)

The above examples are NDE and LE and not ME.

Below is Groll's Table D of page 243:

VII. The *bw śtp.f* of the past

	Literary LE	Non-literary LE	Coptic
1.	*bw śtp.f*	x	x
2.	*bwpw.f śtp.f*	*bwpw.f śtp.f*	ⲙⲡⲩⲥ ⲱⲧⲙ

A. The *bw śtp.f* of the past is the successor of ME *n stp.f*, e.g. in the literary NDE texts.

7.38

jn jw nfr p3j.k ḫdb n3j.k b3k.w
jw ḥr.k ḥśj jm.sn
n nᶜj.k

Is it good that you slay your servants, your face savage toward them, and without pity (lit. without you having been lenient)?.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 94/7-13)

This is a ME form, (*n nᶜj.k*) occurring too in NDE. It does not occur in LE.

And Ramesses II - 35/4 (see later 7.46).

I cannot find any examples in the non-literary NDE texts.

B.

(i) An example of the *bw śtp.f* of the past in non-literary NDE works.

7.39

sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw.f
dj.w nṯr jrj.tw.f ḥr.j

A deed that has been unknown - god let it be done by me.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/14,15)

(ii) And in the literary NDE texts.

7.40

bw šm.k r t3 n ḫt3

You have not gone to the land of Khatti;

bw ptr.k t3 n jwp3

You have not seen the land of Upe

ḫdm bw rḫ.k k3j.f

As for *Ḫ.d.m*, you do not know the nature of it.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 30/13)

bw rḫ.k (like ME *n rḫ.k*) means "you do not know", "you have not learnt" or "you did not know" (Brunner 1979:44).

These are LE forms, occurring in NDE. They are not found in ME.

C. I could find no examples of *bwpw.f śtp.f* in the non-literary NDE works; examples in the literary NDE texts are -

7.41

jr tw.f rḫ.tw w^{c} n nśwt
bwpw.w mśj n.f s3 . ṯ3j

It is said, there once was a king, to whom no son had been born.

(Doomed Prince, 1/1,2)

7.42

bwpw nb jrt n mš^{c}.f
n3 jrj.n ḥm.j n jb.tn

No lord has done for his soldiers what my majesty did for your sakes.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 58/14)

These are LE forms. They occur too in NDE, and not in ME.

Below is Groll's Table E on page 245:

VIII. The emphatic, "that"-form

	ME	Literary LE	Non-literary LE	Coptic
1.	*šm.n.f*	*šm.n.f*	x	x
2.	x	*šm.f*	x	x
3.	x	*j.jrj.f šm*	*j.jrj.f štp.f*	ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
4.	*mrr.f*	*mr(r).f*	x	x

A.

(i) Examples of the ME *šm.n.f* - in non-literary NDE texts, e.g.

7.43

ḫr śwt jrj.n ḫm.f tm dj ... — It was for the sake of causing ....

... n mrwt dj ... — that his majesty did not cause ...

(Nauri Decree, 57/14,15)

(Polotsky 1957:117.) (See under *śḏm.n.f*'s)

7.44

jrj.n.j ᶜḥᶜ.j — It is in action for you that I pass my lifetime.

ḳn n.tn

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/9,10)

(ii) In literary NDE texts.

7.45

św3.n.j m h3w n pr.f — It was in the neighbourhood of his house that I passed by.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C3/10)

7.46

jś bn šm.n.j ᶜḥᶜ.n.j ḫr rᶜ.k — Was it not by your word that I walked and halted?

bw thj.j šḫr wḏ.n.k — I did not disobey any order that you commanded.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 35/4)

The negative verbal form (*bw thj.j* - a *bw śḏm.f* formation) indicates the past tense, being also parallel to the emphatic *šm.n.j* and *ꜥḥꜥ.n.j* formations.

Wente (1969:11, 12), draws attention to the L2 variant of the Kadesh poem

jw bn šm.j ꜥḥꜥ.n.j ḥr r.k and to the Sall Variant

js bn šm.(j) ꜥḥꜥ(.j) ḥr r.k

and he comments that the close parallel of *śḏm.n.f* and *śḏm.f* forms in fairly clear Second Tense constructions suggests the basic identity of the two forms in Ramesside texts.

Ophel (1985:146), refers to the above, then quotes some later lines:

7.47

jś bn jrj.j n.k mnw ꜥš3w wrt	Have I not made for you very many monuments, filled your temple with my captives?
mḥ.j t3j.k ḥwt.nṯr m n3j.j ḥ3kw	
kd.j n.k ḥwt.j n ḥḥ m mpt	I have built for you my mansion of Millions of Years and I gave you all my wealth as an endowment
dj.j n.k ḫt.j nb m jmt.pr	
....	.....
....	.....
bw w3ḥ.j nfr ḥ3 drt.j	I have neglected no good deed beyond my reach, so as not to perform it in your court.
r tm jrt.w m p3j.k wb3	
...	
...	

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 36/2-12)

Ophel then concludes that the bare *śḏm.j* formations at the beginning of the introductory clauses, being parallel to

(i) the *śtp.j* formation introduced by *jś bn*

and to (ii) the *bw śtp.j* formation,

are initial main clauses, indicating past tense.

Since all the verbs in the introductory clauses (I have not reproduced them all here - the others are *ḥrp.j* - I have dedicated, *dj.j* *m3ᶜ* - I have caused to be sacrificed, *ḳd.j* I have built, *jnj.j* - I have brought, and *śṯ3.j* - I conducted/conveyed (ships)) are transitive verbs, we can classify them as perfective active *śḏm.f*'s, and <u>not</u> emphatic *śḏm.f*'s. They are verbal formations which indicate particular specific performances in the past.

See also in the same text -

7.48

ph̩.n.j n3j ḥr śḫr n r.k

bw snj.j p3j.k śḫr

At the command of your mouth, I came here.

O Amun, I have not transgressed your command.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 42/9)

Here *bw snj.j* is a *bw śḏm.f* of the past and is parallel to an emphatic *ph̩.n.j* formation.

The *šm.n.f* formations in all the above six examples are ME forms, occurring too in NDE. They are not found in LE.

The perfect active *śḏm.f* forms with the negative counterpart *bw śḏm.f* of the past are specific LE formations. They stand side by side with ME elements, e.g. emphatic *šm.n.f* formations. The appearance of specific LE formations within the framework of a royal inscription early in the Nineteenth Dynasty is but another call "to describe the LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty as an independent self-sufficient system" (Groll 1973:70), (Ophel 1985:153).

B. The emphatic *šm.f* or *mrr.f* in literary NDE texts

Groll (1975/6:243), writes "Alongside with the emphatic *j.jrj.f śḏm.f* formation, there still exists in the literary texts both an emphatic *prj.n.f* or *prj.f* formation of the past, and an emphatic ungeminated, *prj.f* form of the present tenses".

She writes too "It seems that the ME *mrr.f* formation still exists in the literary system", and she compares

7.49

wśtn.k mḥj ḥr jḫ — Why are you walking in a dream, *Mḥy*?

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, Verso C2/7)

with

7.50

m jrj n.j p3j.j ḥ3t wḫ3 — Don't act foolishly, O my heart!

j.jrj.k wḫ3 jn jw ḥr jḫ — Why is it that you are acting as a fool?

ḥmśj kb — Return to your place and calm down.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C3/2-3)

Since a *ḥr jḫ* interrogative phrase necessitates an emphatic *śḏm.f* formation, (*j.jrj.k wḫ3 ... ḥr jḫ*) it is only reasonable to assume that *wśtn.k* is the ME *mrr.f* formation.

The non-literary system possesses only the pattern *j.jrj.f śḏm.f ḥr jḫ*.

The emphatic *wśtn.k* is a formation occurring in ME and in NDE; not in LE.
The *j.jrj.k wḫ3* is a LE and NDE form; not in ME.

Groll too quotes Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, Verso C1/7, as indicating that the ME *mrr.f* formation still occurs in the literary system.

7.51

ptr.tj prj.ś r ḥ3 — One is aware of her going out.

prj.ś is a *śḏm.f* formation acting as the direct object of a preceding verbal formation, i.e. it fills one of the functions of the *mrr.f* formation, without showing gemination. The *śḏm.f* formations are excluded in the non-literary system, from acting as direct objects or as subjects of *śḏm.f* formations. Instead, the *p3j.f śḏm* and *p3 śḏm j.jrj.f* formations are used (Groll 1975/6:244 and Groll 1970).

This (the emphatic object of a preceding verb) is a ME form, occurs in NDE, and not in LE.

Further examples of the emphatic *śḏm.f* in the NDE literary texts are:

7.52

jj.k tnw p3 šrj nfr — Whence have you come, you good youth?

(Doomed Prince, 3/15,16)

The presence of an interrogative adverbial expression is a good means for identifying Second Tense constructions (Wente 1969:5). The above example deriving from the earliest of the LE stories, possibly reflects a stage in the development of LE when *j.jrj.f śḏm* had not yet become fully established as the normal means for conveying Second Tense emphasis.

7.53

ḥtp p3 šw jw.j mt.k(wj) — As soon as the sun sets, I shall be dead.

Wente (1969:5, footnote 34), compares this sentence to the normal LE Second Tense construction.

j.jrj p3 šw (ḥr) wbn, jw.n m p3 ntj t3j.j ḥmt jm

As soon as the sun rises, we shall be in the place where my wife is.

He concludes that, by analogy *ḥtp* should also be a Second Tense.

(Doomed Prince, 5/14,15)

7.54

šrj n wᶜ n snnj

jj.f m wᶜr m p3 t3 n kmt r ḥ3t t3j.f mwt jjt.mśj

He is an officer's son. It is away from the face of his step-mother that he has come in flight from the land of Egypt.

(Doomed Prince, 5/4-6)

7.55

jj.k n.j

r nḏnḏ p3 djt spd n n3 rmṯ mšᶜ

It is in order to inquire about the giving of rations to the conscript soldiers that you have come.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 24/1-3)

7.56

hrw 3 r sf ḏr śpr.j ḥr rn.s

pr.ś mᶜ.j ḥr hrw 5

(It is) three days to yesterday since I petitioned in her name. It is for five days that she has gone from me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, Verso C3/9)

In the above examples the emphasis is upon a following adverbial phrase.

After *mk* "behold", normally the non-emphatic construction noun (or dependent pronoun) + old perfective or stative of a verb of motion is employed, so that a *śḏm.f* form of a verb of motion following *mk* might reasonably be expected to function as a Second Tense (Polotsky 1968:95, paragraph 43-45, Wente 1969:6) as in the next example -

7.57

mk jj.s
mrjw m ksj n ᶜ3w mrwt.ś

Behold, it is because of the intensity of (their) love for her that lovers have come to her in obeisance.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, Verso C3/8)

7.58

jj.k n.j
bdn m tḫtḫ 3tp.tw m ᶜḏ3w

It is wrapt up in confusion and laden with errors that you have come to me.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 39/11,12)

The emphasis is on a following stative (or old perfective)

7.59

prj.k 3s
r ᶜḥ3 ḥr pg3 r jrt k3t pr.ᶜ

It is in order to fight on the battlefield and to perform deeds of the energetic that you go forth quickly.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 38/3)

(See Wente 1969:8 and the discussion.)

7.60

śpr.f r ḥ3śt.f
jw.f m nḫwjw

It was being in laments (mourning) that he reached his country.

(Merneptah's Israel Stele, 14/16)

The emphasis is on a following *jw* circumstantial clause (Frandsen's Function C).

All the above nine examples are emphatic forms, which occur in ME and in NDE, and not in LE, where *j.jrj.f śḏm* is the second tense, emphatic "that" form. See the comment after the first of these examples (after 7.52).

No definite examples of emphatic *śḏm.f* could be found in the non-literary NDE texts.

C. Regarding the *j.jrj.f śḏm* of non-literary LE, no examples could be found in the Nauri Decree, the Hittite Treaty, the Hieratic Ostracon or Kanais (Wady Mia).

In literary NDE texts, an example of this is:

7.61

j.jrj.j jj n.k

r.ḏd ḏ3j.k r p3 jw ḥrj jb

It is in order that you ferry (me) across to the Island-in-the-Midst that I have come to you.

(Horus and Seth, 43/9,10)

This form occurs in LE and in NDE, and not in ME.

IX.

Another form of *śḏm.f* is the oath - an asseverative form or a virtual clause of asseveration. It is an ME form (Gardiner 1982:164) and survived into LE. It occurs in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts I studied, e.g.

7.62

w3ḥ jmn

w3ḥ ḥk3 ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb p3 ntj bjn p3j.f b3w r mt

pr ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb

mtw.tw gm.t r.ḏd jnk jṯ3 p3j ḫ3

"As Amun endures, and as the ruler *lph* endures, he whose power is worse than death, viz. Pharaoh *lph*, if it be found that it was I, who stole this chisel ..."

(Hieratic Ostracon, 2 Recto/10,11)

mtw.tw gm.t is the elliptical conjunctive in an oath, and is a specific LE formation.

7.63

ᶜnḫ.j mr.wj rᶜ ḥśj.wj jt.j jtm

jr śḫr nb ḏd.n ḥm.j

jrj.śt m m3ᶜt

m.b3ḥ mšᶜ.j nṯ.ḥtr.j

As I live, as Re loves me, as my father Atum favours me, (as for) everything that my majesty has told, I did it in truth in the presence of my infantry and my chariotry.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 123/14 - 124/2)

ḏd.n ḥm.j is a relative *śḏm.n.f*

Note the genitive suffixes *ḥm.j, mšᶜ.j nṯ.ḥtr.j* of ME are used rather than *p3j.j* etc.

7.64

w3ḥ jmn w3ḥ p3 ḥk3

mtw.tw gm m3ᶜt jw.f ᶜnḫ

jw.tw(sic) *k3mn.f* (for *.j*) *t3j.f* (for *.j*) *jrt 2*

mtw.tw ḫr djt.f (for *.j*) *r jrj.wn m p3 pr m3ᶜt*

As Amun lives, as the ruler lives, if Truth is found alive, I shall be blinded in both eyes and shall be made doorkeeper of the house of Truth.

(Truth and Falsehood, 36/2-5)

The writer used the third person singular rather than the first in the apodosis (*.f* rather than *.j*)

jw.f ᶜnḫ is a circumstantial First Present.

The *mtw.tw gm m3ᶜt* (lit. "if one finds *m3ᶜt* alive") is the elliptical conjunctive of an oath in the protasis.

jw.tw k3mn.f, beginning the apodosis is a *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the future in a verbal formation which occurs in oaths beginning with the conjunctive.

A conjunctive then follows the sense of the apodosis.

But cf. Doomed Prince 5/10-12 where a Third Future occurs in the apodosis (three Third Futures in fact) following the conjunctive.

7.65

w3ḥ p3.rᶜ ḥr3ḫtwj	As Pre-Harakhti lives, if he is taken from me,
mtw.tw nḥm.f m.dj.j	
nn jw.j r wnm	I shall not eat,
nn jw.j r swj	I shall not drink,
jw.j r mt m t3 wnwt	I shall die right away

The negatives are clearly LE Third Futures, and should be *bn* rather *nn*, a ME form

Note too that in ME *nn* could not precede *jw*. This rule fell away in LE.

The *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the future is negated by *tm*, i.e.

jw.f ḥr tm śḏm.f

All these examples of *śḏm.f* of the oath occur in ME, NDE and LE

CONCLUSION

All the myriad *śtp.f* forms and their derivatives - in Late Egyptian, both in the non-literary and literary forms of the later dynasties, and their Middle Egyptian precursors are to be found in these Nineteenth Dynasty texts (both non-literary and literary), i.e.

I. The perfect active *śtp.f*

The Middle Egyptian predecessor is *jw śtp.n.f* (e.g. 7.1).

The perfect active *śtp.f* is found in non-literary texts (e.g. 7.2), and in literary texts of NDE (e.g. 7.4).

II. The initial prospective *śtp.f*

is a form persisting from the Middle Egyptian and is found in both non-literary texts (e.g. 7.5) and literary texts (e.g. 7.7) of NDE.

III. The non-initial prospective *śtp.f*

persists from Middle Egyptian. It is found in non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty (e.g. 7.10) and in the literary works (e.g. 7.12).

IV. The *śtp.f* of the relative past

is a Late Egyptian literary form.

The Middle Egyptian precursor is *śtp.n.f* and is found in the NDE texts (e.g. 7.13).

The *śtp.f* of the relative past is found in the Nineteenth Dynasty Texts too (e.g. 7.14), while the non-literary Late Egyptian form *jw śtp.f* is found here too! (e.g. 7.15).

Example 7.18 is an example of *jw śtp.f* referring to the relative present.

V. The *śtp.f* of the simple present

The Middle Egyptian predecessor is *jw śtp.f* and is found in the NDE texts (e.g. 7.21).

The literary Late Egyptian *śtp.f* of the simple present is found in both the Nineteenth Dynasty non-literary texts (e.g. 7.22) and in literary texts (e.g. 7.23).

The First Present is another way of expressing this in literary Late Egyptian, and is the only way in non-literary Late Egyptian of the Twentieth Dynasty and later. This too is found in the NDE texts, (e.g. 7.25 non-literary text, and 7.26 literary text).

VI. The *bw śtp.f* of the simple present

This evolved from Middle Egyptian *n śtp.n.f*, found in these texts, e.g. 7.29.

The *bw śtp.f* is found in these NDE texts in 7.31 (non-literary) and 7.33 (literary).

bw jrj.f śtp.f is another way of expressing this in literary Late Egyptian and is the only way of expressing it in non-literary Late Egyptian. This is found in these Nineteenth Dynasty NDE texts in non-literary (7.35) and literary (7.36) texts.

VII. The *bw śtp.f* of the past

is the successor of the Middle Eyptian *n śtp.f*. Both are found in these Nineteenth Dynasty texts, *n śtp.f* in 7.38, and the former both in the non-literary (e.g. 7.39) and literary (e.g. 7.40) texts. The Late Egyptian non-literary form is *bwpw.f śtp*, and this too is found in the texts of this thesis (e.g. 7.42).

VIII. The emphatic "that"-form

The Middle Egyptian is *šm.n.f*, and this is found in the Nineteenth Dynasty non-literary (e.g. 7.43) and literary (e.g. 7.46) texts.

The literary Late Egyptian emphatic *šm.f* or *mrr.f* is not found in these non-literary works, but is found in the literary texts (e.g. 7.49, 7.52).

In non-literary Late Egyptian (Twentieth Dynasty etc.), the only way to express the "that"-form was *j.jrj.f śtp*. While I can find no examples of this in Nineteenth Dynasty non-literary texts, there are examples in the literary texts (e.g. 7.61).

IX

śḏm.f can be used in the oath (e.g. 7.62 non-literary, and 7.63 literary text).

tm.k - a prospective *śtp.f* form is optatively used, and is perhaps confined to Papyrus Anastasi I (e.g. 7.9).

jj.k and *ḥtp p3 šw* in examples 7.52 and 7.53 may be Second Tense forms derived by analogy. They may reflect a stage in the development of Late Egyptian when *j.jrj.f śḏm* had not yet become fully established as the normal means for conveying Second Tense emphasis. "The Doomed Prince", in which these examples occur is one of the earliest of the Late Egyptian stories.

This multitude (plethora) of appearance of so many diverse forms certainly makes the Nineteenth Dynasty texts unique, including as it does forms of every type in synchronic and in diachronic contexts, and even forms which had not yet evolved in Middle Egyptian and which were not evident in later Late Egyptian.

CHAPTER 8

MIDDLE EGYPTIAN NOUN + *śḏm.f*

Doret (1980:37) distinguished two constructions of Noun + *śḏm.f.*

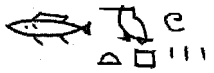
i. - a "pseudo-verbal" construction in which the noun - emphasized or not - constitutes a unity with an adverbial i.e. circumstantial *śḏm.f.*

He compares this with Gardiner's "pseudoverbal"-constructions, which express duration (durative Aktionsart viz noun + stative (*snt jj.tj*) and noun + *ḥr* + infinitive (*snt ḥr jj.t*), and feels that noun + a finite verb form (*snt śḏm.ś*) might express duration of an action rather than duration in a state.

ii. - a loose construction in which the extraposed noun is the emphasized subject of the indicative perfect or more like the prospective verb form.

I. Noun + *śḏm.f* in Non-literary NDE texts.

8.1

ḥm.f śm3ᶜ.f ḫ3swt r ḏw.w
3b.n jb.f m33 
jnj.w ḏᶜmw jm.śn

His majesty inspected the desert lands for his heart desired to see the mines, from which the fine gold is brought.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/16)

3b.n jb.f is a ME circumstantial *śḏm.n.f*

jnj.w ḏᶜmw is a relative *śḏm.f* passive.

8.2

ᶜšt.pw h3j.ś — A swan appears.

(Nauri Decree, 47/15)

II. Noun + *śḏm.f* in Literary NDE texts.

8.3

n3 jśwt mnš n pr nb(t)
šsp.w t3j.śn sbw — The ships crew from every house of commerce receive their loads.

(Papyrus Lansing, 103/14)

.w is a LE suffix pronoun.

Note the next line though *wḏ.śn* an ME suffix pronoun. They depart (and not *wḏ.w*).

8.4

p3j.k j3dt kbw.f ṯ3.k3w — Your herds abound in draft animals.

(Papyrus Lansing, 110/7,8)

8.5

n3 n ḫrw n š3św šn.śn bdš — The vanquished Shasu - they plan rebellion.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 9/3,4)

8.6

ṯs.w.k sᶜḏ3.w — Your sayings do injustice.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 23/1)

8.7

n3j.k śḏd.w śḥw.w ḥr nśt.j	Your narratives are collected upon my tongue;
mn ḥr tp śpt.j	established upon my lips.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 40/1,2)

śḥw.w is a *śḏm.f* but *mn* is a stative, i.e. LE First Present, or ME pseudoverbal formation. These different forms are thus interchangeable.

8.8

t3 pśḏt jb.sn ḥwt.w	The hearts of the Ennead exult.

(Horus and Seth, 60/9)

8.9

ḥ3śt nbt ḏmḏ.śn r.j	All countries are arrayed/or they array (themselves) against me.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 40/8)

8.10

jmn dj.f nḫt n wsr.m3^{c}.r^{c}. stp.n.r^{c}	Amun gives victory to Usermare-sotepenre "may he give victory", (i.e. perhaps prospective).

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 15/12)

This is an example of the extraposed noun being the emphasized subject of the prospective verb form.

All these above Noun + *śḏm.f* examples occur in ME, in NDE and in LE.

In the next two examples the object is expressed before the verb. These are not described by Doret (1980:37).

8.11

t3j.k mśś n šmᶜw nfr śwn.k sw

Your shirt of fine linen of Upper Egypt - you sell it.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 36/16,17)

8.12

wḥᶜ.j n3j.k jtnw
śksnw jrj.j śnḏm

I solve your riddles; arduous things I make easy.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 20/5,6)

The above two examples are unusual; they occur in ME and NDE.

III. Noun + *śḏm.n.f* in NDE texts

8.13

pḥtj ḥm.f mk.n.s mšᶜ.f

His majesty's strength had protected his army.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 99/7)

8.14

stwt.j wbd.n.s ḥᶜw n śbj.w

My rays - they burned the rebels' bodies.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 87/2)

Noun + *śḏm.n.f* is unusual. This occurs in ME and in NDE.

CONCLUSION

It is possible that when Noun + *śḏm.f* is used as a sort of verbal formation, - it occurs in ME and NDE and not in LE. When the noun is emphasized, it occurs in ME, NDE and LE.

Examples of noun + *śḏm.f* are found in both literary and non-literary NDE works. In. 8.7, the first line has a noun + finite verb, the second line uses the same noun but has a stative form of the verb, i.e. Late Egyptian First Present or Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal form. These forms are thus interchangeable.

Examples include a noun as object before a finite verb (8.11, 8.12), and examples of a noun + *śḏm.n.f* (8.13, 8.14).

CHAPTER 9

THE *jr* CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

jr conditional clauses usually contain a prospective *śḏm.f* in the protasis (the 'if' clause). This is the only form found in Middle Egyptian. In Late Egyptian, the verbal formations which can be preceded by *jr* are many, but *jr* cannot precede a Third Future, a *jw.f ḥr śtp.f* of the past or undefined participles or relative forms. Virtual clauses of condition are rather literary, and clearly a continuation of Middle Egyptian usage. The apodosis (the "then" clause) though may have varied ME forms in ME and LE forms in LE.

I. The *jr* in non-literary NDE texts.

9.1

ḫr jr jw kjj ḫrwj ...

And if another enemy should come ...

(Hittite Treaty, 228/8)

9.2

ḫr śwt

jr ḫpr 3kw m ḫt nb

But if there result a loss of any goods ....

(Nauri Decree, 57/11)

II. The *jr* conditional in literary NDE texts.

9.3

jr jw n.j n3w wr swnw
bw hrw jb.j pḫrt.śn

When/if the best physicians come to me, my heart rejects ("will not be comforted with") their remedies.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C4/7)

9.4

jr jrj.k 7 rnpt n wḫ3.f
m . djt *fn ḥ3tj.k*

If you spend 7 years seeking for it (the cedar), do not grow weary thereof.

(Two Brothers, 17/16 - 18/1)

9.5

jr prj.f m ḥrj . t3
św gb m mšꜥ

If he comes out alive, (*ḥrj.t3* is a survivor lit. "as a survivor"), he is worn out from marching.

(Papyrus Lansing, 109/3-4)

9.6

jr ptr.k św m rwh3 n p3 kkw
ḫr ḏd.k 3pd r.f

If you were to see him at evening in the darkness, you would fancy him (as) a (passing) bird.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 19/7-9)

ḫr ḏd.k is *ḫr śḏm.f* of the LE literary present. It is the antecedent of the Coptic ϩⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ .

9.7

jr nf3.k r gs.f jw.f m snn
j.jrj.f h3j w3w mj g3b dbw

If you blow beside him as he passes, he will drop down far off like a leaf of foliage.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 19/14-16)

j.jrj.f h3j is a Second Tense, emphatic or "that"-form.

9.8

jr ḏd.j n.k w3ḥ
p3 n n3 mḏwt
jw.k r f3j m nbw n 3 sp.

If I tell you of Wah, him of the cattle-stalls, you will reward (me) with thrice refined gold.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 19/16 - 20/1)

p3 n (he of) is typically Nineteenth Dynasty LE.

The above are all examples of *jr* + initial prospective *śḏm.f*. It is the only form found in ME. And I think this example is prospective *śḏm.f* too (or the *wn* of existence).

9.9

jr wnn jb.k jrj sš

If you have any sense, be a scribe.

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/1)

jrj is ME imperative.

These are all examples of *jr* + initial prospective *śḏm.f*. They are found in ME, NDE and LE.

Conclusion

jr conditional clauses are found in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts. The common form is *jr* + initial prospective *śḏm.f* in the protasis. Therefore these could be Middle Egyptian forms which survived into NDE and into LE.

The apodosis though may have ME or LE forms, and both are found in NDE.

e.g. ME (a ME imperative) 9.9

LE (a LE *bw śḏm.f*) 9.3

(a LE neg. imperative) 9.4

(a LE First Present) 9.5

(a LE Lit. Present) 9.6

(a LE emphatic Second Tense) 9.7

and (a LE Third Future) 9.8

Therefore the forms of the apodosis ("then" clause) were ME formations in ME and evolved into various LE formations in LE. All of these were found in the intervening NDE.

CHAPTER 10

THE AFFIRMATIVE IMPERATIVE

INTRODUCTION

The imperative expresses a command or exhortation addressed directly to one or more persons. It is thus implicitly in the second person. The dependent pronoun is the object of the imperative.

While the ME and LE forms are clearly distinguishable in the negative forms, the only means of distinguishing the affirmative imperatives may be the presence of a prothetic yod in LE. But it is not always present.

The LE imperative may be preceded by a prothetic yod .[1]

(In some cases the prothetic yod interchanges with *r*).

---

[1] The prothetic yod is prefixed to the following LE verbal formations, though not consistently:

The participle

The relative form

The emphatic formations

The imperative

In some cases the prothetic yod interchanges with *r*.)

I. Middle Egyptian imperatives in NDE texts.

(i) Non-literary NDE texts

10.1

jmj mn n.j mnw.j

Make my monuments endure for me.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/10)

jmj is the imperative of *rdj* = cause.

The following verb is a non-initial prospective.

10.2

jmj nḥm.św m3ᶜw m bt3.f

Let one who is free of crime be saved.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/6)

10.3

jmn jmj n.f nḥḥ kb n.f ḏt

Amun, give him eternity, double him everlastingness.

nṯrw jmjw t3 ḫnmt dj.tn n.f ᶜḥᶜ.tn

Gods, who are (in) the well, give him your span of life.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/7)

jmj here is the imperative of *rdj* = "to give" and is not followed by another verb as in "to cause".

dj.tn here is the prospective used as an imperative. Or it could be the reinforcement of the imperative by means of the dependent pronoun.

10.4

ḫr jw ś3 t3 bwt n p3j dmjt ṯ3wt m jm.f

ḫr jrm t3 ḥ3rt

And since the greatest abomination of this town is stealing copper in it, try this widow!

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 7-8)

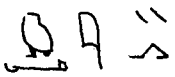
t3 bwt ... ṯ3wt - is a bimembral nominal sentence, *t3 bwt*, being defined, is the subject, *ṯ3wt* being undefined is the predicate.

It seems that *t3*, the definite article, here expresses the notion of the superlative. The *tw* which follows *bwt* indicates that the final *t* should be pronounced.

ḫr jrm t3 ḥ3r.t. *ḫr* is the imperative of the verb *ḫr* "to speak". *ḫr jrm* means "to try", "to put on trial". *t3 ḥ3r.t* = this widow, i.e. *t3* is not the LE definite article, but the ME anaphoric demonstrative (Groll 1973:70).

(ii) Literary NDE Texts

10.5



mj n.j m33.j nfr.k

Come to me, that I may see your beauty.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C2/3)

No prothetic yod.

10.6

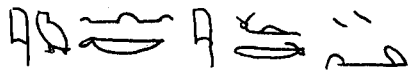
ḥmśj kb

Sit still! (lit. cool)

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C3/3)

10.7

śmn.tj r tnw śḫ3.k (sic) *św jb.j*



Stand fast whenever you think of him, my heart.

Do not leap forth.

jfd

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C3/4)

.tj is the dependent pronoun, reinforcing the imperative, i.e. stand yourself fast.

The second line is a ME negative imperative.

10.8

jmn jmj mšḏr.k n wᶜtj m ḳnbt

Amun, lend your ear to the lonely in court.

(Prayers as School texts, 17/11)

10.9

mj n.j jrj.k n.j šḫr

Come to me and give me counsel.

(Prayers as School texts, 60/5)

jrj.k is a prospective *šḏm.f*

10.10

mrj šš.w mšdj jhb

jrj.k śr jkr

Love writing, shun dancing,

then you will become a worthy official.

(Papyrus Lansing, 100/9-10)

10.11

jrj šš

Be a scribe!

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/6)

10.12

jnj n.k rn nfr

Win for yourself a good name.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/14)

10.13

jmj jnj.tw n.j wᶜ n mj.kdnw.f

Have one like it (a greyhound) brought to me.

(Doomed Prince, 2/6)

10.14

w3ḥ mk jj — Wait! (I) come.

(Stele of Merneptah, 18/13)

Should be *mk.wj jj*

10.15

jmj ᶜrk n.j n nṯr m.ḏd — Swear to me by god, saying: -

(Two Brothers, 26/2)

m.ḏd = *m* + infinitive (cf. Hebrew לאמר).

10.16

s3w r djt drt.j (sic) *r šd.j r bnr* — Beware of laying hands on me in order to pull me out.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 22/5-7)

10.17

wšb 3ś — Answer quickly.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 39/3)

10.18

jmj ḫ3.w ḫr ḫtr.k r tnw rnpt.
s3w ḏ3ḏ3.k — Increase your contribution every year.

Have a care for your head.

(Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller), 47/15,16)

(*ḏ3ḏ3.k* is LE. ME would be *tp.k*. But note *ḏ3ḏ3.k* and not *p3j.k ḏ3ḏ3*).

10.19

mj n.j sp sn mwt 3st

Come to me, come to me, (my) mother, Isis.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, 10/10)

(Groll 1985:81)

10.20

jmj h3b.tj wḫ3 n wśjr

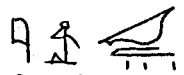
Have a letter sent to Osiris.

(Horus and Seth, 56/7,8)

Note *h3b.tj*, not *h3b.tw*

All the above forms were used in ME, and of course in NDE. Some did persist in LE, although the LE imperative was preceded by a prothetic yod. The latter though was not absolutely obligatory.

10.21

j.śḏm  *n.j*
ḥrw.pdwt t3 mrj

k3 śḏm n.tn ktḫ.w

Listen to me, ye leaders of Egypt. And may others listen to you.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/14)

The LE imperative (with a prothetic yod) is followed by the non-enclitic particle *k3* (= then) before a prospective *śḏm.f* (in an imperative or more likely optative sense).

II. The polite request (*jḫ śḏm.k or jḫ śḏm.tn*)

This is ME (Gardiner 1982:43) and persisted into LE.

(i) Literary NDE texts

10.22

jḫ rḫ.k św — Please take note of it.

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/2)

10.23

jḫ šm.k n 3bw.k — Go wherever you wish.

(Doomed Prince, 3/1)

10.24

jḫ kd.k wᶜ n št.ḥmt n b3t3 — Do you fashion a wife for Bata, that

tm.k (for *.f*) *ḥmśj wᶜ* — he may not dwell alone

(Two Brothers, 19/7,8)

tm.k ḥmśj wᶜ is ME

(LE would be *r tm ḥmśj*)

It corresponds to Hebrew **לבלתי**

10.25

jḫ h3b.k n.n — Please write us

p3 ntj jw.n r jrr.f n ḫr ḫnᶜ śṯḥ — what we should do about Horus and Seth,

tm.n jrj śḫr m ḫm n.n — so that we do not take action in ignorance.

(Horus and Seth, 56/16)

p3 ntj + Third Future. *.f* is a resumptive pronoun.

tm.n is ME.

The above examples (polite request) are found in ME, NDE and LE.

The following two examples are unusual, perhaps hybrid forms of the *jḫ śḏm.k.*

10.26

jḫ jtj n.k p3 10 n ᶜkw

Please take for yourself these ten loaves.

(Truth and Falsehood, 34/1-2)

A *jḫ śḏm.k* polite request. Should be *jḫ jtj.k n.k*

10.27

jḫ jmj.wj p3 ᶜ n šmt r ḥmt

Please put me on the route to Hammat (חמת)

(Truth and Faslehood, 33/8,9)

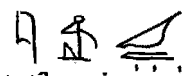
There is no *.k* following *jmj.*

The above two are probably found in NDE only, but may, in fact, even be merely scribal errors.

III. LE imperative with the prothetic yod in NDE texts.

(ii) Non-literary NDE texts

10.28

j.śḏm  *n.j*
ḥrw.pdwt t3 mrj

k3 śḏm n.tn kthṯ.w

Listen to me, you leaders of Egypt. And may others listen to you.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/14)

Literary texts

10.29

j.ḫ3ᶜ m33.ś — Leave off seeing her!

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C2/1)

10.30

j.ptr n.k m jrt.k ḏs.k — See for yourself with your own eye.

(Papyrus Lansing, 103/2)

The imperative is reinforced by means of the reflexive dative.

10.31

j.ḏd n.j k3j.k — Tell me about yourself.

(Doomed Prince, 6/5)

10.32

j.šm j.wn p3 mḫr
mtw.k jnj n.k p3 ntj m jb.k — Go, open the bin (storehouse) (for yourself), and take away for you what you wish.

(Two Brothers, 12/1,2)

A LE conjunctive continues the sense of LE imperatives.

10.33

j.mḥ.k ḏ3m — Take for yourself a sheet of papyrus.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 14/2,3)

10.34

j. ms . tw m jrj rmj — Get you on! Do not weep!

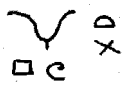
(Papyrus Anastasi I, 27/18)

Note *.tw* added to the imperative in this example, while *.k* appears in the last.

The above seven examples all appear in NDE and in LE, and not in ME.

III. Some unusual NDE examples.

10.35



wpt m3ᶜt ḥnᶜ grg

Judge between Truth and Falsehood.

(Truth and Falsehood, 35/16)

This may be an infinitive acting as an imperative.

10.36

šd.wj

Save me!

śwḏ3.j m p3j wᶜ n sp

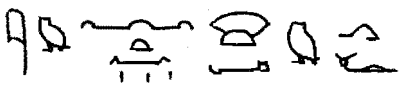
Prosper me this one time.

(Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller), 48/7)

Note *śwḏ3.j* not *.wj*. This could be a scribal error or an infinitive used as an imperative.

10.37

ḥr ṯm3.tn s3w.tn



Beware, take care,

don't approach him.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 87/8)

10.38

jṯ3.tw n3j.k šꜥt m.b3ḥ jnj.pt

ḏꜥ.f n.n p3 mꜣꜥt

Let your letters be taken before Onuris, that he may decide for us who is in the right.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 23/3)

This is unusual. More common would be *jmj jṯ3.tw*

10.39

rwj.k tw r ḥ3t.f

Flee from before him.

(Two Brothers, 15/4)

CONCLUSION

There are many examples in both literary and non-literary NDE texts of both Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian imperative forms.

There are examples of *jmj*, the imperative of *rdj* i.e. "cause", and the following verb is a non-initial prospective (e.g. 10.1); examples with and without a prothetic yod (10.4 and 10.29); examples of polite requests (*jḫ śḏm.k* - a Middle Egyptian form which persisted in Late Egyptian (e.g. 10.25), negative imperatives (e.g. 10.7). The Middle and Late Egyptian forms are clearly distinguishable in the negative forms. (See Chapter 12).

The affirmative imperative without a prothetic yod is found in ME, in NDE and in LE.

The affirmative imperative preceded by a prothetic yod is found in NDE and in LE.

The polite request *jḫ śḏm.k* is used in ME, NDE and in LE.

Occasionally in NDE, the infinitive acts as an imperative (10.35), rarely the prospective has imperative meaning (10.21).

The imperative may be re-inforced by a dependent pronoun (10.7) or by means of a reflexive dative. (In ME, NDE and LE).

Finally, there are examples of unusual forms, which may be scribal errors, or hybrid forms found in NDE only.

The imperative may be followed by

- a prospective *śḏm.f* (which may occur in ME, NDE or LE) (example 10.21).
- a LE conjunctive (which may occur in NDE or LE) (example 10.32).
- *p3 ntj* + a Third Future (which may occur in NDE or LE) and then *tm.n śḏm* (which may be found in ME or NDE) (example 10.25).

CHAPTER 11

MIDDLE EGYPTIAN *śḏm.jn.f*

In this conjugation, a noun or pronoun subject follows the stem, but also has an infixed "temporal" element (*jn*). In structure this agrees with the *śḏm.n.f* form in all respects, except that for *n* is substituted the formative *jn*.

It is one of the ME suffix conjugation *śḏm.f* synthetic forms with an infix, which in later LE disappeared from usage in favour of the analytic tense-related successive past. However, it is still found in NDE.

The Middle Egyptian *śḏm.jn.f* indicates a result or sequel, particularly in the past, an outstanding incident in narrative, or "thereupon".

wn.jn.f of course can be used as a Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction, as discussed in Chapter 4. This form will not be discussed in this chapter.

There are only a few examples, e.g.:

I. ME *śḏm.jn.f* in non-literary NDE texts:

11.1

jr m.ḫt ḫm.f m ṯsj m rḫ jtrw ᶜš3.w

jrj.jn.f śḫn p3 ḥr w3t

r w3w3 sḥ ḫnᶜ jb.f

ḏd.jn.f

ksn.wj w3t jwtj mw.s

After his majesty had gone up for many miles, he halted on the way in order to take counsel with his heart.

And he said:

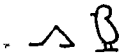
"How painful is a way that has no water!"

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/16 - 66/2)

ḳsn.wj is an adjective with an ME "admirative" (?in this sense) *.wj*.

jwtj is ME negative relative adjective.

11.2



jw.jn ḥm.f r dw3 jt nṯrw nbw ...

His majesty came to adore his fathers, all the gods ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/4,5)

11.3

dbn.jn.f ḥr ḥ3śt

ḥr wḫ3 st

jrt ḫnw

He went about on the desert seeking a place to make a watering station.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/8)

11.4

jrj.jn.tw š3d m ḏw pn ḥwt nṯr nn n nṯrw

By cutting into this stone-mountain, a temple was made (for) these gods.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/2,3)

śḏm.jn.tw passive "was made" or "one made"

nn n nṯrw is typical of Nineteenth Dynasty

These above examples indicate a result or sequel in the past or "thereupon". They occur in ME and NDE and not in LE.

II. ME *śḏm.jn.f* literary NDE Texts

The *śḏm.jn.f* examples are used only with the word *ḏd* = to say, e.g.

11.5

ḏd.jn šw ...
m3ᶜ nb wśr

Then spoke Shu ...
"Right rules might".

(Horus and Seth, 37/5,6)

11.6

ḏd.jn ṯ3tj ḥw ḥr jmnt nśwt ...
jrr.tw mj ḏdt.k nb

Then the fan-bearer at the right of the king ... said:
"It shall be done according to all you have said".

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 14/2)

These examples of *ḏd.jn.f* occur in ME and NDE only and not in LE.

ME *wn.jn.f* + stative or *ḥr* + infinitive as a pseudoverbal construction is common.

These of course are ME and NDE forms and are not found in LE.

The following is an example of *wn.jn.f* with a <u>finite</u> verb.

11.7

wn.jn.tw jnj.tw.w m.b3ḥ t3 pśḏt

So they were brought before the Ennead.

(Horus and Seth, 51/9,10)

This is found only in ME and in NDE.

CONCLUSION

There are only a few examples of *śḏm.jn.f* in the non-literary texts (example 11.1, 11.2). In the literary texts studied here, *śḏm.jn.f* examples are used only with the word *ḏd* = to say (example 11.5).

The Middle Egyptian *wn.jn.f* as a pseudoverbal construction is common, either with a stative (e.g. 4.10) or with *ḥr* + infinitive (example 4.17). 11.7 is an example of *wn.jn.f* with a finite verb.

The *śḏm.jn.f* and *wn.jn. f* forms are found in ME and in NDE and not in LE.

CHAPTER 12

NEGATIVE SENTENCES

INTRODUCTION

nn after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty tended to take the place of *n* in writing (Gardiner 1982:334) and therefore could represent either *nn* or *n*.

In LE *nn* later became *bn* and *n* became *bw* in most instances. But sometimes in the Nineteenth Dynasty *nn* was retained for either *bn* or *bw* - more commonly *bn*. Davis (1973) shows for example that in Papyrus Anastasi I 20/16 a variant papyrus has *bw* for *nn* and in 30/3, 4, and variant reading has *bn*.

Davis (1973) classified the LE negative particles *bw* and *bn* into twenty-five sentence patterns. (See table at the end of this chapter). She noted that number 10 - *bn św jm* is timeless, while number 23 - *bn jw.f jm* refers to the future and number 24 - *bn wn.f jm* refers to the past. In a masterly survey, she discusses the probable development of the *n, m* and *b* negative. Both *n* and *m* negative particles must have been inherited from a proto-language in which there were two contrasting negative particles, probably one containing *l* (as in Hebrew and Arabic) and one containing *m*. In Egyptian the *l* was replaced by *n*. A *b* negative probably developed from the *m* negative.

In Egyptian, the ME *nn* probably became *bn* (or *bn ... jwn3*) in LE, (and *n ... an* in Coptic), while *n* became *bw* in LE (and *m* in Coptic).

Negation in LE is fully discussed later, and a table there shows the development of the various forms from ME through LE to Coptic.[1]

SECTION A: ME NEGATIVE FORMS IN NDE TEXTS

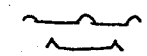
I.

nn

(i) Non-literary NDE texts

12.1

šd.n.f ḫnmt m.b3ḥ.ś



nn sp jrj mjtt.ś jr nśt nb wpt.ḥr ...

He dug a well in front of it, the like of which had never been done by any king, except ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/5,6)

The pure ME form is *n sp śḏm.f* for expressing "never". ME uses *n śḏm.t.f* for "not yet" or "before".

LE would express this by *bwpw.f śḏm ᶜn*, expressing "never" or *bw jrt.f śḏm*, expressing "not yet".

This then, although clearly a ME form is unusual, and perhaps is a unique NDE formation.

12.2

nn ḫᶜm.w n.f jn rmṯ nb

It shall not be approached by anyone.

---

1 Summaries are provided after each negative formation

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/14)

nn śḏm.f refers to the future.

12.3

nn thm.tw.w jn kwj

nn wn tht r.sn

They shall not be comandeered by others and there shall be no interference with them.

(Nauri Decree, 50/6,7)

Note *nn wn* is for *nn jw wn* (Gardiner 1982:38, §108).

tht might be a finite verb, but is more likely a noun or an infinitive.

12.4

nn tšj.j jm.sn

I will not separate from them.

(Nauri Decree, 50/9)

The above three examples are ME forms which appear in NDE too, but not in LE.

12.5

nn ft.n.j

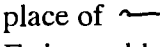
I will not tire;

nn mhj.n.j m ḫnwt ḫr mw ḫr t3 mn w3ḥ r nḥḥ ḫn^{c} ḏt

I will not forget any of the ordinances on water or on land, suredly and fixedly for ever and eternally.

(Nauri Decree, 50/11,12)

The construction *nn śḏm.n.f* is "very rare, scanty, even possibly obscure" (Gardiner 1982:334). It sometimes denies with emphasis that something will (or can) occur.

Gardiner notes in this respect that until better evidence is forthcoming, this construction must be regarded with suspicion, the more so since after the middle of Dynasty XVIII tends to take the place of  in writing. (See Davis 1973:163ff. and discussion later.) In LE, it would appear later that *bn* replaced ME *nn* and *bw* replaced ME *n*.

This is a unique form, probably occurring in NDE only.

12.6

... jw nn rdjt ḏ3j.tw.t3 r.sn jn s3 nśwt n kš

... without their being interfered with by any Viceroy of Kush ...

(Nauri Decree, 52/11)

12.7

šm mtr.ś mj wḏ.wr

nn rḫ.tw šnw.f

The lake in front of it is like the sea, whose circuit is not known.

(Nauri Decree, 47/13,14)

12.8

The treasuries are filled with valuables, silver and gold, in heaps on the ground, royal linen and clothing in (different) counts, millions of oil, incense, wine, honey

nn rᶜ m jp ᶜš3.sn

without limit in counting their abundance.

(Nauri Decree, 48/7-9)

Cf. in

12.9

nn wn r^{c}.sn ... without limit.

(Nauri Decree, 48/12)

The above four examples are characteristically found in both ME and NDE and not in LE.

(ii) *nn* ME negatives in literary NDE texts

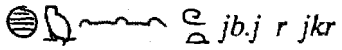
12.10

nn rḫ.j šmt n.f I cannot (or know not how to) go to him.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C1/9)

12.11

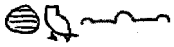
nn rḫ(.j) śt rd.wj

 *jb.j r jkr*

ḫm

(I) know not a place for my feet. My heart, (you) are very ignorant/foolish.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C2/7)

 is ME - to be ignorant of.

12.12

śfj jkr nn mjtt.f ... Splendid youth, who has no peer ....

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C4/1)

12.13

nn twt.n.f ... without his peer.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 2/11)

12.14

nn wn tpj m n3w th3rwt jw.f jrt n ḥ3t.f There is no chief among the charioteers, who could overtake it (draw level with it).

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, G1/7,8)

12.15

nn wn.w There is none.

(Papyrus Lansing, 105/13)

12.16

nn św nḏm n nḏ.f It (the grain) is not good for grinding.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/7)

Negation of a sentence with adverbial predicate.

nn before the subject (Gardiner 1982:97), and

12.17

nn wn wᶜ r šḫpr. rn.f There is none to perpetuate his name.

(Papyrus Lansing, 109/7)

wn is a participle used in a negative universal proposition (Gardiner 1982:313).

The above eight examples are all found in ME and in NDE, but not in LE.

12.18

bw jj n.j kd m jb.j n ḥrw
nn św ḥr ᶜ.j m grḥt

Sleep does not enter my heart by day, nor is it upon me at night.

(Papyrus Lansing, 109/16)

The ME *nn św* is preceded by a LE *bw śḏm.f* of the simple present. (A LE literary form. The pure LE non-literary form would be *bw jrj.f śḏm*).

Side by side and with the same meaning we find a LE *bw śḏm.f* - a form which occurs in NDE and in LE and a *nn św*, a form found in ME and in NDE. An evolving language.

12.19

nn ft.tw m33.f

One does not tire of looking at it.

(Papyrus Lansing, 110/4)

12.20

nn ḏd.n.f ḥ3.n r n.j

No one says - "If only!"

(Papyrus Lansing, 111/13)

12.21

nn jnj.tw pḥtj.w

One cannot reach the end of them.

(Papyrus Lansing, 112/1)

12.22

wn.jn.ś ḥr mśś w^{c} *s3 ṯ3j*

jw nn wn mj.kdnw.f m p3j t3 r . ḏr.f

She gave birth to a boy, whose like did not exist in the whole land.

(Truth and Falsehood, 32/7-9)

Line 1: is ME pseudoverbal construction, and

Line 2: ,a relative First Present (for *jw bn wn*), following an undefined noun (Frandsen's Function B).

This is a LE relative First Present form, but has *nn* (for *bn*) persisting in NDE, i.e. this is a NDE hybrid form, found neither in ME nor in LE.

nn has persisted into LE here; as in the following examples from Papyrus Anastasi I (Davis 1973)

12.23

pr šfdw ḥ3

nn ḫfj.f

The house of books is hidden; it is not seen.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 20/16)

12.24

p3 jnj.tw.k r šḫt.n nn nfr pw

This bringing you to beat us: - this is not good.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 30/3,4)

12.25

ḥp jw ḏd.j n.k k3j.f tm.k ṯnrḥ

nn bw śḏm.k m n jmn.w3ḥ.św
wᶜn j3w n p3 pr.ḥḏ

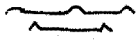
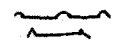
Run, for I shall tell you his nature, that you not become impatient(?)

Have you not heard the name of Amen-wa-se, an old man in (the) treasury?

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/4,5)

tm.k ṯnrḥ is a ME formation, a negative purpose clause. The Hebrew equivalent is לבלתי. *tm.k* is a *śḏm.f* form of the verb *tm* and *ṯnrḥ* is a negatival complement.

nn + *bw* is unusual, and serves to show that the Nineteenth Dynasty language has not fully evolved into the LE analytic language yet.

 after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty tended to take the place of in writing (Gardiner 1982:334), and therefore could represent either. .  . or . In LE *nn* later became *bn* and. *bw* in most instances. But sometimes in the Nineteenth Dynasty was retained for either *bn* or *bw*, - more commonly *bn*. Davis shows for example that in Papyrus Anastasi I 20/16 (above), a variant papyrus has *bw* for *nn* and in 30/3,4 (above), a variant reading has *bn*.

nn + *bw* is unusual; it is a NDE hybrid form.

12.26

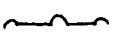
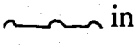
ḏd.k bw rḫ.f

nn jrj.j j3dt n śwnwn.k

You say: "He does not know (anything)".

Will I spend a moment at your side in coaxing you? ("May I not spend ...")

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 16/10-13)

Davis (1973:167) concludes that uses of  and provide further confirmation of the conclusion that both are to be read  in LE texts.

However, texts like the Northern Wars of Sethos I and Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh have almost exclusively *n* rather than *nn* (See below.)

12.27

nn ḥm.f

There is nothing he does not know.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 1/5)

12.28

mk nṯr.w.k ḥtp

mk nn kndt

Your gods are pleased with you, - not being angry.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 7/5,6)

12.29

nn kjj ḥnᶜ.j

There was no one else with me.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 13/16)

12.30

jw nn prj p3 ḫrd r.bl

And the child was not to go outdoors.

(The Doomed Prince, 2/1)

The above are all examples used in ME and in NDE and not in LE.

12.31

nn jw.j r wnm — I will not eat,

nn jw.j r śwj — I will not drink.

(The Doomed Prince, 5/11)

Here *nn* clearly precedes LE Third Futures. Later this became *bn*. Nineteenth Dynasty language still incorporates ME forms together with LE forms.

ME *nn* persisting instead of *bn* with well developed LE Third Futures, i.e. a NDE hybrid form.

12.32

nn jrj.j wnwt ᶜnḫ.kwj m ḫ3w ḫr r.f — I will not live an hour longer than he.

(The Doomed Prince, 5/16)

12.33

ḫr nn jw.j r ḏdt.f n wᶜ

ḫr bn jw.j r djt prj.f m r.j n rmṯ nb — But I shall tell it to no man, and I will not let it come forth from my mouth to any man.

(Two Brothers, 13/2,3)

Side by side, a *nn* + LE Third Future and a *bn* + LE Third Future. The former is a NDE hybrid form, the latter is used in NDE and in LE.

Here, side by side, we find *nn* + LE Third Future and *bn* + Third Future.

12.34

p3 wn nn jw.j ḫpr m.dj.k (ḏt) r. nḥḥ

For I will nevermore be with you.

(Two Brothers, 16/4,5)

p3 wn is a typical Nineteenth Dynasty form + *nn* + Third Future. The preposition *r* is missing. This is common in Nineteenth Dynasty too.

This is a NDE hybrid form.

12.35

nn jw.n r rḫ p3 grg

Do we not know what is wrong?

(Horus and Seth, 38/6)

12.36

wn.jn 3śt ḥr jrt ḫpr.ś m wᶜ n rpjt n ds

Then Isis changed herself into a statue of flint,

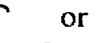
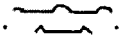
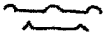
jw nn wn m.dj.ś ḏ3ḏ3

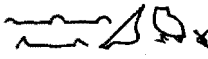
without a head.

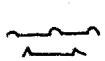
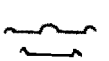
(Horus and Seth, 49/16 - 50/1)

ḏ3ḏ3 is a LE word for head. ME is *tp*.

Summary

nn is a ME form, and in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty could represent either or  . This continued into NDE, where.  . could represent  or , and could even be retained for *bn* or *bw* (e.g. 12.22, 12.31, 12.34, 12.35). (See discussion after example 12.25).

 *nn śḏm.f* in ME refers to the future "he will not hear" (e.g. 12.2, 12.4). At times it is used as a wish - "may he not" (e.g. 12.26).

 *nn* or  *nn wn* can express non-existence (e.g. 12.8, 12.14).

nn + infinitive means "without" (e.g. 12.6, 12.13, 12.28)

- A non-verbal sentence with adverbial predicate is negated by an initial *nn*. A pronominal subject in the form of a dependent pronoun, follows the negative particle (12.16, 12.8).

These examples with *nn* are therefore found in ME and in NDE.

Unusual examples include:

- *nn śp śḏm.f* (instead of *n sp śḏm.f* (12.1)[2]
- *nn śḏm.n.f* (12.5)
- *nn rḫ.j* (instead of *n rḫ.j*) (12.10, 12.11)
- *nn + bw* (12.25)
- *nn ḫm.f* (There is nothing he does not know) (12.27) (cf. *n ḫm.n.f* (12.38))
- *nn* (instead of *bn*) + Third Future (12.31)

and - *p3 wn nn jw.j ḫpr* (12.34)

These are probably all NDE hybrid or unique forms.

---

2 In the construction *n sp śḏm.f*, *sp* is probably a defective verb "happen" which occurs only in the *śḏm.f* form and whose subject is the following (perfective) *śḏm.f*. The meaning is "it did not occur that he heard" "he never heard"

In addition, we find LE and ME forms side by side in the evolving NDE language, e.g. 12.18, 12.26, 12.33

II.

(i) *n* in non-literary NDE texts.

There are no examples of *n* in non-literary texts, bearing in mind, of course (vide supra) than *n* was often written as from the middle of Eighteenth Dynasty.

(ii) In literary NDE texts

12.37

ḏw.ⓞ n m3ᶜ.ḫrw.f ḫr nṯr.f — Bad; (it can mean that) he is not justified before his own god.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream Interpretation, r.8.9b)

(Groll 1985:101)

From the Nineteenth Dynasty until the Coptic period, the negative morpheme *n* is an indicator of initiality since it may be preceded by the subordinizing converter *jw* (Coptic ⲉ).

n m3ᶜ.ḫrw.f is a passive *n śḏm.f* form indicating the simple present. It is a typical Ramesside formation.

12.38

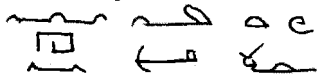
p3 sš spd wḥᶜ jb — O scribe, keen (of wit), understanding of heart,

(sic) *ḫm n.f r śj* — to whom nothing whatsoever is unknown.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 28/17,18)

12.39

n hn.tw.f



irresistible.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 6/15)

12.40

n wn ḥśj.św jm.f ḥrw ṯs n śkj

There is none that approaches him on the day of drawing up the battle line.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 6/15,16)

12.41

n ḫśf ᶜ.f m t3.w nb.w

His arm is not repulsed in all the lands.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 7/11)

 is followed by the perfective *śḏm.f*. It refers to past or present.

12.42

n snw.f

without his "second"/his like (i.e. he is unequalled).

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 18/10)

12.43

p3 ḥ3j nb jm.śn

Whoever fell

n ṯsj.f św

did not rise.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 48/3)

12.44

ḫsj.św ḥ3t.tn t3j.j nt.ḥtr.w

bn š3w mḥ.jb jm.tn gr.w

jś n wn w^{c} jm.tn

jw jrj.j n.f sp nfr m p3j.j t3

jś bn ^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.j m nb jw.tn m nmḥj

dj.j jrj.tn wr m k3j r^{c} nb

How faint are your hearts, O my charioteers,

None among you is worthy of trust! Is there none among you whom I helped (did something good for) in my land? Did I not rise as lord when you were lowly and made you into chiefs by my will every day?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 56/14 - 57/7)

The section above is typical of Nineteenth Dynasty. It is a combination of negative forms.

bn š3w

jś n wn and

jś bn ^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.j (bn ^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.j)

grw is an adverb, used after negatives.

bn ^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.j probably stands for *n śḏm.n.j*(?) which often has present meaning. If it has past meaning it is usually over a more or less extended period. It can also negate pseudoverbal constructions.

The *n wn* (line 3) as in all the examples of *n* (above and below) are ME forms, which are used in both ME and NDE and not in LE. The *bn ^{c}ḥ^{c}.n.j* is probably a unique (or hybrid) NDE form.

12.45

jw.j ḫr ḫdb jm.śn
n wh3s.n.j

I slew them without sparing (them).

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 88/14)

Another *n śḏm.n.f*

12.46

n wn ṯ3j m ḥtp
jw.k ḫr jrt.f

There is no blame in peace when you make it.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 97/13)

12.47

n śmn.n w^{c} jm.śn r ^{c}ḥ3 ḥn^{c}.śn

Not one of them stood firm to fight with them.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 33/13)

12.48

jw.j m ḫr jb ^{c}š3wt n rḫ.j śt

I am among a host of strangers (a host, whom I do not know).

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 40/3)

12.49

n ḏd m ^{c}b^{c}

It is no boast.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 77/8)

12.50

jw ḥm.f wᶜ n kjj ḥnᶜ.f

His majesty was alone, none other with him.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 122/9)

12.51

n ḏᶜr.n.f ḥḥ m ḥ3st

He heeded not the foreign multitude.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 120/14)

12.52

jn jw nfr p3j.k ḫdb n3j.k b3k.w

jw ḥr.k ḥśj jm.sn

n nᶜj.k

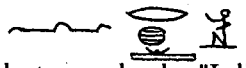
Is it good that you slay your servants, your face savage toward them and without pity (lit. "you not being lenient")?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 94/7-13)

Summary

n śḏm.n.f corresponds to positive *śḏm.f* and denies the occurrence of an action over a more or less extended period. The common meaning is "he cannot". It is mostly present, less often past, but in such cases always over a more or less extended period and is rarely future (e.g. 12.47, 12.51).

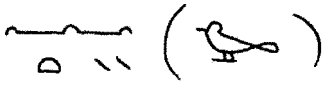
n śḏm.f corresponds to positive *śḏm.n.f*. The *śḏm.f* is the perfective, and mostly refers to the past (12.43) and less often present (12.41)

 *n rḫ.j* means "I do not know" (actually "I have not learnt"), but can also be "I did not know" (12.48).

n wn(t) + subject can express non-existence too. (12.40, 12.44).

n is a negation form occurring in ME and in NDE, and not in LE.

III.

jwtj 

is a ME NEGATIVE RELATIVE ADJECTIVE, corresponding to the positive *ntj, ntt, ntjw* or *nt(jw)t*.

The attribute of a defined antecedent, and of an independent relative clause (i.e. one that is used as a noun) is as a rule expressed by a clause which is introduced by a relative adjective. The negative *jwtj* = "one who does not", "one who does not have".

(i) The *jwtj* in non-literary NDE texts

12.53

ksn . wj w3t jwtj mw.ś

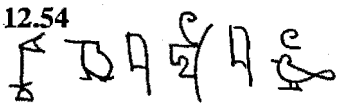
How painful is a way in which there is no water.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/2)

and

(ii) The *jwtj* in literary NDE texts

12.54



jwtj ḥ3t

A fool, who has no sense

p3 ntj ḥr šsp.f

is he who takes him on.

(Stele of Merneptah, 15/14)

12.55

mk św m jwtj jb.f — Behold, he is mindless/foolish (lit. one who has not his heart).

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C2/1-2)

12.56

jwtj phtj ... — without strength ...

jwtj ḫpš śt — lacking in power

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 17/13,14)

This negative relative adjectival form is used in ME and in NDE and not in LE.

IV. ME Negative Imperative Forms in the NDE texts

m

The ME ( ) negative imperative is *m* - a negative wish (*m* + the negative complement is the usual way of expressing a prohibition).

(i) In the non-literary NDE texts

None in non-literary texts.

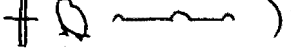
(ii) Literary Texts

12.57

m pr.t ḫr m3.n.k — Do not move, while you are still possessed by what you saw.

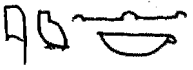
(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream Interpretation, A spell against nightmares - 10/11,12)

(Groll 1985:81)

m prt is a negative imperative containing the infinitive *pr.t.* The infinitive occurs after the negative element *m* only in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is therefore a literary LE construction. In ME, we find (the imperative of the verb ) + a negatival complement.

m (negative imperative) + infinitive is an Eighteenth and NDE form only

12.58

 *jntnt*

Do not dawdle!

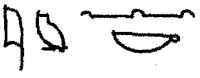
(Papyrus Anastasi I, 27/14)

12.59

m.dj t3jt n.k

ptr n.k b^{c}

s3w

 *bg3j*

Do not draw down punishment upon yourself.

Look to it diligently.

Beware -

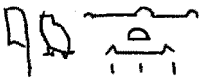
Do not be remiss.

(Papyrus Koller, 48/13 - 49/1)

Line 1 - is a LE negative imperative

Line 4 - a ME negative imperative.

12.60

 *ḫ^{c}m.f*

Don't approach him.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 87/8)

m + negatival complement used as a negative imperative occurs in ME and in NDE.

V.

tm

tm in ME is fully conjugated, and is followed by the verb which contains the action and which has a verb form of its own, the Negative Complement.

may mean "to be complete", i.e. "being finished", i.e. he is finished with hearing, i.e. he does not hear. In later LE, an infinitive follows *tm* in place of the earlier Negative Complement

(i) ME *tm* in Non-literary NDE texts

12.61

šṯt.šn ḫ^{c}.sn

tm.w šḏm n.j

They shall burn the flesh of those who will not listen to me.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 69/5)

tm as a participle or relative form.

12.62

jrj p3j.j nb r djt jrj.tw śb3 n t3j śt.ḥmt r.jṯ3j

p3 ḫ3 m.mjtt p3 wšb

tm kt st.ḥmt mj.kdnw.ś wḥm jrt m.mjtt

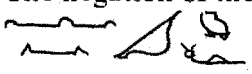
My lord shall cause to be punished this woman who stole (both) the chisel and the *wšb* so that no other woman will repeat doing it likewise.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 12-14)

tm in a virtual clause of purpose.

12.63

There are many examples of *r tm djt* as negative purpose clauses ("to prevent") e.g. in the Nauri Decree. I think these are LE with *tm* negating the infinitive. (See under LE *tm*). They could just possibly be ME with the verb *dj* as a negative complement (Gardiner 1982:265), but the verb is *djt*, i.e. infinitive, and LE is more likely.

The negation of the construction *r* + infinitive in ME is of course  *nn śḏm.f*. It is only in LE Third Future (*jw.f r śḏm*) that *nn* or *bn* can stand before the *jw.f*. Other infinitives in LE are negated by *tm* (e.g. *r tm djt, mtw.f tm śḏm* - the conjunctive; *jw.f ḫr tm śḏm* of the past and of the future).

12.64

ḫr śwt jrj.n ḥm.f tm dj

But his majesty has avoided causing ...

(Nauri Decree, 57/14)

The above ME uses of *tm* (negative purpose clauses, participle or virtual relative form and with *jrj.n* NOUN *tm dj*) are used in ME and in NDE. On the other hand, the later LE usages, negating all infinitives, isomorphisms groups and as a negative purpose clause *r tm djt* (= Hebrew לבלתי) (see later) are used in LE and in NDE, i.e. all forms of *tm* in both ME and LE usage are found in NDE.

(ii) ME *tm* form in literary NDE texts

12.65

bn nfrt	It is not good.
tm.k djt jnj.tw.ś	Do not cause it to be brought
	or perhaps - It is not good that you should not cause it to be brought.
	(Papyrus Anastasi I, 13/5)

tm.k is probably the *śḏm.f* form optatively used, a use confined to Papyrus Anastasi I, e.g.

12.66

tm.k ḳnd	May you not be angry.
	(Papyrus Anastasi I, 23/5)

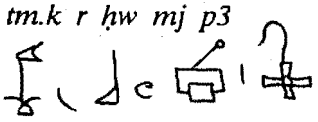
12.67

tm.k ḏd ḫnš.k rn n k3wj ḥr nb	May you not say that I have made your name stink before others.
	(Papyrus Anastasi I, 40/5,6)

But note too -

12.68

tm.k r ḫw mj p3



You will not flicker like the flame.

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/6,7)

12.69

tm.k ḫpr mj jḫ n św3ḏ

You will not be like a hired ox.

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/13)

This form - *tm.k* - the *śḏm.f* form optatively used is unique to NDE, and in fact to Papyrus Anastasi I and Papyrus Lansing.

12.70

jḫ ḳd.k wᶜ n śt ḥmt n b3t3

tm.k (for *.f*) *ḥmś wᶜ*

Do you fashion a wife for Bata, that he may not dwell/live alone.

(Two Brothers, 19/7,8)

12.71

m jrj prj r bnr

tm(t) p3 jwm ḫr jṯ3.t

ḫr nn jw.j rḫ nḫm.ṯ m.dj.f

Do not go out, lest the sea carry you away; for I cannot rescue you from it.

(Two Brothers, 19/13,15)

Line 1 - is LE negative imperative.

12.72

jnwᶜm jrj w m. tm wn

Yanoam is made non-existent.

(Merneptah's Stele IV, 19/5,7)

and

12.73

... *jrj.śn m tm wn*

... making them as that which is not

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 18/2)

12.74

tw.ṯ ḥr ᶜm3 m ḏr(tj) dj.ṯ

jrj.tw śkśk p3 ᶜš n (for *jn*) *pr.ᶜ3*

ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb śḫrj śt r.j(? *.ṯ*)

tm̀t djt ᶜnḫ.kwj

Surely, you know when you caused Pharaoh to destroy the cedar at (your?) bidding, that I might no longer live.

(Two Brothers, 25/11-13)

12.75

jḫ h3b.k n.n p3 ntj jw.n r jrr.f n ḥr ḥnᶜ śṭḥ

tm.n jrj śḫr m ḫm n.n

Write us what we should do about Horus and Seth, so that we do not take action in ignorance.

(Horus and Seth, 56/16 - 57/1)

The *śḏm.f* form of *tm* in a subordinate clause, a virtual clause of purpose (cf. לבלתי).

All the above *tm* forms occur in ME and NDE.

SECTION B: NEGATIVE FORMS IN LE

The negative patterns in LE fall into three basic groups (Groll 1970:XIX).

1. The counterpart group

The counterpart group which contains patterns, which are quite different morphologically. But, as far as time and tense indication, syntactic capabilities, and mode of reporting are concerned, they are identical. There is a complete functional identity.

Examples of this group are:

(a) *bwpw.f śḏm.f*, the counterpart of the perfect active *śḏm.f*

(b) *m jrj śḏm.f*, the counterpart of the affirmative imperative *j.śḏm.św*.

(c) *mn m dj.f* ⊙.A, the negation of the existential *wn m.dj.f* ⊙.A or *wn* ⊙.A *jm m.dj.f*.

2. The parallels group

This group contains patterns which are different both morphologically and as far as the contrast between state and action aspects is concerned. There is only a partial functional identity between affirmative and negative patterns.

Examples of this group are:

(a) *bw jrj.f śḏm.f*. This negates First Present patterns where the second position is filled by an infinitive, and is used for negating habitual performance of an action, verbs of perception, expressing inability to perform the action, verbs of ceasing or stopping, non-conclusive verbs and can ... could connotations.

(b) *bw jrt.f śḏm.f*, indicating "not yet" and negating *śḏm.f* ᶜ*n*.

3. The isomorphisms group

The isomorphisms group contains patterns in which the affirmative and corresponding negative patterns are identical morphologically, only a *bn* or a *tm* being added. If a sentence pattern begins with *bn*, the verbal pattern indeed belongs to the isomorphisms group; the same conclusions may be drawn if the sentence pattern contains *tm*

(a) *bn*:

bn + First Present indicating the immediate present

bn + Third Future (+ *jwn3*)

bn + non-verbal sentence + *jwn3*

bn + initial prospective

bn + emphatic *j.śḏm.f* of the future.

(b) *tm*:

As *tm* negates all infinitives *jw.f (ḥr) tm śḏm.f* of past or future, *mtw.f tm śḏm.f* of the conjunctive, *tm* negating the infinitive acting as an imperative,

... *tm śḏm.f* of the non-initial prospective.

This classification is a good one, and the clearest common denominator between the three negative categories in LE is the degree of identity between the affirmative and the corresponding negative patterns.

These forms diaplay the first stage towards the wholly analytical verbal system seen in Coptic. The LE patterns are still a mixture of synthetic together with analytic. In Coptic there are two types of negative sentence pattern:

A. The sentence conjugation patterns, i.e. the counterparts and the $\overline{\text{N}}\ldots\text{ⲁN}$ group, and

B. The clause conjugation patterns, i.e. the $\overline{\text{ⲦⲘ}}$ group.

There are six negative markers in LE:

bw	*bn ... jwn3*
bwpw	*m*
bn	and *tm*

The first five can act as direct indicators of initiality, only *tm* cannot. LE also has the negative element *mn*.

All these forms occur in LE and as shown in the examples in this thesis, in NDE too.

I have tabulated the negative forms in Twentieth Dynasty LE (middle column), flanked by the ancestor ME and the descendent Coptic.

ME	LE	Coptic
n p3.f śḏm or *n śḏm.f*	*bwpw.f śḏm*[1]	ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 2
n sp śḏm.f[3]	*bwpw.f śḏm ᶜn*[4]	ⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 4
jwtj (śḏm.f)[5]	*ntj bwpw.f śḏm*[6]	ⲉⲧⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 6
m śḏm(w)[7] *jmm śḏm.f*	*m jrj śḏm.f*[8] *m djt śḏm.f* *m jrj djt śḏm.f*[9]	ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 8 ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲧⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
nn, nn wn or *n wnt* + subject[10]	*mn m.dj.f*ⲫ.A[10]	ⲙⲛ̄(ⲧⲉ)- 10 ⲙⲛ̄(ⲧⲁ)=
n rḫ.k	*bw rḫ.k*[11]	ⲙⲉⲩⲁⲕ
n śḏm.n.f	*bw jrj.f śḏm*[12]	ⲙⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 13
n śḏm.t.f[14]	*bw jrt.f śḏm*[14]	ⲙ̄ⲡⲁⲧⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ 14
Perhaps *n śḏm.n.f*	*bn tw.j/św (ḫr) śḏm* *(jwn3)*[15]	ⲛ̄ⲧⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ -- ⲁⲛ ⲛ̄ⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ -- ⲁⲛ
Perhaps *jw.f n śḏm*	*jw bn tw.j/św śḏm*[16]	ⲉⲛⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ -- ⲁⲛ ⲉⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ -- ⲁⲛ

ME	LE	Coptic
nn śḏm.f	*bn jw.f(r) śḏm*[17]	ⲛ̄ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
?n śḏm.n.f or *?n śḏm.f* or *n ... js* or *?n prr.f* *?nn śḏm.f*	*bn j.jrj.f śḏm jwn3* *bn j.śḏm*[19]	ⲛ̄ⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ - - ⲁⲛ [18(a)] or ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ - - ⲁⲛ [18(b)] or ⲉϣⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ - - ⲁⲛ [18(c)] ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ - - ⲁⲛ
nn, nn wn or *n wnt* + subject	*bn wn.f* + adv. *jwn3*	(ⲛ̄)ⲛⲉⲩⲙ̄ⲙⲁⲩ - - ⲁⲛ
nn śḏm.f (or *m śḏm(w)*)	*bn śḏm.f*[20]	ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲡⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ [21]

ME	LE	Coptic
*ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm (affirmative) Perhaps *ḥnᶜ nn św śḏm	*mtw.f tm śḏm*[22]	ⲛ̄ⲩ̄ ⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
jw śḏm.f	*jw.f(ḥr) tm śḏm.f* of the past	? Perhaps ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
-	*jw.f(ḥr) tm śḏm.f* of the future	? ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ in the affirmative, but no negation attested ? Potential future ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲩⲧⲙ̄ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄
?	*tm dj (śḏm)*[23]	ⲧⲙ̄ⲧⲣⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄[23]
nn + infin.[24]	*bn (śḏm)* jwn3[24]	?[25] ⲉⲓⲙⲏⲧ(ⲉ)ⲓ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄

ME	LE	Coptic
tm(t) In ME, *tm* is a negative verb which can be fully conjugated. It is followed by the verb, which contains the action and which has a verb form of its own, the negative complement (the same form follows *m* or *jm*)	*tm* In LE, *tm* negates the conjunctive; the *jw.f(ḥr) śḏm.f* of the past and the future; the infinitive; and the non-initial prospective *śḏm.f*	ⲙ̄ⲧⲙ ⲧⲙ negates the conjunctive, the temporalis, the potential future the "until" forms, and the conditional ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛ
n ... js or *nn*	*bn ... jwn3* + non-verbal sentences, 1 praesens, (rarely) 3 Future and Second Tenses. This negates an "is" relationship, and not a performing action.	ⲛ̄ ... ⲁⲛ This negates 1 praesens, circumstantial praesens, imperfect, 1 Future (with an undefined nominal subject, must be introduced by ⲙⲛ̄); Future imperfect, non-verbal sentences and all Second Tenses

ME	LE	Coptic
nn nfr ...[26]	*bn nfr p3j śḏm.f*[26]	ⲁⲧ + adjective[26]

1. Negation of *śḏm.f* of the past or First Present denoting past time.
2. Note: tenses with ⲛⲉ - , i.e. preterite, are negated with ⲙ̄ⲙⲛ̄ or ⲙⲛ̄ⲧⲉ - .
3. Lit.: "it did not occur that he heard", i.e. "he never heard".
4. Never.
5. The negative relative adjective.
6. The relative with negation of the past tense.
7. *śḏm(w)* is the negative complement.
8. The negative imperative.
9. An LE innovation.
10. Non-existence.
11. Praesens with verb *rḫ*.
12. 1 praesens denoting habitual action.
13. 1 habitude
14. "Not yet"
15. 1 praesens conveying a synchronous or progressive action or an action in the near future.
16. Circumstantial praesens.
17. A Third Future.

18. Second tenses: 18(a) Present;
    18(b) Perfect;
    18(c) Habitude
19. Second tense - prospective
20. The initial prospective
21. The optative
22. The conjunctive
23. The causative infinitive
24. Meaning "without"
25. "Unless" rather than "without"
26. Negation of adjective.

VI.

bwpw.f śḏm

Examples of *bwpw.f śḏm*, the negative counterpart of the perfect active *śḏm.f*.

(i) Non-literary NDE texts

No examples in the non-literary texts.

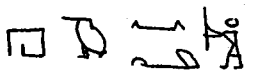
(ii) In literary NDE texts

12.76

ḫr bwpw.j nrj r.ḥ3t.k — But I felt no awe before you.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 10/16)

12.77



hn bwpw.k ḫnj n.f

jw bw tkn.k św

You have not/(ever) approached it, nor can you draw near to it.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 22/1-3)

hn occurs several times obscurely before a negative.

12.78

bwpw.n ptr k3 mj ᶜ3 p3 ḏd.k

We have not (never) seen an ox as big as you say.

(Truth and Falsehood, 35/10,11)

12.79

bwpw nb jrt n mšᶜ.f n3 jrj.n ḥm.j n jb.tn

No lord has done for his soldiers what my majesty did for your sakes.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 58/14)

12.80

jst bwpw mśj n p3 śr n n3h3rn

ḫrw.r wᶜ n šrjt śt.ḥmt

Now the prince of Nahrin had no children, except one daughter.

(The Doomed Prince, 3/4,5)

12.81

jw.ś ḫr tm djt mw ḫr drt.f m p3j.f śḫr

jw bwpw.ś śt3 r ḫ3t.f

jw p3j.f pr m ḳḳw

She did not pour water upon his hands, according to his custom;

she did not kindle a light against his return and his house was in darkness.

(Two Brothers, 13/15 - 14/1)

The first sentence is a continuative LE *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the past, negated by *tm*; the second sentence preceded by *jw* converter negates a LE *śdm.f* of the past.

12.82

jw.f šmt r jrt n ḥ3t.ś

jw bwpw w^{c} ptr.ś ḥrj jb r.f

And he went to meet her, while no one but himself had seen her.

(Horus and Seth, 44/13,14)

jw converter changing *bwpw.f śḏm* into a subordinate circumstantial clause (Frandsen's Function A).

12.83

wn.jn śtḫ ḥr jj n.f

jw.f ḥr ḏd n p3.r^{c}.ḥr.3ḫtj n ^{c}ḏ3

bwpw(.j) gm ḥr

ḫr jw gm.f św

And Seth came and told Pre Harakti falsely:

"I did not find Horus", although he had found him.

(Horus and Seth, 50/13-15)

A *wn.jn.f* ME pseudoverbal construction, followed by a LE continuative past, then a *bwpw.f śḏm*, followed by a *ḫr jw* = although - (a concessive clause) followed by a *śḏm.f* of the past (Frandsen's Function D).

All these *bwpw.f śḏm* forms, the negative counterpart of the perfect active *śḏm.f*, are LE forms, found too in NDE and not in ME.

VII.

LE *bw*

A.

bw śḏm.f (or *bw ḏd.f* or *bw rḫ.f*) is a literary LE form, and is not found in LE non-literary texts, where *bw jrj.f śḏm.f* occurs when referring to the simple present and *bwpw.f śḏm* when referring to the past. Both forms however are found in NDE.

(i) *bw* in non-literary NDE texts.

12.84

bw dj p3 nṯr ḫpr ḥrwj r . jwd.śn m nt^{c}

The god has not permitted hostility to occur between them by means of the customary agreement.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/2,3)

LE *bw śḏm.f* = ME *n śḏm.n.f* = timeless and therefore conveys the concept "never permits" (Polotsky 1976:1. Oriental Studies 6).

12.85

r pw jr w^{c}r rmṯ 1 r pw rmṯ 2

jw bw rḫ.tw.w

r jrt b3k.w n kjj

bn jw.tw r w3ḥ.w m p3 t3 n ḫt3

jw.tw r jnt.w n R

And if one or two men, who are unknown, flee in order to be servants for another, one will not leave them in the land of Hatti; one will take them to Ramesses.

(Hittite Treaty, 229/5,6)

A conditional sentence following *jr* + prospective *śḏm.f*.

jw bw rḫ.tw.w is a *bw śḏm.f* (passive) following *jw* after undefined nouns indicating a relative clause (Function B of Frandsen (1974)).

bn jw.tw ... is negation of LE Third Future while *jw.tw r jnt.w* is LE Affirmative Third Future.

12.86

bw mn sp n grg

A liar's deed does not endure.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/6)

12.87

sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw.f
dj.w nṯr jrj.tw.f ḥr.j

A deed, - that has been unknown - god let it be done by me.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/14,15)

(ii) Examples of *bw śḏm.f* in literary NDE texts

12.88

bw śḏm.w n śwnwn

They hearken not to flattery.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 35/5,6)

12.89

bw km3.f bw śḫśḫ.f
n ḏr mśt.f

He hasn't moved and hasn't ran since (the day of) his birth.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 17/7)

12.90

bw nḏ.k . ḫrt.(w)j m ḥ3t n šᶜt.k

You do not salute me at the beginning of your letter.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 14/7)

12.91

bn św nw n ṯ3.w nḥ3w
bw ḏᶜr.f p3 ḥjn

He does not look out for dangerous winds and he does not search for the current.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 43/11-13 (really Papyrus Koller)

A First Present with a verb of perception negated by *bn* precedes a *bw śḏm.f* of the simple present.

12.92

bw dgś.k św m.kf3w

You have not trodden it

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 38/9,10 (really Papyrus Koller)

m.kf3w is used with a negative for emphasis.

12.93

bw rḫ.j jṯt.j m.b3ḥf

I do not know how to remove myself (from) before him.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C2/6)

12.94

bw dd śḏm r jrt.j

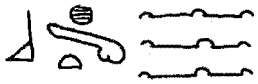
bw wrḥ m.kf

I do not put paint upon my eyes, nor oil myself at all.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C3/1,2)

m.kf with a negative for emphasis

12.95



b(w) ḫm(t) hpw n ᶜḥ

They disregard the laws of the palace.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 9/5)

12.96

bw w3ḥ.j nfr ḥ3 tp drt.j
r tm jrt.w

I did not abstain from any good deed, so as to perform it/them.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 37/12)

r tm jrt.w is a LE negative purpose clause *r* + *tm* + infinitive.

12.97

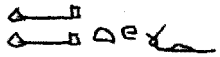
tw.k jj.tj m p3 hrw
bw w3ḥ.k jwᶜ.w

Today you came back and left no heirs.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 95/3)

A First Present, followed by *bw śḏm.f*

12.98

bw  *dd.f ḫ3ᶜ.tw*
prt r jwtn

It (the goose *śmn n wḏb*) does not let seed be cast to the ground, without snatching it in its fall.

jw bw ṯ3j.f hh.ś

(Papyrus Lansing, 102/8,9)

A *bw śḏm.f* followed by a circumstantial *jw bw śḏm.f*

12.99

bw jj n.j kd m jb.j n hrw	Sleep does not enter my heart by
nn św ḥr ᶜ.j m grḥ	day, nor is it upon me by night.
	(Papyrus Lansing, 109/16)

nn here negates a First Present (not *bn*).

12.100

hn bw ḫpr.k	If you had not existed,
hn bw mś.k	if you had not been born,
jw jt bdt ḫpr m.rᶜ	barley and emmer would yet exist!
	(Horus and Seth, 57/13,14)

hn refer to irrealis in a conditional sentence.

All the *bw śḏm.f* forms occur in (literary) LE and in NDE.

B. *bw jrj.f śḏm(.f)*

This is really the counterpart of the ME *n śḏm.n.f*. It is the form occurring in non-literary LE texts, and it is the ancestor of the Coptic ⲙⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ i.e. 1 Habitude. It is not surprising therefore that the frequent performance of an action is negated by *bw jrj.f śḏm(.f)*. It is Davis' sentence pattern 18, and is one of Groll's Parallels group.

(i) *bw jrj.f śḏm.(f)* **in non-literary NDE texts**

12.101

jw bw jrj p3 wr n ḫt3 th(t) r p3 t3 n kmt

r nḥḥ r jṯ3 nkt jm.f

And the great prince of Hatti will not transgress against the land of Egypt for ever, in order to take anything from it.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/15)

This is preceded by

12.102

jw bw ḫpr.n ḫrwj r.jwd.sn r.nḥḥ

And hostility will never occur between them forever.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/14)

This is an unusual form, a *bw śḏm.n.f*. The tense is future, alhtough *bw śḏm.n.f* (an archaistic form of LE *bw śḏm.f/bw jrj.f śḏm* and ME *n śḏm.n.f*) is, properly speaking, timeless.

When the syntax demands *bn* with a following Third Future, the text has *bw* in both instances. Gardiner (1930:220) states that the mistake is serious, as *bw* can never be used to negate a Third Future (*bw jrj* NOUN *r śḏm*). He is of opinion that it may be a scribal fault rather than an error in transcribing from the Akkadian la + D stem of *gerû* (prohibition).

The *bw ḫpr.n.f* is unusual, and probably occurs only in NDE (See 18.5). The preceding *bw* + Third Future is unusual, and occurs only here in NDE. It may be a hybrid NDE form, a scribal fault or a transcription error from the corresponding Hittite Text.

(ii) *bw jrj.f śḏm.f* **in literary NDE texts**

12.103

bw jrj.f wnm śj m ḫrrt nb dj m.dj.j ḥrw.r ᶜbt

He does not eat any herbs here with me, except lettuce.

(Horus and Seth, 52/14)

12.104

bw jrj.k ḥr śḏm

You do not listen.

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/14)

The *ḥr* is unusual.

The *ḥr* is unusual, perhaps a NDE hybrid form.

12.105

bw jrj ḥ3t ḳd hj rmṯ.ś

None who attacks her people will succeed.

(Merneptah's Stele, 16/2)

12.106

jśt jr śḫ3.k wᶜ n bjn
jśt bw jrj.k śḫ3 wᶜ n nfr
m.rᶜ pw wᶜ n nkt
jw jrj.j św n.k jḫ ḥr

If you have thought of an evil thing, will you not think of a good thing or of something that I (also) might do for you?

(Two Brothers, 17/7-9)

jw jrj.j is a *jw* circumstantial/relative clause (Frandsen's Function B).

12.107

n3j.k wpwt tḫtḫ
bw jrj.w wḏ^{c}.w
jrj ḫrjwf śḥj
bw jrj.f śḏm

Your lists are confused and cannot be made right.
Kharof plays the deaf man and will not hearken

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 11/14,15)

Note the "cannot" and "will not" meanings.

All the above *bw jrj.f śḏm* examples are found in NDE and in LE.

(c) Other (perhaps unusual) *bw*'s

(i) In non-literary NDE texts

Note above *bw śḏm.n.f* in the Hittite Treaty 227/14,15.

Note also (*bw śḏm.n.f*) in

12.108

nfr jrj ḥr r n nṯr
p3 wn(n) bw h3j.n.sn śḫrw.f

Happy is he who acts on the word of god, for his plans do not fail.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/8,9)

12.109

sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw.f ...

A deed that has been unknown ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/14)

wn of existence negated by *bw śḏm.tw.f*. This is unusual.

These *wn bw* examples are unusual; I think they occur rarely in NDE and in LE.

(ii) Unusual forms of *bw* in literary NDE texts

12.110

wḏ t3 šw prj r šb3

bw gm.n.f šw ḥr št.f

As dawn comes, he goes to make a start, and does not find it in its place.

(Papyrus Lansing, 105/3,4)

Another example of *bw śḏm.n.f*

Perhaps a unique NDE form (as in 12.102, 12.112 and 12.113).

12.111

nn bw śḏm.k rn n A

You have surely heard the name of A.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/5,6)

A double negative here!

nn and *bw*!

Unusual, perhaps a hybrid NDE form.

12.112

Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh has examples of *bw śḏm.n.f* too, e.g.

wnn.j ḥr śgb n.sn

bw śḏm.n n.j wᶜ jm.sn jw.j ḥr cš

I keep on shouting for them, but none of them heeds my call.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 41/3)

and in

12.113

Doomed Prince, there is a *bw śḏm.n.f* too,

bw dj.n p3 nḫt prj p3 mśḥ

The demon did not let the crocodile come out.

(Doomed Prince, 7/5,6)

Further examples of the unique NDE *bw śḏm.n.f.*

12.114

bw jrj.f r.n ᶜn

ḏr p3 rᶜ

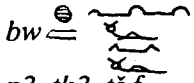
It was never done to us since the time of Re (primordial times)

(Merneptah's Stele, 15/7)

This *bw śḏm.f ᶜn* has the connotation of "never before".

This is unusual, perhaps unique to NDE. LE has *bwpw.f śḏm ᶜn.*

12.115

bw  *ḥm.f n.f dw3w*

p3 th3 tš.f

He knows no tomorrow, who attacks his border.

(Merneptah's Stele, 15/14 - 16/1)

Conclusion

bw śḏm.f is a literary LE form which also occurs in NDE. *bw jrj.f śḏm* is a LE form also occurring in NDE.

Rare examples include *bw śḏm.n.f*, - probably a unique NDE form.

bw + Third Future, perhaps a hybrid NDE form.

bw jrj.k ḥr śḏm, probably also a NDE hybrid form.

wn bw śḏm.f, a rare negation of existence, found in NDE and in LE.

nn + *bw*, - a hybrid NDE form.

bw śḏm.f ᶜn perhaps unique to NDE too.

VIII.

The LE *bn*

The isomorphisms group contains patterns in which the affirmative and corresponding negative patterns are identical morphologically, only a *bn* or a *tm* being added, e.g.

bn + First Present, indicates the immediate present.

bn + Third Future (± *jwn3.*)

bn + non-verbal sentence + *jwn3*

bn + initial prospective

bn + emphatic *j.śḏm.f* of the future.

(i) Examples of *bn* in non-literary NDE texts

(a) *bn* + non-verbal sentence

12.116

m.bj3t

bn jnk r.jṯ3 św

No. It was not I, who stole it.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 8)

A negative participial statement.

r.jṯ3 = *j.jṯ3* is a specific formation of the participle for the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

m.bj3t is an adverb phrase (preposition *m* + the noun *bj3t* "wonder"). It means "No!"

12.117

bn nsj ḫrt.tn

It does not belong to your requirements.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/2)

(b) *bn* + initial prospective *śḏm.f*

12.118

bn mrj.sn śᶜḏ3 m ḫrt

They do not like misuse of their possessions.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/3,4)

12.119

jw bn m3ᶜ.f n wśjr

... without it being offered to Osiris.

(Nauri Decree, 55/3)

Circumstantial following *jw*

12.120

ḫr jr jw bn jb n p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 šmt ...

And if the wish of the great prince of Hatti is not to come ...

(Hittite Treaty, 228/5,6)

This (- a conditional sentence with *jr*) - is followed by

jw.f ḫr djt ḥnn p3j.f mšᶜ then he will send his army, i.e. *jw.f ḫr śḏm.f* of the future.

And this is followed by a conjunctive.

(c) *bn* + a Third Future

12.121

bn jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 r šsp.w

The great prince of Hatti will not receive them

(Hittite Treaty, 229/3,4)

jrj is for *jw* before a nominal subject (Gardiner 1930:220).

12.122

bn jw.tw r w3ḥ.w m p3 t3 n ḫt3

One will not leave them in the land of Hatti

(Hittite Treaty, 229/6)

12.123

jr n3j mdt
ntj ḥr p3j ᶜnw n ḥḏ ...
jr p3 ntj bn jw.f r s3w.śn ...

As for these words, which are on this tablet of silver
whoever will not keep/observe them
...

(Hittite Treaty, 230/11-13)

(iii) Examples of *bn* in literary NDE texts

(a) *bn* + First Present

12.124

ḫr jrj.j knkn.k m ḫt nbt
ḫr bn tw.k śḏm

But though I beat you with every kind of stick, you do not listen.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/10,11)

12.125

gm(.j) bn śt m ḥśwt bn śt m śhwrj

(I) found it (your letter) consisted neither of praises nor of insults.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 10/5,6)

12.126

bn tw.k m sš jwn3

In very sooth, you are no scribe.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 22/7-9)

Note *bn* ..... *jwn3* here.

12.127

bn św šsp ḥr fk3.w n ᶜḏ3.w
bn św ḥr ḏd n jnj.mtr
bn św ḥr nw r š3ᶜ.r

He does not take bribes from the guilty,
he does not speak to the witness,
he does not look at him who promises.

(Prayers used as school texts, 2/13,14)

12.128

bn grg ḫ3m n3j.f ᶜwn.jb

The cheat cannot retain his plunder

(Merneptah's Stele, 17/4-6)

12.129

bn mjnjw ḥr ḏ3j mḥt jtrw

No herdsmen cross the river's flood

(Merneptah's Stele, 18/11)

12.130

jw.w ḥr mšᶜ
jw bw rḫ.śn
jw bn śt ḥr ḥr r ᶜḫ3

They attacked the army
as they were marching unaware and not prepared to fight.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 27/3)

12.131

bn kjj ḥr ᶜn.f

No one turned around.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 47/14)

12.132

ḫr bn tw.tw rḫ wḏ^{c} m p3 s 2

And no one knows how to judge between the two men.

(Horus and Seth, 39/14,15)

12.133

jr p3 t3 ntj tw.j jm.f
św mḥ wpwtj ḥśj ḥr.w
jw bn śt śnd n nṯr nb nṯrt

The land in which I am is full of savage-looking messengers, who fear no god or goddess.

(Horus and Seth, 58/2-4)

This is a negative relative First Present (Frandsen's Function B (1974))

(b) *bn* + **non-verbal sentences**

12.134

bn n3 t3

There is no grain.

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/1)

12.135

bn nfrt

It is not good

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 13/5)

12.136

w3t.k mḥ.tj m dḫwt ᶜnr
bn śmḥ snnj

Your path is filled with boulders and pebbles, without a passable crack(?)

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 35/11,12)

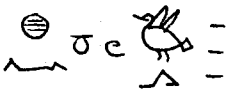
12.137

bn n.s ḫnw m ḥ3w

She is not a chatterer

(lit. She has not a word too much)

(Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C1/3)

 is speech in LE.

12.138

jr jw n.j n3w wr swnw
bw hrw jb.j pḫrt.śn
n3w grj.ḥb.w bn w3t jm.śn
bw wḏ^{c} t3j.j ḫ3jt

When the best physicians come to me, my heart will not be comforted with their remedies.

The magicians - there's no help through them.

My sickness is not discerned (diagnosed)

(Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C4/7,8)

12.139

bn jnk św
bn jw.j rḫ dj.ś n.k

It is not mine, I cannot give it to you.

(Truth and Falsehood, 34/10)

12.140

jsr3r fkt bn prt.f

Israel is wasted, bare of seed.

(Merneptah's Stele, 19/7)

12.141

bn k3t n rmṯ ḳnw

The labours of many people are nothing.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 42/3)

12.142

bn š3w mḥ.jb jm.tn grw

None among you is worthy of trust.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 56/14)

12.143

jś bn

Is it not so?

(Two Brothers, 16/12)

12.144

bn nfr jwn3 p3j gb.tw m.b3ḥ t3 pśdt

It is not good - your defrauding (me) before the Ennead.

(Horus and Seth, 42/5,6)

Note *bn ... jwn3*

12.145

m jrj jrt n3 sp.w ᶜ3.w n grg ntj bn śt r st.w

Don't do those big misdeeds, that are out of place.

(Horus and Seth, 40/1,2)

Relative negative First Present is used here. *jw bn śt ḥr śḏm* cannot be used, as the preceding noun is definite. This should be under *bn* + First Present.

(c) *bn* + initial prospective *śḏm.f*

12.146

bn dj.j dj.f ḫt ḥr t3 šnwt

I will not let the seal be set upon the granary.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 12/1-3)

(d) *bn* **+ Third Future**

12.147

bn jw.k rḫ r jrj.f

You will not be able to be one (a peasant).

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/2)

12.148

bn jw.j r šḫn m t3 ḳnbt

I shall not contend in court.

(Horus and Seth, 43/1)

(e) *bn* **+ Second Tense emphatic (the "that" form)**

12.149

bn j.jrj.j mj. kdnw.k m.ḏr šnj.j n.k

When I invoke you, I do not act as you do.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 14/5,6)

In Second tenses *bn* or *bn ... jwn3* negates the nexus between the subject (the "that"form) and the predicative adverbial element. The "that"form itself is negated by *tm* (see later). (Horus and Seth 59/6).

12.150

jšt bn j.jrj.tw m p3 ḏd jtm

Is it not according to the word of Atum that one should act?

(Horus and Seth, 47/14,15)

All these various uses of *bn* are well-known in LE and in NDE.

2. Unusual is *bn śḏm.n.f*

The *śḏm.n.f* is probably an old ME emphatic form, e.g.

12.151

jś bn ᶜḥᶜ.n.j m nb jw.tn m nmḥj

Is it not when you were lowly that I rose as lord?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 57/7)

12.152

jś bn šm.n.j ᶜḥᶜ.n.j ḥr r.k

Is it not at your word that I walk and stand?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 35/4)

(Compare this with 36/2, which is *jś bn śḏm.f jś bn jrj.j n.k mnmnwt ᶜš3wt wr*. Have I not made for you many great monuments?)

and

12.153

jś bn jrj.n rmṯ sᶜ3.f m njwt.f

Is it not to be acclaimed in his town that a man acts?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 79/3)

bn śḏm.n.f, may be an old ME emphatic form, thus found in ME and in NDE.

3. Examples of *bn śḏm.f* with a past meaning are:

12.154

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 36/2) - above,

and

12.155

jśt bn ḏd.f n n3 śb3w ntj ḫnw.śt	(When Ptah created the sky), he did not say to the stars in it
j.jrj.tn ḥtp jmnt r.tnw grḥ m p3 ntj nswt wśjr jm.	"You shall go to rest in the West every night in the place where king Osiris is".
	(Horus and Seth, 58/9,10,11)

The latter, is of course a Second Tense emphatic.

12.156

jw bn jnj.św ḫrj n nṯr nfr	And the dread of the good god did not take him away.
	(Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/2,3)

bn śḏm.f with a past meaning is unusual, but does occur rarely in NDE and in LE.

IX. The LE negative imperative

m jrj śḏm.f

(and its variants) are the counterpart of the affirmative imperative *j.śḏm.św*.

(I) In non-literary NDE texts

12.157

m jrj ršt

Do not rejoice!

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/5)

12.158

m dj jrj.tw śᶜḥᶜ p3j.f bt3 r.f

m dj fḫ.tw p3j.f pr n3j.f ḥmwt n3j.f ḫrdw

m dj jrj.tw ḫdb.tw.f

m dj th.tw r jrtj.fj jdnwj.fj r r.f r rdwj.fj

Do not cause that his crime be raised against him.

Do not cause that his house be destroyed, his wives or his children.

Do not cause that he be killed.

Do not cause that one do injury to his eyes, his ears, his mouth and his feet.

(Hittite Treaty, 231/6)

(ii) In literary NDE texts

12.159

m jrj djt ḏd.tw.k

wn ṉkt m ḫm.k

Let it not be said of you that there is anything that you do not know

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 26/7)

m jrj djt śḏm.f is a new LE innovation.

12.160

j.mś.tw

m jrj rmjt

Get you onwards!

Do not weep!

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 27/18)

12.161

m dj ḳndt p3 ṯs.pdt

Do not make the commander angry!

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 29/16)

12.162

m jrj ᶜḥᶜ pḥ ḫnw pr ḫr.f n.j r tnw śḫ3(.j) św

"Don't wait, go home"

so he says to me, as often (I) remember him.

m jrj n.j p3j.j ḥ3t wḫ3

Don't act so foolishly, my heart.

j.jrj.k wḫ3 jn jw ḥr jḫ

Why is it that you must act foolishly?

(Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C3/2,3)

Two LE negative imperatives

ḫr.f n.j is recorded after spoken speech, and usually refers to the present time.

j.jrj.k wḫ3 is a Second Tense, emphatic, which is obligatory with the interrogative.

12.163

m jrj śḫm jm.n

Do not overwhelm us!

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 93/14)

12.164

m djt ḫ3ᶜ t3j.j nšj ḥr w3t

Do not cause me to leave the dressing of my hair unfinished.

(Two Brothers, 12/2)

12.165

m jrj prj r bnr
tmt p3 jwm ḥr jṯ3.ṯ

Do not go out, lest the sea carry you away.

(Two Brothers, 19/13,14)

12.166

m dj jrj.n śḏr m ḫmt.n

Let us not decide in ignorance.

(Horus and Seth, 39/1)

The LE negative imperative forms *m jrj śḏm.f, m djt śḏm.f* and *m jrj djt śḏm.f* are all LE forms and occur in NDE too.

X. LE negation of existence

The negative *mn*

or *m(wn)rmṯ*

(i) Non-literary

There are no examples in the non-literary NDE texts.

(ii) Examples in literary NDE texts

12.167

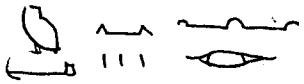
p3 wn mn ks n rmṯ jm.k

For there is not the bone of a man in you.

(Papyrus Lansing, 106/7,8)

12.168

mn m.dj.k jt



You don't have a father.

(Truth and Falsehood, 32/14)

The *mn* negation of existence is found in NDE and in LE.

XI.

tm in LE

tm negates all infinitives - *jw.f (ḥr) tm śḏm.f* of past or future *mtw.f tm śḏm.f* of the conjunctive. *j.jrj.f tm śḏm.f* of the Second Tense, emphatic.

It negates the infinitive acting as an imperative, and it negates the non-initial prospective

... *tm śḏm.f.*

It belongs to the isomorphisms group, in which the affirmative and corresponding negative patterns are identical morphologically, only a *tm* being added.

(i) Examples of the LE usage of *tm* in non-literary NDE texts

Nauri Decree

There are many examples in this decree of *r tm dj.t śḏm* - a negative purpose clause. This is LE (cf. above ME *tm* and Gardiner 1982:265). *tm* is followed by an infinitive *djt* and the *śḏm* is a non-initial prospective, e.g.

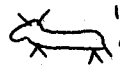
12.169

m.mjtt jw wḏ.n ḥm.f rdjt ḥnjtw

t3 mnmnt k3w

t3 mnmnt ᶜnḫw

mnmnt ᶜ3wt

(t)3 mnmnt  *š3w*

t3 mnmnt 3pdw

t3 mnmnt tp n j3wt nb

n t3 ḫwt mn.m3ᶜ.rᶜ jb hrw m 3bdt

ḫr mw ḫr t3

r tm djt tht(w) r tp n j3dt nb jm.sn

r tm djt th.t(w) mjnjw śnjj

r tm djt jṯ3.tw k3.w ᶜ3.w š3.w ᶜnḫ.w tp n j3wt nb jm.sn m nḥm m wśtn

r tm djt jṯ3 jmj.r k3 nb jmj.r jw nb mjnjw nb

n t3 ḫwt mn.m3ᶜ.rᶜ jb hrw m 3bdt k3 ᶜ3 š3 ᶜnḫ n t3 ḫwt ...

Likewise his majesty has decreed that ordinance be made (for) (the protection of) the stock of kine, the stock of goats, the stock of asses, the stock of dogs, the stock of geese, (and) the stock of other animals, belonging to the House, "Menmare - "The Heart is Content in Abydos" on water or on land

to prevent interference being done to any individual or a herd of them,

to prevent interference being done to their herdsman (*śnjj* is a curious third plural suffix pronoun)

to prevent the taking of cattle, (or cattle being taken), asses, dogs, goats, any individual or a herd of them by commandeering or by privilege,

to prevent any superintendent of cattle, any superintendent of hounds, any herdsman belonging to the House etc.

taking ox, ass, dog or goat belonging to the House ...

(Nauri Decree, 54/11 - 55/1)

There are both passive and active verbs following *r tm djt*. The passives with *.tw* could be translated as "to prevent one interfering with".

12.170

mtw.sn tm p3j

... and they shall not fly.

(Nauri Decree, 58/4)

Negation of a LE conjunctive.

12.171

... r tm djt ḫpr ḫrwj r . jwd.śn r.nḥḥ

... in order not to cause ... hostility to occur between them for ever.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/6)

12.172

ḫr jr p3 ntj jw.f r s3w.tj n3j mdt ...

mtw.w tm jrj fḫ jwtj r.śn ...

Whoever will keep these words ... and will not destroy any of them ...

(Hittite Treaty, 230/13,14)

Negation of a conjunctive.

12.173

mtw tm p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 śᶜḥᶜ p3j.sn bt3 r.sn

And the great prince of Hatti will not cause their sin to be raised against them.

(Hittite Treaty, 231/12)

Negation of a conjunctive. Note that the *tm* precedes a nominal subject.

All the above examples of *tm* in the non-literary texts occur in NDE and in LE.

(ii) Examples of the LE usage of *tm* in literary NDE texts

12.174

rḫ.śj jb n śnt
p3j.f tm w3w r snt

How well the sister's heart knows that he is not far from her.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, G1/8 - XXX^{A}1)

tm here is negating the *p3j.f śḏm* pattern. This pattern is made negative by *p3j.f tm śḏm*, and not by the pattern **p3j.f ntj bwpw.f śḏm(.f)*.

w3w is the infinitive of an adjectival verb. This pattern is indifferent to time indication (as compared to *p3 tm śḏm j.jrj.f*, which is restricted to past time). (See below, Two Brothers 15/16-16/1)

Both these affirmative and negative patterns (*p3j.f śḏm* and *p3j.f tm śḏm*, *p3 śḏm j.jrj.f* and *p3 tm śḏm j.jrj.f*) occur in both LE and in NDE (and not in ME).

12.175

m pr.t ...
tm šḫ.w.k ḫt rsw.t.k

Do not move ...
so that you may not be blocked by something in your dream.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream interpretation, 10/11-10/12)

(Groll 1985:81)

(Groll translates it "so that the blockage from your dream may pass").

This is a non-initial prospective *śḏm.f* used as a clause of purpose.

12.176

bw w3ḥ.j nfr ḥ3 tp drt.j
r tm jrt.w m p3j.k wb3

I did not abstain from any good deed, so as not to perform it in your court.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 37/12)

12.177

... n jb n tm djt ḫr.św p3 mšᶜ n ḫm.f r ᶜḥ3 ḫnᶜ p3 ḫr n ḫt3

... in order to prevent his majesty's army from making ready to fight with the foe from Khatti.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 106/12)

12.178

bt3 ᶜ3 p3 jrj n3 jmj.r ḥ3st
ḫnᶜ n3 śrw n pr.ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb
p3 tm djt smt n.sn (r p3 ntj) p3 ḫr n ḫt3
m p3 ntj nb św jm

It is a great crime that the governors of foreign countries and the chiefs of Pharaoh have committed in failing to discover for themselves the foe from Khatti, wherever he was

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 116/7-13)

p3 jrj and *p3 (tm) djt* are the definite article + an infinitive, the latter negated by *tm* (cf. above Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs G1/8 - XXXA1)

12.179

bw w3ḥ.f ḥ3śt
tm jnt n.ś

He had not spared a country from being brought

(lit. "so that it was not brought").

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 18/15)

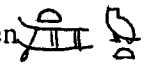
12.180

jw.j ḥr tm śḏm n.f

But I heeded him not

(Two Brothers, 14/5,6)

Negation of a LE continuative *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the past.

tm is written  *tmt*, i.e. recalling ME infinitive (with a following *śḏm* being the negatival complement).

12.181

jw.f ḥr śnḏ

jw.f ḥr knkn(.j)

r tm djt jrj.j n.k wpwt

Then he was afraid and he beat (me), so that I might not report it to you.

(Two Brothers, 14/7,8)

All the above *tm* verbal forms are found in LE and in NDE.

12.182

jw p3j.f śn ᶜ3 ḥr jrt sp 2 n ḥᶜ ḥr drt.f

n p3 tm(t) ḫdb.f j.jrj.f

Then his elder brother smote twice upon his hand in vexation, because he had not slain him.

(Two Brothers, 15/16 - 16/1)

This negates *p3 śḏm j.jrj.f* and refers to past time

(lit. "because of the not killing him which he did"

not "the killing which he did not do")

This is LE. The *ḫdb.f* is clearly infinitive + a suffix pronoun. In ME *tm* would be the infinitive and *ḫdb* the negative complement.

Note though that *tm* is written *tmt* as a writer of ME would do.

This is a LE form and occurs in NDE too.

12.183

j.jrj.k tm djt wḏ^{c}.tw.tn ḥr jḫ

Why have you resisted being judged?

Lit. "Why is it that you have not let yourself be judged?"

(Horus and Seth, 59/6)

This is negation of an emphatic Second Tense, *tm* negating the "that"-form itself.

Not "Why is it not that you have let yourself be judged?"

cf. *bn* negating the nexus. (See above Horus and Seth 47/14,15).

This is specifically a LE and an NDE form.

All the ME and LE Negative forms are found in NDE.

CONCLUSION

The ME negative forms *nn* and *n* attached to the synthetic suffix conjugations (*śḏm.f* and *śḏm.n.f*), and the *m* and *tm* with a negative complement evolved into the LE *bn* and *bw*, attached now to the fully analytic First Present, Third Future, the Second Tenses (emphatic) and *bw jrj.f śḏm*, the *tm* being attached to the sequential past and future forms and the conjunctive. The LE negative evolved into *m dj jrj.f śḏm*.

All these forms appear in NDE; the ME synthetic forms side by side with the LE analytic and clearly tense-related forms.

Most of the Middle and of the Late Egyptian forms of negative sentences are found in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts studied. Their appearance in situ and their development is reflected in general in the two tables in this chapter, and more specifically in the paradigms and in the tables in the Chapter "Summary and Conclusions". Unique or hybrid forms, not appearing in ME nor evolving in LE are tabulated too.

All the negative forms (Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian and even in Coptic) are discussed in detail, tabulated, and examples given of their occurrence in the Nineteenth Dynasty literature. Hence, there is a synchronic description of the negative usages in Nineteenth Dynasty literature, and a diachronic study too, explaining the Middle Egyptian antecedents, the Late Egyptian forms and how they evolved in Coptic.

Interesting hybrid forms are discussed too (e.g. *bn śḏm.n.f* and *bw śḏm.n.f*).

The following table is from Davis (1973).

	Sentence type (LE)	OE	ME	LE	Coptic
1.	*bn śḏm.f*	*n*	*nn*	*bn*	
2.	*bn jrj.f śḏm*			*bn*	
3.	*bw śḏm.f*	*n*	*n*	*bw*	*m*
4.	*bwpw.f śḏm*	*n*	*n*	*bw*	*m*
5.	*bn nfr sw*	*n*	*n (js)*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	
6.	*bn nj.ntf św*	*n ... js*	*n js*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	
7.	*bn ntf p3j*	*n ... js*	*n..(js)*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	*(n) ... an*
8.	*bn jn.ntf* clause	*n ... js*	*nn ... js*	*bn*	
9.	*bn ntf ntf*	*n ... (js)*	*n ... js*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	*(n) ... an*
10.	*bn św jm*	*n ... (js)*	*nn*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	*(n) ... an*
11.	*bn św m nᶜj*			*bn*	*(n) ... an*
12.	*bn św ḫr śḏm*		*nn*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	*(n) ... an*
13.	*bn św r śḏm*	*n*		*bn*	
14.	*bn św nfrw*	*n ... (js)*	*nn*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	*(n) ... an*
15.	*bn j.śḏmw.f jm*	*n ... (js)*	*nn ... (js)*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	
16.	*bn j.jrjw.f śḏm jm*	*n*		*bn ... (jwn3)*	*(n) ... an*
17.	*bw śḏm.f jm*	*n ... (js)*	*n ... (js)*	*bw*	
18.	*bw jr(r).f śḏm jm*			*bw*	*m*
19.	*bw śḏm.n.f jm*	*n ... (js)*	*n ... (js)*	*bw*	
20.	*bw jr.n.f śḏm jm*				
21.	*bw śḏmt.f jm*	*n*	*n ... js*	*bw*	
22.	*bw jrt.f śḏm jm*			*bw*	*mp*
23.	*bn jw.f jm*	*n*	*nn*	*bn ... (jwn3)*	*nn*
24.	*bn wn.f jm*			*bw ... (jwn3)*	*(n) ... an*
25.	*m.(wn) mnḫ*	*n*	*nn*	*m.*	*m.*

CHAPTER 13

THE LATE EGYPTIAN THIRD FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

The First Tenses in Egyptian refer to

1. First Present, expressing present, imperfect or incomplete actions or states.
2. First Future, expressing the concept "they are going to do something" *śt (m) nᶜj r mšᶜ*.

The Second Tenses are the emphatic or "that" forms, *j.jrj.f śḏm.f* + adverb. "It is this that he did".

The Third Tense is confined to the Third Future, and expresses future time, as in the ME prospective sense. *jw.f r śḏm* is an initial form, unlike the *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the continuative future.

The Late Egyptian Third Future is *jw.f (r) śḏm(.f)*. It consist of a quadripartite formation.

Part 1:	The *jw* of the future.
Part 2:	The actor expression, which is either a pronominal suffix or a noun.
Part 3:	The preposition *r*, which precedes the infinitive
Part 4:	The infinitive, either of a transitive or an intransitive verb.

The final *.f* following the infinitive is the object, which is a pronominal suffix (cf. a dependent personal pronoun follows an imperative).

This form is negated by *bn*, i.e. *bn jw.f r śḏm(.f)*.

Note that in Nineteenth Dynasty language, the preposition *r* is sometimes not written

I. Examples in non-literary NDE texts

13.1

jw.j r ḳd ḥnt m st tn

ḥr rn wr jt.j nṯrw

k3 dj.sn mn jrt.j rd rn.j

pḥr ḥr ḥ3śwt

I will build a sanctuary on this spot, bearing the great name of my fathers, the gods.

Then, may they make my deeds endure and my name flourish throughout the desert lands.

(Kanais, 66/16 - 67/1)

k3 is a non-enclitic particle, meaning "so" or "then"

dj.sn is a prospective *śḏm.f* = to cause and precedes non-initial prospectives *mn.f* and *rd.f*.

The possessive suffixes *.j* are ME, and precede LE *p3j.j*

13.2

jw.k r jwʿ

You shall inherit.

(Nauri Decree, 46/16)

13.3

bn jw.tw r w3ḥ.w m p3 t3 n ḫt3

jw.tw r jnt.w n p3 ḥk3 ʿ3 n kmt

One will not leave them in the land of Hatti.

One will take them to the great king of Egypt.

(Hittite Treaty, 229/6,7)

A negative Third Future negated by *bn*, and an affirmative Third Future.

These examples are found in LE and in NDE but not in ME.

The ME rule that *jw* must not be employed after *nn* and *ntj* breaks down in LE. Following are some examples of *ntj* (the relative adjective) + Third Future.

13.4

jn (for *jr*) *s3 nswt n kš nb*

ḥrj pḏt nb

ḥ3tj^{c} *nb*

rwḏ nb

rmṯ nb

ntj jw.f r jṯ3 rmṯ nb

... *m kf*^{c}*w* ...

...

jrj.tw ḥpw r.f m ḥt.f ...

As to any viceroy of Kush, any chief of foreign contingents, any mayor, any inspector, or any person, who shall take any person ...

... by capture ...

the law shall be enforced against him (or punishment shall be done to him) by beating him ....

(Nauri Decree, 52/13 - 53/6)

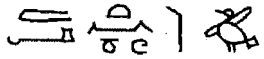
13.5

ḫr jr jmj.r jḫ ...

ntj jw.f r djt tp n j3t

.....

m j3bdt m šb n kjj

mjtt p3 ntj jw.f r djt m3ᶜ.f ḫr kjj 

jw bn m3ᶜ.f n wsjr ...

jrj.tw ḥpw r.f ...

As to any keeper of cattle ... who shall give any head of animals ... by defalcation to another; likewise he who shall cause it to be offered on another direction/list, and not be offered to Osiris ...; punishment shall be done to him.

(Nauri Decree, 55/14 - 56/1)

djt m šb means to give by defalcation = to sell

(jw) bn m3ᶜ.f is a negative prospective.

The apodosis *jrj.tw ḥpw r.f* is a prospective passive *šḏm.f*

These examples *ntj* + Third Future are well attested to in LE and NDE, but not in ME.

Compare these with:

13.6

ḫr jr śr nb

ntj św r śtkn jb pn

n nb.f r_nḫm

m śḫr n mtr bjn

.....

But, as to any official who, in the manner of an evil witness, shall suggest to his lord, ... to remove the workmen ...

...

(Kanais, 69/9)

This is a ME formation, used exactly as the Third Future was used in the previous examples.

Perhaps a First Present with *r* indicating futurity.

This is an example found in ME and NDE (and not LE) expressing the same thing.

and with

13.7

jr nśwt nb
ntj r ḫpr
śḫnt.f śḫrw.j nb
...
mk tw.tw r wšb.f m jwnw

But as to any future king (lit.) (who shall happen), who shall destroy any of my plans. ...

He shall receive his answer in Heliopolis (*On*).

(Kanais, 69/2)

and with

13.8

jr nśwt nb
ntj r ḫpr
ḥn^{c} ntf św3ḥ jrt.j ...

As to any future king, who shall make my acts endure ...

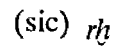
(Kanais, 68/11)

This too expresses the same as the above LE Third Futures. This is the ME precursor of the LE conjunctive. As can be seen, these texts express the same idea in various ME and LE ways, and interchange one with another.

ntj r ḫpr in the above two examples has no *jw.f.* NDE and LE, but the following sentences in these examples (13.7 and 13.8) use respectively a ME non-initial prospective *śḏm.f* and a ME precursor of the LE conjunctive, i.e. occur in ME and NDE but not LE.

The preposition *r* is sometimes omitted, e.g.

13.9

n jw.ṯ  (sic) *rḫ jr.t ᶜnḫ*

Are you prepared to take a great oath?

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 8)

n is the interrogative particle *jn*.

This is a Third Future pattern, built in with the infinitive *rḫ* + *jr.t*, indicating willingness or ability. Note that the marked morpheme of the Third Future, namely the *r*, which precedes the infinitive is left out. This is a specific LE formation. (Groll 1973:69).

This occurs in NDE and LE, not ME.

Sometimes too there is an *r*, but the *jw.f* is omitted, e.g.

13.10

jr jmj.r ḫtm śbḫt nb
sš nb n p3 ḫtm śbḫt
rwḏ nb n p3 ḫtm
ntj r hjj r dpt ...

As to any superintendent of the fortress, any scribe of the fortress, or any inspector belonging to the fortress, who shall go on board a boat .....

(Nauri, 56/12,13)

13.11

jr nb ntj r tht wḏ.tn

As to anyone, who shall trangress this decree ...

(Nauri, 55/6,7)

This is the same as in the *jr nswt nb ntj r ḫpr* examples.

These are found in NDE and LE, not ME.

Examples of Third Future passive following *ntj* in NDE are -

13.12

ḫr jr p3 rmṯ ntj
jw . tw r jnt.f

As for a man, who will be brought, ...

(Hittite Treaty, 231/6)

13.13

ḫr jr rmṯ nb ntj jw.tw
r gmt.f ḥr ṯ3t jḫt nbt

Now as to any person who will be found stealing any goods ...

(Nauri Decree, 54/7)

In ME *jw* was not employed after *nn*, but this broke down in LE.

(e.g.

w3ḥ p3.rᶜ ḫr.3ḫtwj
mtw.tw nḥm.f m.dj.j
nn jw.j r wnm
nn jw.j r śwj

As Pre-Harakhti lives, if he is taken from me, I shall not eat, I shall not drink)

(The Doomed Prince 5/10,11)

nn (+ *jw.f r śḏm*) sometimes persisted in LE, but *bn* was the successor of *nn* and the LE Third Future is now negated by *bn*, e.g.

13.14

bn jw.tw r w3ḥ.w — One will not leave them in the land of Hatti

(Hittite Treaty, 229/6)

These too are LE and NDE examples, not found in ME.

Two points need to be addressed here. I would first like to draw attention to CB III - The papyrus discussing dream interpretation (Groll 1985:101) and to Sander-Hansen, Historische Inschriften der 19 Dynastie. Bruxelles 1933:29, 13-15.

13.15

jr p3 ntj nb jw.f r sḫ ḥr wḏ tn
jrj wśjr m.s3.f
jw 3śt m.s3 ḥmt.f
jw ḥr m.s3 ḫrd.w.f

As for anyone who will be deaf to this inscription, Osiris will be after him, while Isis will be after his wife, while Horus will be after his children.

jw.f r sḫ is a Third Future. In literary LE, the *jw* of the Third Future may act as a base for adverbial phrases. The fact that the *jw* of *jrj wśjr m.s3.f* takes the form *jrj* before a nominal subject, although it acts as a base for the adverbial phrase *m.s3.f* is sufficient to maintain that *jw.f r sḫ* and *jrj wsjr m.s3 f* are in complementary relationship.

So it is possible too it seems that *jrj* may stand for *jw* in a Third Future.

Let us refer now to Gardiner 1930:220. He discusses *jrj* = "to do" or "make" as a LE auxiliary verb. He gives examples, - many from the Hittite treaty - where the infinitive following the *jrj* has a preceding *r*, examples without *r* before the infinitives, an example with *ḥr* before the infinitive, and 2 examples from the Nauri Decree where *r* is written for *jrj* (for), and without *r* before the infinitive.

He believes that the auxiliary LE *jrj* became ⲉⲣⲉ- in Coptic (see later), e.g. The Hittite Treaty

13.16

ḫr jr p3 ntj jw.f r s3w n3j mdt
...
mtw.w tm jrj fḫ jwtj r.sn
jrj ḫ3 n nṯr n p3 t3 n ḫt3
m.dj ḫ3 n nṯr n p3 t3 n kmt
r djt śnb.f r djt ᶜnḫ.f

Whoever shall keep these words and not destroy any of them, a thousand gods of the land of Khatti and a thousand gods of the land of Egypt shall keep him in health and cause him to live.

(Hittite Treaty, 230/13 - 231/1)

While it may be tempting to think that *jrj* is for *jw* of the Third Future, it seems rather that this is *jrj* - the auxiliary verb preceding *r* + infinitive *djt*.

The *jrj* may thus be a prospective *śḏm.f* (but see later).

Note the suffix pronoun *.f* (3 masc. singular) following *jw* of the Third Future in line 1 becomes *.w* (3 plural) following the conjunctive *mtw*.

13.17

bn jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 r šsp.w
jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 djt jnj.tw.w n p3 ḫk3 n kmt

The great prince of Hatti will not receive them. The great prince of Hatti will cause that they be taken to the great king of Egypt.

(Hittite Treaty, 229/4)

The first sentence is negative, and the auxiliary *jrj* precedes a *r* + infinitive.

The second sentence is affirmative, and the *jrj* is folowed by the infinitive *djt* without a preceding *r*.

This may be a prospective auxiliary *jrj* negated by *bn*, and is not likely to be a *jw* (for *jrj*) as a Third Future.

Note that shortly after this, (229/6) we have

bn jw.tw r w3ḥ.w m p3 t3 n ḫt3 and

jw.tw r jnt.w n p3 ḥk3 n ḳmt

One will not leave them in the land of Hatti. One will take them to the great king of Egypt.

These are clearly Third Futures. So this Nineteenth Dynasty text includes and uses many examples interchangeably. The meanings are identical.

13.18

jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 mḥ jm.sn

The great prince of Hatti will seize them.

(Hittite Treaty, 231/4)

Note - No *r* before infinitive *mḥ*

13.19

jr p3 ntj bn jw.f r s3w.sn
jrj ḫ3 n ḫt3 m.dj ḫ3 n
nṯr n p3 t3 n kmt
r fḫ p3j.f pr
p3j.f t3 n3j.f b3kw

Whoever will not keep them, a thousand of Hatti together with a thousand gods of the land of Egypt will destroy his house, his land and his servants.

(Hittite Treaty, 230/11-13)

ntj + negative of Third Future in the protasis is followed by auxiliary *jrj* in the apodosis and *r* precedes the following infinitive *fḫ*.

13.20

....	But as to a member of any court,
ntj m njwt	that is in (any) city, to whom any person belonging to the House shall come to complain to him ...
ntj nb *(sic) rmṯ nb n t3 ḥwt ...*	
spr r śmj n.f	

(Nauri Decree, 58/7,8)

This could be *r* for *jw*, making it a Third Future unless

jrj is intended. There is no *r* before the infinitive *spr*.

This is probably "shall come" rather than "has come/gone", as it is followed by a conjunctive.

And note:

13.21

jr rmṯ nb ntj m t3 r.ḏr.f	As for any person who is in the entire land, to whom any people of the house shall come ...
ntj jrj rmṯ nb n t3 ḥwt ...	
spr (for *tht*) *r.sn*	

(Nauri Decree, 58/1,2)

This is probably an *jrj*, but is not clear and may be an *r*.

13.22

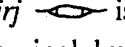
jrj p3j.j nb	My lord shall cause to be punished this woman who stole (both) the chisel and the *wšb*, so that no other woman will repeat doing it likewise.
r djt jrj.tw śb3	
n t3j śt.ḥmt	
r jṯ3j p3 ḫ3 m.mjtt p3 wšb	
tm kt śt. ḥmt mj kdnw śt wḥm jrt m.mjtt	

(Hieratic Ostracon Verso 12)

LE Third Future with *jrj* (for *jw*) before a nominal subject

r . jṯ3j = j . jṯ3j - a LE relative form.

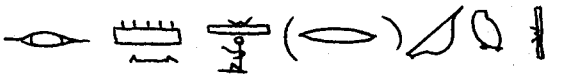
tm.f wḥm is a negative purpose clause corresponding to Hebrew לבלתי.



Gardiner (1930:223) notes that *jrj* is used, (either with or without following *r*) when the subject is nominal, but when the subject is pronominal *jw.f r* takes the place of *jrj* ± .

From the examples in the Nauri decree and the Hittite treaty ("an especially old and good LE text") he concludes. "The conclusion seems assured that the (or at least a) LE form of

before nominal subject is



"so-and-so shall hear" and this conclusion is clinched by the fact that to Coptic. .ⲉϥⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄. corresponds with nominal subject, ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄. or .ⲉⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ."

However, Gardiner grants the possibility that might really be the verb *jrj* "to do", and that a future tense might be derived from the meaning "X will act so as to hear".

Gardiner also refers to another example of an alternation between

and , which seems to preclude the above meaning of "shall do" or "shall act". These are the so-called curses invoked upon infringers of decrees.

e.g. Sander Hansen (as quoted above) and Nauri Decree

13.23

...	As to any person ...
jrj wśjr ḫnt.jmnt p3 nb n3 n rmṯ nb n3 n ḫt	Osiris Khentamenthes, the lord of people and the lord of things will be (lit. "is") after him, after his wife and after his children.
m.s3.f m.s3 ḥmt.f m.ś3 ẖrdw.f	

(Nauri Decree, 58/5)

ḫnt.jmnt means "The First of the Westerners"

n3 n ... is an LE formation.

All the above are found in LE and in NDE.

II. Examples of LE Third Future in literary NDE texts

13.24 Interpretation of a dream

ḏw. ø jw.f r nmḥ ḥr.ph.wj

Bad, (it can mean that) he will be an orphan later on

(CB III (Groll 1985:101, ex. 83))

13.25

nn jw.j r wnm

nn jw.j r swj

I will not eat, I will not drink.

(Doomed Prince, 5/11)

Third Future negated by ME *nn* rather than the LE *bn*. This though is clearly LE. In ME *jw* could not be preceded by *nn*.

cf.

13.26

bn jw.j r śḫn m t3 knbt

jw 3st jm.ś

I shall not contend in court as long as Isis is in it.

(Horus and Seth, 43/1)

jw 3śt = a LE circumstantial *jw* + non verbal sentence.

13.27

jw.j r jj tnw

Where shall I come out?

(Horus and Seth, 54/1)

13.28

rḫ.kwj k3jk jb

rḫ.j

jw.k r ḫsft.śt wᶜt ḥr tp.k

I know your nature, I feel sure that you will answer it (the letter) alone by yourself.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 10/17,18)

The first *rḫ* is a bare stative and the second a *śḏm.f*

The Third Future is the object of the *rḫ.j*.

13.29

jw.j r ᶜk jm.śn mj ḥtt bjk

jw.j ḥr ḫdb ḥr wᶜwᶜ ḥr ḫᶜ r jwtn

I will charge them as a falcon pounces. I will slaughter, butcher, fling to the ground.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 69/8-13)

The first is a Third Future. The next are 3 *jw.f ḥr śḏm* presumably of the future.

13.30

jw.n r jrt b3kw n prᶜ3 ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb

mtw.n rwj.n m.dj p3 wr n ḫt3

We will be servants of Pharaoh, lph, and we will abandon the chief of Khatti.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 104/12)

A Third Future, followed by a conjunctive, continuing the sense of the Third Future.

The *.n* suffix following *rwj* is not usual at all.

ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb is the ME formula, all pseudoparticiples - "may he live long, be prosperous, be healthy".

13.31

jw wnw m śḫt r šsp drt.k

Those who are in the fields will grasp your hand.

(Papyrus Lansing, 107/12,13)

13.32

p3 wn nn jw.f r jrt nkt

j.n.ś ḥr ḏd n.f

"For he will not do anything" (i.e. 'he is good for nothing'). So she said unto him.

(Two Brothers, 26/4,5)

Another example of the ME negative *nn* preceding a Third Future.

p3 wn is a Nineteenth Dynasty form (Goldwasser 1985:51).

j n.s ḥr ḏd n.f follows reported speech

13.33

ḫr jr dj.k ᶜnḫ.f

jw.j r mt.n.j

ptr wnn.f jjt ...

wn tw.j šnj p3j śmj bjn

wn jw.f r jrj.f m ḥḏ

If therefore, you suffer him to live, I will take my own life, for, see, when he comes (home) and I tell this evil tale, he will make it (look) white.

(Two Brothers, 14/8-10)

dj.k following *jr* is a prospective *śḏm.f*

jw.j r mt n.j is a Third Future.

There is a *wnn.f* clause and this is followed by a *wn* + First Present, and then a *wn* + Third Future.

Sometimes the presposition *r* following the *jw.f* is missing. For example,

13.34

bw ḏd wᶜ jm.sn

jw.n ptr kmt gr

Not one of them says "We will see Egypt again ..."

(Papyrus Lansing, 103/15,16)

A negative *bw śḏm.f* of LE simple present (found in Literary LE only in the Nineteenth Dynasty) (Goldwasser 1985:50) is followed by a Third Future with no *r*.

13.35

jr p3 ntj jw.ś ḏd f

jw.n jrj.f

Whatever she will say, we will do.

(Horus and Seth, 39/2)

13.36

jw.j jṯ3 p3j.j ḏᶜm n 4 500 *n nm*

I shall take my sceptre of 4 500 pounds.

(Horus and Seth, 42/15,16)

13.37

ḫr jr ḫr.s3 nṯrw

jw pᶜt rḫjjt ḥtp m p3 ntj tw.k jm mᶜ

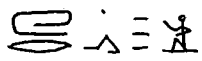
And after the gods, all mankind shall also go to rest where you are.

(Horus and Seth, 58/11)

Note that not all Third Futures have *jrj* for *jw* before a nominal subject (as in the Nauri Decree and the Hittite Treaty).

13.38

mk jr snn.j m.b3ḥ.f

jw.j ḏd n.f  *pḫr.j*

mk jw.j n.k k3 n.f

jw.f śwhj m rn.j

See, if I pass before him, I'll (have to) tell him my troubles. "See, I am yours", I'll say to him and he'll shout out (or boast of) my name.

(Chester Beatty I, C2/7,8)

A *jr* clause with a prospective *śḏm.f* is followed by a future clause; The last line is a *jw.f (r) śḏm.f* of the future too.

Note the *pḫr.j* and *rn.j* ME forms, rather than *p3j.f pḫr* etc.

All the examples of the Third Future are used in LE and NDE, and not in ME.

Examples of Third Future following *ntj* in NDE are:

13.39

jr p3 ntj jw.f r pḥ p3 sšd n t3j.j šrjt

jw.ś n.f r ḥmt

He who reaches the window of my daughter - his wife she shall be.

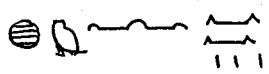
(The Doomed Prince, 3/8,9)

13.40

jḫ ḥ3b.k n.n

p3 ntj jw.n r jrj.f

n ḥr ḥnᶜ śṯḥ

tm.n jrj śḫr m ḫm 

Write us what we should do about Horus and Seth, so that we do not take action in ignorance.

(Horus and Seth, 56/16)

jḫ h3b.k is a LE polite request

jw.n r jrj.f after *ntj* is a Third Future. The suffix *.f* is a resumptive pronoun.

The Third Futures following *ntj* are found in LE and in NDE.

An interesting example is

13.41

wn nb r sḫt.f rḫ pḥtj.f

The lord who knows his strength will snare him.

(Stele of Merneptah (The Israel Stele), 17/12)

It is difficult to analyse. Perhaps the *wn* is for *jw* of the Third Future.

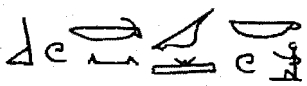
Possibly a hybrid NDE form.

Another difficult example is

13.42

ṯ3j.k gstj m ḏ3wt

Thou bearest the palette wrongfully, without being .... (?)

jw jw 

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 22/9-13)

The only time a *jw* can precede another *jw* is the circumstantial *jw* of the Third Future. Is this a scribal error? Is the a negative or part of the following verb? It is uncertain.

This may be LE or NDE, not ME.

CONCLUSION

Several examples are found of the Late Egyptian Third Future in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts.

The Middle Egyptian rule that *jw* must not be employed after *nn* and *ntj* breaks down in Late Egyptian. *bn* (equivalent to the Middle Egyptian *nn*) negating a Third Future occurs in example 13.3 and *nn* and *ntj* preceding a Third Future occurs in example 13.25 and 13.4 respectively.

The texts express the same idea in various Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian ways, and frequently interchange with one another, e.g.

ntj jw.f r djt (Third Future 13.5)

ntj św r śtkn (13.6)

ntj r ḫpr (without a *jw.f*) (13.7)

śḫnt.f (a Middle Egyptian non-initial prospective *śḏm.f*) (13.7), and

ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm (the Middle Egyptian precursor of the Late Egyptian conjunctive) (13.8).

This occurs only in the Nineteenth Dynasty texts. (See 13.17 and 13.33 too).

Sometimes the preposition *r* is omitted (e.g. 13.9) and sometimes the *r* is retained and the *jw.f* omitted (e.g. 13.10).

jrj in the Late Egyptian Nineteenth Dynasty sometimes stands for the *jw* of the Third Future, when it acts as a base for an adverbial phrase and has a nominal subject (e.g. 13.15), and in 13.16 where *jrj* + noun + *r śḏm* appears, it is tempting to think that *jrj* is for *jw* of the Third Future, but it seems rather that this is *jrj*, the auxiliary verb, preceding *r* + infinitive (See Chapter 16).

A Third Future is often followed by a Late Egyptian conjunctive, continuing the sense of the Third Future (e.g. 13.30 and Chapters 14 and 15).

A rare example is 13.29 where a Third Future is followed by three examples of *jw.f ḫr śḏm* of the future.

Two interesting examples are -

13.41 *wn nb r sḫt.f rḫ pḥtj.f* and

13.42 a *jw jw* ..., which can only be a circumstantial of the Third Future, but the writing is incomplete.

The LE Third Future does not occur in ME, where a prospective *śḏm.f* or possibly *śḏm.k3.f* or *śḏm.ḫr.f* were used. *wnn* too indicated, as a rule, future time in ME.
The LE Third Future is, of course found frequently in NDE.

CHAPTER 14

THE LATE EGYPTIAN CONJUNCTIVE FORM

INTRODUCTION

The conjunctive is a verbal formation which expresses mere continuation or succession, it does not express any kind of subordination. With regard to this, there are examples of the conjunctive as the apodosis, so that one may assume that it can function as a non-initial main clause.

The conjunctive *mtw.f śḏm* (and its descendant, the Coptic conjunctive ⲛⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ) derives from an earlier construction *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm* = 'together with on his part the hearing', the latter in its turn being derived from *ḥnᶜ śḏm ntf* = 'with hearing by him'. *śḏm* is the infinitive and *ntf* the independent pronoun (Gardiner 1928:86, Černý 1949:25, Erman 1933:275, Volten 1964:54). It is unlikely to be derived from *ḥnᶜ ntt jw.f ḥr śḏm* = "together with the fact that he will hear", as Mattha (1947:43) suggested.

The LE conjunctive *mtw.f śḏm* is composed of three elements:

1. *mtw* is the conjugation base
2. either the pronominal suffix, a defined noun or a bare noun
3. the infinitive of a transitive or instransitive verb.

mtw is etymologically the preposition *ḥnᶜ* = 'with'.

mtw.f śḏm is a feature of LE, not being found in ME. It has assumed the function of old suffix conjugation forms (prospective *śḏm.f*, optative *śḏm.ḥr.f* and resultative *śḏm.k3.f*), and is used in future and optative contexts. The *ḥnᶜ* or *mtw* has a conjunctive or sequential meaning, with future-optative sequentiality. It usually follows the imperative, the *jmj śḏm.f* = 'let him hear', the *jḫ śḏm.f* =

'so he will hear' or *jw.f (r) śḏm* = 'he will hear'. It is negated as *mtw.f tm śḏm*.

I. The precursor *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm* is found in a few examples of the non-literary texts, e.g.

14.1

jr nśwt nb
ntj r ḫpr
śḫnt.f śḫrw.j nb
ḥnᶜ ntf ḏd
t3w r ḫt.j jnk.sn
mj wn.śn ḫr.f

But as to any future king, who shall destroy any of my plans, and shall say:

"The lands are under my control. They are mine, as they were his"

(Kanais (Wady Mia) Inscription, 69/2,3)

śḫnt.f is a circumstantial prospective *śḏm.f*

jnk.sn is a LE possessive pronoun + *śn* (they) cf. לי הם in Hebrew. ME would be *nj sn wj*.

wn.śn is LE *wn* of the past ("they were") with a pronominal suffix. (The *wn* of existence can precede only bare or undefined nouns). (Černy and Groll 1975:296).

śḫrw.j and *ḫt.j* are ME forms. Later *p3j.j, t3j.j* and *n3j.j* (+ noun) became the possessive pronouns.

A similar example occurs in

14.2

jr nśwt nb ntj r ḫpr
ḥnᶜ ntf św3ḥ jrt.j ...

As to any future king, who shall make my acts endure ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia) Inscription, 68/11)

And in The Nauri Decree

14.3

jr jmj.r ḫtm nb śbḫt

sš nb n p3 ḫtm śbḫt

rwḏ nb n p3 ḫtm

ntj r hj r dpt n t3 ḫwt

mnm3ᶜrᶜ jb hrw m 3bdt

ḫnᶜ ntf jṯ3 nbw ...

...

jrj.tw hpw r.f ...

As to any superintendent of the fortress, any scribe of the fortress, any inspector belonging to the fortress, who shall go on board a boat, belonging to the House "Menmare, The Heart is at Ease in Abydos" and shall take gold ...

...

punishment shall be done to him

...

(Nauri Decree, 56/12-14)

These are examples of the precursor of the LE conjunctive and occur in ME and in NDE but not in LE.

Compare this with

14.4

jr ntj nb r tht wḏ tn

mtw.f jṯ3 mjnjw ...

...

jrj.tw hpw r.f

As to anyone who shall trangress this decree and take a herdsman ...

...

punishment shall be done to him

(Nauri Decree, 55/6,7,9)

Here clearly the LE conjunctive *mtw.f ...* replaces the ME *ḫnᶜ ntf śḏm*. Both occur side by side in these texts.

jrj.tw hpw r.f is a passive *śḏm.tw.f* of ME.

Also compare

14.5

r jr jmj.r k3 nb ...

ntj jw.f r djt tp n j3t nb

n t3 ḥwt ...

m šb n kjj

mjtt p3 ntj jw.f r djt

m3ᶜ.f ḥr kjj m tnw (?)

jw bn m3ᶜ.f n wśjr ...

As to any keeper of cattle ... who shall sell any head of animals ... by defalcation to another, likewise he who shall cause it to be offered on another direction/list' and not be offered (or offer (it)) to Osiris ...

....

(Nauri Decree, 55/14-16)

Here, two Third Futures of LE (*jw.f r djt tp* and *jw.f r djt m3ᶜ.f*) take the place of *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm* and of *mtw.f śḏm* in previous examples.

djt in the first example precedes a noun and means "to give" (*djt m šb* means "to give by defalcation" or "to sell"), in the second example *djt* precedes a non-initial prospective verb and means "to cause". Later *(jw) bn* negates a prospective. This is LE.

i.e. *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm*
mtw.f śḏm, and
jw.f ḥr djt śḏm
all occur in NDE. The first occurs too only in ME, the latter two, in addition to NDE occur only in LE.

II. Examples of the LE conjunctive in non-literary NDE texts

14.6

r jw kjj ḫrwj r n3

t3w n wsr m3ᶜ rᶜ

śtp.nᶜ p3 ḥk3 ᶜ3 n kmt

mtw.f h3b n p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 r.ḏd

mj m.dj.j m nḫt r.f

...

mtw p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 ḫdb p3j.f ḫrwj

If another enemy comes against the lands of Usimareᶜ-setpenreᶜ, the great ruler of Egypt, and if he should write to the great prince of Hatti, saying "Come to me in strength against him" ...

and the great prince of Hatti will kill his enemy.

(The Hittite Treaty, 228/3-6)

The conjunctives, continuations of the protasis in a conditional clause, follow *jr* + a prospective *śḏm.f*.

and ff.

14.7

ḫr jr jw bn jb n p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 r šmt

jw.f ḫr djt ḥnn p3j.f mšᶜ

t3j.f nṯ.ḥtrw

mtw.f ḫdb p3j.f ḫrwj

...

And if the wish of the great prince of Hatti is not to come, then he will send his army and his chariotry, and he will kill his enemy.

After a *ḫr jr* conditional clause, there is a *jw.f ḫr śḏm* of the future. This is LE. Unlike *jw.f r śḏm* of the Third Future, this is negated by *jw.f ḫr tm śḏm*, while the Third Future is negated by *bn jw.f r śḏm*. The *jw.f ḫr śḏm* of the future follows the following -

- *wnn t3j.j šᶜt (ḫr) śpr r.k* clauses
- *ḫft spr t3j.j šᶜt r.k* clauses

- oaths beginning with the conjunctive

and

- *jr* temporal clauses or protasis of a condition, as here.

Then follows a conjunctive. This is the apodosis.

14.8

ḫr jr p3 ntj jw.f r s3wt	Whoever will keep these words
n3j mdt ...	...
mtw.w tm jrj fḫ m jwtj (for *ntj*) *r.sn*	and will not destroy any of them,
jrj ḫ3 n nṯr n p3 t3 n ḫt3	1000 gods of the land of Hatti
m.dj ḫ3 n nṯr n p3 t3 n kmt	together with 1000 gods of the land of
r djt śnb.f r djt ᶜnḫ.f	Egypt will cause him to be healthy
jrm n3j.f pr.jtj jrm p3j.f t3	and to live together with his
jrm n3j.f b3kw	household and with his land and his servants.

(The Hittite Treaty, 230/13 - 231/1)

An example of a negative conjunctive as a continuation of the protasis.

The apodosis is constructed with the auxiliary verb *jrj* followed by the preposition *r* + an infinitive (twice). (Gardiner 1930:221).

There are several more examples of the conjunctive following this, both as continuations of the protasis and of the apodosis, actives, passives, affirmatives and negatives. An interesting negative is in

14.9

mtw tm p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3	And the great prince of Hatti will not
śᶜḥᶜ p3j.sn bt3 r.sn	cause their sin to be raised against them.

(The Hittite Treaty, 231/12)

The *tm* occurs before the noun.

14.10

ḫr jr s3 nśwt nb

...

jw.f r šnᶜ jm nb ...

...

mtw.f mnj.f m wᶜ n hrw wᶜtwj

...

As to any viceroy ... who shall stop any boat

...

and he moor it for even only one single day ...

(The Nauri Decree, 53/10)

A Third Future followed by a conjunctive

14.11

w3ḥ jmn w3ḥ ḥk3

p3 ntj bjn

p3j.f b3w r mt

prᶜ3 ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb

mtw.tw gmt r.ḏd

jnk jṯ3 p3j ḫ3 ...

As Amun endures and as the ruler endures, he whose power is worse than death, viz Pharaoh lph, if it be found that it was I who stole this chisel ...

(Hieratic Ostracon, 2 Recto 10)

An elliptical conjunctive in an oath - protasis -

The above six examples all occur in NDE and LE and not in ME.

III. Examples of LE Conjunctives in Literary NDE texts

14.12

jmj t3 j3t n wśjr n s3.f ḥr

m jrj jrt n3 sp.w ᶜ3jw n grg ntj bn śt r st.w

m r pw jw.j ḳndt

mtw t3 pt ṯḫj n p3 jw(tn)

Give the office of Osiris to his son, Horus. And don't do those big misdeeds, that are out of place. Or I shall get angry and the sky will crash to the ground.

(Horus and Seth, 40/1-3)

An imperative, a negative imperative, and a Third Future followed by the conjunctive.

14.13

jmj n.f ᶜntjt ᶜstjrtjt t3j.k šrj 2

mtw.k djt ḥr r t3 śt n jt.f

Give him Anat and Astarte, your two daughters

And place Horus on the seat of his father.

(Horus and Seth, 40/4,5)

A conjunctive following an imperative, continuing the sense and meaning of the imperative.

14.14

nḥm.f mnš n ḥr

mtw.tw djt ḥḏt ḥr tp.f

He (Thoth) shall take the royal name-ring (cartouche) to Horus, and the White Crown shall be placed on his head.

(Horus and Seth, 37/13 - 38/1)

A conjunctive following an initial prospective.

14.15

bn nfr jwn3
p3j gb.tw m b3ḥ
t3 pśḏt
mtw.tw nḥm t3 j3t n
jt.j wśjr m.dj.j

It is not good to defraud me before the Enneaḍ, and to take the office of Osiris, my father, away from me.

(Horus and Seth, 42/5-7)

A non-verbal sentence negated by *bn ... jwn3* (LE) followed by a conjunctive.

14.16

jw.j ḳnḳn.k
mtw.j nḥm n3 j3wt n p3j.k jt
mtw.j ḥ3ᶜ.k r bl

I shall beat you,
I shall take your father's cattle and I shall throw you out.

(Horus and Seth, 45/5,6)

Two conjunctives following a LE Third Future, without the preposition *r* (common in LE) and continuing the sense of this.

Note *p3j.k jt* - the LE possessive pronoun here and cf. *jt.j*, the suffix acting as the possessive in ME usage.

The *mtw.f śḏm*'s are all examples, which are found in LE and in NDE and not in ME.

14.17

ḫft spr p3j.j wḥ3 r.tn
jw.tn djt ḥḏt ḥr tp n ḥr s3 3st
mtw.tn h3j.f r t3 st n jt wśjr

When my letter reaches you, you shall place the White Crown on the head of Horus, son of Isis, and appoint him to the position of his father, Osiris.

(Horus and Seth, 47/11-13)

This is an epistolary formula encountered only in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. (Goldwasser 1985:50). It is a specific temporal construction specifying the sequence between two events, i.e. the arrival of a letter and the execution of certain instructions upon its arrival. In the Nineteenth Dynasty too, another construction became popular. This was the *wnn.f ḥr śḏm* in the protasis, which is described by Polotsky as the nominalised *jw.f ḥr sḏm*. (Goldwasser 1985:54).

This was used in a free usage form (see below Two Brothers 16/3) and later in the Twentieth Dynasty, a new fixed or "frozen" formula was adopted by the scribes and became dominant. This was the *wnn t3j.j šꜥt (ḥr) spr r.k, jw.k ḥr* + infinitive. The latter is the *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the continuative future, and this is usually followed by a conjunctive (Baer 1965:137).

The example used here is Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty. (See other examples under the discussion of the Temporal *wnn*).

This epistolary formula, although using the *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the LE Continuative Future and the LE Conjunctive, is found only in the 18th and 19th Dynasties (i.e. ME and NDE, and not in later LE).

14.18

jḫ śḫf.k n.j p3 wḥ3 3s sp.sn n wsjr	Please answer this letter of Osiris for me quickly
mtw.k ḏd n.f ...	and tell him ...

(Horus and Seth, 57/11,12)

A conjunctive following a polite request - the *jḫ śḏm.k*

14.19

j.šm j.wn p3 mḫrt	Go, open the bin and take away for you what you wish.
mtw.k jnj.n.k p3 ntj m jb.k	

(Two Brothers, 12/1)

Conjunctive, following two LE imperatives, both clearly preceded by a prothetic yod

14.20

wnn p3 jtn ḥr wbn

jw.j ḥr wpt ḥnᶜ.k m .b3ḥ.f

mtw.f ḥr djt p3 ᶜḏ3 n p3 m3ᶜt

When the sun rises, I will be judged with you in his presence, and he will give the wrongdoer to the righteous (i.e. he will let the righteous triumph).

(Two Brothers, 16/3,4)

The temporal *wnn* of the Nineteenth Dynasty - free form, followed by *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the Future, and then a conjunctive.

14.21

ḥr jw.k ᶜm3 r.ḏd

wn nkt r.j

mtw.tw ḥr djt n.k wᶜ n

ṯbt n ḥnkt ḥr drt.k

mtw.f ḥr stf

Hereby, you will learn that something/(mischief) has befallen me, in that one gives to you a vase of beer in your hand, and it ferments.

(Two Brothers, 18/3,4)

A Third Future (without the preposition *r*) followed by two conjunctives.

The *wn nkt r.j* is a *wn* of existence preceding an undefined noun, a LE formation.

The above LE conjunctive examples occur only in NDE and LE.

14.22

jmj šᶜd.tw p3j š3w3bw 2

mtw.tw j.jrj.w m jpdw nfrw

Have these two persea trees cut down, and make them into goodly furniture.

(Two Brothers, 27/16 - 28/2)

This is unusual. The conjunctive follows a causative imperative, but the *mtw.tw* is followed by *j.jrj.w* i.e. a verb form + a pronominal pronoun preceded by a prothetic yod, i.e. a LE imperative!

This is an unusual example, perhaps a hybrid form found in NDE only.

14.23

nn nfr p3

mśj śḏm.f

mtw.f h3b r wḏ.k

This is not good. Let Mose hear (of it), and he will send to destroy you.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 30/4)

A negation of a non-verbal sentence (ME), followed by NOUN + prospective *śḏm.f* (see Doret 1980:37) and a conjunctive.

14.24

jḫ jtj n.k p3 10 n ᶜkw

ḫnᶜ p3j ḫᶜw t3 ḫnt t3 śfd

p3j rdwj.tbt

mtw.k s3w n.j p3j k3

j.jrt jjt m p3 dmjt

Please take for yourself these ten loaves, the staff, the waterskin, the sword and the sandals, and guard this ox for me until I return from town.

(Truth and Falsehood, 34/1-4)

A conjunctive following *jḫ śḏm.k* polite request

j.jrt etc. is LE "until", and not a second tense emphatic "that" form.

14.25

jw.n r jrt b3kw n pr^{c}3 ^{c}nḫ wḏ3 śnb

mtw.n rwj.n m.dj p3 wr n ḫt3

We will be servants of Pharaoh *lph*, and we will abandon the chief of Hatti.

(Battle of Kadesh, 104/12)

A conjunctive following a Third Future, but this is unusual, for following the *mtw.n*, we have a finite *śḏm.f* form, i.e. *rwj.n*, and not an infinitive.

This too is an unusual example, perhaps a hybrid form found in NDE only.

The above examples show that the *mtw* has a conjunctive or sequential meaning, with future-optative sequentiality. It usually follows the imperative, the *jmj śḏm.f* = 'let him hear', the *jḫ śḏm.k* or *jw.f (r) śḏm*, and corresponds to the *waqāṭaltá* (i.e. *wāw*-consecutive and suffix conjugation) in Biblical Hebrew. (Loprieno 1980:144).

However, the conjunctive can be used as the protasis of an oath (see above Ostracon 2 Recto 10) or as the apodosis of a conditional or temporal sentence. And it is used rarely following a past or a present tense, and it then seems to indicate habitual or past custom (Wente 1962:304) or to have a 'final' meaning (i.e. 'in order that' or 'so that') (Černý 1949:30).

(i) Examples of the oath in NDE are:

14.26

w3ḥ p3r^{c} ḥr3ḫtwj

mtw.tw nḫm.f m.dj.j

nn jw.j r wnm

nn jw.j r śwj

jw.j r mt m t3 wnwt

As Pre-Harakhti lives, if he is taken from me, I shall not eat, I shall not drink, I shall die right away!

(The Doomed Prince, 5/10-12)

Conjunctive as protasis of an oath following *w3ḥ p3.rᶜ*. The Third Future tenses are negated by the ME *nn* rather than the LE *bn*.

14.27

w3ḥ jmn w3ḥ p3 ḥḳ3

mtw.tw gm m3ᶜt jw.f ᶜnḫ

jw.tw k3mn.f (for *.j*) *t3j.f* (for *.j*) *jrt 2*

mtw.tw ḥr djt.f (for *.j*) *r jrj.wn*

m p3 pr m3ᶜt

As Amun lives, as the ruler lives, if Truth is found alive, I shall be blinded in both eyes and shall be made doorkeeper of the House of Truth.

(Truth and Falsehood, 36/2-5)

mtw passive conjunctive as protasis of oath and another conjunctive in the second part of the apodosis following a Third Future in the first part of the apodosis. The third person (not the first person) is used in the apodosis.

jw.f ᶜnḫ is a circumstantial LE First Present - lit. "he being alive".

The above two examples are NDE and LE forms, not ME.

(ii) The following appear to be examples of regular custom NDE

14.28

śtnw p3j.k jt

ḫr.w n.j

mtw.w j3dt.j

"Where is your father?"

So they say to me. And they mock me.

(Truth and Falsehood, 33/2)

ḫr.w - reports and follows direct speech. It occurs in both LE and earlier in ME.

14.29

p3 sš śpd wḥ^{c} jb
n ḫm n.f
rśj tk3 m kkw r.ḥ3t mnjt
mtw.f śḥḏ n.śn

O scribe, keen (of wit), understanding of heart, to whom nothing whatsoever is unknown, flame in the darkness before the soldiers, giving light to them.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 28/17 - 29/1)

śpd and *wḥ^{c} jb* are ME active participles, and the negative clause is a ME formation too.

14.30

ḫr jnj.tw t3 k3t m t3 mpt
mtw.ś śk3 nrj

So also a cow is brought this year and it ploughs the following year.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/6,7)

14.31

bw rḫ.f n3j.j j3b ḫpt.f
mtw.f h3b n t3j.j mwt

He does not know my wish to embrace him, or he would send to my mother

(Papyrus Chester-Beatty I - Love Songs, C2/2)

A *bw rḫ.f* of the LE negative simple present is followed by a conjunctive.

Perhaps this could be considered as an apodosis of an implied conditional clause. The writer is saying "If he knew ..., he would send ..."

In The Tale of Two Brothers, there are a series of LE conjunctives used as past continuatives with the meaning of habitual or past custom (Wente 1962:304). These seem to set the scene before the actual story, i.e. "he used to do". Examples of this are

14.32

mtw.f wḥ^{c} r p3j.f pr r ṯnw r grḥ

And he would come home to his house every evening

mtw.f w3ḥ.w	And he would set them down
mtw.f śwj mtw.f wnm	And he would drink and eat
mtw.f djt n.f ᶜḳw r śḫt	And he would give him bread for the fields
mtw.f thm n3j.f k3w r djt wnm.w m śḫt	And he would drink out his cattle in order to pasture them in the field.

(Two Brothers, 10/4-14)

These examples of the Conjunctive used as past Continuatives with the meaning of habitual or past custom appear in NDE and LE, and not in ME.

In the narrative proper following this, the activities on that particular day are conveyed in bona fide narrative form, especially LE *jw.f (ḥr)śḏm* of the continuative past. Occasionally as in Nineteenth Dynasty texts, the prepositions *ḥr* or *r* are omitted (as in this example).

14.33

ḫr jr p3 šw ḥr ḥtp	Now when the sun set, he loaded himself with all the vegetables of the fields, according to his daily custom.
jw.f 3tp.f m smw nb n śḫwt m p3j.f śḫr ntj rᶜ nb	

(Two Brothers, 14/6)

The sentence begins with a First Present with a *ḥr* + infinitive preceded by *ḫr jr*, which makes it past tense. The verb is an intransitive verb - a non-conclusive verb, i.e. denoting an action which can neither be initiated nor concluded (Group IV of Groll, 1969(b):185). These verbs cannot take a stative.

The text continues with another *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the LE continuative past, and this time the preposition *ḥr* is written *jw.f ḫr jjt*. He returned

This last example is a narrative form, cf. the LE conjunctives above. It occurs only in NDE and LE, and not in ME.

CONCLUSION

The Late Egyptian conjunctive form, *mtw.f (tm) śḏm* is thought to have derived from the Middle Egyptian *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm*.

And, as expected in Nineteenth Dynasty writings, both the Middle Egyptian forerunner (example 14.1) and the Late Egyptian fully developed form (example 14.4) are found in the non-literary texts, side by side.

And, in fact (example 14.5) two Late Egyptian Third Futures take the place of *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm* and of *mtw.f śḏm* in identical examples. The language was evolving indeed! The above are all found in the Kanais or Wadi Mia inscription.

The Late Egyptian conjunctive is found in both non-literary and literary texts, and follows:

- a prospective *śḏm.f* (example 14.6)
- a *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the future (example 14.7). This in turn follows the *jr* protasis of a condition.
- a Third Future protasis of a condition (example 14.8)
- a Third Future (example 14.10)
- an imperative (example 14.13)
- a causative imperative (example 14.22)
- a polite request (example 14.18)

The conjunctive form can also occur as:

- the protasis of an oath (example 14.11), or
- the apodosis of an oath (example 14.27).

It can also occur as the third member of an epistolary formula encountered only in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, following a temporal construction and a *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the continuative future (example 14.17).

Example 14.22 is unusual. A conjunctive follows a causative imperative, but the former is *mtw.tw j.jrj.w* i.e. *mtw.tw* + a verb form with a pronominal pronoun preceded by a prothetic yod, i.e. a Late Egyptian imperative!

Example 14.23 is interesting. A negative non-verbal sentence is followed by a noun + prospective *śḏm.f* followed in turn by a conjunctive.

Example 14.25 has *mtw.n* + a finite verb form, and <u>not</u> the infinitive.

And rarely *mtw.f śḏm* can occur with the meaning of regular or habitual custom, (example 14.28, 14.32). The latter is from "The Tale of Two Brothers", and seem to set the scene before the actual story, with the meaning - "he used to do."

The LE Conjunctive form *mtw.f ḥr śḏm* is found in LE and in NDE. The ME precursor was *ḥnꜥ ntf śḏm*, and this form too is found in NDE.

CHAPTER 15

THE LATE EGYPTIAN SEQUENTIAL FORMS

The Late Egyptian sequential forms, i.e. the conjunctive *mtw.f śḏm* and the sequential past *jw.f ḥr śḏm* are presented and discussed in Chapter 14 and Chapter 22 respectively.

The conjunctive appears to correspond to the *waqāṭaltā́* (i.e. *wāw*-consecutive and suffix conjugation) in Biblical Hebrew (= 'and you will kill') (Loprieno 1980:144). The sequential past in LE (*jw.f ḥr śḏm*) has a parallel with the *wāw*-consecutive + prefix conjugation of Biblical Hebrew.

The LE conjunctive verbal formation is *mtw.f śḏm* (a conjugation base (*mtw*), a pronominal suffix or a noun and the infinitive of a verb).

As the sentences or clauses with the conjunctive mostly follow sentences with imperatives, prospectives and Third Futures, they usually continue a future sense, and the conjunctive is used in future - optative contexts and often has the force of another imperative.

It corresponds closely to the Biblical Hebrew *wāw* + suffix conjugation; not in structure, but in function and usage. (Loprieno 1980:144).

Although the conjunctive is neutral with regard to time, and capable only of denoting an action, it usually refers to the future, normally with optative or consecutive meaning. And so does the *wāw* + suffix conjugation in Biblical Hebrew.

e.g.

15.1

לכן אמר לבני ישראל

אני השם והוצאתי אתכם ...

והצלתי אתכם ...
ונאלתי אתכם ...
ולקחתי אתכם ...
והייתי לכם לאלהים

Therefore, say unto the children of Israel,
I am the Lord and I will bring you out ...
and I will release you ...
and I will redeem you ...
and I will take you ...
and I will be to you for a God

(Exodus 6:6,7)

15.2

ואהרן אחיך ידבר אל פרעה
ושלח את בני ישראל מארצו...

And Aaron your brother shall speak unto Pharaoh,
and he will send away the children of Israel out of his land.

(Exodus 7:2,3)

These follow: *qum* - "rise" - Imperative
yāqum - "he will rise" - Future
yāqom - "may he rise" - Optative..

It is interesting to note on the other hand that the *jw.f (ḥr) śḏm*, i.e. the sequential past in LE, has a parallel with the *wāw*-consecutive + prefix conjugation of Biblical Hebrew e.g.

15.3

...והאדם ידע את חוה אשתו

...ותהר ותלד את קין

ותאמר

...קניתי איש את השם

.....ותסף ללדת את אחיו את הבל

...ויהי הבל רעה צאן

וקין היה עבד אדמה

And the man knew Eve, his wife, and she conceived and bore Cain, and she said

"I have gotten a man with the help of the Lord".

And again she bore his brother, Abel. And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground.

(Genesis 4:1,2)

In addition to the above, Polotsky (1985:158) speculated on the relationship of *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the narrative past to *śḏm.f*, the retrospective tense and to the Hebrew ויאמר to אמר.

"The change", he wrote, "from a link in the narrative chain into a piece of direct speech involves the replacement of the sequential narrative form by a retrospective tense, a perfect: *wayyeläk* loses its *wa* and must be replaced by *hālak*."

Note this in the last example - ותאמר is replaced by קניתי in direct speech, and the same occurs in e.g.

15.4

jw.f ḥr pwj jw.f ḥr pḥ p3	He leapt and he reached the window
sšd n t3 šrj(t) n p3 sr n n3h3rn	of the daughter of the Prince of Nahrin.
...	...
...	and (some)one told him:
jw.tw ḥr ḏd n.f	"One man has reached the window of
pḥ wᶜ n rmṯ p3 sšd n t3j.k šrj(t)	your daughter".

(The Doomed Prince, 4/15 - 5/3)

The *jw.f ḥr pḥ* of the narrative past changes to *pḥ.f* - the retrospective tense in direct speech: - the very same sentence.

In the discussion on his presentation, Polotsky (1985:362) is asked by Oikawa if he has examples in LE of the two verbs one after the other; - one in sequential past form and then in direct speech in *śḏm.f*.

Polotsky says he has no examples, and Groll says that there is one in Wenamun.

The above example is clearly an example of this.

And Polotsky thinks that "it would be pleasant if the replacement of the sequential narrative form by a retrospective tense could be paralleled by the replacement of the conjunctive by something prospective."

He cannot quote such an example, he says "doubtless through sheer ignorance" (!?)

I think this is an example of what Polotsky is discussing, and couldn't find an example -

15.5

ḫr jr ... rmṯ nb ...	As to anyone ...
ntj jw.f r šnᶜ jm nb n t3.ḥwt	who shall stop anyone belonging to the house, and he moor it for only a single day,
...	
mtw.f mnj.f m wᶜ n ḥrw wᶜt.wj	saying "I will take it ..."
r.ḏd	
jw.j r jṯ3.f ...	- punishment shall be done to him.
jrj.tw ḥpw r.f	

(Nauri Decree, 53/10-14)

Following the conjunctive (*mtw.f mnj.f*), we have direct speech, in which the speaker now uses a Third Future.

This, in turn is followed by a passive prospective.

As to the *ntj jw.f r šnᶜ*, in the same paper (Discussion p. 362ff, Polotsky says "Well, this development of the Third Future occurs in the Eighteenth Dynasty. In real ME, it would not be correct to speak of ME *jw.f r śḏm*. It is just one of the possiblities of the so-called pseudoverbal construction. Unfortunately, the grammars fail to show clearly that *jw.f ḫr śḏm, mk.św ḫr śḏm, ntj jw.f ḫr śḏm* is exactly paralleled by *jw.f r śḏm, mk.św r śḏm, ntj r śḏm*. The latter (*ntj r śḏm*) disappears gradually in ME of the Eighteenth Dynasty and there you find *ntj jw.f r śḏm*. This shows that *jw* has become the fixed element of this construction. The different kinds of *jw*, he ends "are going to occupy to some degree ourselves, to a greater part our successors, for some time to come".(!) See later Discussion.

The agreement between Egyptian and Biblical Hebrew concerns only the meaning; the morphology is different and is peculiar to either language.

A peculiarity of Hebrew is e.g. that the sequential verb-forms cannot be used with the negative *lô*: - the negation of *wayyeläk* can only be *wᵉlô halak*.

CONCLUSION

Loprieno (1980:2) draws attention to an interesting syntactic parallelism, namely the evolution towards a new verbal system in Egyptian as it was written in the colloquial texts of the New Kingdom - commonly called Late Egyptian - and in Biblical Hebrew, one of the most representative Central Semitic languages. He suggests that the creation of sequential forms is a common pattern of Egyptian and Biblical Hebrew in a specific period of their historical evolution, in which they respond in a parallel way to a few syntactic changes in their verbal systems; afterwards each of these languages adopted original devices for the expression of the tense indication.

In this chapter the Late Egyptian sequential forms, the conjunctive and the sequential past, are discussed, and their close agreement in meaning with Biblical Hebrew *wāw* + suffix conjugation and *wāw* + prefix conjugation - the morphology is different and is peculiar to either language.

Many examples of these sequences occur in these Nineteenth Dynasty writings.

I discuss too the change from the *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the past in a narrative chain to a perfect tense, when direct speech is inserted (example 15.4), and I report too an interesting, perhaps unique example of "replacement of the conjunctive by something prospective in direct speech" (example 15.5).

All these examples of sequential forms, of course, occur only in LE and in NDE and not in ME.

CHAPTER 16

jrj AS AN AUXILIARY TO ANOTHER VERB

INTRODUCTION

The Egyptian verb *jrj*, means "make", "do", when used as the only verb in a sentence. It is a very common verb, and is used in all stages of the Egyptian language, ME through NDE to LE. However, it is often used as an auxiliary to another verb which is the infinitive object of the auxiliary. The meaning of the infinitive object of *jrj* is not altered. Perhaps the original meaning was something like "he does hear" or even "he acts so as to hear".

This may occur under the following circumstances - (See Gardiner 1930:220), where the uses and evolution in ME, NDE and LE will be shown.

I.

jrj.f śḏm, which Gardiner shows to be due to a growing prejudice against forming special *śḏm.f* forms of their own from verbs with four or more radical consonants, as well as from compound verbs or those of foreign origin, e.g.

16.1

jrj jb.f ṯḥḥj — His heart jubilates.

(Papyrus CB I, G1/4,5)

16.2

m n3 śr.w nbw t3.ḏsr
jrj.śn wpw.sn ḥn^{c}.f — It is all the noblemen of the necropolis who will dispute with him.

(CB III (Groll 1985:101) - (Sander-Hansen 1933:29)

16.3

jśt jrj.j sm3ᶜ m pḫwj ḥ3śt
jw ḫrw.j pḫr m jwnw rśj

Now though I prayed in the distant land, my voice resounded in Southern On (Heliopolis), i.e. Thebes.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 42/14)

16.4

jrj.k ḥfḏ (חפז) *p3j.ś ṯśj*

You shrink from its ascent.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 31/10)

16.5

jrj.w rmn ḫt.k

They have made away with your things.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 32/8,9)

16.6

jrj.f wšwš t3j.k mrkbt

It smashes your chariot.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 37/5,6)

16.7

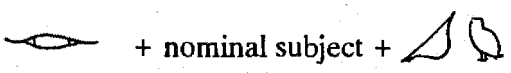
jrj.w ᶜrᶜr p3j.k nḫb

They supply your yoke.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 37/17,18)

These forms are found in ME, NDE and LE.

II.

 + nominal subject +

(no examples with suffix occuring)

These Gardiner showed to be a LE Third Future with *jrj* for *jw* when a nominal subject, not a pronoun is used. (See under "The LE Third Future"). For example,

16.8

bn jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 r šsp.w

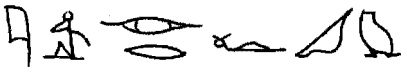
jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3

(r) djt jnj.tw.w n p3 ḥk3 n kmt

The great prince of Hatti will not receive them. The great prince of Hatti will cause that they be taken to the great king of Egypt.

(Hittite Treaty, 229/4)

This is found in NDE and in LE and not in ME.

III. 

j.jrj.f śḏm i.e. The LE Second Tense, Emphatic Form or "that" form (not the Future form, which is simply *j.dj.f*). This is not a relative form.

For example -

16.9

j.jrj.j jjt

r ᶜn n.f wšbt

It is to avenge him <u>that</u> I have come.

(Truth and Falsehood, 36/1,2)

16.10

j. jrj.k wḫ3

jn jw ḫr jḫ

Why is it <u>that</u> you must act foolishly?

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, C3/2,3)

16.11

j.jrj.j jj n.k

r.ḏd ḏ3j.k r p3 jw ḫrj jb

It is in order that you ferry me across to the Island-in-the-Midst <u>that</u> I have come to you.

(Horus and Seth, 43/9,13)

These forms (above) occur in NDE and in LE and not in ME.

IV.

bw jrj.f śdm

Although *bw śḏm.f* is used as negation of the simple present in LE Literary texts, *bw jrj.f śḏm* occurs too. In non-literary texts, the pure form is *bw jrj.f śḏm.*, e.g.

16.12

bw jrj.w śḏm — They do not listen.

bw hn.w n3j.k śḏd.w — They do not heed your tales.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 37/10,11)

The first is a *bw jrj.f śḏm*, the second a simple *bw śḏm.f*

16.13

jr pḥ.j r ḫḥ jm.sn

bw jrj rdwj.w śmn

ḫr wᶜr.sn

When I attacked their multitudes, their feet were infirm and they fled.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 65/2)

16.14

jw bw jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3

tht r p3 t3 n kmt

r.nḫḥ

r jt3 nkt jm.f

And the great prince of Hatti will not transgress against the land of Egypt for ever, in order to take anything from it.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/15)

The above forms occur in NDE and in LE.

V.

The LE negative imperative

m. dj + *jrj* + verb or

m jrj + verb, e.g.

16.15

m dj jrj.tw śᶜḥᶜ p3j.f bt3 r.f

Do not cause that his crime be raised against him.

(Hittite Treaty, 231/6,8)

16.16

m jrj šḫm jm.n

Do not overwhelm us.

(Ramesses II - Battle of Kadesh, 93/14)

These occur in NDE and in LE and not in ME.

VI.

Besides the above, note the verb *jrj* in the so called curses, invoked upon infringers of decrees. These are used before an adverbial phrase, and without another verb, e.g.

16.17

jrj wśjr ... m .s3.f

Osiris will be after him, etc.

(Nauri Decree, 58/5 and Kanais, 70/3)

This occurs in NDE and in LE.

VII. A final note about auxiliary verbs other than *jrj*

16.18

(j)n jw.ṯ rḫ jrt ᶜnḫ ᶜ3 ... — Are you prepared to take a great oath?

(Hieratic Ostracon Recto 8)

rḫ jrt = willingness or ability

16.19

śpr.k r wḥᶜ m rwh3 — You proceed to stop in the evening.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 31/13,14)

śpr is an auxiliary verb here.

The above two interesting examples may occur in ME, NDE and LE.

CONCLUSION

The examples of *jrj* as an auxiliary to another verb (which is the infinitive object of the auxiliary) are found in both literary and non-literary NDE texts, e.g.

(i) *jrj.f śḏm* - due to a growing prejudice against forming *śḏm.f* forms of their own from verbs with four or more radicals, from compound verbs or those of foreign origin (example 16.1, 16.7)

(ii) The Late Egyptian Third Future with *jrj* for *jw*, when a nominal subject and not a pronoun is used (example 16.8 and Chapter 13).

(iii) *j.jrj.f śḏm* (The Late Egyptian Second Tense (example 16.9)).

(iv) *bw jrj.f śḏm*. The Late Egyptian Negation of the simple present (example 16.13).

(v) The Late Egyptian negative imperative (*m dj jrj* + verb or *m jrj* + verb) (example 16.16).

(i) occurs in ME, NDE and LE, while (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v) are found in NDE and LE only, where all continued in regular usage.

The use of *jrj* in the curses is found in NDE and in LE (16.17), and the last two examples (*rḫ jrt* and *śpr.k*) (16.18, 16.19) are found in ME, NDE and LE.

It is probable (Gardiner 1930:220) that the auxiliary *jrj* (especially as used in the curses and in the Third Future instead of *jw* with a nominal subject) is the origin of the Coptic Third Future ⲉⲓⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ or rather when used with a nominal subject ⲉⲣⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ .

CHAPTER 17

THE LATE EGYPTIAN SECOND TENSE

In 1944, Polotsky published "Études de syntaxe copte", in which he stated his conclusions that the Second Tenses in Coptic emphasized an adverbial adjunct. He pointed out that the Coptic Second Present derived from the LE *j.jrj.f śḏm*, and that this form was without time designation.

He first recognised the true nature of the *j.jrj.f śḏm(.f)* + adverb formation, and he suggested that this was <u>not</u> a relative form, but an emphatic formation; an adverbial adjunct is emphasized, and the *j.jrj.f śḏm(.f)* is a "that"-form (i.e. a noun equivalent). The *j.jrj.f śḏm(.f)* functions as a nominal subject in a sentence in which the following stressed adverb (or adverb equivalent, such as a prepositional phrase or a circumstantial sentence) is the predicate (Nims 1968:161, Černý and Groll 1975:366, Erman 1972:126, Frandsen 1974:153)

The emphatic, or "that"-forms are:

j. jrj.f śḏm (neutral in respect of time) or

j. dj.f (with future sense)

Polotsky used the cleft sentence to show the emphasis on the adverbial adjunct (Polotsky 1944:60). This emphasized adjunct gives new meanings to many accounts.

I. Non-literary NDE texts

There are no examples in the non-literary NDE texts used for discussion in this thesis.

II. Literary NDE texts

17.1

jst j.jrj djt t3 j3t n wśjr n śtḫ

j s3.f ḥrᶜḥᶜ

Is it while his son Horus is there that one shall give the Office of Osiris to Seth?

(Horus and Seth, 38/6,7)

There is no *.f* or subject attached to *j.jrj.*Φ (zero morpheme).

The *jw s3.f* ... is a circumstantial First Present, fulfilling function C (Frandsen 1974:194).

But cf.

17.2

j.jrj.tw djt t3 j3t n śn n mwt

jw s3 n ḫt ᶜḥᶜ

Shall one give the office of the brother to the uncle, while the bodily son is there?

(Horus and Seth, 41/16 - 42/1)

Here a *j.jrj.tw* is found.

17.3

j.jrj.tw wp.tw m sp tpj

m t3 wśḫt wᶜ mᶜ

It is once already in the hall "Way of Truth" that they have been judged.

(Horus and Seth, 39/3,4)

17.4

j.jrj.j jj n.k r.ḏd ḏ3j.k r r p3 jw ḥrj jb

p3 wn j.jrj.j jj ḫrj p3 ṯbt n btj n p3 ᶜḏd šrj ...

It is in order that you ferry (me) across to the Island-in-the-Midst that I have come. For it is with this bowl of flour/emmer for the young boy that I have come.

(Horus and Seth, 43/9)

17.5

j.jrj.tw g3b ś3.j ḥr ḥr.jḫ

jw jnk j.jrj.tn m nḫt

ḫr jw jnk jrj jt bdj r śᶜnḫ nṯrw

Why is it that my son Horus is being defrauded when it was I who made you strong, ... although it was I who made barley and emmer to nourish the gods.

(Horus and Seth, 57/5,6)

A question sometimes has the interrogative particle (*ḫr jḫ* here) as the adverbial phrase in an obligatory Second Tense formation.

j.jrj.tn is a LE relative form

jw jnk is a circumstantial *jw* (Function A)

ḫr jw acts as Function D in a *jw* converter clause.

17.6

jśt bn j.jrj.tw m p3 ḏd jtm

Is it not according to the word of Atum that one should act?

(Horus and Seth, 47/14,15)

bn negates the nexus between the subject (the "that"-form) and the predicative adverbial element. Černý and Groll (1975:388) feel that when the sentence as a whole expresses an affirmative idea, the *jwn3* is omitted, and Frandsen (1974:168) suggests that it is impossible to decide whether or not the omission is accidental.

17.7

j.jrj.k tm djt wḏᶜ.tw.tn ḫr jḫ

Why is it that you have <u>not</u> caused yourself to be judged?

(Horus and Seth, 59/6)

tm negates the "that"-form itself (being a noun equivalent), i.e. *j.jrj.f tm śḏm*, and not the nexus, which remains affirmative.

17.8

bn j.jrj.j mj.kdnw.k
m.ḏr šnj.j n.k.

It is not as you do that I act when I invoke you.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 14/5,6)

bn here negates the nexus between the subject (the "that"-form) and the predicative adverbial element ...

Note *jrj* is the only verb in *j.jrj.j*. When *jrj* is the verb, it is not duplicated.

17.9

jr nf3.k r.gs.f jw.f m snn
j.jrj.f h3j w3w mj g3b dbw

If you blow beside him as he passes, it is far off like a leaf of foliage that he will drop down.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 19/14 - 20/1)

jr nf3.k is *jr* + prospective *śḏm.f*

jw.f m snn is a circumstantial First Present.

17.10

j.jrj.j 3ḫ n nb.j
mj ḥm 3ḫ n nb.f

It is as a slave serves his master that I serve my lord.

(Papyrus Lansing, 110/1)

17.11

j.jrj.f śnśn
ᶜ3jj.w r.f

It is with those greater than he that he makes friends.

(Papyrus Lansing, 100/4)

17.12

jw j.jrj.st r.ḏr.w sp.sn sp.sn
n śnḏ n knkn

For it is for fear of a beating that they do their utmost.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/9,10)

j.jrj.f śḏm can be preceded by the dependent *jw* - acting as a non-prepositional initial main clause; the undefined relative form cannot.

17.13

j.jrj.f šmw m 3kw bnr
prt m 3kw mjmj
j.jrj.f p3j.f wš3 n rnpt
m.s3 n3 jḥwtj.w

It is in destroying the dates that it (the goose of the shore - *śmn n wḏb*) spends the summer, and the winter destroying the seed-grain.

It is in pursuit of the cultivators that it spends his (the) rest of the year.

(Papyrus Lansing, 102/6-8)

17.14

j.dj.f b3k.w.f n śf
m p3 hrw
wgg r ᶜt.f

If it is today that he will give the output of yesterday, woe to his limbs!

(Papyrus Lansing, 104/1,2)

This is the *j.dj.f* emphatic of the future.

17.15

j.jrj.ś mt dmt

It is a violent death that she will die.

(Two Brothers, 19/11)

17.16

j.šm.tw m wśtn ḫr w3t
jw bn śnḏ nb m jb n rmṯ

It is free-striding on the road that one walks, for there is no fear in people's hearts.

(Merneptah's Stele, 18/5)

jw bn śnḏ is a LE converter.

jw with a non-verbal sentence.

There is no ... *jwn3*.

17.17

jn jw j.dj.j t3j.j šrjt n p3 wᶜr n kmt

Is it to this fugitive from Egypt that I am to give my daughter?

(Doomed Prince, 5/7,8)

An *j.dj.j* of the future.

17.18

j.jrj.j jjt r ᶜn n.f wšbt

It is to avenge him that I have come.

(Truth and Falsehood, 36/1,2)

17.19

j.jrj.k wḫ3 jn jw ḫr jḫ

Why is it that you must act foolishly?

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I, 1/2,3)

17.20

j.jrj.k śpr r t3j.ś rrjt
r snn ᶜ.k r sp 4

It is in the kissing of your hand four times that you will reach her hiding-place.

(Papyrus Chester-Beatty I, GI III/4)

CONCLUSION

There are examples of the Late Egyptian Second Tense (emphatic or "that"-form) in the literary NDE texts comprising this thesis. This form was therefore fully developed by the Nineteenth Dynasty, but there are still many examples of Middle Egyptian emphatic *śḏm.f*'s and *śḏm.n.f*'s too, as shown in chapters 6 and 7.

There are examples of the *j.jrj.f śḏm* (neutral in respect of time (e.g. 17.2), in one of which there is no *.f* or subject attached to the *jrj.ø* (zero morpheme (17.1).)

Perhaps this should be translated as passive ("shall the office be given?") This would be analogous to the example in the much later "Late Ramesside Letters" (*jw.n gm r.ḏd bwpw.ø ft* (18/15-16) "And we found that they had not become erased" (Blumsohn 1988:95).

There are examples too of *j.dj.f* with future sense (e.g. 17.14).

There are questions, e.g. *ḫr jḫ* with the interrogative particle as the adverbial phrase in an obligatory Second Tense formation (e.g. 17.15), and there are examples of *bn* negating the nexus between the subject (the "that"-form) and the predicative adverbial element (e.g. 17.6), and of *tm* negating the "that"-form itself. (e.g. 17.7).

j.jrj.f śḏm can be preceded by the dependent *jw* - acting as a non-prepositional initial main clause; the undefined relative form cannot (e.g. 17.12).

These forms, of course occur in LE and in NDE.

and persisted into Coptic as. ϵⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, ϵⲩⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ and . ϵⲩⲛⲁⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ . respectively for the Second Tense Present, Perfect, Habitude and Future, i.e. it has now become a fully analytical and tense related form.

The emphatic forms in earlier ME (and in NDE too) were *sm.n.f, šm.f (śḏm.f)* or *mrr.f.*

as discussed and shown in Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 18[1]

THE TEMPORAL *wnn* IN LATE EGYPTIAN

In this chapter, the LE temporal *wnn* construction is discussed, leading to and giving special emphasis to the common LE epistolary formula and how it developed.

The main clause with *wnn* is usually followed by the continuative *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the future in the first instance, and the conjunctive thereafter.

The *wnn* clause is usually future, but it is <u>not</u> "an explicit form to express future" in LE. It is one of the LE semantic equivalents of an English temporal clause, or more rarely, a conditional clause Baer (1965:137).

e.g.

18.1

wnn p3 jtn ḥr wbn
jw.j ḥr wpt ḥnᶜ.k m.b3ḥ.f
mtw.f ḥr djt p3 ᶜḏ3 n p3 m3ᶜt

When the sun rises, I will be judged with you in his presence, and he will give the wrong-doer to the righteous (i.e. let the righteous triumph).

(Two Brothers, 16/3)

The particle *ḥr* before *wnn* creates with it a "closed prosodic unit" and the construction then refers to the past, e.g.

---

1 Note that in the *wnn.f ḥr śḏm* and the *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the Future, the preposition *ḥr* is almost always written. (Groll 1982:11ff). In the Nineteenth Dynasty texts, the total occurrence ranges from 50 - 100%, while the figure is 11 - 50 % in later Twentieth Dynasty texts.

18.2

ḫr wnn p3 šw ḫr wbn

... ᶜḥᶜ ḫr ᶜḥ3 m p3

s tnw hrw nbt m ᶜḥᶜw n 3bd 3 n hrw

As soon as the sun rose ... (they) stood and fought each other every day for three months now.

This is immediately followed by

ḫr jr m.ḫt hrw ḫr nn

wn.jn p3 šrj ḫr ḥmśj ḫr jrt hrw nfr p3j.f pr

And when more days had passed, the youth sat down to a feast day in his house.

(Doomed Prince, 7/7-9)

This *ḫr jr m.ḫt* formula is another way used to express a temporal clause in the past (in the Nineteenth Dynasty) and this is followed by a pseudoverbal construction.

Groll (in a discussion (on page 347) to Goldwasser's presentation 1985:50) suggests that *ḫr wnn.f* is probably the beginning of the Coptic ⲩⲁⲛ of ⲉⲩⲩⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄.(This is a circumstantial or Second Present + ⲩⲁⲛ and is used in conditional sentences.)

ḫr jr is a time converter or changer. A First Present sentence indicates present time; when preceded by *ḫr jr* it indicates past time. Perhaps *ḫr wnn* has similar properties.

Groll suggests too that "*wnn.f ḫr* is a ME pseudoverbal construction where the first position is filled by *wnn.f* - a "that" form, a noun, and because it occupies first position in a pseudoverbal construction, the whole construction is circumstantial. And this is retained in LE."

The temporal *wnn.f ḫr śḏm* in these examples has the form of a ME pseudoverbal construction, and this is found too in NDE, and retained in LE. However the complete construction including the apodosis, which in the first example includes *jw.f ḫr śḏm* of the LE continuative future, and then a LE conjunctive. This does not occur in ME, but is found in LE and in NDE.

18.3

Papyrus Anastasi I 18/16 may be similar to this suggestion

jw.f m šs m pr.f	He prospers in his house while you
wnn.k dj m p3 jḥ.pr r.šw	will be here in the stable forever.

18.4

ptr wnn.f jjt	Look, when he comes back
	[? you shall kill him]
wn tw.j šnj	[? [do] not [listen unto him]
	for I am suffering ....
	(Two Brothers, 14/9,10)

There is an *m* in the damaged passage, which could either be the beginning of a conjunctive (Baer 1965:142) or a negative imperative (Blackman 1936:44). The former is more likely as temporal *wnn* is usually followed by a continuative *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the future or a conjunctive.

18.5

wnn.j ḥr śgb n.śn	While/whenever I keep on shouting
bw śḏm.n n.j w^{c} jm.sn jw.j ḥr c$_{š}$	for them, none of them heeds my call.
	(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 41/3)

bw śḏm.n.f is unusual. It is equivalent to ME *n śḏm.n.f* and has a generalising function (Davis 1973: , Sentence type 19).

jw.j ḥr c$_{š}$ - "while I call" is a circumstantial First Present.

The *wnn.j* clause is a ME pseudoverbal construction; the *bw śḏm.n.f* is rare, probably a unique NDE formation, (see also 12.102); the *jw.j* clause a LE circumstantial First Present. The entire clause could probably occur only in NDE.

18.6

jśt wnn ḥm.f śnḏm ḥr mdt m.dj n3 śr.w

jw p3 ḫr ḫsj n ḫt3 jw ḥn^{c} mš^{c}.f nṯ.ḥtr.f

Now while his majesty sat speaking with the chiefs, the vile foe from Khatti came with his infantry and his chariotry.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 117/12)

wnn.f in this context is unusual. This is *wnn.f*, but it is past tense, although not preceded by *ḥr*.

jst precedes the *wnn*.

18.7

wnn.f jtḥ p3 nwḥ

jw.f gp ... 3pd.w

When he is pulling the rope, he catches birds.

(Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller), 44/1-3)

Although I have translated this with present meaning, perhaps it could be future too, with *jw.f* being a *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the future.

These two examples in context could probably only be either NDE or LE.

The common LE epistolary formula *wnn t3j.j š^{c}t (ḥr) spr r.k jw.k (ḥr)* + infinitive has been interpreted as a (subordinate) temporal clause with *wnn* followed by a main clause exemplifying *jw.f ḥr śḏm* as a future tense. The meaning is essentially - "When my letter reaches you, you shall ...",

Goldwasser (1985:55) in an article entitled "A late Egyptian epistolary formula as an aid to dating Ramesside texts" summarises by noting that in the 18th Dynasty (Amenophis III), there was a temporal formula

- *ḫft spr sš pn (n).tn*

  jw.tn ḥr tm rdj.t sḏr,

and in the Nineteenth Dynasty, there was both

ḥft spr t3j.j šᶜ.t r.k

jw.k ḥr + infinitive (a "frozen" formula), and

wnn.f ḥr śḏm

jw.f ḥr śḏm (free usage)

It is this that is discussed above.

The *ḥft* formula is found in Eighteenth Dynasty ME (Amenophis III) and in NDE while in NDE, we find a *ḥft* "frozen" formula (and See 18.8) and a *wnn.f* free usage form.

In the Twentieth Dynasty, there was

wnn t3j.j šᶜ.t (ḥr) spr r.k jw.k (ḥr) + infinitive ("frozen" formula), (well known, e.g. in the Late Ramesside Letters), and

wnn.f ḥr śḏm

jw.f ḥr śḏm (free usage)

The Twentieth Dynasty "frozen" formula is found in NDE and in LE.

In "Model Letters" (Normative texts; Nineteenth Dynasty Miscellanies) Goldwasser finds side by side two frozen formulae, viz.

(i) *ḥft spr t3j.j šᶜt r.k*

jw.k ḥr + infinitive, e.g.

LEM 28/3 and 66/5

(ii) *wnn t3j.j šᶜ,t ḥr spr r.k*

jw.k ḥr + infinitive, e.g.

LEM 6/3 and 68/9.

The above are Nineteenth Dynasty.

18.8

In Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller) 46/5-7 the "frozen" formula occurs -

ḫft spr t3j.j šᶜ.t r.k

jw.k ḥr djt grg p3 jnj.w m ḫt.f nb

When my letter reaches you, you shall cause the tribute to be made ready in all its items.

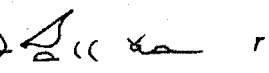
A *ḫft śḏm.f* followed by *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the future.

The same (but *p3j.j wḫ3*, not *t3j.j šᶜ.t*) is found in

18.9

ḫft spr p3j.j wḫ3 r.tn

jw.tn djt ḥḏt ḥr tp n ḥr s3 3st

mtw.tn  *r*

t3 śt n jt wśjr

When my letter reaches you, you shall place the White Crown on the head of Horus, son of Isis, and appoint him to the position of his father Osiris.

(Horus and Seth, 47/11-13)

ḫft śḏm.f followed by a *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the future and then a conjunctive.

18.10

kjj ḏd r.ntj

t3j.k šᶜ spr r.j m wnwt ntj śḫn n ᶜḥᶜj

Another topic:

Your letter reached me in a hour of leisure (lit. of resting for a while)

(Papyrus Anastasi I 10/1)

There is no temporal *wnn* or *ḫft*

CONCLUSION

The different epistolary formulae are discussed in this chapter. Several occur in the Nineteenth Dynasty texts under review, showing once again that the language at this time was a heterogeneous one.

An example similar to the well-known Late Egyptian epistolary formula *wnn t3j.j šᶜt (ḥr) spr r.k jw.k (ḥr)* + infinitive occurs here (example 18.1). So does *ḥr wnn* with a similar sentence, referring to past tense (example 18.2). Similar temporal *wnn*'s occur in 18.3 and 18.4 (future tense), 18.5 (present continuous tense, perhaps) and 18.6 (past time, although the *wnn* is not preceded by *ḥr*.)

There is a Nineteenth Dynasty "frozen" formula *ḫft spr t3j.j šᶜt r.k - jw.k ḥr* + infinitive too (example 18.8). and a similar one in example 18.9 followed by a *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the future and then a conjunctive.

The *ḫft* "frozen" formula appears in ME and in NDE. This is interesting as the *jw.f ḥr (tm) śḏm* of LE appears as the second clause of the sentence.

The *wnn.f* formulae appear in NDE and in LE. This too is interesting as the first clause (*wnn.f*) is actually a ME form (pseudoverbal construction), but it persists into LE.

Eighteenth Dynasty Administrative Texts (i.e. ME)

A. *ḫft śpr sš pn (n.)tn jw.tn ḥr tm rdjt sḏr* (Amenophis III).

(Nineteenth Dynasty (i.e. NDE)

A. *ḫft spr t3j.j šᶜt r.k jw.k ḥr* + infinitive (frozen formula)

B. *wnn.f ḥr śḏm jw.f ḥr śḏm* (free usage)

Twentieth Dynasty (i.e. LE)

A. *wnn t3j.j šᶜt (ḥr)śpr r.k jw.k (ḥr)* + infinitive ("frozen" formula)

B. *wnn.f ḥr śḏm jw.f ḥr śḏm* (free usage)

Model Letters. (Normative Texts) - Nineteenth Dynasty (i.e. NDE)

A1. *ḫft spr t3j.j šꜥ.t r.k jw.k ḥr* + infinitive ("frozen" formula)

A2. *wnn t3j.j šꜥt ḥr špr r.k jw.k* + infinitive ("frozen" formula).

Goldwasser (1985:51) showed that both epistolary formulae occur side by side in the Nineteenth Dynasty "Model Letters" - Normative Texts, i.e. in Late Egyptian Miscellanies 28/3 (Anastasi III) - *ḫft spr t3j.j šꜥt* ... and in 6/3 (Bol. 1094) - *wnn t3j.j šꜥt spr r.k.* She thinks that these model letters may well be the missing link between the suspension of the *ḫft* formula, and its replacement by the new "frozen" formula with *wnn* in the Twentieth Dynasty administrative texts, and that these letters may be a synthesis of the new and the old.

CHAPTER 19

THE *wn* AND *wnn*

INTRODUCTION

In ME, to express existence, whether absolute or as relative to some situation, i.e. presence, the verb *wnn* "exist", "be" is used. When used in the *śḏm.f* form *wnn.f* refers to future or durative tenses, while *wn.f* tends to have past reference and lays no stress on duration (Gardiner 1982:82).

jw wn (*wn* is the *śḏm.f* form) = there is, there was.

Since *jw* is avoided after words like *jst*, *nn* and *ntj* in ME, here *wn* occurs alone with the meaning of *jw wn*.

nn wn = non-existence or absence. *wn* stands for *jw wn* with *jw* suppressed (Gardiner 1982:83).

The participle of *wnn (wn)* can be used as equivalents of the relative adjective (e.g. Papyrus Lansing 107/12,13 see below). (Gardiner 1982:313).

wn or *wnt* is occasionally used for "that" after verbs of seeing, knowing or saying (Gardiner 1982:141), (e.g. Papyrus Anastasi I 26/7).

wn and *wnn* in the ME pseudoverbal construction has been discussed in Chapter 4, and the temporal *wnn* of the epistolary formula in NDE has been analysed in Chapter 18. These uses will therefore not be reviewed again here.

In LE *wn* of the past can be followed by either a pronominal suffix or a defined noun (Černý & Groll 1975:296), while the *wn* of existence can precede only bare or undefined nouns.

A. MIDDLE EGYPTIAN USAGE

I. The *wn* and *wnn* in Non-literary NDE texts

19.1

w3t	(a way)
wn.ś šrj.tj n ḥr.n	that had been blocked before us.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/8)

19.2

sp nb wn bw rḫ.tw.f	a deed, that has been unknown.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/14,15)

II. The *wn* and *wnn* in literary NDE texts

19.3

... *jrj.śn m tm wn*	... making them as that which is not.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 18/2)

19.4

jw wnw m śḫt r šśp drt.k	Those who are in the fields will grasp your hand.

(Papyrus Lansing, 107/12,13)

wnw is the participle of *wn*

The participle is used as an equivalent of the relative adjective.

jw + noun equivalent *r šsp* is a Third Future.

19.5

m jrj djt ḏd.tw.k	Let it not be said of you that there is anything that you do not know.
wn nkt m ḫm.k	

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 26/7)

The *wn* here stands for "that" after *ḏd*, and for the *wn* of existence.

19.6

šw kf šnᶜ
wn ḥr kmt ...

Shu, who uncovered the cloud, that was over Egypt ...

(Stele of Merneptah, 13/10)

19.7

Memphis' gates
wn ḏb3 (or *dbj*) ...

that were barred ...

(Stele of Merneptah, 13/14)

19.8

wn nb r śḫt.f rḫ phtj.f

The lord who knows his strength will snare him.

(Stele of Merneptah, 17/12)

The *wn* here is for *jw* of the Third Future.

This is unusual, and may be found in LE infrequently and in NDE, as here.

19.9

wn.f śbt ḥr śb3jt.f thj m wśḫt.f

One is laughing at its door, and drunk in its halls.

(Papyrus Lansing, 110/14,15)

More commonly one would use *jw.f*, I think.

19.10

dj.ś wn nḥb.w ṯ3j.w nb.w mśnḥ n m33.ś

She makes the necks of all men to be turned back at the sight of her.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C1/6)

An interesting example -

wn ... mśnḥ is a non-initial prospective (with a stative) following *dj*

mśnḥ = to rotate, turn away, and being in the stative, refers to a durative state.

All the above examples (except 19.8) occur frequently/commonly in ME and in NDE.

Negation of *wn.* i.e. non-existence in ME.

19.11

wᶜ šrjt nfrt n ḥᶜt.ś

a beautiful young girl

jw nn wn mj kdnw.ś

the like of which did not exist.

(Horus and Seth, 44/10,11)

19.12

nn wn tpj m n3w th3rwt (perhaps a Syrian word)

There is no chief among the charioteers.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, G1/7)

The above two examples of *nn wn* reflecting non-existence can occur in ME and in NDE.

B. LATE EGYPTIAN

wn of the past can be followed by either a pronominal suffix or a defined noun (Černý & Groll 1975:296), as in the next two examples

19.13

jr jnk wn.j m ḥmt m.dj wᶜ mjnjw

As for me, I was the wife of a herdsman.

(Horus and Seth, 45/1)

19.14

t3.w r ḫt.j

The lands are under my control;

jnk.śn mj wn.sn ḫr.f

They are mine, as they were his.

(Kanais Wady Mia, 69/2,3)

jnk is a LE possessive pronoun.

The above two examples are found in NDE and in LE

wn of existence can precede only bare or undefined nouns, e.g.

19.15

jśt wn k3 mj ᶜ3 p3 ḏd.k n.j

Does there exist an ox as big as you say?

(Truth and Falsehood, 35/7)

wn alone stands for *jw wn* after *jśt*.

and

19.16

jšt wn ḥmt mj ᶜ3 p3 j.ḏd.tn — Is there a dagger as big as you said?

(Truth and Falsehood, 35/12,13)

19.17

wn pḥtj ᶜ3 jm.k — You have great strength

("there is great strength with you")

(Two Brothers, 12/8)

19.18

wn nkt r.j — Something is befalling me

("there is something against me")

(Two Brothers, 18/3)

19.19

wnn ḫ3nnt m ḫnw kwkw — There are kernels in the nuts.

jw mw m ḫnw ḫ3nnt — There is water in the kernels.

(Prayers as School Texts, 86/3, 4)

(See 22.1 for a discussion of the use and meaning of *jw* in the second sentence, as complementary to *wnn* in the first.)

The above examples - *wn* of existence preceding bare or undefined nouns are found in LE and in NDE.

CONCLUSION

Both Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian uses of *wn* and *wnn* are found in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts studied here. Middle Egyptian examples include -

- *śḏm.f* form (*wn.f*) (auxiliary verb) with past reference (example 19.1)
- *wn bw rḫ.tw.f* (19.2)
- *m tm wn* (19.3)
- participle of *wn* as the equivalent of a relative adjective (19.4)
- *wn* standing for "that" after *ḏd* (19.5)
- *wn ... mśnh*, a non-initial prospective following *dj.ś* (19.10)
- *nn wn*, indicating non-existence (19.12)

and there are examples of the Late Egyptian

- *wn* of the past (e.g. 19.13)
- *wn* of the existence, preceding only bare or undefined nouns (19.15). In Coptic, this is ⲟⲩⲛ̃ - "there is".

Of course, *wn(n)* is used in the Middle Egyptian pseudoverbal construction (Chapter 4), and as the temporal *wnn* of the epistolary formula (Chapter 18).

CHAPTER 20

LATE EGYPTIAN *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* OF THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

The *jw.f r śḏm* of the Third Future is a primary, independent sentence, referring to the future or prospective time.

The *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the future[1], on the other hand, is a sequential clause referring to the future. It is morphologically and structurally similar to the successive *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the past, and therefore it is recognised in context.

It is negated by *tm*, and it occurs only in certain circumstances or contexts, from which it is recognised, namely:

1. Following a temporal *wnn.f* or *ḫft* clause.
2. Following a *jr* conditional clause, and
3. It is rarely used independently or following a *jw.f r śḏm* of the Third Future, where a further Third Future or a conjunctive might be more commonly expected.

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1 The preposition *ḥr* is almost always written in this formation in the Nineteenth Dynasty, whereas it is usually absent in the later Twentieth Dynasty (Goldwasser 1985:51; Groll 1982:11ff.)

I. Following a temporal *wnn.f* or *ḫft*.

20.1

wnn p3 jtn ḥr wbn
jw.j ḥr wpt ḥnᶜ.k

When the sun rises, I will be judged with you.

(Two Brothers, 16/3)

20.2

ḫft spr t3j.j šᶜt r.k
jw.k ḥr djt grg p3 jnj.w m ḫt.f nb.

When my letter reaches you, you shall cause the tribute to be made ready in all its items.

(Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller), 46/5-7)

II. Preceded by *jr*

(Note - *jw* after *ḥr jr* is the dependent or circumstantial *jw* (Černý and Groll 1975:259), e.g.

20.3

ḥr jr jw.k gm.f ...

And if you find it ...

(Two Brothers (Literary), 18/1,2)

ḥr jr + circumstantial First Present.

20.4

ḥr jr jw bn jb n p3 wr n ḫt3 r šmt
jw.f ḥr djt ḥnn p3j.f mšᶜ ...

And if the wish of the great prince of Hatti is not to come, then he will send his army.

(Hittite Treaty (Non-literary), 228/5,6)

ḫr jr jw bn ... is *ḫr jr* + a circumstantial non-verbal or First Present.

The *r* + infinitive gives a future meaning, but

jw.f ḫr djt is *jw.f ḫr śḏm.f* of the future in the apodosis following an "if" *jr* sentence.

III. Independent use or continuative use of *jw.f ḫr śḏm.f* of the future.

20.5

ptr jw.j ḫr ḫpr m wᶜ n k3 ᶜ3

jw.f m jnw nbt nfr

Behold, I shall become a great bull, that is of every goodly colour.

(Two Brothers, 24/4,5)

ptr can only precede initial main clauses (Černý and Groll 1975:148).

20.6

jw.j r ᶜk jm.sn mj ḥtt bjk

jw.j ḫr ḫdb ḫr wᶜwᶜ ḫr ḫᶜ r jwtn

I will charge them as a falcon pounces,

I will slaughter, butcher, fling to the ground.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 69/8-13)

CONCLUSION

The Late Egyptian *jw.f ḫr (tm) śḏm.f* of the sequential future occurs in both the non-literary and literary NDE texts in this study. This tense can follow:

- a temporal *wnn.f* or *ḫft* clause (e.g. 20.1, 20.2)
- a *jr* conditional clause (example 20.4)
- rarely a *jw.f r śḏm* of the Third Future (e.g. 20.6)

Or it may be used independently (20.5)

This is a unique form, morphologically similar to the *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the successive past, and is recognised by its position and the context in which it is seen.

It is a new development in NDE - a clear example of an analytical form compared to the earlier ME synthetic *śḏm.f* and it continued into LE.

All these various examples occur only in LE and in NDE, not in ME.

CHAPTER 21

LATE EGYPTIAN FIRST FUTURE

INTRODUCTION

The Late Egyptian First Future has an element (and meaning) of the immediate present with an aspect of futurity.

This construction is:

śt m nᶜj — They are going to travel.

immediate present

r mšᶜ

futurity

It is a formation which occurs only rarely.

There are no typical examples of this in the NDE texts of this thesis. However, there are some formations, which seem to hint at the later development of, and thus antedate this construction, e.g.

21.1

ḫr jr św m nᶜj ḫrj n3 šnw — As she was walking under the trees,

...

(Horus and Seth, 44/5,6)

But there is no *r mšᶜ*.

It is First Present - immediate present tense, and

21.2

mrjw m ksj — The young men were bowing (or doing obeisance).

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs)

These are equivalent to the Coptic qualitative verb of motion.

These two examples are found in LE and in NDE and not in ME.

21.3

śt r śśwn ḥḏj śḫrw.j — They shall punish him, who spoils my plans.

(Kanais 69/5)

This interesting example is neither LE Third Future (*jw.w r śśwn*) or First Present (*śt ḥr śśwn*), nor is it ME pseudoverbal construction

(*mk.św r śśwn*) or

(*jw.f r śśwn*).

Neither is it the full LE First Future.

This example is probably a unique or more likely hybrid NDE form.

There are no examples of *śt m nᶜj r mšᶜ*, but there are some interesting examples, referring to the immediate present without the futurity element of *r mšᶜ*.

Example 21.3 is an interesting puzzling example, perhaps a NDE hybrid form.

CONCLUSION

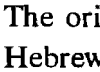
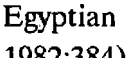
Although no fully developed LE First Future examples could be found, there are some interesting formations - the LE First Present, expressing the immediate present (21.1), equivalent to what would later be the Coptic qualitative verb of motion (21.2) and a probable NDE hybrid form, which is neither the ME pseudoverbal construction, or the LE First Present or Third Future (21.3). It may have later evolved into the LE First Future.

CHAPTER 22

jw IN ME AND IN LE

INTRODUCTION

In the Old Kingdom the beginnings of a process are seen that ended in the complete disappearance of the suffix conjugation, save for some fossilized relics of the *śḏm.f* form, and its replacement by a set of tenses based upon the pseudoverbal construction. This final result was attained only in Coptic, where the tenses resemble those of French or English in the precision with which they mark distinctions of time. The first step in the process appears to have been the employment of *jw* to introduce the pseudoverbal construction and to produce compound verb-forms like *jw śḏm.n.f* involving the suffix conjugation.

The origin of the auxiliary  *jw* is uncertain. It may be connected with Hebrew הוה or היה 'fall out', 'be', but it is more likely that it is merely the Egyptian verb  *jw* 'come', specialised for use as the copula (Gardiner 1982:384).

The etymology of *jw* is uncertain. Perhaps it is a particle. *jw* does not have any inherent temporal or modal force. It precedes independent clauses or clauses of time and circumstance, only rarely does it introduce other dependent clauses.

A. It is used in Middle Egyptian as follows:

(i) Independent statements or assertions made with a certain detachment.

(ii) *jw* preceding *śḏm.f*, imperfective and indicating sayings, reiteration, custom or continuity.

(iii) *jw.f śḏm.f*

(iv) *jw śḏm.n.f* as a common narrative tense.

(v) *jw* in a pseudoverbal construction.

(vi) *jw* + *jn* - construction or participial statement.

(vii) Virtual relative clause after a noun with indefinite or zero article.

B. It is used in Late Egyptian:

(i) Third Future

(ii) Successive independent *jw* of the past

(iii) Successive independent *jw* of the future

(iv) The dependent *jw* (*jw* converter)

There are three distinct *jw.f ḥr śḏm* patterns:

(i) Past

(ii) Future

(iii) Relative present.

A. MIDDLE EGYPTIAN

I. *jw* in NDE texts

(i) Independent statements or assertions made with a certain detachment.

22.1

wnn ḫ3nnt m ḫnw kwkw	There are kernels in the nuts.
jw mw m ḫnw ḫ3nnt	There is water in the kernels.

(Prayers as School Texts, 86/3,4)

jw + noun in a non-verbal sentence with adverbial predicate.

The first sentence has a *wnn*, the second a *jw*.

With *wnn.f*, duration is stressed; it refers to future or continuous tense (Gardiner 1982:82), *wnn* is commoner than *jw*. *jw* occurs almost only in main clauses and has a very restricted range of employment (Gardiner 1982:95).

These are independent statements or assertions made with a certain detachment -

22.2

jw jtrw ᶜ3 t3j.f śt śḏr — The river is its resting place.

(Truth and Falsehood, 35/5,6)

Similar to the previous example.

and

22.3

jw.f nmḥ — He is poor.

(Prayers used as School Texts, 17/11,12)

A main clause; an independent statement.

The above three examples are main clauses, independent statements or assertions, perhaps made with a certain detachment.

They occur in ME and in NDE.

(ii) In ME *jw* can precede *śḏm.f*, imperfective, and indicating sayings, reiteration or custom or continuity (Gardiner 1982:384), e.g.

22.4

jw ḫm.f ḏt.f hᶜt.f — He does not know what he is about.

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/4)

and

22.5

jw rwj ḥr p3j.ś šrj ḏ3ḏ3.ś Her son Horus has cut off her head.

(Horus and Seth, 50/4,5)

These two examples (above) are also found in ME and in NDE.

jw śḏm.f can occur as a passive. e.g.

22.6

jw nhśj.tw.f He is awakened at any hour.

jw wn wᶜ n wnwt

(Papyrus Lansing, 108/4)

jw wn is ME too.

wn is in *śḏm.f* form = there was,/is (Coptic ⲟⲩⲛ) (Gardiner 1982:82).

This too is found in ME and in NDE.

(iii) *jw.f śḏm.f*

22.7

jw.f nmᶜ.f ḥr psd.f He was lying down on his back.

(Horus and Seth, 40/16)

The meaning of *jw.f śḏm.f* may be identical to *jw śḏm.f*, occurring in a characterisation or a statement of habit or custom, referring vaguely to present or future time. In some instances there may be an anticipatory emphasis.

In Pharaonic Egypt (Groll (ed.) 1985:380) in a discussion to the paper by Vernus, Polotsky mentions that *jw* before a sentence makes it a case of "non-ego-

In Pharaonic Egypt (Groll (ed.) 1985:380) in a discussion to the paper by Vernus, Polotsky mentions that *jw* before a sentence makes it a case of "non-ego-centrisme" (i.e. a certain detachment). "It is rather difficult to distinguish between *jw śḏm.f* and *jw.f śḏm.f*." He quotes an example in Vernus' presentation (example, 10, note 3) *jw dj.n* ... which involves a repeated action - "we (unceasingly) give ..."

Polotsky ends with "It needs a good deal of additional thinking about".

jw.f śḏm.f too is a form found in ME and in NDE.

(iv) ***jw* can also occur in ME with a *śḏm.n.f* as a common narrative tense in the present perfect or past, e.g.**

22.8

jw wḏ.n ḥm.f rdjt ḥn.tw t3 śt nt ḥḥw m mpt

His majesty has commanded to cause that the House of Millions of Years be protected.

(Nauri Decree, 51/1)

This too is a ME and NDE form.

In all the above eight examples - ME (or NDE) forms *jw* is used as an auxiliary verb.

(v) ***jw* can occur in a pseudoverbal construction, e.g.**

22.9

jw.j ᶜk.kwj m.b3ḥ nb.w

I enter in before the lords.

(Prayers as School Texts, 86/2)

The *jw* in a pseudoverbal construction is found in ME and in NDE.

(vi) An unusual example is *jw* preceding a *jn*-construction or participial statement

22.10

jw jnk jrj ms jnr

It was I, who fetched stones.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 38/7)

The auxiliary *jrj* is a perfective participle.

This too occurs in ME and in NDE.

(vii) *jw* can also occur in ME as a virtual relative clause after a noun with indefinite or zero article (as in later LE), e.g.

22.11

jrj.j (for *ptr.j* perhaps) *ḫnw*
jw jrj.k n.sn

I have seen many, whom you have helped.

(Prayers as School Texts, 60/8)

Another example used in ME and in NDE.

The ME rule that *jw* must not be employed after *nn* (= *bn*) and *ntj* breaks down in LE, e.g. before the Third Future.

B. In LE (and Coptic) *jw* becomes increasingly common as the mark of a clause of time or circumstance.

There are four distinctive *jw*'s in LE:

i) The initial independent *jw* of the future - the Third Future
(bn) jw.f (r) śḏm.f

ii) The successive independent *jw* of the past.
jw.f (ḥr) (tm) śḏm.f of the narrative past

iii) The successive independent *jw* of the future:
jw.f (ḥr) (tm) śḏm.f of the future.

iv) The dependent *jw* (the *jw* "converter")

All these *jw* patterns are found in LE and in NDE.

Using time conveyance as the criterion of classification (Groll 1969(a):89), three distinct *jw.f (ḥr) śḏm* patterns are obtained, referring to:

(i). The *jw* of the past in NDE texts (Pattern I)

22.12

ḫr jr m.ḫt p3 ḫrd ᶜ3jt
jw.f ḫr ṯsj r t3j.f tp.ḥwt
jw.f ḫr gmḥ wᶜ n ṯsm
jw.f m.s3 wᶜ n s ᶜ3
jw.f ḫr šmt ḫr t3 mjt

Now when the boy had grown, he went up to his roof, and he saw a greyhound, following a man (lit. "big man" = adult), who was walking on the road.

(Doomed Prince, 2/1-3)

Lines 2 and 3 are *jw.f ḫr śḏm.f* = of the narrative past

Line 4 is a relative present (non-verbal) and

Line 5 a relative present

(See below (iii))

22.13

jr jnk tjmś.j w^{c} *ḫ3 jnk m p3j.j pr ḥr s3 p3 ḫwrw*

jw.tw ḥr jṯ3.f

jw.j ḥr djt ^{c}*k3.śn rmṯ nb ntj m p3 dmjt*

ḥr p3j.j ḫ3

As for me, I buried a chisel of mine in my house after the war, and it was stolen and I caused all the people, who are in the town to bind themselves by an oath concerning my chisel.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 2-4)

jw.tw ḥr jṯ3.f and *jw.j ḥr djt* are *jw.f (ḥr) śḏm.f*'s of the continuative past. They continue or follow *tjmś.j*, a LE perfect active *śḏm.f*. It is a specific LE formation equivalent to ME *jw śtp.n.f* (See above Nauri Decree 51/1) (22.8).

(ii). The *jw* of the future in NDE texts (Pattern II)

22.14

ḫft spr p3j.j wḫ3 r.tn

jw.tn (ḥr) djt ḥḏt ḥr tp n ḥr s3 3st

mtw.tn ...

When my letter reaches you, you shall place the White Crown on the head of Horus, son of Isis.

and you shall ....

(Horus and Seth, 47/11,12)

(iii) The *jw* of the relative present in NDE texts (Pattern III)

22.15

ptr.j ḥrj3

jw.ś ḥr jṯ3 p3j.k ḫ3

I saw Heria, stealing your chisel.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 5,6)

22.16

wnjn 3śt jj

jw.ś spr r nmtj p3 mḫntj

jw.f ḥmśj spr r p3j.f b3w

Isis came and approached Nemty, the ferryman as he was sitting near his boat.

(Horus and Seth, 43/6,7)

22.17

wpt.ḥr wnn.śn ḫwj mᶜkj

jw s3 nb jm.śn

ḥr jrt ḥnt.f

But rather that they shall be privileged and proctected while each one of them is pursuing his calling.

(Nauri Decree, 52/9,10)

22.18

bw śḏm.k jw.j (ḥr) mdt

You do not listen, while I speak.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/2)

22.19

tw.k mj ḥrj.ᶜ n ṯ3w

jw.f (ḥr) sš3w m p3 ᶜḥᶜ

wnn.f m ṯ3w m p3 ᶜḥᶜ

jw.f (ḥr) ᶜḥᶜ tptj

You are like the mate of a skipper, who is skilled in (managing) the boat.

When he is/(will be) skipper in the boat, he stands/(will stand) at the prow (?)

(Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller), 43/5-7)

Line 2 is the relative present *jw.f (ḥr) śḏm.f*

Line 4 is *jw.f (ḥr) śḏm.f* of the future following a *wnn.f* clause

The preposition *ḥr* is missing from both examples.

Patterns I and II are both made negative by placing the morpheme *tm* immediately before the infinitive when the actor-expression is a pronominal suffix, i.e. *jw.f ḥr tm śḏm*; e.g.

22.20

j.n.f ḥr ḏd n.j

jw.j ḥr tm šḏm n.f

So he spoke unto me; but I heeded him not.

(Two Brothers, 14/5,6)

In contrast, Pattern III is negatived by placing the morphemes *jw bn* immediately before the pronominal preformatives of the First Present, i.e. *jw bn św (ḥr) šḏm*, e.g.

22.21

... (*wpwtjw*) *jw bn št šnd n nṯr nb nṯrt*

... messengers, who are not afraid of any god or goddess.

(Horus and Seth, 58/3,4)

Cf. the next two examples -

22.22

m jrj jrt n3 sp.w ᶜ3j.w n grg

ntj bn št r st.w

Don't do those big misdeeds, that are out of place.

(Horus and Seth, 40/1,2)

and

22.23

jḫ n3 mdwt j.ḏd.k

ntj bn š3w šḏm.tw

What are these words you spoke, which are not worthy of being heard?

(Horus and Seth, 42/4,5)

The above two examples have *ntj* in place of *jw*, as the preceding nouns are definite, i.e. "those misdeeds" and "these words".

Another example of *jw bn sw (ḥr) šḏm* - negation of a relative (or circumstantial) First Present, is

22.24

jw.j m3ᶜ r.f rᶜ nb

ḥr jw bn św nw r.ḏd nb t3 pśḏt

I have been in the right against him day after day, while he pays no attention to what the Ennead says.

(Horus and Seth, 55/15,16)

The *jw bn* can follow the conjunction *ḥr*, functioning as a clause.

ḥr śḏm in Pattern III is interchangeable with adverbial phrases. (See above Horus and Seth 40/1,2) or with the stative (See above Horus and Seth 42/4,5), i.e. it belongs to the category of durative tenses.

This is not so in *jw.f ḥr (tm) śḏm* of the past or the future, which are therefore non-durative tenses.

Since the pronominal suffix cannot fill the initial position of a conjugation pattern - ... *f ḥr śdm** not being morphologically a self-sufficient conjugation pattern - we may classify the *jw* in *jw.f ḥr tm śḏm* as a conjugation carrier, i.e. a mandatory element enabling the pronominal suffix to function as the actor of a conjugation pattern.

In contrast, since *(bn) sw ḥr śḏm* is morphologically a self-sufficient unit, the *jw* preceding it in *jw bn św ḥr śḏm* is found to be morphologically a facultative element, i.e. a converter. (Groll 1969(a):90).

So, in LE, three distinct *jw* morphemes are to be distinguished:

i) That capable of preceding any sentence pattern (including non-verbal) - permitting it to function as a non-initial clause (converter *jw*)

ii) That filling the first position of *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of past or future (i.e. a conjugation carrier) - permitting the patterns to function as non-initial main sentences

iii) That filling the first position of the Third Future, permitting it to function as an initial main sentence.

The preposition *ḥr* in the circumstantial First Present *jw.f ḥr śḏm* is almost always written in Nineteenth Dynasty texts (as here), while it is infrequent in Twentieth Dynasty texts (Groll 1982:11ff)

In conclusion, regarding , I quote Groll (1985:362ff). "There is in ME a *jw* which is independent, as in *jw śḏm.n.j* and a *jw*, which is circumstantial, as in the *jw.f ḥr śḏm*, (although this form can also represent a main and initial sentence). Now the *jw* which disappears is only the *jw* of the past, and a new *jw* appears, which is the *jw* of the Third Future, which is initial, but it has this type of future element."

"But there is no doubt that the *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the past disappeared in the Twenty-first Dynasty. It had a very extensive life, but a very short one in Egyptian." She asks "Does this not indicate the possibility of a borrowed concept?"

All the above examples and patterns - The past (Pattern I), The Future (Pattern II), The relative present (Pattern III), as well as the subordinate forms (Chapter 23) and the three distinct *jw* morphemes (above) are found in LE and in NDE.

CONCLUSION

jw as used in <u>both</u> Middle Egyptian and in Late Egyptian occur frequently in both the non-literary and literary Nineteenth Dynasty texts, again showing the heterogeneity of this language.

While *jw* was used in ME in many different (perhaps synthetic) ways, expressing perhaps taxis rather than tense and a general situation rather than a particular one occurring at a specific time, (as explained in the chapter "Tense in Egyptian"), the function of *jw* developed or evolved in LE (and in fact really began in earlier NDE) in specific analytical constructions, viz.:

(i) The initial independent *jw* of the future - The Third Future *(bn) jw.f r śḏm* (See Chapter 13).

(ii) The successive independent *jw* of the past *jw.f ḥr (tm) śḏm* (example 22.12 and Chapter 15).

(iii) The successive independent *jw* of the future (Chapter 20).

(iv) The dependent *jw* (The *jw* "converter"). (See Chapter 23).

Using time conveyance as the criterion of classification, three distinct *jw.f (ḥr) śḏm* patterns are obtained.

(i) The past (Pattern I) (example 22.13).

(ii) The future (Pattern II) (example 22.14), and

(iii) The relative present (Pattern III) (example 22.15).

Patterns I and II are negated by *tm* (example 22.15).

Pattern III though is negatived by placing *jw bn* immediately before the pronominal preformatives of the First Present, i.e. *jw bn św (ḥr) śḏm* (22.21). (Note the affirmative First Present with a pronoun is *św ḥr śḏm*, and with a dependent *jw*, this becomes *jw.f ḥr śḏm*.)

Pattern III is a durative tense, while I and II are non durative. (See the discussion in this chapter).

This chapter should be read in conjunction with "Tense in Egyptian".

The ME forms of use of *jw* persisted into NDE, where they are found side by side with LE forms of usage. They are no longer found in LE.

All the "LE usages" of *jw* first occur in NDE and continue into LE.

CHAPTER 23

THE CONVERTER *jw* IN LATE EGYPTIAN

INTRODUCTION

The *jw* in LE, besides being an integral part of the Third Future and the successive past and future tenses, has a further important function, that of a converter.

The converter *jw* in LE (Frandsen 1974:194), converts the sentence patterns into non-initial subordinate clauses capable of fulfilling one or all of four syntactic functions:

A. as an adverb, i.e. an adverb clause;

B. as a "virtual" relative clause, i.e. as a relative clause after nouns with indefinite or zero article;

C. as an emphasized adverbial predicate having an initial "that"-form as its subject (i.e. Second Tenses);

D. as a concessive clause, when preceded by *ḫr*.

A. The *jw* converter as an adverb

I. In a non-literary NDE text

23.1

wpt.hr wnn.sn ḫwj mᶜkj
jw s3 nb jm.śn ḥr jrt ḥnt.f

But rather that they shall be privileged and protected, while each one of them pursues his calling.

(Nauri Decree, 52/9,10)

(A *jw* circumstantial with a First Present form).

II. The *jw* converter as adverb in a literary NDE text

23.2

dmḏ.k jśt nšmt
nn šnᶜ jw wᶜr.k

May you join the crew of the Neshmet-bark without having been (being) turned back

(lit. not turning, while you had fled).

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 8/3)

This is a *jw* circumstantial with a *śḏm.f*, i.e. pluperfect.

23.3

w3ḥ n ḏd ḏḥwtj
jrj.n.j ḥr.tp
jw bw ᶜš n sš r djt mtrt.f

By the might of Thoth, I made it by myself, without summoning any scribe that he might help.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 13/16,17)

jw with a *bw śḏm.f*

23.4

jw.f šmt r jrt n ḥ3t.ś
jw bwpw w^{c} ptr.ś ḥrj.jb r.f

And he went to meet her, while no one but himself had seen her.

(Horus and Seth, 44/13,14)

jw + bwpw.f śḏm.f

B. An example of Function B is:

I. In a non-literary NDE text

23.5

r pw jr w^{c}r rmṯ r.pw rmṯ 2
jw bw rḫ.tw.w ...

And if one or two men, who are unknown, flee ...

(Hittite Treaty, 229/5,6)

This is a "virtual" relative clause after an <u>indefinite</u> noun, and

II. In a literary NDE text

23.6

jst bw jrj.k śḫ3 w^{c} n nfr
m.r^{c} pw w^{c} n nkt
jw jrj.j św n.k jḫ ḥr

Will you not think of a good thing or of something that I might do for you?

(Two Brothers, 17/8,9)

w^{c} A ... *jw śḏm.f* is in complementary relationship with

p3 A ... *j.śḏm.f* (i.e. a relative form and not *jw*, after a <u>defined</u> noun), e.g. in the following three examples.

(i) Literary texts

e.g.

23.7

p3j bt3 j.jrj.k ʿ3 r jḳr

This crime, which you have committed is very great.

(Horus and Seth, 41/3,4)

(ii) Non-literary text

23.8

bn jnk r.jṯ3 (for *j.jṯ3*) *św*

It was not I who stole it.

"This crime" and "I" are defined nouns.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 8)

and note

23.9

jḫ n3 mdwt

j.ḏd.k

ntj bn š3w śḏm.tw.w

What are these words,

which you spoke,

which are not worthy of being heard?

(Horus and Seth, 42/4,5)

n3 mdwt is a defined noun, and *ntj bn š3w* is negation of a relative First Present (usually *jw bn śt ḫr śḏm*).

23.10

wᶜ n j3wt rmṯ

jw j.šm.ś m ḳsḳsj

An old woman who went along bowed down

(lit. with a stoop)

(Horus and Seth, 43/7,8)

This is an interesting example

The *jw* reflects Function B, i.e. a relative form following an indefinite noun, while *j.šm.ś* is a Second Tense (emphatic). This usually refers to future time, unlike in this example. (Groll 1969(b):189).

jw śḏm.f refers to absolute past when functioning as a virtual relative clause.

jw + the perfect active *śḏm.f* refers to relative present time in -

(i) *jw.f ḥr jj*, "to come" ... *jw jnj.f* "to bring"

(ii) *jw.f ḥr šm*, "to go" ... *jw ṯ3.j*, "to take"

(iii) *ptr.f*, "to see" ... *jw jnj.f* "to bring" or *jw ṯ3j* "to take"

I cannot find any examples of the above. However, Hieratic Ostracon Recto 5/6 uses a circumstantial First Present to mean the same thing.

23.11

ptr.j ḥrj3

jw.ś ḥr jṯ3 p3j.k ḫ3

I saw Heria, while she was stealing your chisel.

(Hieratic Ostracon Recto 5/6)

C. An example of Function C, i.e. an emphasized adverbial predicate having an initial "that"-form as its subject.

23.12

j.jrj.tw djt t3 j3wt n sn n mwt

jw s3 n ḫt ᶜḥᶜ

Is it while the bodily son is there that one shall give the office to the uncle?

(Horus and Seth, 41/16 - 42/1)

D. An example of Function D

23.13

... *ḫr jw gm.f św* ... although he had found him.

(Horus and Seth, 50/15)

CONCLUSION

Syntactic function B, i.e. *jw* as a relative clause after nouns with indefinite or zero article is in fact found sometimes in ME, and continues into NDE and into LE (and into Coptic as ⲉ). (Polotsky 1960:392).

The other syntactic usages of *jw* are new clear-cut analytical formations well established as grammatical forms in LE, appearing at first in NDE.

There are examples of this interesting subordinate Late Egyptian form in all four of its syntactic functions in both the non-literary and literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

CHAPTER 24

NON VERBAL SENTENCES

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, non-verbal sentences are discussed.

It is divided into two sections, which have the common denominator of being non-verbal statements. They are:

I. Nominal Sentences[1]

II. Adjectival Sentences

The sections are separate and each has its own introduction and conclusion.

I. NOMINAL SENTENCES

Introduction

A nominal sentence pattern is an identity pattern composed of two nominal members either nouns or noun equivalents.

Although there has been some disagreement (notably by Erman and by Sethe (Groll 1967:1)) regarding the subject and predicate in the bimembral nominal sentence, it would appear that the nominal sentences of ME and of LE are

[1] Reference is sometimes made in this section to sentences with adverbial predicate.

essentially the same in morphology and syntax. These forms are commonly used and frequently reflected in Nineteenth Dynasty texts too, as shown in this chapter. Groll (1967) and Černý and Groll (1975) have shown and differentiated clearly which is the subject and which the predicate.

In the "*p3-A p3j*" pattern, *p3-A* is the predicate.

In "*ntf* is *p3-B*", the elements are equally defined.

In "*ntf* is *ø-B*", *ø-B* is the predicate.

In "*ntf* is *p3j*", *ntf* is the predicate.

In "*p3* + infinitive + relative form is *p3j*", the *p3* + infinitive is the predicate.

In "*p3w* is *ø-A* (+ infinitive)", the demonstrative *p3w* is the predicate,

and in "*jḫ* is *p3-A*", the interrogative *jḫ* is the predicate

A. In Middle Egyptian

(i) Non-verbal sentences with adverbial predicate have the order Subject-Predicate as in NDE

24.1

j.šmt jjt m ḥśj Going and coming are with song.

(Merneptah's Stele, 18/13)

The infinitives (undefined) are used as nouns + adverb.

This form continued through ME into NDE and into LE.

(ii) ***jw*** **still precedes a non-verbal sentence with adverbial (or adjectival) predicate as in**

24.2

jw.f nmḥ He is poor, he is not rich.

bn ntf wśr

(Prayers as School Texts, 17/11, 12)

This is not found in LE, except as in the First Present, when it is a circumstantial clause, and not an independent statement. So this is found in ME and in NDE, and not in LE.

However, the *bn ntf wśr* is negation of the bimembral nominal sentence. This is LE, and of course NDE.

ME would be *nn św wśr* and LE First Present would be *bn św wśr*.

(iii) In the non-verbal sentence with nominal predicate, the copula *pw* is often used, either invariably or as a new sentence - Predicate - *pw* - Subject.

Examples of the use of *pw* include:

24.3

nttn pw mj nṯrw You are like divinities.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/15)

ntf is øB nominal sentence pattern, including *pw*, the demonstrative pronoun in a ME nominal sentence (Gardiner 1982:104).

pw came to be employed as logical subject after logical predicates consisting of a noun, not however with its own proper meaning of "this" or "that", but as an equivalent for "he", "she", "it" or "they" invariable in number and gender.

24.4

bn rmṯ pw p3 ntj m ḫnw.n	Not a man is he who is among us.
śtḫ ᶜ3 pḥtj bᶜr m ḥᶜ.f	(It is) Seth, great of strength, Baal in person.
bn jrj.w n rmṯ m n3 jrr.f	Not deeds of man are these his doings.
n3 pw n wᶜ wᶜ.tj	They are of one who is unique.
	(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 53/3-7)

A mixture of ME and LE and note its use in a cleft sentence.

24.5

ḏw. ntr.f pw šp r.f	Bad, (it can mean that) it is (even) his (own) god who may be blind towards him.
	(Dream Interpretation)
	(Groll 1985:100 Ex. 80 r.8 18.b)

B. Here are examples of the principal patterns of nominal sentences appearing in the texts studied in this thesis, which could be ME or LE.

1. *(p3)A p3j*

In this pattern *(p3)A* is the predicate and *p3j* the subject.

24.6

jḫ p3 ntj ḥr šm m.s3 p3 s ᶜ3 ntj m jjt ḥr t3 mjt

jw.f ḏd n.f

ṯsm p3j

What is it that is going behind the big man, who is coming along the road?

And he said to him: "It is a greyhound."

(Doomed Prince 1/4, 5)

24.7

jḫ t3 ntj jj.tj

.....

3śt wr nṯr mwt t3j

Who is she who is come? (Who is already here)...

.....

She is Isis, the mighty, the mother of god.

(Horus and Seth 50/2-4)

24.8

mk s3 ḥr p3j.j šrj p3j

Behold, (my) son Horus, he is my child.

(Horus and Seth 49/3)

24.9

jw.f ḥr gm wᶜ j3jrt

jw.f wḥᶜ n.f ḫrj.śt

jś ḥ3tj n p3j.f śn šrj p3j

He found a fruit, and he went home with it, and behold, it was (the) heart of his younger brother.

(Two Brothers, 23/9)

24.10

p3j.k jt p3j

He is your father.

(Truth and Falsehood, 33/4)

Nominal pattern *p3*. A is *p3j*, the *p3*. A being the predicate.

24.11

bj3t ᶜ3t t3j ḫpr.tj

This is a great marvel that has come to pass.

(Two Brothers, 24/40)

2. The *Aø* pattern, in which the second member is not actually expressed.

24.12

bn rmṯ pw p3 ntj m ḫnw.n
śtḫ ᶜ3 pḥtj bᶜr m ḥᶜ.f

It is no human being who is in our midst.

(It is) Seth, great in strength, Baal in person.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh 53/3)

24.13

ḫr jr p3 ntj jw.k r jrj.f n.j
p3j.k jt r nwjt.(w)j

As for this that you should do for me, (it is) your coming after me in order to take care of me.

(Two Brothers 17/11, 12)

24.14

ᶜnḫ.tw n ptr.k

(There is) life in seeing you.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 14/5)

24.15

šrj njm m n3 n śr

...

šrj n wᶜ n snn

Whose son of the great ones (is he)? (He is) a son of an officer.

(Doomed Prince 5/4, 5)

This is the 'nim' ø pattern.

3. The A.B pattern

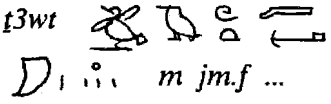
(a) Category I

The two members are nouns

(∝) Category I(a)

A is defined (by an article, a demonstrative or a suffix) and B is undefined. The defined noun is the subject, and the undefined one the predicate.

24.16

ḫr jw s3 t3 bwt n p3j dmjt t3wt  *m jm.f ...*

And since the greatest abomination of this town is stealing copper in it

.....

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 7,8)

This is a bimembral nominal sentence. *t3 bwt*, being defined is the subject, *ṯ3wt*, being undefined is the predicate.

t3, the definite article here expresses the notion of the superlative (Groll 1973:70).

24.17

jś pw n jt ḫm ḥr s3.f

ḫr n3 jrj.j ḫnw m ḫmt.k

Is it right for a father to ignore his son?

Are my deeds a matter for you to ignore?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 34/7-12)

24.18

bw km3.f bw śḫśḫ.f n.ḏr mśt.f

bw.f k3t pr.ᶜ3

He has not moved nor has he stirred since he was born.

His abomination is (the) work of an active man.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 17/17-18)

(β) Category I(b)

B is defined, A undefined.

24.19

jw p3j.f wᶜ db ḥr p3 ḏw jmnt

jw p3j.f kjj ḥr p3 ḏ3 j3bdt

jw jtrw ᶜ3 t3j.f śt śḏr

... and its one horn is on the western, and its other is on the eastern mountain, and (a) great river is the place of it's lying down.

(Blinding of Truth by Falsehood, 35/4-6)

24.20

ḫsbd.t m3ᶜ šnw.śt

Lapis lazuli is her hair.

(Chester Beatty III, Love Poems Pap. 1, verso C 1, 4)

24.21

ᶜḏ3.t ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ n njwt ḥrj3	A great wrongdoer is the citiziness Heria, worthy of death (is she),
š3w mwt	righteous is the workman,
m3ᶜ rmṯ.jst nbnfr	Nebnufer.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 2,3)

Since *ᶜḏ3* has the ending *.t*, one must classify the sentence as a nominal sentence and not an adjectival.

š3w mwt is a one-membral adjectival sentence.

m3ᶜtj rmṯ jst is a *nfr* B adjectival pattern (Groll 1973:70).

(γ) Category I(c)

The two members are unequally defined.

24.22

kpnj rn.f	Byblos is it's name.
św mj jḫ	What is it like?

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 32/11)

(Compare this with Two Brothers 25/10, 11 *ntk njm tr jnk b3t3* Who are you? I am Bata.)

(b) Category II

The first member is an interrogative.

24.23

njm rn n p3j.j jt

What is (the) name of my father? (Lit. Who is (the) name of my father?)

(Blinding of Truth by Falsehood, 32/16)

24.24

j3 jḫ p3j.tn jrj śḫrw wᶜ.tn

What (means) your planning by yourself?

(Horus and Seth, 37/12, 13)

The *p3j.k śḏm* is a noun equivalent, indifferent to time indication.

24.25

jḫ n3 mdwt
j.ḏd.k
ntj bn š3w śḏm.tw.w

What are these words, which you spoke, which are not worthy of being heard?

(Horus and Seth, 42/4,5)

Compare the two relative forms *j.ḏd.k* and the negative passive *ntj bn* ...

The *p3 śḏm j.jrj.k*, the defined infinitive is restricted to past time.

24.26

jḫ p3j jrj.tn ...

What is this, which you are doing (here)?

(Doomed Prince, 4/5)

24.27

jḫ p3 ntj jw.n r *jrj.f*

What is it that we shall do?

(Horus and Seth, 39/13)

jḫ + a definite article + *ntj* + a Third Future + a resumptive pronoun.

cf.

24.28

jw.w jḫ What are they for?

(Papyrus Lansing, 107/3)

A nominal sentence question

jḫ is *p3* A, the *jḫ* being the predicate.

and cf.

24.29

nttn jḫ What are you?

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh 110/1)

and

24.30

js n wn wᶜ jm.tn
jw jrj.j n.f sp nfr m p3j.j t3 Is there none among you whom I did something good for in my land?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 57/3)

n wn is ME *wn* of existence before an indefinite noun.

jw jrj.j is LE relative circumstantial *śḏm.f* following an indefinite noun (Frandsen's Function B 1974).

4. The *jnk* B Pattern

In the *jnk* (or *ntf*) is *øB* pattern, the *jnk* is the subject, and the *øB* (indefinite noun) the predicate.

In the *jnk* (or *ntf*) *p3.B*, (**definite** noun) there is an indifference to time indication. Only the philological analysis can help us to classify subject and predicate.

(a) Examples of *jnk øB*

24.31

ntk šrj njm

Whose son are you? (Lit. You are son of who?)

(Blinding of Truth by Falsehood, 32/14)

24.32

jj.k tnw p3 šr nfr

jw.f ḥr ḏd n.śn

jnk šrj n w3 n snn n p3 t3 n kmt

"Whence did you come, the fair youth?"

And he said to them:

"I am (a) son of an officer of the land of Egypt.

(Doomed Prince 3/15-16)

24.33

jst j.jrj.j prj r bl

m mšḏr.f

jw jnk mw nṯrj

It is from his ear that I shall come forth,

I, who am (the) divine effluence.

(Horus and Seth, 54/3-4)

24.34

ntk njm tr

jnk b3t3

Who are you, pray?

I am Bata

(Two Brothers, 25/10)

24.35

jnk ḥm n ḥ.k

I am a servant of your house.

(Prayers as School Texts, 60/11)

24.36

mk ntk sš śḫnt mšᶜ

Behold you are a scribe in command of the army.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 12/9)

mk usually has a dependent pronoun rather than an independent pronoun.

24.37

nn ntk nw n t3.ḥ3śt

You are not a hunter of the desert.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 43/1-3)

24.38

ntk ᶜḥ3tj nfr
n mjtt.k

You are a perfect fighter, there is none like you.

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh 76/8)

(b) Examples of *jnk . p3 B*

24.39

ḥr ntj nttn n3 nbw

For you it is who are the lords

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/9)

24.40

jnk p3j.k š3w jrj jw m s3.k

I am your fate that has come after you.

(Doomed Prince 8/15, 16)

24.41

jś bn jnk t3j.k mwt

Lo, am I not your mother?

(Two Brothers, 24/6)

24.42

mntk krt śḫrw
n p3 jwtj mwt.f

You are he who offers counsel to the orphan (one who has no mother.)

(Prayers as School Texts, 60/9, 10)

(c) Some examples unique to NDE

24.43

m3ᶜ.ḫrw rᶜ r ḫftw.f
m3ᶜ ḫrw.j r ḫftw.j

As Re overcomes his enemies, so I overcome my enemies.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, - Dream interpretation. Isis' invocation to the good dream 10/16 (Groll 1985:83).

A bimembral nominal sentence, whose subject and predicate are both emphatic *śḏm.f* formations. (Groll 1985:84).

"As it is his enemies, whom Re overcomes, so is it my enemies, whom I overcome."

In this text of Dream Interpretation, Groll (1985:102ff) discusses several unimembral nominal sentence patterns immediately following *ḏw.Φ* or *nfr.Φ*, i.e. If one dreams such and such, bad/good - (it can mean) etc., e.g. Ex. 89 p. 103 r9, 16b

24.44

ḏw.ø šw m.ḥwt. tw.f	Bad, (it can mean) deprivation of his property

A + adverb and e.g. Ex. 91 (p. 103) r 16b

24.45

nfr.ø øsm3 p3j.f jrjjnᶜh3	Good: (it can mean) killing his adversary.

Here we have the predicate of the sentence being an infinitive extended by a direct object, and e.g. Ex. 100 (p. 105) r8 4b

24.46

dw.ø dr.f m j3wt.f	Bad, (it can mean) expelling him from his office.

and e.g. Ex. 103 (p. 106) r4 22b

24.47

nfr.ø swḏ n.f ø.ᶜnḫ jn nṯr.f	Good, (it can mean) giving him life by his (own) god.

"(The latter two) are classified as unimembral nominal sentence patterns since to translate them as passive or active prospective *śḏm.f* forms would necessitate abandoning the aspect of probability, which is essential to our understanding of this text as a diagnostic text which regards nightmare as curable." (Groll 1985:106, 114ff).

So Groll believes that *dr* and *śwḏ* are infinitives acting as nouns, and she suggests that the notion of probability is achieved by the fact that infinitives have no specific time indication, and by the fact that the (ME) element *pw* in the

bimembral nominal sentence pattern does not agree in gender with the predicative infinitive.

Compare

24.48

nfr.ø pr.(t) pw m mdwt

(Ex. 148 r.6 8b (p 114)

with

24.49

nfr.ø pr.t m mdwt pw Good, (it can mean) the outcome of a quarrel.

(Ex. 149 r4 15.b)

Groll concludes that the indifference to time and gender of the pattern predicative infinitive + *pw* makes it the pattern which can best express the aspect of probability (it might/may/could happen).

The grammar of the language of dream interpretation is expressed in terms of a system of elements rather than abstract rules.

Papyrus Chester Beatty III is probably LE, rather than a transformed ME.

We have *pw* in nominal sentences, and not *p3j*, *t3j*, *n3j*.

In LE, masculine and neuter are the same, so *p3j* is neuter and masculine, but in Chester Beatty III, *pw* stands for neuter and *p3j* for masculine.

The *śḏm.f*'s used in Chester Beatty III are not prospective, and do not say that something will occur in the future. Rather there is a probability. "It may/could occur."

And it is a *śḏm.(f.)* compatible with *pw*, so it is a nominalised *śḏm.(.f)*.

A final example is of a nominal cleft sentence with *pw* (- *pw* following the nominal subject immediately), e.g. Ex. 80 (p. 100) r.8 18.b

24.50

ḏw.ø nṯr.f pw śp r.f	Bad, (it can mean that) it is (even) his (own) god who may be blind towards him.

Conclusion

All the nominal sentence forms occur in ME, and progress unchanged to LE, existing of course too in the intermediate NDE period.

The ME non-verbal sentences with adverbial predicate continued into LE.

The independent statement *jw.f* + adverbial predicate of ME did not continue into LE, whereas the circumstantial form did, often the First Present being used to express this. The independent statement though is still found in NDE.

The copula *pw* is of ME origin, and a new sentence form developed; Predicate *pw* Subject. This continued into LE, but rarely, but is found in NDE.

Unique to NDE is a form occurring in the Dream Interpretation papyrus, - unimembral nominal sentences with an infinitive, (nominalised *śḏm.f*) + *pw* expressing the aspect of probability. This is probably a new form (LE), rather than a transformed ME (Groll 1985:102).

II. ADJECTIVAL SENTENCES

Introduction

This section discusses the adjectival sentence patterns *nfr św, nfr B, nj. św.A* and *jnk św, nfr p3j, jnk nfr, nfr* ø, and *m* or *(n)A*ø as they are used in NDE.

A. The basic ME adjectival sentence pattern is *nfr św*, in which

1. the predicative adjective fills the first position;
2. the actor expression, when taking the form of a pronoun, is the dependent pronoun;
3. there is no correspondence in gender or number between the *'św'* and the predicative adjective.

Many examples of this ME form are found in these NDE texts, but they do not occur in the non-literary texts of the Twentieth Dynasty. These forms fall into Category A or I (Černý and Groll 1975:542, Groll 1967:34).

These are examples of the *nfr św* pattern

24.51

3ḫ n.j śnt.j r pḫrt nbt

wr. św n.j r t3 ḏmdt

My sister is more beneficial to me than any medicine.

It (she) is more efficacious for me than the sum total of all the remedies.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III, Love Songs, Pap.1 Verso C4, 10)

The second line is a *nfr św* pattern parallel with a *nfr B.f* pattern.

24.52

jr sš n p3 ntj rḫ.św

3ḫ. św r j3wt nbt

With regard to writing, for the one who knows it, it is more advantageous than any other occupation.

(Papyrus Lansing, 100/13)

24.53

śbk . św nśt.k

Precious is it, your tongue.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 20/11)

24.54

mr . wj św

How beloved is he.

(Merneptah's Stele 18/1-3)

An adjectival *nfr św* sentence with an admirative *.wj* of ME.

24.55

ḫr ptr pn^{c} . św n.k m ktjw

It is distorted for you into something different.

(Two Brothers, 16/13, 14)

A *śḏm* (passive participle) *św* pattern.

24.56

jw nfr św r p3 ḥtp r p3 śnn ḥ3wtj wn m p3 t3

And it is better than the former peace and the former brotherhood, which was in the land.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/11)

24.57

nḏm św r šdḥ

It pleases more than pomegranate wine.

(Papyrus Lansing, 100/12, 13)

24.58

šrj św (r) mj
ᶜ3 sw r gfj

He is smaller (than) a cat, and bigger than an ape.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/14)

24.59

3ḫ św n.k r nn 10n sp

It is ten times more advantageous to you than this.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/8)

The following patterns may be found in ME, NDE and LE.

B. The following are *nfr B* patterns, also grouped in Category A or I.

24.60

bjn . tw r šs3w ḫr ḫ3śt ᶜnḫ.f m śḫśḫ

You are worse than the desert antelope, that lives by running.

(Papyrus Lansing, 102/11)

24.61

ᶜḏ3.t ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ n njwt ḫrj3
š3w mwt
m3ᶜ rmṯ.jst nbnfr

A great wrongdoer is the citiziness Heria, worthy of death (is she), righteous is the workman, Nebnufer.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 2,3)

24.62

3ḫ k3p

Hiding is useful.

(Stele of Merneptah, 15/12)

Although the *nfr św* pattern does not exist in non-literary Twentieth Dynasty Texts, patterns which reveal a considerable resemblance to it do exist, e.g.

C. *nj . św A* **and** *jnk św*

And this occurs in NDE too as a variant.

24.63

wśr nḫt nśj św — Might and strength are his.

(Stele of Merneptah, 15/12-14)

24.64

bn nśj ḫrt.tn — It does not belong to your requirements.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 68/2)

24.65

bn jnk św — It is not mine.

(Truth and Falsehood, 34/10)

D. Category B or II of adjectival sentences include

nfr p3j

jnk nfr

nfr ø

or *m* or *(n) A*ø

(1) Examples of *nfr p3j* which occur in NDE.

24.66

3ḫ n.k p3j — Advantageous to you is it.

(Two Brothers, 12/11)

Compare this to the *3ḫ św* Category A or I examples above Papyrus Anastasi I, 18/8, Papyrus Chester Beatty, Love Songs, Pap. 1 Verso C4, 10 (*3ḫ B*) and Stele of Merneptah 15/12 and Papyrus Lansing 100/13.

These are different ways of expressing the same adjectival sentence *3ḫ . św*, *3ḫ .B* (Category A or I) and *3ḫ p3j* (Category B or II) and all are found in NDE.

24.67

jn jw nfr p3j.k ḥdb n3j.k b3k.w — Is it good that you slay your servants?

(Ramesses II, Battle of Kadesh 24/59)

24.68

nn nfr p3w — This is not good.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 30.4)

24.69

bn nfr jwn3 p3j gb.tw m.b3ḥ t3 pśḏt — It is not good to defraud me before the Ennead.

(Horus and Seth, 42/5, 6)

24.70

nfr r jkr śp . śn p3w j.jrj.k nb

It is very, very good, this that you have done.

(Horus and Seth, 57/16 - 58/1)

This is a *nfr p3w j.jrj.f* pattern

24.71

nfr jrj ḥr r n nṯr

Happy is he who acts on the word of god.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/8)

nfr + a relative form for *p3j*. (It could possibly be a Type A *nfr B* pattern too.)

(ii) The *jnk nfr* pattern occurs in

24.72

ḥr ntj jś jnk nᶜj jb ᶜn ḥr pḫrt.w

For I am indeed considerate and compassionate toward travellers.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 66/7)

This is B^a of Groll's classification.

24.73

ḫrp wḏ3t m3ᶜ n pśḏt

Presenting the Eye (to Horus) seems right to the Ennead.

(Horus and Seth, 37/11, 12)

An adjectival sentence Type B^a with infinitive as noun.

(iii) Other Category B or II patterns

24.74

m3ᶜt m ḥḥ n sp

p3 ḏd dḥwtj n t3 pśḏt

A thousand times correct is this that Thoth has said to the Ennead.

(Horus and Seth, 56/8, 9)

The *m3ᶜ.t p3 śḏm.f* pattern. The first member is an abstract noun serving as an adjective. Similarly in the next example.

The *m m3ᶜ.t n3* pattern.

24.75

ntṯ jṯ3 p3j ḫ3 n nbnfr

m m3ᶜt n3w m bj3t

ḏd.n ḥrj3 mbj3t

bn jnk r jṯ3 św

"It was you, who stole this chisel of Nebnufer.

Is it true or is it not?" Then Heria answered:

"No. It was not I who stole it."

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 7,8)

An affirmative and a corresponding negative participial statement. (Type I).

The second has *r.jṯ3* for *j.jṯ3*, a specific formation of the participle for the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The first has no prothetic yod or *r*.

is the independent pronoun *ntṯ*

m m3ᶜt n3w is negation of a *nfr św* adjectival question.

24.76

m3ᶜ.tw m j.ḏd.f nb ḥr s3 3śt

Right in all that he has said is Horus the son of Isis.

(Horus and Seth, 56/6)

24.77

ᶜḏ3.t ᶜ3 ᶜnḫ n njwt ḫrj3

š3w mwt

m3ᶜ rmṯ.jst nbnfr

A great wrongdoer is the citiziness Heria, worthy of death (is she), righteous is the workman, Nebnufer.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 2,3)

24.78

jw.ś pw nfr m ḫnw w3śt t3 śt bw(m3ᶜ)

It has come to a good ending in Thebes, the place of Truth.

(Horus and Seth, 60/11, 12)

This is a difficult sentence. This may not be a non-verbal adjectival sentence. But it may be.viz. "It's coming (to an end) is good", *jw.ś* being an infinitive and with the copula *pw* acting as a noun, i.e. *B pw nfr.*

This may be a unique or hybrid NDE form.

CONCLUSION

The Category I or A pattern *nfr sw* is a ME form. It does occur in literary LE of the Twentieth Dynasty, but not in Non-literary texts of LE.

Some forms built on the *nfr św* pattern, however, do continue into LE (literary and non-literary), e.g.

nj . św A, ntk św, which are not identity or nominal sentences.

The *m3ᶜ.tw, m3ᶜ.tj, bjn* and *ᶜḏ3* forms as well as the one-membral sentence occur in ME and in LE.

The *nfr p3j* and *jnk nfr* forms (Category II or B) are not found in ME, but are commonly found and well established in LE.

All the above adjective sentence patterns are found in NDE, in both the non-literary and literary texts.

CHAPTER 25

INDICATORS OF DIRECT SPEECH AND GREETINGS

INTRODUCTION

There are certain patterns, in Egyptian, perhaps corresponding to our quotation marks or inverted commas, which introduce or which immediately follow direct quoted speech.

They appear to have persisted with but little variation through ME, NDE and LE.

These are discussed in this chapter, with examples from NDE texts.

The chapter includes too a note on *j.nḏ ḥr.tn* - a greeting "Hail to thee".

I. Indicators that direct speech is to follow

These include

n ḫr.n t3	-	of which we said:
mḏw	-	utterance
j. ḏd.n.f	-	which he said
r.ḏd	-	saying:
wḥm.k r.ḏd	-	again you say:
kjj ḏd r.ntj	-	another topic:
ḥn^{c} ḏd	-	saying;
r.ntj	-	to wit (or namely):
ḏd jrj.n A	-	the speaking which A did

(i) Non literary NDE texts

25.1

mj wn.f n.n t3 w3t r šmt wn.s šrj.tj

n ḫr.n t3

wn.n ḫr snj.n ś wḏ3.n

For he opened the way for us to go, that had been blocked before us

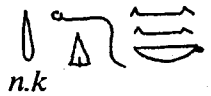
Of which we said

"If we pass it, we are safe".

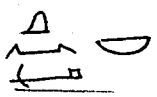
(Kanais (Wady Mia), 65/8,9)

(ii) Literary NDE texts

25.2



mḏ(w) dj.n(.j) n.k



ḳn nb nḥt nb

Utterance: I give to you all might and all victory.

(Northern Wars of Seti I, 20/4)

mḏ(w) introduces direct speech.

25.3

wn.jn p3j.f śn šrj ḥr jrt śḫrw nb j.ḏd.n.f p3j.f śn ᶜ3

j.jrj.sn

And his younger brother did all the things that his elder brother said to him: "Do them".

(Two Brothers, 11/5-7)

A ME pseudoverbal construction.

j.ḏd.n.f is a LE relative form with a prothetic yod

j.jrj.sn is LE imperative with a prothetic yod.

25.4

ḥr.k ʔnḥ3.w ᶜḥᶜ.(.k) ḥr śwnwn n psdj.w r.ḏd

mj.n r ḥnᶜ.j

dj.tn n.j drt

Your looks are troubled, while (you) are standing coaxing the assistants (?) and saying

"Come with me and lend a hand to me."

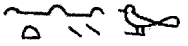
(Papyrus Anastasi I, 11/2,3)

r.ḏd is *r* + infinitive, the couterpart of the Biblical Hebrew לאמר

mj is imperative, with *.n* (for *.tn*) for emphasis.

25.5

wḥm.k r.ḏd

ś3w ᶜ jwtj  *phtj*

Again you say, (concerning me)

"Feeble (? broken) of arm, strengthless one!"

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 16/7-10)

wḥm is "to repeat"

jwtj is the ME negative relative adjective.

25.6

kjj ḏd r.ntj

t3j.k śᶜ spr r.j ...

Another topic: "Your letter reached me ...."

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 10/1)

25.7

ḥnᶜ ḏd

saying,

(Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller), 41/1)

25.8

r.ntj = to wit.

(Papyrus Anastasi I (Really Papyrus Koller), 42/6)

25.9

ḏd jrj.n ḏḥwtj n nb r.ḏr — Thoth spoke to the All-Lord.

(Horus and Seth, 56/7)

jrj.n ḏḥwtj is a relative *śḏm.n.f*

All these examples (above) are found and used in ME, NDE and LE.

II. The expressions *ḫr.f, j.n.f* and *k3.f* are used after direct speech

ḫr.f, j.n.j, k3.f etc. used in quotations must be considered as survivals of the ME *śḏm.f* and *śḏm.n.f* forms (Černý and Groll 1975:157).

25.10

śtnw p3j.k jt — "Where is your father?"

ḫr.w n.j — So they say to me and they mock me.

mtw.w j3dt.j

(Truth and Falsehood, 33/2)

mtw.w is a conjunctive of regular past custom

25.11

ḏ3mw ḫr ḏd n ḏ3mw n n3j.w.f nḫt — Generation says to generation of his victories:

bw jrj.f r.n ᶜn ḏr p3 rᶜ — "It was never done to us since the time of Re (primordial times)"

ḫr.f m j3w nb ḫr ḏd n s3.f — - So says every old man, speaking to his son.

(lit. "he says, namely every old man")

(Stele of Merneptah, 15/7-9)

25.12

jr ntf ḫr.tw śn 2 n wᶜ mwt n wᶜ jt

It is related that there were once two brothers by one mother and one father.

(Two Brothers, 9/10)

ḫr is an auxiliary verb = "so says".

25.13

p3j.k jt p3j

j.n.s śt ḫr ḏd n.f

"He is your father". So she said to him.

(Truth and Fasehood, 33/4,5)

25.14

...p3 wn jw.n r mḥ śk3 m dw3w

j.n.f ḏd.n.f

"For we will plough with a will (? start to plough) in the early morning"

So spoke he to him.

(Two Brothers, 11/4-5)

25.15

knw mšᶜt r.ḥ3t.n

j.n.n

jḫ bn 3kw mkf3

"Long is the march before us"

We say "What means it that there is no bread at all?"

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 29/17)

m.kf3 at the end of a negative sentence, is for emphasis.

25.16

jnk sš mhr j.n.k ᶜn ḫr ḏd

j.n.n wn m3ᶜt m j.ḏd.k mj r bnr śjpt.tw.k

"I am a scribe, a maher" so you say.

"If there is truth in what you say", say we, "Come forth that you may be tested."

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 30/7-9)

25.17

wšb 3s

j.ḏd n.j šmj

...

k3.j n.sn

"Answer quickly! Render me a report ..."

So I will say to them.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 39/3-5)

k3.j (cf. *j.n.j* and *ḫr.j*) refers to the future.

25.18

k3.tw n.f

So one shall say to him.

(Horus and Seth, 47/2)

In LE, the verb *j.n.f* following direct speech invariably refers to the past "so he said", while *k3.f* refers to the future, "so he shall say". It is not always the case though that *ḫr.f* refers to the present or the near future (Wente 1981:528).

One might be tempted to explain the use of *ḫr.f* as a past as being simply a carry-over from ME, where *ḫr.f* could function as a past or present tense.

In some later examples - after the Nineteenth Dynasty - some quotations concluded by *ḫr.f* comprise imperatives and may be regarded as present rather than past and imparting a certain immediacy to the injunctions of the inner quotations. These might be borderline cases of *ḫr.f* where there is some ambiguity in our evaluation of its tense.

It may be too that *ḫr.f* is quite neutral as to tense, being similar to the conjunctive in deriving its tense from the preceding environment. There is sometimes a past durative nuance of *ḫr.f*, - not so much an innate quality of the formation but rather dependent upon the preceding context.

Examples of *ḫr.f* clearly used as a past are:

25.19

ḫr jr wᶜ rmṯ ḏrḏrj jj	Then a stranger came.
jw.f ḥmśj m p3j.j jht	He sat down in my stable and spoke thus to my child:
ḫr.f mj n3j ḫr ḏd n p3j.j šrj	"I shall beat you,
jw.j knkn.k mtw.j nḥm n3 j3wt n p3j.k jt	I shall take your father's cattle and
mtw.j ḫ3ᶜ.k r.bl	I shall throw you out!" So he spoke to him.
ḫr.f ḫr ḏd n.f	

(Horus and Seth, 45/3-6)

Many features of LE and their interactions are found here.

Line 1 - is a First Present, with a verb of motion, preceded by *ḫr jr*, making it past meaning.

This is followed by a *jw.f (ḫr) śḏm.f* of the continuative narrative sequential past.

A *ḫr.f* (of the past) then precedes the spoken speech.

In the "inverted commas", a Third Future is followed by two conjunctives.

Then again after the quoted speech, a *ḫr.f* with past meaning, and

25.20

jr m.ḫt hrw knw ḫr s3 nn	"And many days after this, the intruder said to my son:
wn.jn p3 k3j ḫr ḏd n p3j.j šrj	'I shall beat you,
jw.j knkn.k	I shall take the cattle of your father; it shall be mine'.
mtw.j nḥm n3 j3wt n p3j.k jt	Thus he spoke to my son"
mtw.w ḫpr m.dj.j	So she said to me.
ḫr.f ḫr ḏd n p3j.j šrj	
j.n.s n.j	

(Horus and Seth, 46/5)

The mother is speaking in quoted speech. Within this, she in turn quotes the intruder's words. Following this is a *ḥr.f* and following the mother's words is a clear past *j.n.s n.j*. The *ḥr.f* too is clearly past.

III. The greeting *j.nḏ ḥr.tn* - "Hail to thee"

e.g.

(i) Non-literary NDE text

25.21

ḏd.f j.nḏ ḥr.tn nṯr.w wr.w

He said "Hail to you, great gods"

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/5)

(ii) Literary NDE text

25.22

wrw ḫ3śt ḏd.śn m śšw3 ḥm.f ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb

m śᶜ3 pḥtj.f

j.nḏ ḥr.k nśwt n kmt

The chiefs of the countries - they say in acclaiming his majesty, 1ph, in magnifying his might

"Hail to thee, O king of Egypt."

(Northern Wars of Seti I, 19/15,16)

The first line is a noun + *śḏm.f* (see Doret 1980:37)

CONCLUSION

The patterns preceding and introducing quoted direct speech - *ḏd.f, ḥnᶜ ḏd, r.ḏd, r.ntj, whm.k r.ḏd, kjj ḏd r.ntj* are all found in ME, NDE and LE.

ḏd jrj.n A is ME and NDE

mdw followed by *dj.n.j n.k* (the performative) (Utterance: "I give to you ...") is found in ME and NDE.

Following quoted speech *j.n.f* and *k3.f* are found in NDE and LE. *k3.f* refers to the future, and may be a survival of the ME *śḏm.f*.

ḥr.f occurs in ME, NDE and LE.

It appears that most of these pointers to direct speech are of ancient origin. Those preceding and thus introducing direct speech may have evolved slowly over time, e.g. *j.ḏd n.f* to *ḏd j.jrj A*. *r.ḏd*, i.e. *r* + infinitive is old, the exact counterpart of the Biblical Hebrew לֵאמֹר, and *ḥnᶜ ḏd* is obviously similar.

The forms following direct speech (*ḥr.f*, *k3.f* and *j.n.f*) may be survivals of the ME *śḏm.f* and *śḏm.n.f* synthetic forms. There appeared to be no need for them to evolve further. They were well recognised and understood, frequently used and fulfilled their old function well. All are still found unchanged in NDE and later in LE too.

CHAPTER 26

PARTICIPLES

INTRODUCTION

Participles in Egyptian are frequently used in situations, where relative forms might be used more frequently, for example in English. They are also used in the sense of "doing", "acting" and in the passive "being magnified", "being exalted". In this sense, they are frequently used to eulogise and praise gods and kings by describing their attributes or activities. These are well-known Middle Egyptian forms, frequently used and persisting to LE through the intervening NDE.

Infinitives occasionally may express the same thing, e.g. "to come and to go" for "coming and going".

The LE participle may have a prothetic yod, but this is not invariable.

Participles of course occur in ME *jn*-constructions, e.g.

26.1

m jmn wᶜf šw — It is Amun, who curbs him.

(Merneptah's Stele, 17/12-14)

This is an imperfective participle in a ME *jn*-construction. This form occurs in ME and in NDE.

I. Non-literary NDE texts

26.2

j.nḏ . ḥr.tn nṯr.w wr.w

grg pt t3 n jb.śn

Hail to you, great gods, who founded heaven and earth at your pleasure.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/5,6)

26.3

nfr jrj ḥr r n nṯr

Happy is he who acts on the word of god.

(Kanais (Wady Mia), 67/8)

26.4

jw nfr św r p3 ḥtp r p3 śnn ḥ3tj

wn m p3 t3

And it is better than the former peace and the former brotherhood, which was in the land.

(Hittite Treaty, 227/11)

wn is a ME participle with an adverbial predicate.

A corresponding main clause would be *jw.f m p3 t3.* (Gardiner 1982:314 and 93).

Similar is

26.5

jr p3 nt.^{c} mtj

wn dj m h3w śprr ...

As for the regular customary agreement, which was here in the time of Suppiluliuma ...

(Hittite Treaty, 228/1)

26.6

... *k3 nḫt*	Mighty Bull,
ḥ3 m w3śt	shining in Thebes,
śᶜnḫ t3wj ...	who makes the two lands to live,
whm mśwt	who repeats births, strong of arm,
śḫm ᶜ	repressing the Nine-Bow tribes ...
dr pśḏt ...	

(Nauri Decree, 46/3)

These are all active participles, occurring in ME and in NDE. Usually the LE participle has a prothetic yod, but may not.

II. In literary NDE texts

26.7

ptr.ś mj śb3.nṯrt (or *śbtt*),	Behold, she is like the star-goddess,
ḫᶜ m ḥ3t rnpt nfrt	arising at the beginning of a happy
šššpt jkrt	year, shining bright, glistening of skin,
wbḫ.t jn.w ᶜnt jntj	lovely of eyes, when she stares (or
gmḥ	wherewith to gaze), sweet her lips
bnr spt.ś mdwt	when she speaks (or wherewith to speak).

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C1/1,3)

ḫᶜ may be a LE feminine participle.

None of the participles have the prothetic yod.

šššpt, wbḫt, gmḥ and *bnr* may be participles too.

26.8

p3 k3 nḫt ḫpš mr ḫpš

The bull, great of strength, who loves strength.

(Prayers as school texts, 18/5,6)

26.9

nswt bjtj

ḥtp ḥr m3ᶜt sᶜ3 pḥtj śk3j ḫpš n ḥr

The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, content with Maat, magnified by the power, exalted by the strength of Horus ...

(Stele of Merneptah IV, 13/7)

Active and passive participles.

These are all participles with no prothetic yod. *sᶜ3* and *śk3j* are passive participles. They occur in ME, eulogising and praising gods and kings to describe their attributes or their activities. They occur in NDE too and in LE, either with or without a prothetic yod.

26.10

šw kf šnᶜ

wn ḥr kmt ...

Shu, who uncovered the cloud that was over Egypt ...

(Stele of Merneptah IV, 13/10)

kf and *wn* are participles.

26.11

... wn śb3.w n mn.nfr

wn ḏb3

... opener of Memphis' gates, that were barred ...

(Stele of Merneptah IV, 13/14)

26.12

j.šmt jjt m ḥśj

Going and coming are with song.

(Stele of Merneptah IV, 18/13)

These are probably infinitives rather than participles. One has a prothetic yod, one does not.

26.13

nṯr nfr jrj m ᶜwj.f ...
ḥr jb w3śt tjtj stt
jrj tš.f r dd jb.f

The good god, achieving with his arms, residing in Thebes, smiting the Asiatics, making his boundary as far as his desire places it.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 7/10)

dd is the reduplicated imperfective of *dj*

26.14

...

mj wtt.św
śwbn ḥḏ t3wj

...

like him that begat him,
illuminating the two lands.

(Northern Wars of Sethos I, 17/13)

Note

26.15

jmj.r ḫtm nb
ḫpr.tj.fj ḥr p3 ḫtm śṯḥj mr.n.pth
ntj m śḫmt

... any superintendent of a fort, who shall be over the fort of Seti-Merneptah, which is in Sekhemt ...

(Nauri Decree, 56/7,8)

ḫpr.tj.fj is <u>not</u> really a participle. It is a *śḏm.tj.fj*, a ME verbal adjective, the meaning of which is that of a future participle, probably active.

Here we find, *ntj m śḫmt* rather than *wn m śḫmt*, which would refer to past time.

This is not an example of a participle - rather a ME verbal adjective, the meaning of which is that of a future participle, occurring here in NDE. It is not found in LE.

26.16

... *wnnt rš jᶜjb n ḥwt.k3.pth m n3j.śn ḫftjw.f*

... who let *Hut.ka.Ptah* (= Memphis) exult over its foes ...

(Stele of Merneptah, 13/12-14)

26.17

ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb, the formula following a king's name (= lph), may he be given life, prosperity and health, e.g. Nauri Decree 50/13, are ME pseudoparticiples.

CONCLUSION

Participles, of course, are found in ME *jn*-constructions (example 26.1). Excluding these, a series of participles in these Nineteenth Dynasty texts have been compiled, to show how they were used at this time. They are used, particularly in texts eulogising and praising gods and kings, to describe their attributes or their activities (example 26.6). They may be active ('content', 'shining', 'making live') or passive ('magnified', 'exalted') (example 26.9).

There are examples of *wn* as a participle (26.4, 26.5, 26.16).

They are found in both the non-literary and literary texts.

With the verb *ḫpr* - 'become', the Middle Egyptian verbal adjective *śḏm.tj.fj* is used with the meaning of a future participle (example 26.15).

There is a reminder that *ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb*, the formula following a king's name (= *lph*), "may he be given life, prosperity and health" (example 26.17) are not participles, but Middle Egyptian pseudoparticiples or stative forms.

The participles used in the ME *jn*-construction or cleft sentences developed in later LE into relative forms, and both types of sentences are found in NDE (as shown in Chapter 24).

The other uses of participles are found in ME and continued through NDE to LE, where the participles may have had a prothetic yod or may not have. The praise or eulogy with many participles, indicating attributes was well known to scribes and populace, and it seemed that there was no need for further analytical evolution.

CHAPTER 27

MISCELLANEOUS

INTRODUCTION

Some miscellaneous and varied grammatical forms are referred to and discussed in this chapter. This is so as to demonstrate some important forms, and perhaps their evolution.

Many of these are special and unique to the Rameside period comprising NDE as it does. They are important to know, as they form part of the "idiom" of NDE, and their appearance and recognition in literature can even help in dating texts to the NDE period.

I. *j.jrt.f śḏm* is LE and refers to "until", e.g.

27.1

jmj ḥ3ᶜ.tw.j
jrj.j n ḥ3t.j
j.jrt p3 nṯr p3 ntj m jb.f

Let me go that I might act according to my heart
until the god does what is in his heart.

(Doomed Prince, 13/14)

This occurs in NDE and in LE.

II. *p3.wn* **= because, for.**

This particle predominates in the Nineteenth Dynasty texts and is almost completely absent in those of the Twentieth Dynasty. (Goldwasser 1985:51), e.g.

27.2

p3 wn jw.n r mḥ śk3 m dw3w

... for we will start to plough in the early morning.

(Two Brothers (Literary text), 11/4,5)

and

27.3

nfr jrj ḥr r n nṯr

p3 wn bw h3j.n.sn šḫrw.f

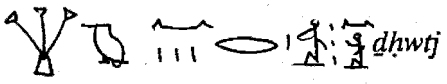
Happy is he who acts on the word of god, for his plans do not fail.

(Kanais (Wady Mia) (Non-literary text), 67/8,9)

p3 wn = "because", "for" is almost unique to NDE

III. *ḥ3* **- ME non-enclitic particle = "would that", e.g.**

27.4



m ḥ3 m tp.j dw3w

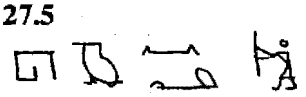
If only I had Thoth behind me tomorrow.

(Prayers used as School Texts, 86/2)

ḥ3 is found in ME and in NDE.

IV. *ḥn* **occurs obscurely before a negative, e.g.**

27.5



ḥn bwpw.k ḫnj n.f

You have never approached it.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 22/1)

This occurs rarely in NDE and perhaps in LE.

V. Possessive pronouns

Many examples have been alluded to in the texts of

(a) a suffix pronoun following a noun, indicating possession. This is ME, e.g. noun *f*, noun *.n*, etc., and

(b) The LE possessive pronouns preceding the noun, e.g.

p3j.f, t3j.ś + Noun, e.g.

(a) occurs in ME and in NDE, (b) in NDE and LE.

27.6

p3j.f śn šrj - his younger brother

(Two Brothers (Literary), 11/5,6)

and cf.

27.7

jb.śn - their hearts.

(Two Brothers (Literary), 11/8,9)

and

27.8

tš.w.śn their boundaries

(Nauri Decree (Non-literary), 54/2,3)

and cf.

27.9

n3j.śn ḥmwt n3(j).sn b3kw their women and their servants.

(Nauri Decree (Non-literary), 55/6)

VI. *n3.n*, the definite article

I have also drawn attention in the texts to *n3.n*, the definite article, which is still occasionally written during the Nineteenth Dynasty as *n3.n*, thereby retaining the memory of the ME demonstrative pronoun (Goldwasser 1985:51), e.g.

27.10

j.nḏ. ḥr.t rswt t(3) n nfrt Welcome, O dream of good (fortune)

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream interpretation, 10/14)

(Groll 1985:83,4)

This is the Ramesside construction definite article and *n*.

VII. *t3*

27.11

ḫr jw s3 t3 bwt n p3j dmjt ṯ3wt And since the greatest abomination
... of this town is stealing ...

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 7)

It seems that *t3*, the definite article here expresses the notion of the superlative (Groll 1973:70).

And in the same text *t3* is not the LE definite article, but the ME anaphoric demonstrative (Groll 1973:70), e.g.

27.12

t3 ḫ3rt this widow

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 8)

and

27.13

t3 st this place.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Verso 9)

VIII. ***r3 pn***

27.14

In Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream interpretation, The Chemical Prescription 10.16 (Groll 1985:85), *r3 pn* = this spell, *pn* is the anaphoric demonstrative. The group *r3-pn* should thus be translated "the above-mentioned spell".

27.15

In Papyrus Anastasi I 48/9 (Really Papyrus Koller), *sš pnn* (for *pn*) = this letter. *pnn* for the demonstrative *pn* is typical of the Nineteenth Dynasty and not common before or after (Goldwasser 1985:51).

n3.n, and *t3* as an anaphoric demonstrative and *pn* or *pnn* are almost always purely found in NDE.

IX. ***r.śḏm*** **for** ***j.śḏm*****, the participle, e.g. in**

27.16

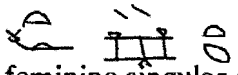
bn jnk r.jt3 św It was not I who stole it.

(Hieratic Ostracon, Recto 8)

This is a specific formation of the participle in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties.

X. Demonstrative adjective and possessive pronoun

27.17

 (as in Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs C1/8) is a ME feminine singular demonstrative adjective = "that" or "yonder",

27.18

while *jnk.sn* (in Kanais 69/2,3) = "they are mine", a LE possessive pronoun *jnk* + a suffix pronoun *.sn*.

27.17 is found in ME and NDE and 27.18 in NDE and LE.

XI. *p3 nfrw.f*

27.19

p3 nfrw.f is unusual (as in Nauri Decree 46/12 = his beauties, (lit. the beauties of him). This is Ramesside.

This is almost exclusively NDE.

XII. Note. An interesting verbal formation, expressed in different ways

27.20

ptr.tj (for *.tw*) *prj.ś r ḥ3* One sees her going forth

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, C1/7)

prj is the direct object of a previous verbal formation.

This is ME, and unusual.

cf. the LE non-literary formations

27.21

rḫ.śj jb n śnt
p3j.f tm w3w r śnt

How well the sister's heart knows that he is not far from her - (the sister)

(Papyrus Chester Beatty I - Love songs, G1/8 - XXA A/1)

27.22

jḫ k3t m śḏdt
jw.tw ḥr śḏm.f
p3j.tn ḫ3ᶜ.j wᶜ.kwj n snwj

What will men say when they hear of it -

that you left me alone without a comrade?

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 81/1-6)

27.23

jḫ h3b.k p3 ntj jw.n r jrr.f

Write us what we should do.

(Horus and Seth, 56/15,16)

27.24

ḥmsj jrj wḫ3 n wśjr
śḏm.n p3 ntj jw.f ḏd.f

Sit down and write a letter to Osiris that we may hear what he has to say.

(Horus and Seth, 56/10,11)

27.25

ḥr jw.k ᶜm3 r.ḏd wn nkt r.j

Hereby you will learn that something (mischief) has befallen me.

(Two Brothers, 18/3)

Regarding the above three examples - *r.ḏd* turns what follows it into the adverbial predicate of the sentence; while *p3 ntj* nominalises the emphatic form. (i.e. "what it is that we should do" and "what it is that he says").

wn(t) can also be used for "that" after verbs of seeing, knowing or saying, as in

27.26

m jrj djt ḏd.tw.k
wn nkt m ḫm.k

Let it not be said of you that there is anything which you do not know.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 26/7)

Finally, another example complementary to the first sentence in this group -

27.27

gm.n.j p3 ḫ3ḫ3 500 n ᶜ n ḥtr wn.wj m ḫnw.sn
ḫpr m gbgbjt r . ḥ3t śśmt.j

I found the mass (lit. 2 500) of chariots in whose midst I was scattering before my horses.

(Ramesses II Battle of Kadesh, 45/8-14)

The verb *ḫpr m gbgbjt* is the object of *gm.n.j*

XIII. *ṯj św*

27.28

ṯj św m ṯḫḥ

Behold, he is in exaltation.

(Nauri Decree, 48/1)

This is ME - particle *ṯj* + pronoun *św* in an adjectival or adverbial sentence.

XIV. A First Present pattern, whose second position is filled by the infinitive of a verb of perception.

27.29

tw.j ḥr m33.◎ w3j.◎ jm.j I see you far away from me.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream interpretation, A spell against nightmares, 10.11)

(Groll 1985:82)

This is a typically Ramesside formation.

The pronominal suffix object *.t* after *m33* is expressed by a zero morpheme, a grammatical phenomenon, which occurs in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties.

XV. In Literary LE, the pronominal suffix *.k* sometimes takes the form *.kwj*, e.g.

27.30

dr.j ḏwwt.kwj (sic) so that I can drive away your sufferings.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream interpretation, Isis' invocation, 10.13)

(Groll 1985:83)

and in

XVI. A passive *śḏm* ∅*A* construction indicating the pluperfect.

27.31

rdj n.f ⊕ *prs r.ḫft - ḫr* ... after he has first been given a slice of bread.

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream interpretation, 10.17)

(Groll 1985:85)

This is a specific literary Ramesside formation.

and in

XVII. *nhj n* A

27.31

... *ḥnᶜ nhj n šmw w3ḏ* and some fresh herbs

(Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream interpretation, 10.17)

nhj n A - "some of A" is Ramesside, and the writing of *wḏ* for *w3ḏ* - an orthographic error is typically Ramesside too.

XVIII. Zero morphemes

27.32

św 3tp r ᶜnsḫ It is loaded on a barge.

wḏ.⊕ *m 3bw* Departing from Yebu, it is conveyed

ḫnj.⊕ *ḫrj r.f r ḥtp śt.f m w3śt* until it comes to rest on its place in Thebes.

(Papyrus Lansing, 101/5,6)

*wḏ.*ϕ and *ḥnj.*ϕ both have no subject, i.e. zero morphemes. The first is the active form of a non-transitive verb, the second, the passive of a transitive verb. The subject is *św* of the First Present pattern. I think this is a Ramesside formation.

XIX. Some Temporal Clauses

include

27.34

wḏ t3 — When dawn comes.

(Papyrus Lansing, 105/2)

27.35

ḥr jr m.ḫt p3 ḫrd ᶜ3jt — Now when the boy had grown .....

...

(Doomed Prince, 2/1)

27.36

ḥr jr m.ḫt hrw knw nn — Now when many days had passed ...

(lit. many days after these things ...)

(Doomed Prince, 3/9,10)

27.37

ḥr jr p3 šw ḥr ḥtp — Now when the sun had set ...

(Two Brothers, 14/6 - 15/2)

27.38

ḥr jr m.ḫt hrw knw s3 nn — And many days after this ...

(Two Brothers, 10/1-2)

An old formula of unsophisticated narrative.

27.39

jr m.ḥt mnk.w mnmnt sjkr jrj.w ...

When the monument had been finished and its inscriptions completed ...

(Kanais (Wady Mia) (Non-literary), 67/4)

XX. *śḏm śḏm*

27.40

śḏm śḏm is used for the superlative.

(Northern Wars of Seti I, 17/13)

XXI. Ordinal numbers

27.41

p3 ntj 5

p3 ntj 6 etc.

i.e. ordinal numbers with prefixed *p3 ntj* = fifth, sixth, etc.

(Papyrus Anastasi I, 11/10ff)

CONCLUSION

The collection of analecta in this chapter serves to gather under one heading a diverse series of grammatical forms, particles, morphemes and expressions, many of which are unique to NDE, and an integral part of its "idiom" or "patois".

Goldwasser (1985:50) pays special attention to these grammatical and lexicographical forms, side by side with the epistolary formulae. I believe they are significant, and this is my excuse for compiling them in this chapter - for completeness sake, in a study of the Nineteenth Dynasty Egyptian language.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter includes:

i. Some paradigms showing the appearance or absence of grammatical forms in the ME, NDE and LE languages. It is mainly a descriptive, synchronic study and appears under "Summary".

ii. A series of tables showing columns side by side of ME formations, the intervening NDE and LE to tentatively suggest evolution and development. It is mainly an analytical and diachronic study, and is found under "Conclusions".

It will be noted that almost all the synthetic, aspect-related ME forms and the fully analytical, tense-related LE forms appear side by side in the bridging NDE, in which, in addition to these, unique and hybrid forms are found too.

SUMMARY

It would appear that NDE was the birthplace/starting point of most of the LE forms, where they were tested (in the fire/crucible), some (most) persisting (paradigm 1), while others (unique and hybrid NDE forms) were feeling their way, and were, in fact, eliminated (paradigm 3).

But the preceding ME forms had not been discarded yet, and were still used side by side with the new evolving forms, some to be retained (paradigm 2) and others rejected (paradigm 4).

Thus NDE was a rich, heterogeneous language, incorporating ME synthetic forms, "unique" and "hybrid" NDE forms, (which would later disappear) and many analytic LE forms, which would form the very basis of the remarkable LE language, and would continue forward even into Coptic.

This study is about the language of the Nineteenth Dynasty, (NDE) and not primarily about each of the ME and LE grammatical forms, as well as those not yet fully established.

The contribution of this thesis has been to collect and collate a series of grammatical forms in a representative group of Nineteenth Dynasty literary and non-literary texts and to group them together in a grammar book type approach to NDE. At the same time, this shows in context how the grammatical forms are used interchangeably, describing the same event or expressing the same thought in both literary and non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

All grammar books are, of course, synchronic in nature - describing the language of a specific time. This is the synchronic component of the study. But, because this perhaps unique language has a mix or amalgam of earlier, contemporary and later forms, the thesis has a diachronic component too. A secondary, perhaps wider result too was to study in depth and clarify many grammatical usages. The diachronic component is especially evident in the chapters on the *ḏm.f*, the negative sentences, the uses of *jw* and *wn* and the epistolary formulae, and, of course, in the paradigms and tables.

The synchronic grammar text book approach has not been done before for the Nineteenth Dynasty, as has been noted by Orly Goldwasser (1985) and by Sarah Groll (1973). Certainly, signal work has been done on some individual aspects of the Nineteenth Dynasty language, including those by the indefatigable Sarah Israelit Groll, Orly Goldwasser, A H Gardiner, H J Polotsky, P J Frandsen, E F Wente, Virginia Davis, Jaroslav Černý and Pascal Vernus and many others.

The study of these texts shows that the written language of the Nineteenth Dynasty is a unique blend of grammatical and syntactic forms. The texts include pure ME "synthetic" forms, and pure LE non-literary "analytic" forms, as well as all LE literary forms.

The language had never been like this before - including so many elements - some still evolving - side by side, alternating and combining one with another to express essentially the same thing.

And all these forms occurred in both the literary and the non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty. So while these texts could be recognised as literary or non-literary by the subject, context and content, they could not be easily differentiated by the grammatical forms used - as they could in later LE.

And the language would never be the same afterwards. The grammar books of LE (e.g. Černý and Groll 1975; Frandsen 1974) and the non-literary texts of the Twentieth Dynasty or late Ramesside period (e.g. Late Ramesside Letters and Wenamun) now have almost exclusively pure non-literary LE forms, e.g.

bwpw.f śḏm.f

bw jrj.f śḏm.f

j.jrj.f śḏm.f and

tw.j ḥr śḏm ... r^{c} nb

The literary texts include both these non-literary LE forms (perhaps approximating to the spoken language, and those which were the ancestors of Coptic) - and the literary forms. But now the older ME forms are no longer extant.

This heterogeneity of forms in LE, from different periods and in different genres, I am sure, prompted Sarah Groll to describe the LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty as "an independent self-sufficient system, which is neither ME, nor LE of the Twentieth Dynasty" (Groll 1973:70).

The possible combinations or paradigms showing the presence or absence of grammatical forms are:

I.	ME	-	-
II.	ME	NDE	-
III.	ME	NDE	LE
IV.	-	NDE	-
V.	-	NDE	LE
VI.	-	-	LE
VII.	ME	-	LE

As all the examples in this thesis are from NDE, paradigms I and VI and VII are not relevant. And paradigm VII is in any case most unlikely/improbable.

So I will number the relevant paradigms as follows:

1. ME	NDE	-
2. ME	NDE	LE
3. -	NDE	-
4. -	NDE	LE

PARADIGM 1

Forms found in ME and NDE

jjt pw jrj.w.n.f (Chapter 1)

ḫ^{c} (Chapter 2) - but see specific uses in NDE (paradigm 3).

ME pseudoverbal constructions (Chapter 4) (developed into LE First Present) (paradigm 4.)

śḏm.n.f (Chapter 6) (with the exception of *bw śḏm.n.f* (paradigm 3) and *bn śḏm.n.f* (paradigm 3).

The following *śḏm.f* forms (See Chapter 7) or their ME precursors

jw śḏm.n.f perfect active, (which became LE perfect active *śḏm.f*) (paradigm 4).

jw śḏm.f of the simple present, (which became LE *śḏm.f*) (paradigm 4)

n śḏm.n.f of the simple present (which evolved into LE *bw śḏm.f* or *bw jrj.f śḏm* paradigm 4)

Emphatic *šm.f* or *šm.n.f* (which developed into *j.jrj.f śḏm* paradigm 4).

The performative *dj.n.j* of the synchronous present (which evolved into LE First Present paradigm 4)

śḏm.jn.f (Chapter 11) including *wn.jn.f* of the pseudoverbal construction or *wn.jn.f* with a finite verb (11.7).

Negative sentences (Chapter 12).

nn (replaced later by *bn*) (paradigm 4)

n (replaced later by *bw*) (paradigm 4) (including *n śḏm.n.f*/simple present)

jwtj = negative relative adjective

m + negative complement (12.59)

tm + negative complement

tm.k śḏm - a negative purpose clause (12.25)

ḥn^{c} *ntf śḏm* - the ME precursor of the LE conjunctive (paradigm 4)

wn(n) of the pseudoverbal construction

The ME uses of *wn* and *wnn* (Chapter 19).

The particle *jw* in its ME usages (Chapter 22).

śḏm.tj.fj, a verbal adjective with the meaning of a future participle (e.g. 25.15)

jr conditional clauses with ME apodosis forms.

PARADIGM 2

Forms occurring in ME, NDE and LE.

The *jn* construction Cleft sentences or participial statements (Chapter 3)

- ME usage
- LE usage

śḏm.f (Chapter 7)

- Initial and non-initial prospective *śḏm.f*
- *śḏm.f* of the oath

Some *jr* conditional clauses, in which the apodosis may be ME or LE forms (Chapter 9).

Polite requests *jḫ śḏm.k*

Affirmative imperatives - evolved from ME to LE (preceding prothetic yod in the latter). Both forms in NDE (Chapter 10)

Participles - (Chapter 26).

nn sometimes persists into LE, before *bn* occurs.

jrj as an auxiliary verb (excluding *j.jrj.f śḏm* or *bw jrj.f śḏm*

or LE negative imperative

or LE 3 Future for *jw*) (which are in paradigm 4)

ḫr.f after direct speech (Chapter 25) and the patterns preceding quoted direct speech.

ᶜnḫ wḏ3 śnb, which began as ME pseudoparticiples.

Non-verbal sentences - Nominal sentences

- Adjectival sentences

(Note *jw, wn/wnn śḏm.f* all appear morphologically similar in ME, NDE and LE, but the usages of course are different).

PARADIGM 3

Forms found in NDE only

(i) Probable Unique Forms

ᶜḥᶜ.n ḏd.n.f - used in court procedure - inidcating a new phase in the trial investigation (Chapter 2)

ᶜḥᶜ.n subject *ḫr ḏd*, expressing the verdict of a trial. (Chapter 2)

bn śḏm.n.f (See discussion) 12.152

bw śḏm.n.f (12.102, 12.112, 12.113, 7.27, 7.28 (See discussion)

nn śḏm.n.f (12.5) (See discussion)

---

nn śp jrj mjtt.ś (12.1)

---

bw śḏm.f ᶜn (12.114)

---

m (Negative Imperative) + Infinitive (12.57)

---

nn rḫ.j (ME is *n rḫ.j*; LE is *bw rḫ.j*)

The form *tm.k*, a prospective *śḏm.f* optatively used in Papyrus Anastasi I and Papyrus Lansing (12.65 - 12.69). (Compare this with *tm.k śḏm* as a negative purpose clause (cf. לבלתי) in paradigm 1).

The epistolary formula *ḫft śpr t3j.j šᶜt r.k jw.k ḥr* + infinitive ("frozen" formula) (Chapter 18).

Nominal Sentences with Infinitives acting as nouns + *pw*, achieving the notion of probability. (Dream Interpretation - Chapter 24: 24:43-24:50)

---

jrj acting a *jw* of the Third Future as a base to adverbial phrases (13.15). Possibly occurs in LE too, i.e. paradigm 4.

A passive *śḏm*. A construction indicating the pluperfect (27.31).

---

n mᶜ ḫrw.f, - a passive *n śḏm*. A simple present (12.37).

Verbs with zero ø morphemes for subject (27.29 and 27.33) (indicating the active form of non-transitive verb or the passive form of a transitive verb and for object (27.31), occur in NDE (and in early LE (Late Ramesside) texts too). The first is a First Present pattern, whose second position is filled by the infinitive of a verb of perception with the pronominal suffix object being a zero morpheme.

---

jw śḏm.f as the relative present (rather than pluperfect). ((7.18) in LE (and in NDE), i.e. paradigm 4, the relative First Present expressed this (e.g. 7.16))

ḫr śtp.f as a simple present (may occur in later literary LE too) (e.g. 7.24).

---

r jṯ3 for *j.jṯ3* (27.16)

p3 wn - because (27.2)

pn, pnn (27.14, 27.15)

n3 . n (27.10)

nhj n A (27.32)

w3ḏ written for *wḏ* (27.32)

.kwj for *.k* (27.30)

Finally - an example of various forms in context -

e.g. The close parallel of *śḏm.n.f* and *śḏm.f* in fairly clear Second Tense constructions suggests the basic identity of the two forms in Ramesside texts (7.46 - 7.48) (Wente 1969:11, 12).

(ii) Probable hybrid forms

jjt jn . A. A bare infinitive + *jn* as agent (1.6).

ᶜḫᶜ.n.tw jw r.ḏd (2.10)

ᶜḫᶜ.n.f jw.f ḫr śḏm (2.11)

ᶜḫᶜ.f śḏm (2.9)

Participial statement

jn m . A + participle (3.26)

A + participle or relative form (No preceding *jn* or *m*) (3.30).

Some forms of the Pseudoverbal Construction.

mk . A + infinitive (No *ḥr* or *r*) (4.18)

mk jj (No subject/pronoun attached to *mk*) (4.19)

wn wn.kwj (stative, or pseudoparticiple ...) (4.30)

mk + two pseudoparticiples (no pronoun (*.wj*) attached to *mk*) (4.33)

bn.tw + stative (not *nn.tw* of ME, and not *bn tw.k* + stative of LE) (4.34)

A form of the First Present

tw.j ḥr + stative !? of an adjectival verb (*ṯ3m* - ready) is very unusual indeed. Perhaps the scribe meant to indicate that the readiness was an activity rather than a state(?) (5.57)

Noun + *śḏm.n.f* (6.44)

Unusual polite requests *jḫ śḏm.k*

jḫ jmj.wj (no *.k*) (10.27)

jḫ jṯj n.k (should be *jḫ jṯj.k n.k* (10.26)

Some unusual negative formations

jw nn wn mj.ḳdnw.f (12.22)

nn + *bw* (12.25)

A double negative and (12.111). Perhaps the concept "Surely, you have ...."!

nn + Third Future (12.31) (12.34)

bw jrj.k (ḥr) (!) *sḏm* (12.104)

---

wn . A r śḏm.f ... (13.41)

wn for *jw* of Third Future

---

mtw.tw j.jrj.w

Conjunctive with a LE imperative with a prothetic yod (?) (14.22)

mtw.n rwj.n

Conjunctive with a finite *śḏm.f* (!) (14.25)

---

jśt wnn. ḥm.f śnḏm

wnn.f, but past tense, although not preceded by *ḫr* (18.6)

śt r śśwn ... (21.3) (See discussion)

Perhaps this is a form of LE. First Present with a future sense.

---

jw.ś pw nfr m ḫnw w3st (24.76), and see discussion.

PARADIGM 4

Forms found in NDE and in LE

The LE First Present *(bn)* (*tw.j ḥr śḏm*) (Chapter 5) - (developed from ME pseudoverbal constructions (paradigm 1).)

śḏm.f (Chapter 7)

- perfect active *śḏm.f* (derived from *jw śḏm.n.f*) (See paradigm 1)
- *śḏm.f* of the relative past
- simple present (evolved from *jw śḏm.f* (paradigm 1))
- *bw śḏm.f* of the simple present (evolved from *n śḏm.n.f* (paradigm 1))
- *j.jrj.f śḏm.f* (emphatic) (evolved from *šm.f* or *šm.n.f* or *mrr.f*) (paradigm 1)

Negative forms (Chapter 12)

(See table of negatives in Chapter 12).

tm = infinitive (e.g. *r tm djt* 12.63 - negative purpose clauses)

bwpw.f śḏm

m jrj śḏm.f, m jrj djt śḏm.f and *m dj jrj.f śḏm.*

mn m dj.f A

bw jrj.f śḏm

bw śḏm.f (maybe paradigm 3)

bw jrṯ.f śḏm.f

bw śḏm.f ᶜn (12.114) (paradigm 3?)

bn)

tm) isomorphisms groups

bn ... jwn3

p3j.f tm śḏm (indifferent time indication) and

p3 tm śḏm j.jrj.f (restricted to past time) (12.182)

The LE sequential forms:

The LE Third Future (*bn*) (*jw.f r śḏm*) (Chapter 13)

jw.f ḥr (tm) śḏm of the Future (Chapter 20)

The LE Conjunctive (*mtw.f (tm) śḏm*) (Chapter 14) - (derived from *ḥn^{c} ntf śḏm* - paradigm 1)

The LE Second Tense (Chapter 17)

Possibly *jrj* as an auxiliary (but more likely Paradigm 4).

wn

- of the past (e.g. 19.13)
- of existence - preceding bare or undefined nouns (e.g. 19.15)

jw of LE

- initial independent *jw* of the future (Chapter 13)
- Successive independent *jw* of the past (Chapter 15)
- successive independent *jw* of the future (Chapter 20)
- the dependent *jw* (the *jw* converter) (Chapter 23).
  - A - as an adverb including *jw.f śḏm* of the Circumstantial First Present (7.16), cf. *jw śtp.f* as relative pluperfect as in paradigm 3 (7.18)
  - B - as a virtual relative clause
  - C - with a Second Tense - ("that"-form)
  - D - as a concessive clause *ḫr jw*

i.e. *jw* (time conveyance can refer to the past, the future or the relative present (Chapters 22, 23))

p3j.tn jrj śḫrw (24.48) and

p3j.k ḫdb (24.59) (and their negations 12.174 and 12.182)

j.n.f and *k3.f* (and *ḫr.f*) after direct speech (Chapter 25) (perhaps paradigm 2)

j.jrt śḏm = until (27.1)

ḫr jr m.ḫt hrw ḳnw s3 nn (27.38)

Epistolary formulae.

wnn.f ḥr śḏm ... jw.f ḥr śḏm (free usage) and

wnn t3j.j sˁt ḥr spr r.k jw.k + infinitive (frozen formula)

CONCLUSIONS

Egyptian was an evolving language. It developed from a predominantly synthetic language in ME through NDE and LE to the fully-evolved analytic and tense (or time-oriented) language in Coptic. And all these forms are found in NDE.

The ME suffix conjugations *śḏm.f, śḏm.n.f, śḏm.jn.f* etc. are synthetic forms and expressing aspect and taxis rather than tense. That is, they had to be translated or understood in context, or in relation to other (synthetic?!) forms in the sentence.

Some, however persisted into LE, notably the perfect active *śḏm.f*, and the initial and non-initial prospective *śḏm.f*, especially the prospective used as a wish.

However they existed side-by-side with evolving analytical forms, clearly now expressing absolute time or tense rather than aspect. These could be recognised from their morphology, rather than entirely from context.[1]

These include the

- LE *jw.f r śḏm.f* of the Third Future, an initial form, (which derived from the ME *śḏm.ḥr.f, śḏm.k3.f* or prospective *śḏm.f*)
- LE *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the sequential future - a new analytic form
- LE *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the successive past

---

1 In the following six shaded tables (the seventh includes only ME and NDE blocks), the middle NDE bridging column is left blank. This has been done so as not to detract from showing how a synthetic, mostly aspect-related language (ME) developed into an anlytical tense-based language (LE).
However, it must be stressed that both ME and LE forms are represented in the NDE texts, and this will be clearly shown in the later series of tables.

ME	NDE	LE
		jw.f r śḏm Third Future)
		jw.f ḥr śḏm (Sequential Future)
śḏm.f		
śḏm.n.f		*jw.f hr śḏm* (Successive past)
		Second Tense *jrj.f śḏm* LE Performative or synchronic present

- LE *mtw.f śḏm.f* of the conjunctive. This developed from the ME *ḥn^{c} ntf śḏm*, in which in ME, an attempt at an analytical form is already evident.

  The tense in the conjunctive is still dependent in LE on the sense of a preceding future or imperative - and even expressing regular custom if used independently or following a past tense.

ME	NDE	LE
ḥn^{c} ntf śḏm		Conjunctive *mtw.f śḏm*

- The LE First Present is an analytical form, and clearly signals either a tense or an aspect if used with *ḥr* + infinitive or with a stative respectively.

The preceding ME pseudoverbal construction is an early attempt at becoming analytical already, before it developed into the LE First Present.

The LE First Present evolved from the ME pseudoverbal construction, and perhaps too from the ME imperfective *śḏm.f* in meaning.

ME	NDE	LE
Pseudoverbal construction		First *tw.j (św)* + infinitive or stative (state) Present *ḥr* (action)

- The LE Emphatic form ("that"-form) in ME is unmarked and dependent on context only and morphologically resembled other ME synthetic forms, e.g. *śḏm.f, śḏm.n.f, šm.f* and *mrr.f*.

  This evolved into the clearly marked LE Second Tense, *j.jrj.f śḏm.f* for a present or past meaning and *j.śḏm.f* for a future.

It is now analytic and tense-related. Tense is even more clearly developed in this formation in Coptic.

The ME performative statement ("synchronic present") *dj.n.j (n.k)* became in LE *jw.j ḥr rdjt* and then *tw.j ḥr djt* - a new analytic First Present - a performative statement within a time limit.

Some negative forms clearly became fully analytical. (See tables in Chapter 12 and in summary and conclusions.)

- e.g. *bwpw.f śḏm.f* of the past, which evolved from ME *n śḏm.f*
- the LE imperative forms - the *m jrj djt śḏm.f* being the final evolution in LE
- the LE *bw jrj.f śḏm*, a First Present negation denoting habitual action
- the LE *bw jrt.f śḏm* - denoting "not yet".

- In LE, negation of the Second Tense emphatic is now fully analytical
- and *tm* now negates nearly all infinitives, even those in sequential forms.
- *bn ... jwn3* is now a LE analytical form, derived from ME *n ... jś*.

ME	NDE	LE
n śḏm.f		*bwpw.f śḏm*
m śḏm(w)		*m jrj djt śḏm.f*
n śḏm.n.f		*bw jrj.f śḏm*
n śḏm.t.f		*bw jrt.f śḏm*
n śḏm.n.f		*bn j.jrj.f śḏm jwn3*
nn śḏm.f		*bn j.śḏm*
tm		*tm*
(negative verb conjugated) + verbal form		negates conjunctives, infinitives, prospective *śḏm.f*
(negative complement) *n ... jś*		*bn ... jwn3*

- *jrj* evolved as an auxiliary verb in LE and ME *ᶜḥᶜ* dropped away.
- *jw* evolved from ME forms.

  In ME *jw* was a marker, signalling the *śḏm.f* forms as being indicative/predicative, rather than dependent (nominal/emphatic) forms in which the *jw* was absent.

  In ME sentences with adverbial predicates, the presence or absence of *jw* is difficult to characterise, and cannot be explained on syntax alone. *jw* may relate the statement to the sphere of interest and to the time of the speaker. Omitting *jw* may refer to a general state of affairs

  jw in ME as a sort of circumstantial converter *jw* similar to its use in LE began existence in ME.

The LE *jw* is later found in the sequential forms, and in the Third Future, and as the converter - all analytical evolved forms.

ME	NDE	LE
jw - indicative/ predicative forms - relating statement to sphere of interest and time of speaker - circumstantial converter		Circumstantial converter Sequential forms Third Future

- *wn* and *wnn* evolved from ME into a *wn* of the past and *wn* or *wnn* of existence with bare nouns.

  wnn.f may be future or durative, while *wn.f* may reflect past with no stress on duration.

  The LE *wnn t3j.j šᶜt spr r.k* ... epistolary formula now developed from the earlier *ḥft śpr t3j.j šᶜt.*

  The particle *ḫr* may have developed into a LE time converter, e.g. *ḫr jr* and *ḫr wnn*. *ḫr jr*, for example, preceding a First Present pattern, indicates past time. Vernus (1985:347) in fact suggests that *ḫr* in LE assumes the same function that *jw* does in ME.

ME	NDE	LE
wn, wnn		*wn,* *wnn*
Epistolary formula		
ḥft śpr		*wnn* *t3j.j*
t3j.j sˁt		*sˁt* *spr* *r.k* ...
jw ...		*ḫr* ... e.g. *ḫr jr* + First Present indicates past time

- *pw*, the copula is found in ME in nominal or non-verbal sentences.

  An interesting development now arose in NDE and seems unique to this time. It expresses the notion of probability. It is a unimembral nominal sentence with an infinitive (nominalised *śḏm.f*) + *pw*, the copula

ME	NDE
pw (copula)	The notion of probability Unimembral nominal sentence with an infinitive (nominalised *śḏm.f*) + *pw* the copula

LE now has morphological forms, clearly recognised, and expressing tense, irrespective of context, e.g.

The sequential forms in LE (past *jw.f ḫr śḏm.(f)*, future *jw.f ḫr śḏm.(f)*, conjunctive *mtw.f śḏm*) even when seen out of context, are clearly recognisable.

Emphatic (Second Tenses, "that"-form) (*śḏm.n.f* or *śḏm.f* e.g.), recognised solely in context and position in ME, - now have a clearly recognised form (*j.jrj.f śḏm.f*) in LE.

The Third Future in LE has an easily apparent manifest form (*jw.f r śḏm*), while in ME this was probably represented by a prospective *śḏm.f*, recognised in context alone.

The LE First Present, which evolved from the ME pseudoverbal construction, now had clearly recognised preformatives with pronouns, e.g. *tw.j*, *św* etc.

Therefore LE is an analytical language, expressing tense, derived from an earlier synthetic ME language, expressing aspect and taxis or relative tense.

It is necessary now to set forth in table form a series of grammatical forms and expressions used in ME and those used in LE - with these columns flanking a column of NDE forms (to the left ME and to the right LE).

Careful perusal and study of these tables will, it is hoped, reveal the following:

i. By studying the forms tabulated under NDE only, a synchronic grammar of NDE would be evident/apparrent, while

ii. By examining all the columns from left to right to include the intermediate NDE, a tentative evolution or development is suggested.

These tables should be studied or evaluated together with the preceding paradigms or categories, each expressing in a different way what the other shows.

Some of these tables reflect side by side the different forms as they were used in the varying periods (ME, NDE, LE), thus indicating their evolution and development, while others tabulate the occurence (Yes) or absence (-) of certain grammatical formations at the various times.

	ME	NDE	LE
jjt pw jrjw.n.f	Yes	Yes	-
ᶜḥᶜ as auxiliary verb BUT *ᶜḥᶜ.n ḏd.n.f* (court investigation) and *ᶜḥᶜ.n* subject *ḥr ḏd* (trial verdict)	Yes - -	Yes Yes Yes	- - -
ME Pseudoverbal Construction	Yes	Yes	-
...DEVELOPED into LE First Present	-	Yes	Yes
ḏm.n.f BUT *bw ḏm.n.f* and *bn ḏm.n.f*	Yes -	Yes Yes	- -
The Conjunctive	*ḥnᶜ ntf ḏm*	*ḥnᶜ ntf ḏm* *mtw.f ḥr ḏm*	- *mtw.f ḥr ḏm*
Epistolary formula (Review) (See end of Ch. 18) NB.	For completeness sake (Amenophis here only) *ḥft spr sš pn*	Here only *ḥft spr t3j.j šᶜt r.k jw.k ḥr* + infin. *wnn.f ḥr ḏm jw.f ḥr ḏm* Free usage *wnn t3j.j šᶜt ḥr spr r.k jw.k* + infinitive (Frozen formula)	- *wnn.f ...*
jr conditional clauses	Yes with ME apodosis forms	Yes with ME and/or LE apodosis	Yes with LE apodosis forms
Imperatives Negative imperative	Yes ME forms	Yes (± prothetic yod) ME forms LE forms	Yes (± prothetic yod) - LE forms
Polite request (*jḫ ḏm.k*)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Participles - *r.ḏm* for *j.ḏm*	Yes -	Yes (± prothetic yod) Yes	Yes (± prothetic yod) -

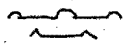
	ME	NDE	LE
Dream interpretation (infinitives acting as nouns achieving the notion of probability; ME element *pw* not agreeing in gender with the predicate infinitive)	-	Yes	-
tm.k - prospective - optatively used (in Papyrus Anastasi I and Pap. Lansing)	-	Yes	-
śḏm.jn.f (+ *wn.jn.f* + pseudoverbal construction or *wn.jn.f* + finite verb)	Yes	Yes	-
wn and *wnn* in ME usages *wnn* of the pseudoverbal construction *wn* and *wnn* in LE usages	Yes Yes -	Yes Yes Yes	- - Yes
śḏm.tj.fj (Verbal adjective with the meaning of a future participle)	Yes	Yes	-
LE First Present *(bn) tw.j ḥr śḏm*	-	Yes	Yes
LE sequential past *jw.f ḥr (tm) śḏm*	-	Yes	Yes
jw.f ḥr (tm) śḏm of Future	-	Yes	Yes
LE Third Future *(bn) jw.f r śḏm*	-	Yes	Yes

	ME	NDE	LE
jrj as an auxiliary verb	Yes	Yes	Yes
jrj standing for *jw* of the Third Future	-	Yes	Yes
p3j.tn jrj šḫrw (24.48) and *p3j.k ḥdb* (24.59) and their negatives (12.174 and 12.182)	-	Yes	Yes
Quoted speech			
- *j.n.f* and *k3.f*	Yes	Yes	Yes
- *ḫr.f*	Yes	Yes	Yes
j.jrt šḏm (= "until")	-	Yes	Yes
ḫr jr m.ḫt hrw knw s3 nn (27.38)	-	Yes	Yes
The *jn* - participial construction	Yes	Yes	Yes
- Exceptions (e.g. 3.15)	-	Yes	-
ʿnḫ wḏ3 snb (originally ME pseudoptcs)	Yes	Yes	Yes

sḏm.f and its precursors and derivatives	ME	NDE	LE
Perfect active *sḏm.f*	*jw sḏm.n.f* -	*jw sḏm.n.f* *sḏm.f*	- *sḏm.f*
Simple present	*jw sḏm.f* -	*jw sḏm.f* *sḏm.f*	- *sḏm.f*
Negative simple present	*n sḏm.n.f* - -	*n sḏm.n.f* *bw sḏm.f* *bw jrj.f sḏm*	- *bw sḏm.f* (rarely) *bw jrj.f sḏm*
Emphatic	*šm.n.f (šḏm.n.f)* *šm.f (sḏm.f)* *mrr.f* -	*šm.n.f (šḏm.n.f)* *šm.f (sḏm.f)* *mrr.f* *j.jrj.f sḏm*	- - - *j.jrj.f sḏm*
Prospective *sḏm.f* (initial) (non-initial)	 Yes Yes	 Yes Yes	 Yes Yes
sḏm.f of the oath	Yes	Yes	Yes
The performative *dj.n.j* (perhaps synchronous present)	*dj.n.j* -	*dj.n.j* *tw.j ḥr dj*	- *tw.j ḥr dj*
sḏm.f of the relative past *(jw) sḏm.f* of the relative present (not pluperfect) (7.18) *jw* + First Present as a relative present (7.16)	- - -	Yes Yes Yes	Yes - Yes
Noun + *sḏm.f* as a sort of pseudoverbal formation Noun + *sḏm.f* the noun being emphasized Noun + *sḏm.n.f*	Yes Yes Yes	Yes Yes Yes	Yes

jw	ME	NDE	LE
jw sḏm.n.f (perfect active)	Yes	Yes	-
jw sḏm.f (simple present)	Yes	Yes	-
jw in main clauses (Gardiner 1982:95) (22.1) - independent statements or assertions made with a certain detachment)	Yes	Yes	-
jw sḏm.f (imperfect; - sayings, reiteration, custom or continuity (Gardiner 1982:384)	Yes	Yes	-
jw.f sḏm.f (22.7)	Yes	Yes	-
jw sḏm.n.f (22.8)	Yes	Yes	-
jw in pseudoverbal construction	Yes	Yes	-
jw + *jn* construction (22.10)	-	Yes	-
jw as a virtual relative clause after indefinite or zero noun	Yes	Yes	Yes
nn (= bn) jw ... *ntj jw* ...	-	Yes	Yes
jw of LE 3 Future (*jrj* for *jw* of 3 Future)	- -	Yes Yes	Yes Yes
jw of narrative past	-	Yes	Yes
Successive independent *jw* of the future	-	Yes	Yes

jw continued	ME	NDE	LE
The *jw* converter			
A. - as an adverb	–	Yes	Yes
B. - as a virtual relative clause - with indefinite or zero article	Yes	Yes	Yes
C. - with a Second Tense	–	Yes	Yes
D. - as a concessive clause (*ḥr jw*)	–	Yes	Yes
(Frandsen's classification) (1974)			
jw - past, future or relative present	Yes	Yes	Yes
jw.f ḥr sḏm - past	-	Yes	Yes
- future	-	Yes	Yes
- relative or circumstantial present (7.16)	Yes	Yes	Yes
The 3 distinct *jw* morphemes of LE (Chapter 22)	-	Yes	Yes
LE sequential forms (cf. Hebrew Chp. 23).	-	Yes	Yes

NEGATIVE FORMS — Markers or elements (See later forms)	ME	NDE	LE
 *bn*	Yes Yes	Yes Yes	Yes very rarely Yes
bw	Yes	Yes Yes	- Yes
Simple present *n śḏm.n.f* *bw śḏm.f* *bw jrjf.f śḏm*	Yes - -	Yes Yes Yes	- Yes Yes
jwtj (neg. rel. adj.)	Yes	Yes	-
m + negative complement *m* + infinitive	Yes -	Yes Yes	- -
tm + negative complement *tm* + infinitive (e.g. *r tm djt*) *tm.k śḏm* (a neg. purpose clause) (12.25) *tm.k śḏm* (a prospective *śḏm* optatively used (only in Pap. Anastasi I) (e.g. 12.66)	Yes - Yes -	Yes Yes Yes Yes	- Yes - -
bwpw.f śḏm	-	Yes	Yes
bn tw.j ḥr śḏm (First Present)	-	Yes	Yes
m jrj śḏm.f *m jrj djt śḏm.f* *m dj jrj.f śḏm*	-	Yes	Yes
mn m.dj.f ⌀*A*	-	Yes	Yes

NEGATIVE FORMS (continued)	ME	NDE	LE
Isomophisms group *bn* + First Present + Third Future (± *jwn3*) + non-verbal sentence (+ *jwn3*) + initial prospective + emphatic *j.śḏm.f* of the future *tm* + infinitive (*jw.f ḥr tm śḏm.f* of past or future) (*mtw.f tm śḏm.f* - conjunctive) - negating infinitive acting as an imperative ... *tm śḏm.f* of the non-initial prospective	-	Yes	Yes
bw jrj.f śḏm	-	Yes	Yes
bw śḏm.f	-	Yes	Yes (rarely)
bw jrt.f śḏm	-	Yes	Yes
bw śḏm.f ᶜn	-	Yes	Yes
bw śḏm.n.f	-	Yes	-
bn śḏm.n.f	-	Yes	-
nn śḏm.n.f	Yes	Yes	-

NEGATIVE FORMS			
ME	NDE	LE	COMMENTS
n ḏm.f	*n ḏm.f* (12.41) *bwpw.f ḏm* (12.76)	*bwpw.f ḏm*	Negation of *ḏm.f* of the past or First Present denoting past time
n ḥp ḏm.f	*nn ḥp ḏm* (12.1) *(hn) bwpw.f ḏm* (12.77) Perhaps *bw ḏm.n.f* (12.102) Perhaps *A wn bw rḫ.tw.f* (12.109) Perhaps *bw ḏm.f* (12.84)	*bwpw.f ḏm ḥr n*	= never
n ḏm.t.f		*bw jrt.f ḏm*	= not yet
jwtj (ḏm.f) (negative relative adjective)	*jwtj ḏm.f* (12.53)	*ntj bwpw.f ḏm*	
m ḏm(w) (negative complement) *jmm ḏm.f*	*m ḏm(w)* (12.59) *jmm ḏm.f* (12.58) *m ḏm* (infinitive) (12.57) Unique *m jrj ḏm.f* (12.163) *m djt ḏm.f* (12.161) *m jrj djt ḏm.f* (12.159)	*m jrj ḏm.f* *m djt ḏm.f* *m jrj djt ḏm.f*	Negative Imperatives
nn *nn wn* *n wnt* + subject	*nn* (12.23) *nn wn* (12.22, 12.9) (19.11) *n wn(t)* + subject (12.44) (12.46) *mn m.dj.k ø.A* (12.168) (*ʔbn nfr jwn3* 12.144) *nn wn m.dj.ś ø.A* (12.36) *mn ø.A* (12.167)	*mn m.dj.f øA* *bn wn.f* + adv. *jwn3*	Non-existence

ME	NDE	LE	COMMENTS
n rḫ.j	*nn rḫ.j* (12.7, 12.10) *bw rḫ.j* (12.85, 12.87, 12.93)	*bw rḫ.j*	"I do not know" Praesens with verb *rḫ*
n ḏm.n.f	*n ḏm.n.f* (12.47) *nn ḏm.n.f* (12.5) *bw jrj.f ḏm* (12.101) *bw ḏm.n.f* (12.102) *bw ḏm.f* (7.30)	*bw jrj.f ḏm* *bw ḏm.f*	1 Praesens denoting habitual action.
Perhaps *n ḏm.n.f*	Perhaps *bn ḏm.n.f* (12.44) *bn tw.k ḏm* (12.124, 12.127)	*bn tw.j/św ḫr ḏm (jwn3)*	1 Praesens conveying a synchronous or progressive action or an action in the near future.
Perhaps *jw.f n ḏm*	? 12.52 variant *jw bn ṯt ḏm* (12.130)	*jw bn tw.j/św ḏm*	Circumstantial praesens
nn ḏm.f	*nn ḏm.f* (12.2) *bn jw.f r ḏm* (12.122)	*bn jw.f r ḏm*	Third Future
? n ḏm.n.f	*(jṯ) bn ḏm.n.f* (12.151, 12.152) *? bw ḏm.f* (7.46, 7.48) (parallel to an emphatic *ḏm.n.f*) *? jrj.n.f tm ḏm* (6.8) *j.jrj.k tm djt ... ḫr jḫ* (12.183) (*tm* negating the 'that'-form itself) *bn j.jrj.f ḏm* (12.150) *bn j.ḏm* (12.149)	*bn j.jrj.f ḏm(jwn3)* *bn j.ḏm*	Second Tense - emphatic ("that" sentences) Emphatic Future

ME	NDE	LE	COMMENTS
nn śḏm.f (or *m śḏm(w)*)	*nn śḏm.f* (12.4) *m śḏm(w)* (12.60) *bn śḏm.f* (12.146)	*bn śḏm.f*	Initial prospective
ḥn^{c} *ntf śḏm* (affirmative) (perhaps **ḥn*^{c} *nn św śḏm*)	*mtw.f tm śḏm* (12.172)	*mtw.f tm śḏm*	The Conjunctive
jw nn śḏm.f	*jw nn śḏm.f* (12.30) *jw.f ḥr tm śḏm* (12.180)	*jw.f ḥr tm śḏm*	The continuative past
... *tm.f śḏm*	... *tm.f śḏm* (12.70) ... *tm A ḥr śḏm* (12.71) ... *tm dj śḏm* (12.74, 12.178) ... *r tm djt* (12.169) *tm.k śḏm* (prospective used as an optative) (12.66)	... *tm dj śḏm* ... *r tm djt*	The causative infintive (or non-initial prospective)
nn + infinitive	12.6, 12.9 12.119	*bn (śḏm) jwn3*	meaning "without"
nn nfr	12.24 12.144	*bn nfr p3j śḏm.f*	Negation of adjective
śtp formations as object	7.51 in the affirmative (12.174 and 12.182) in the negative	*p3j.f tm śḏm* (indifferent to time) *p3 tm śḏm j.jrj.f* (past tense)	

ADDENDUM I

THE TEXTS AND PAPYRI STUDIED

"The **non-literary** written documents are those which deal with everyday life and affairs, such as genuine letters, accounts, court reports, oracles. Since the very purpose of their existence is to communicate and inform native speakers about practical matters concerning them, they are the nearest alternative to the spoken language.

Literary texts include the LE "novels", songs wisdom literature, and "documents" serving as exercises for apprentice scribes. Thus, in the literate community of the Egyptian scribes, imbued with a profound knowledge and admiration of the writings of the past, there developed a situation of diaglossia, wherein literary and non-literary languages were learnt and used by educated Egyptian scribes as independent languages, a situation reminiscent of the peculiar status of Latin in medieval and Renaissance Europe. This is not to say that literary texts have no grammatical system. On the contrary, they constitute a grammatical system of their own, which differs from that of the non-literary language. The literary language contains many specific verbal formations, many ME verbal formations, and also the verbal formations which occur in non-literary texts."

In a discussion on non-literary texts, Groll (1985:350) stated: "Wen-Amun" (of course a Late Ramesside text and later than this study) "is non-literary and it is the most literary text we have from the point of view of beauty, sensitivity, choice of idiom and anything else. Non-literary is not unbeautiful and not limited as to subject matter. The non-literary texts are texts which are written in the language which is the predecessor of Demotic and Coptic, but not of Ptolemaic and Roman ...

.....

ϩⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ is a creation of the literary texts, and, it was transferred, I don't know how, to the Demotic."

(The literary equivalent of this was *ḥr śḏm.f*, and the non-literary form was the First Present *tw.j ḥr śḏm.f ... r^{c} nb*, which did not go forward into Coptic. Mostly the non-literary LE forms did and were represented in Coptic.)

"Certainly, the literary language is a language which is active, but it is a language which does not pay attention to certain phenomena, and it carries along with it many stages from Old Egyptian to Late Egyptian, e.g. "even Love Songs *jj.kwj* as if it were the Old Pyramid Texts".

Groll (1975/6:237) showed that the literary texts of Twentieth Dynasty LE differed from the non-literary texts, in that they preserved some archaic forms, which were no longer used in the spoken and non-literary language.

Some examples are -

i. The circumstantial *śḏm.f* indicating relative past tense occurred in literary LE, alongside *śḏm.n.f* of ME and *jw. śḏm.f* of non-literary LE, and which became ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ in Coptic.

ii. The *śḏm.f* of the simple present was the successor of ME *jw śḏm.f*, and existed in literary LE alongside *ḥr śḏm.f* <u>and</u> *tw.j ḥr śḏm.f ... r^{c} nb* of non-literary LE.

iii. *bw śḏm.f* of the simple present was preceded by ME *n śḏm.n.f* and existed in literary LE together with *bw jrj.f śḏm.f* of non-literary LE, and the latter became the Coptic ⲙⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄.

iv. The *bw śḏm.f* of the past which was present in literary LE together with the non-literary *bwpw.f śḏm.f*, which became ⲙ̄ⲡⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ in Coptic, and

v. The emphatic *prj.n.f* or *šm.n.f* from ME and *mrr.f* from ME existed in literary LE side by side with the non-literary *j.jrj.f šm* or *j.jrj.f śḏm.f*. The latter became the Coptic ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄.

The literary LE has several ways of expressing the same thing. In addition to its archaic forms, it has the identical form as the non-literary or spoken form too.

Lack of redundancies and the identity of the Coptic and non-literary LE systems is sure indication of their succession.

In discussing the Hieratic Ostracon pl. XLVI, 2 recto, 2 verso, a Nineteenth Dynasty non-literary LE text, Sarah Groll (1973:67) writes, "Our main source of information for LE is the non-literary texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (the Ramesside period). But even in the framework of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, one can trace a considerable grammatical development. It seems that ME elements still exist in the non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Indeed, since they occur only under specific conditions, which are peculiar to the Nineteenth Dynasty, one is entitled to describe the LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty as an independent, self-sufficient system, which is neither ME nor the LE of the Twentieth Dynasty".

The texts and papyri studied in this thesis are:

A. NON-LITERARY TEXTS

i. **The Dedication Inscription of Seti I** in the Rock Temple of Wadi Mia (Kanais, "Redesiyeh").

The sanctuary was erected by King Seti I to mark the site, where, on his orders, a well had been dug to provide water for the expeditions that came to this part of the eastern desert to quarry gold and building stones. Along with the well and the temple, a permanent settlement had also been planned.

Text in Kitchen, K A 1975. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical*. Oxford: B H Blackwell Ltd., Vol. I, pp. 65-70.

ii. **The Nauri Decree** (The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri).

This is a charter granted by Seti I to his great new sanctuary at Abydos; and this, strange to say, is inscribed on a high rock at Nauri, a short distance to the north of the Third Cataract. After a long and poetically worded preamble, describing the wealth and beauty of the temple 600 miles away, there follow the specific commands addressed to the Vizier, the officials, the courtiers, the courts of judges, the King's son of Cush, the troop captains, etc. etc., and it mentions the ways in which the

privileges of the temple staff might be infringed, the punishments and the exaction of justice.

The text is in Griffith, F Ll, 1927. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 13:*193-208 and in Kitchen, K A, 1971. Vol. I, pages 46-58. My numbering is according to Kitchen's text.

iii. **The Hittite Treaty** of Ramesses II with Hattusil III, Year 21. The kings agreed to a treaty wherein they effectively ceased any overt hostility towards each other. Extant today are two versions of that treaty, one in Akkadian and one in Egyptian. Essentially the Egyptian version represents a translation from Akkadian to Egyptian.

The Egyptian text is found in Kitchen (1971), *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol II, pp. 225-232, and in the article by Spalinger, Anthony, 1981. *Studien zur alt ägyptischen Kultur* 9:299-358.

iv. **A hieratic Ostracon** in Černý and Gardiner, 1957. *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. XLVI, 2 recto, 2 verso and discussed in Groll, S. 1973. *Occident and Orient*, Harry A Hoffner, Jr. (ed.) Neukirchener Verlag. Neukirchen-Vluyn. Germany pp. 67-70. Late Egyptian of Non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

This text concerns a legal matter in court, and shares in common some of the biblical laws, while some are in contradistinction to biblical law.

B. LITERARY TEXTS

i. **Papyrus Anastasi I and Papyrus Koller** discuss many matters in a series of letters to a scribe, Amenemope. There is much philosophy, discussion and reproof.

Papyrus Koller is a continuation of Pap Anastasi I and comprises four letters, discussing the equipment of a Syrian expedition, warnings to an idle scribe, Nubian tribute and preparations for Pharaoh's arrival.

Text in Gardiner, A H (1964). *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*. Georg Olms. Hildesheim. Pap. Anastasi I - pp. 1-40, Pap. Koller - pp. 41-49.

ii. **The Tale of the Two Brothers.** This is a delightful narrative story, certainly based on a myth. The world in which the events take place have supernatural happenings, in which the cedar has large blossoms, oxen speak and all kinds of marvellous and impossible things happen.

Text in Gardiner, A H. 1973. *Late Egyptian Stories*. Brussels: Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca, pp. 9-30.

iii. **Prayers Used as School Texts.** These include prayers to Amun-Re and to Thoth, couched in beautiful and humble language.

Text in Gardiner, A H. 1937. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca VII. Bruxelles. pp. 2, 17, 18, 60, 85, 86.

iv. **The Northern Wars of Seti I - The Karnak reliefs.** These form the most important document surviving from Seti I's reign, being practically our only source for his wars. Unfortunately their function was a religious one; they furnish us with a series of scenes presenting the wars of Seti I in their religious aspect, accompanied by a few meager explanatory inscriptions annexed to the principal actors in each scene. The Pharaoh offers to the god the captives and the plunder gained. These were found on the northern wall of the great hypostyle hall in Karnak, and reflect the campaign from Sile to P'Kana'an in Year I.

Text in Kitchen (1975), I, pp. 6-20.

v. **Papyrus Lansing: A schoolbook** (Pap. British Museum 9994). This is an instruction in letter writing, and praises the scribe's profession, comparing it favourably to other occupations, and castigates unwilling pupils.

Text in Gardiner, A H, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 99-116.

vi. **The Blinding of Truth by Falsehood** (Pap. Chester Beatty II = P. British Museum 10682). A wonderful narrative didactic tale.

Text in Gardiner, A H. *Late Egyptian Stories*, pp. 30-36.

vii. **Ramesses II: Battle of Kadesh.** The Bulletin and The Poem.

A wonderful combination, in historical inscriptions, of prose narratives with poems extolling the royal victories. The poem is more than a brief

song of triumph that sums up the narration - it itself is narrative. This is a genre not hitherto found in Egypt: the epic poem.

Text in Kitchen K. (1969), *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 2-124.

viii. **Papyrus Chester-Beatty I. Love songs.** "The Nineteenth Dynasty has bequeathed to us some tender little love songs" (Pap. Chester-Beatty I. 1931. London) (Gardiner, A H. 1982, p. 24(c)).

Text - Gardiner, A H. 1935. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 3rd Series.* The Library of Chester-Beatty. CB gift. Vol. I. British Museum, London, p. 27 ff, and plates XXII A, XXIII A, XXIV A, XXV A, XXIX A and XXX A.

Verso C1, C2, C3, C4, unfinished XXVI A missing,

Verso Section G.

ix. **Papyrus Chester-Beatty III - Dream Interpretation.**

A unique dream book, with a grammatical text which tries to systematize a specific technical dream language of literary Late Egyptian. It is also a type of medical text specialising in dream interpretation.

Text - Gardiner, A H. 1935. *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum - Third Series.*

CB Gift. Vol. I. British Museum, London p. 7-27, and in

Groll, S I. 1985. *Pharaonic Egypt.* The Magnes Press. The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, pp. 71-118.

x. **The Poetical Stela of Merneptah (Israel Stela)** (Cairo Museum 34025 Verso)

This is a poetic account of Merneptah's victory over the Libyans who had invaded Egypt in the fifth year of his reign. Like the Kadesh Battle Inscription of Ramesses II, this is epic poetry containing narration. After lauding Merneptah for freeing Egypt from the Libyan menace, the poem then extols him as victor over all of Egypt's neighbours, especially the peoples of Palestine and Syria. The poem has a special significance owing to its mentioning Israel among the conquered peoples and places, for this is the only occurrence of the name of Israel in Egyptian texts.

Text in Kitchen (1968), *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, pp. 12-19.

xi. **The Tale of the Doomed Prince** (from Pap. Harris 500, verso).

This is a charming tale, but the ending is missing. Scholars think that the tale should be more accurately called "The prince who was threatened by three fates", for the now missing ending of the tale may have been a happy one in keeping with the fairy-tale character of the story. Moreover the Ancient Egyptian concept of fate was a fluid one. There was no rigid determinism, no firm belief in an inescapable fate; Rather a sense that righteousness would triumph and innocence would overcome adversity.

Text - Gardiner, A H. *Late Egyptian Stories*, pp. 1-9.

xii. **Horus and Seth** (Pap. C. Beatty I, recto). A wonderful tale steeped in Egyptian, legend of Osiris, Isis, Horus and Seth.

Text - Gardiner, A H. *Late Egyptian Stories*, pp. 37-60.

In addition, I make reference to:

(i) Some model letters of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which are a "normative" text - not part of administrative texts, and probably non-literary rather than literary texts. (Goldwasser 1985).

In Gardiner, A H. *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, and including Pap. Anastasi II, III, IV, V and Pap. Bologna 1094 and Pap. Turin B.

(ii) Sander-Hansen, C E. 1933. *Historische Inschriften der 19 Dynastie*. Teil 1 Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca IV.

Bruxelles 1933. Edition de la Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth.

a non-literary text.

As mentioned above the theoretical base included a thorough study of the ME and LE languages and of the forms peculiar to each, and a study of Coptic. I studied the ME language, notably from the textbooks of A H Gardiner (1982), A Erman (1933 and 1972) and H Brunner (1979).

Reference is made to "A Late Egyptian Grammar" by J Černý and S I Groll published in 1975 in Rome by the Biblical Institute Press, to "Neuaegyptische Grammatik" by Adolf Erman, published by Wilhellm Engelmann in Leipzig in 1933, to "Agyptische Grammatik", also by A Erman, published by Otto Zeller in Osnabrück in 1972, to Sarah Israelit Groll's 1967 and 1970 books "Non-verbal sentence patterns in Late Egyptian" and "The negative verbal system of Late Egyptian" both published by Oxford University Press in London, and P J Frandsen's "An outline of the Late Egyptian verbal system", published in 1974 in Copenhagen by Akademisk Forlag.

I studied Coptic, making reference mainly to the textbook of C C Walters (1972).

I reviewed relevant literature, and this is reflected in the Bibliography.

I studied and translated and correlated the chosen NDE texts, - a representative group, I believe, of Nineteenth Dynasty writings, a selection which gives a good broad scope of the language of the Nineteenth Dynasty in varied contexts.

I translated and studied many of the preceding Eighteenth Dynasty and succeeding Twentieth Dynasty texts too. The language of the Twentieth Dynasty texts is well established Late Egyptian (e.g. The Great Papyrus Harris, the Wilbour Papyrus, Ramesside Administrative Documents, The Tomb Robberies, Late Ramesside Letters and The Tale of Wen Amun), while the Eighteenth Dynasty records (e.g. the stelae and inscriptions of Tuthmosis III, Hatshepsut, Amenhotep IV, the Medical Papyrus Ebers and the Great Hymn to the Aten) are in Middle Egyptian language.

ADDENDUM II

THE CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE EGYPTIAN DYNASTIES[1]

Early Dynastic Period (2920-2575)

First Dynasty 2920-2770

Second Dynasty 2770-2649

Third Dynasty 2649-2575

Djoser of this Dynasty built the step pyramid at Saqqara.

Old Kingdom (2575-2134)

Fourth Dynasty 2575-2465

Cheops, Chefren and Mycerinus were the pyramid builders at Gaza.

Fifth Dynasty 2465-2323

Unas

Sixth Dynasty 2323-2150

Pepi. I and Pepi. II

Seventh and Eighth Dynasties 2150-2134

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1 I use the classification and dates of Time Life Books (1992:158-159).

First Intermediate Period

Ninth and Tenth Dynasties	(Herakleopolitan - 2134-2040)
Eleventh Dynasty	(Theban (before unification of the country) 2134-2040

Middle Kingdom (2040-1640)

Eleventh Dynasty	(after the unification of the country by Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe) 2040-1991
Twelfth Dynasty	1991-1783
Thirteenth Dynasty	1783-1640
Fourteenth Dynasty	a separate dynasty that ruled contemporaneously with the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Dynasty.

Second Intermediate Period (1640-1550)

Fifteenth (Hyksos),

Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties (In a divided country, kings of these dynasties ruled contemporaneously with one another.)

New Kingdom (1550-1070)

Eighteenth Dynasty	(1550-1307)
	Thutmose III
	Hatshepsut
	Amenhotep III
	Akhanaten
	Tutankhamen
	Horemhab

Nineteenth Dynasty	the Period of this Thesis (ca 1308-1196 or 1184)
	Ramesses I (ca 1308)
	Seti I (1308-1291)
	Ramesses II (1290-1224)
	Merneptah (1224-1214)
	Seti II
	Amenmesse
	Siptah
	Twosre
Twentieth Dynasty	(1196 or 1184-1070)
	Ramesses III-XI

Third Intermediate Period (1070-712)

Twenty-first Dynasty	1070-945
Twenty-second Dynasty	(Libyan) 945-712
Twenty-third Dynasty	ca 828-712 (Libyan)
Twenty-fourth Dynasty	724-712
Twenty-fifth Dynasty	(Nubian and Theban area) 770-712

(Egypt politically fragmented, rival dynasties overlapped)

Late Period (712-332)

Twenty-fifth Dynasty	
(Nubia and all Egypt)	712-657
Twenty-sixth Dynasty	664-525
Twenty-seventh Dynasty	(Persian) 525-404

Twenty-eighth Dynasty	404-399	
Twenty-ninth Dynasty	399-380	
Thirtieth Dynasty	380-343	Nectanebo II
Second Persian Period	343-332	

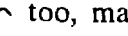
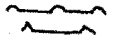
Even mighty Persia was defenceless against Alexander the Great, who conquered the Persian Empire - and Egypt - in 332 BCE, signalling the approaching end of the epic civilization.

ADDENDUM III

AN ASSESSMENT OF LITERARY AND NON-LITERARY TEXTS

Is there a well-defined difference between the non-literary and the literary texts in this thesis? Obviously there is; the context is different, the language in a court case (e.g. Hieratic Ostracon) is very different from that in a narrative (like The Tale of Two Brothers), and that of a charter granted to a great sanctuary from prayers couched in beautiful and humble language. But most of the grammatical forms appear in both genres of texts. I will discuss the few exceptions.

In the non-literary texts, there are no examples of the following Middle Egyptian forms: -

jjt pw jrj.w.n.f , the negative, *n*, the negative imperative or the emphatic *šm.f* or *mrr.f*. This is not necessarily unexpected in a genre, which tends to eliminate earlier forms and to have fewer forms with no reduncancies. The absence of  too, may mean little anyway, as after the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty,  tends to take the place of *n*. For the negative imperative, Late Egyptian forms are exclusively used (e.g. Kanais 12.157, Hittite Treaty 12.158).

The Late Egyptian negative perfect *bwpw.f śḏm* is not found in these non-literary texts either, perhaps because these are not narrative texts on the whole. Where there is a need for this tense, *bw śḏm.f* is used (e.g. Kanais 12.87, Hittite Treaty 12.84).

There is no use of *mn* for expressing non-existence in the non-literary texts: rather *nn wn* (Nauri Decree 12.9) and even *wn bw rḫ.tw.f* (Kanais 12.87).

And I can find no example of the Late Egyptian non-literary Second Tense emphatic form in these non-literary texts **yet**. This is, I think rather surprising, as there are many examples in the literary texts. In fact, as there are no examples of the Middle Egyptian emphatic *šm.f* or *mrr.f* (see above), the only emphatic form I could find in these non-literary texts is *śḏm.n.f*! (e.g. Kanais 7.44. Nauri Decree 7.43). This form is usually only found in Middle Egyptian and not in Twentieth Dynasty Late Egyptian. (No doubt, the *j.jrj.f śḏm* is found in other non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty, not studied here.)

Of all the many Middle and Late Egyptian and mixed forms found in the literary texts, the only one I could not find is *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm*, the Middle Egyptian predecessor of the conjunctive.

I have summarised these non-literary and literary omissions below:

Non-literary Texts:

Absence of ME forms:

i. *jjt pw jrjw.n.f*

ii. *n*

iii. ME negative imperative (LE negative imperative used)

iv. Emphatic *šm.f* or *mrr.f* (Emphatic *śḏm.n.f* used instead)

Absence of LE forms:

i. *j.jrj.f śḏm* Emphatic (Emphatic *śḏm.n.f* used instead)

ii. *bwpw.f śḏm* (*bw śḏm.f* used)

iii. *mn* of non-existence (*nn wn* or *wn bw* ... used instead)

Literary Texts:

Absence of ME *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm* - the predecessor of the LE conjunctive.

I do not think one can draw any definite conclusions from this.

The above singular exceptions, and the fact that all the other older and later forms are found in the non-literary texts, alongside disparate, motley, inconsistent forms show too that NDE is unique, original, authentic and inimitable.

ADDENDUM IV

AFTERTHOUGHTS ON TEXTS IN CONTEXT

It is necessary to review some of the texts separately and in their contexts, so as to draw attention to the special characteristics and singularities of expression in different genres.

I.

In discussing the **Hieratic Ostracon** pl. XLVI, 2 recto, 2 verso, a Nineteenth Dynasty non-literary LE text, Sarah Groll (1973:67) writes, "Our main source of information for LE is the non-literary texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties (the Ramesside period). But even in the framework of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, one can trace a considerable grammatical development. It seems that ME elements still exist in the non-literary texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Indeed, since they occur only under specific conditions, which are peculiar to the Nineteenth Dynasty, one is entitled to describe the LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty as an independent, self-sufficient system, which is neither ME nor the LE of the Twentieth Dynasty", e.g.

ME		LE	
Recto 1,2	*spr jrj.n.A*	Recto 3	*tjmś.j*
An infinitive *śpr* of a verb of motion, followed by a relative form.		LE perfect active *śḏm.f*. This is a specific LE formation, - the equivalent of ME *jw śḏm.n.f*. The negative of the LE is *bwpw.f śḏm.f*.	

ME

Recto 2 *smj.n.f*

A non-initial *śḏm.n.f* formation, i.e. the ME narrative *śḏm.n.f* formation.

Recto 6 *ʿḥʿ.n ḏd.n A*

A common ME formation, classified here as a specific formation of LE of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

cf. Verso 1,2

ʿḥʿ.n A ḥr ḏd. *ʿḥʿ.n ḏd.n A* indicates a new phase in the actual trial investigation and a change of personnel *ʿḥʿ.n A ḥr ḏd* expresses the last phase of the trial - i.e. the verdict.

LE

Recto 3,4 *jw.tw ḥr jṯ3.f*

jw.j ḥr djt ʿk3.sn rmṯ nb

These are specific LE formations. The corresponding ME is the narrative *śḏm.n.f.*

Recto 5 *b3w nṯr ḫpr*

A First Present LE with stative of *ḫpr*. The ME equivalent is either *jw b3w ḫpr* or *mk b3w ḫpr*

ME

Verso 3 *r jjt ṯ3tj*

r + infinitive + a noun in the direct genitive.

LE

Recto 5,6 *ptr.j A jw.ś ḥr jṯ3*

Perfect active *śḏm.f* followed by a circumstantial First Present (indicating the relative present time). The negative would be *jw bn św ḥr jṯ3*.

Recto 8,9 *n jw.ṯ (r)rḫ jr.t ᶜnḫ*

Are you prepared to take a great oath?

n = interrogative *jn*.

A Third Future pattern with the infinitive *rḫ* + *jrt*, indicating willingness or ability. The *r* before the Third Future is left out.

Recto 10 *mtw.tw gm.t*

- the elliptical conjunctive in an oath.

Recto 14,15,16 *wᶜ wšb ... jw tjms.ś*

a *wšb*, which he had buried. A virtual relative clause, indicating absolute past time.

jw jṯ3.ś "after she had stolen"

jw + perfect active *śḏm.f* indicating pluperfect.

The genuine LE formations occur, in this ostracon, basically in the framework of the actual trial investigation, and not in the framework of the technical procedure of the trial.

II.

Ophel (1985:153) in discussing the Ramesses II **Battle of Kadesh** poem writes, "We note the clear use of the perfect active *śḏm.f*'s with their negative counterpart, the *bw śḏm.f* of the past (a Nineteenth Dynasty formation). These specific LE formations stand side by side with ME elements, e.g. the emphatic *šm.n.f* formations.

The appearance of specific LE formations within the framework of a royal inscription early in the Nineteenth Dynasty, is but another call 'to describe the LE Egyptian of the Nineteenth Dynasty as an independent self-sufficient system'."

III.

Gardiner (1982:3) tells us that a striking feature in Egyptian in all stages is its **concrete realism**, neglecting subtleties of thought as are implied in "might", "should", "can", "hardly"; possibly they would have been repugnant to the Egyptian temperament.

Intellectual and emotional qualities were ordinarily described by reference to the physical gestures or expressions by which they were accompanied, thus "liberality", is "extension of hand" *3wt ᶜ*, "cleverness" is "sharpness of face (sight)" *śpd ḥr*.

Regarding the "can", "could" or "might", let us look again at **Papyrus Chester Beatty III - Dream Interpretation**, (Groll 1985:114). The pattern in these many examples are as follows -

i. *jr m33 s sw m rswt*

If a man sees himself in a dream

ii. circumstantial clauses, acting as the adverbial extension of *jr m33 s*, e.g.

9.28 recto

ḥr jnj pnw.w m śḫt

... bringing mice from a field.

iii. *ḏw.ϕ* or *nfr.ϕ*

"good" or "bad"

- apodosis - unimembral adjectival sentence pattern.

iv. an implied ("it means") (or "it might" or "could mean").

v. a series of sentence patterns, many of which include a predicative infinitive + *pw* (rather than a prospective tense).

A prospective can indicate either the speaker's wish or a notion of inevitability.

The notion of probability (Groll 1985:114) is achieved both by the fact that infinitives have no specific time indication and by the fact that the element *pw* in the bimembral nominal sentence pattern does not agree in gender with the predicative infinitive.

The text used *pw* in the nominal sentence and not *p3j, t3j, n3j*. In LE, the masculine gender was the neuter, so *p3j* stood for the neuter gender and for the masculine. In Papyrus Chester Beatty III, *pw* stands for the neuter and *p3j* for the masculine.

The examples are ⊕A *pw* sentence patterns, e.g.

r6.15b *nfr.⊕ ⊕,ḫt pw s3j.f jm.śn*

Good, (it may mean) something with which he is satisfied, e.g.

r7.19a-20b *ḏw.⊕ ḫpr md.wt pw r.f*

(it can mean) the start of a quarrel against him.

cf. *śḏm.f pw* in Medical Texts = he may die.

This text is composed of a system of elements, rather than abstract rules. This is probably unique to the Nineteenth Dynasty and to this text. Linguistic creativity is apparently used on the principle of analogical formation.

Regarding element ii (above) - "circumstantial clauses acting as the adverbial extension of *jr m33 s*" - the vast majority of these (90%) are formed by the construction *ḫr* + infinitive.

They can also be formed by

- a ME pseudoverbal construction, e.g. 9.3 recto

  ... *d3jw ᶜm.w ḫr.f*

  ... the garment of Asiatics being upon him (= wearing Asiatic clothing), e.g. 8.12 recto

... *jbḥ.w.f ḥr ḫrj.f*

... when his teeth are falling out ...

- a circumstantial *śḏm.n.f* formation, e.g. 3.3 recto

... *ᶜ3.n sn.w.f*

... after his hair has grown long

and other patterns. These are mostly ME or LE Ramesside literary forms. It is interesting that we do not find verbal formations introduced by the converter *jw* typical of non-literary Ramesside LE.

This may be an older text, copied, re-copied and emended. Even if it did start earlier, what we have is the last stage of the process. It is probably a LE text rather than a transformed ME.

IV.

The Nineteenth Dynasty Egyptian language is interesting, rich and broad in scope.

It includes a specific language of **court procedure (Hieratic Ostracon)**, in which ME elements still exist, occurring only under specific conditions peculiar to the Nineteenth Dynasty.

LE formations occur in the framework of the trial **investigation**, while ME elements appear in the technical procedure of the trial. ME *ᶜḥᶜ.n ḏd.n A* indicates a new phase in the actual trial investigation, while *ᶜḥᶜ.n A ḥr.ḏd* expresses the verdict. The LE conjunctive expresses an oath in court.

V.

In the **Nauri Decree**, we find many "**conditional legal sequences**", which include LE *ntj* + Third Future, but also variants like *ntj* + *św r śḏm* of ME, ME *ntj r* without *jw.f* and *ntj jw.f* without *r*. Many are followed by LE conjunctives, and even their ME ancestor *ḥnᶜ ntf śḏm*. We encounter *r tm djt*'s as negative purpose clauses.

VI.

In the **Hittite Treaty**, many Nineteenth Dynasty *bw śḏm.f*'s appear, some even indicating future time, and even *bw śḏm.n.f* forms with future meaning, e.g.

227/14,15 *jw bw ḫpr.n ḫrwj r.jwd.sn r.nḥḥ*

And hostility will never more occur between them forever.

This occurs in the **Kanais text** too, e.g.

67/8,9 *p3 wn bw h3j.n.sn śḫrw.f*

For his plans do not fail

(*p3 wn* is a Nineteenth Dynasty form)

VII.

We find too in the **Hittite Treaty** *jrj* **replacing the** *jw* of a LE Third Future before a noun subject, e.g.

229/3,4 *bn jrj p3 wr ᶜ3 n ḫt3 r šsp.w*

The great prince of Hatti will not receive them.

And in the Kanais text, too, e.g.

70/3 *jrj wśjr m s3.f*

Osiris will be after him.

VIII.

In Dream Interpretation (Papyrus Chester Beatty III) we have a unique Nineteenth Dynasty text and language. The nuance of probability is now neatly expressed in a new grammatical way.

In addition, the **circumstantial adverbial clauses** extending the protasis ... "If a man sees himself in a dream ..." are expressed in most instances with ME formations, and not by the converter *jw* as in LE.

IX.

Goldwasser, writing of the **epistolary formula**, thinks that the model normative Nineteenth Dynasty letters published in Late Egyptian Miscellanies show a synthesis between the new and the old. And I believe that this applies to most of Nineteenth Dynasty literature - non-literary and literary. The language is finding its way, incorporating ME forms ("they remembered"), LE non-literary forms, and some LE literary forms as well as forms as yet not fully evolved.

X.

Ramesses II: **Battle of Kadesh** poem expresses rhetoric so effectively with the use of ME emphatic *šm.n.f* formations (sometimes preceded by *jś bn*), and these are found side by side with the *bw śḏm.f* of the past - a specific Nineteenth Dynasty formation, which does not appear later, being replaced by the non-literary late Ramesside *bw jrj.f śḏm.f*.

XI.

The narrative tales (like **Horus and Seth**, **The Doomed Prince**, **Truth and Falsehood**, **The Two Brothers**) combine ME *wn.jn ḥr śḏm* pseudoverbal constructions with *ᶜḥᶜ.n śḏm*, and with *jw.f ḥr śḏm.f* of the LE sequential past - freely.

Two Brothers cleverly uses the **LE conjunctive, expressing past tense habitual custom** to set the scene of what used to happen regularly every day, and then changes to the bona fide narrative LE continuative past to express the activities on <u>that</u> particular day of the narrative.

There are sequences of ME *śḏm pw jrjw.n.f* followed by LE *jw.f ḥr śḏm* of the continuative past, and even by *wn.jn* in a ME pseudoverbal construction. And these interchange very skillfully one with another.

ME and LE negative forms alternate in no seemingly predictable pattern, and *bw śḏm.f* appears more commonly than *bw jrj.f śḏm.f*.

XII.

In didactic texts, like **Prayers used as school texts, Papyrus Lansing** and **Papyrus Anastasi I** (and **Papyrus Koller**), many combinations of grammatical and

syntactical forms occur. There are many ME prospective *śḏm.f*'s used optatively. And there are many ME active and passive participles, expressing the qualities of a good man. There are *bw śḏm.f*'s of the simple present, e.g. Prayers

18/2 *bw jrj n.j śr m nḫ*

bw šbn.j nbt wnw

bw dj(.j) p3j.j dn ḫr ḫpš n s3

I take not a noble as protector,

I associate not with a man of wealth,

I place not my share in another's case.

There are several uses of LE First Present to express accepted truths and maxims, e.g. **Prayers used as school texts.**

86/6-8 in which Thoth is compared to a sweet well

św ḫtm.tj n p3 gm r.f

św wn.tj n p3 gr.w

It is sealed to him who finds words, it is open to the silent.

and 86/8 *tw.k mḫ.jb*

You are trusted.

There are alternating ME pseudoverbal formations and LE First Present patterns: - the latter of course evolved from and later displaced the former. *śḏm.f* forms alternate freely too.

There are Second Tense emphatics too, the morphological form of which is easier to recognise than ME emphatics, which can only be recognised by position and context, e.g.

Papyrus Lansing

100/4 *j.jrj.f śnśn ᶜ3.w r.f*

It is with those greater than he <u>that</u> he makes friends

and 101/10 *jw j.jrj.śt r ḏr.w sp.sn*

n śnḏ n ḳnḳn

It is for fear of a beating <u>that</u> they do their utmost.

There is a form of *tm* used as a *śḏm.f* optatively, mostly in Papyrus Anastasi I, e.g.

23/5 *tm.k ḳnḏ*

Do not be angry.

XIII.

The Love Songs have many interesting forms typical of literary LE, e.g. Circumstantial *śḏm.f*

C2/1 *śḫ3.tw.f*

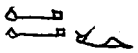
when recalling him.

and a ME emphatic formation

C1/7 *ptr.tj prj.ś r ḥ3*

One is aware of her going out, - the *prj.ś* acting as direct object of a verb. This does not occur in later LE non-literary texts.

Here we find too *bw śḏm.f*'s of the present from literary LE, e.g.

bw  *dd.f šm.j mj rmṯ*

bw wnḫ.j p3j.j bḥn

It does not let me walk like a human being.

I cannot use my fan properly.

XIV.

In the **Northern Wars of Sethos I**, we find the old synchronic present in ritual texts, better called the performative, e.g.

15/4 and

20/4 *dj.n(.j) n.k*

XV.

In **Merneptah's (Israel) stele**, many ME participles occur, e.g.

13/7,8 ... *ḥ^{c}j m m3^{c}t*

... *ḥtp ḥr m3^{c}t*

k3 nḫt ḥwj pśḏt

... rejoicing in Maat,

... content with Maat, strong bull, who smites the Nine Bows.

These are imperfect active participles, and

ś^{c}3 phtj

śk3j ḫpš n ḥr

... magnified by the power and exalted by the strength of Horus.

(These are passive participles.)

In the final section, Merneptah, (or his scribe), describing many countries he has vanquished, alternates *śḏm.f*'s with (either) ME pseudoverbal constructions or LE First Presents in a very effective poetical way, e.g.

19/3-7 *jnj.w jskrn*

Ashkelon is conquered

but *jśr3r fkt*

Israel is wasted.

Therefore, the Nineteenth Dynasty language combines many forms and this is unique, not being found in any other period. It may (Goldwasser 1985:55), be a synthesis of the new and the old; it may be a language in transition from ME

(synthetic) to non-literary LE (analytic) and to later Coptic; or it may be (Groll 1973:70) "an independent self-sufficient system".

However we interpret and "see" it, it is an important, vital and vibrant language.

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