4

A LATE EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR

Fourth edition

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assisted by
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p.590 P. Nevill, JEA 35 (1949) p. 70; vs. 5-6; Ex.1210c.

p.591 RAD 52, 14-16; p. LVIII.

53, 15-16; p. LX.

54, 7-8; Ex.1373a.

54, 10 - 55, 1; Ex.1210a.

55, 9-10; p. LXI.

55, 13; p. LVIII.

56, 2-3; p. LXIII.

56, 11-12; Ex.482c.

80, 2-3; Ex.603a.

P. Turin 2021, 2, 8-9; Ex.746a.

p.592 Černý, Valley, p. 28; Ex.558a.

Wilbour IV, 83; Ex.111d.

CHAPTER 1. ORTHOGRAPHY

1.1.1.

In Late Egyptian many words display exactly the same orthography as in Middle Egyptian; for example $\mathcal{T} \bigoplus_{n} \mathcal{T}$, \mathcal{T}_{n} , and \mathcal{T}_{n} , \mathcal{T}_{n} .

1.1.2.

Certain words show changes from Middle Egyptian. In particular there is an ending Q, w, the meaning and origin of which escape us entirely; for example Q, hpr; Q,

1.1.3.

Biliteral signs are nearly always accompanied by the second consonant; for example $(a, p_3)^4$ (always written with the wings up, after the hieratic form); $(a, p_3)^4$, $(a, p_3)^4$

1.2. The so-called 'Syllabic Orthography'.

1.2.1. Writing.

The weak consonants 3, i, and w are often written to accompany another consonant, for no apparent reason.

1.2.2. Usage.

The syllabic writings occur mostly in foreign words; for example 点 いんしん mrkb.t, 'chariot'⁹. (Hebrew フラウカ, Akkadian narkabtu). However, they are also found in purely Egyptian words; for example つしている。 たい こうに 10. により 10.

partially, as in the word for the syllabic orthography is used only unguent'. The Egyptian words in which the syllabic writing occurs are especially those of which the etymology and origin have been forgotten. However, they also include new words which occur for the first time in Late Egyptian, and had not been written down before.

1.2.3. Vocalization.

It seems that these spellings imitate cuneiform syllabaries, and it is for this reason that the system is called 'syllabic orthography'. However, it remains obscure whether any vocalic value is to be attributed to the 3, i, or w contained in these spellings; in other words, whether, for example, 0, 0, and 0 were intended to represent x_0 , x_1 , and x_2 respectively. Albright x_1 thought that this was so, at least for the earlier period, but according to Burchardt x_1 they all stand only for x_1 .

1.3. Hieratic abbreviations.

Hieratic writing uses cursive abbreviations of signs and groups of signs, in the middle or at the end of words, where the full writing was thought unnecessary. Thus the scribe adds a stroke, \nearrow , instead of \nearrow or \nearrow , for \nearrow , or instead of \nearrow for \nearrow , or instead of \nearrow for \nearrow , or instead of \nearrow for \nearrow . The dot is very often used for \nearrow and the sign \hookrightarrow is sometimes used for something which can be \nearrow or \nearrow . Certain small signs, especially determinatives, have a space-filling dot (Füllpunkt) or stroke written above them; thus, $\mathring{\blacktriangle}$. As it is uncertain which sign is really to be understood, we keep as close as we can to the original hieratic when transcribing by using the stroke, \nearrow , or the dot for such ambiguous writings. In other cases the dot forms an essential part of the sign, so distin-

guishing it from similar signs: compare & for & , with & for & . It is not then represented in transcription. Transcriptions aim to represent exactly what can be seen in the hieratic original. It should not be argued that the ancient Egyptian would have acted differently if he had to transcribe the hieratic into hieroglyphs. For the Egyptian, hieroglyphs served an ornamental as well as a practical purpose. In many instances, therefore, he would have chosen a different grouping of signs to satisfy his artistic feeling.

1.4. Group writing.

The scribes were so accustomed to writing certain groups of signs that they would sometimes write them in the wrong place. For example, there are two different words [], sim, 'fodder', 16. and [], w3d, 'vegetables'; 17. but sometimes a scribe who meant to write w3d wrote [], half one word and half the other.

1.5. Assimilation of signs.

In many cases two or more hieroglyphs combine ultimately in one hieratic sign. In our transcriptions we use the originally correct sign, provided that it still exists in the contemporary hieroglyphs. Thus we transcribe \bigcirc , in \bigcirc , hash.t(?). If \bigcirc as \bigcirc , but we transcribe the same hieratic sign as \bigcirc in the word \bigcirc as \bigcirc , have. Similarly we transcribe \bigcirc , have, only when the additional \bigcirc is quite clear in the hieratic, and has been intentionally written by the scribe. Everywhere else we transcribe \bigcirc , have, although the New Kingdom form for \bigcirc , \bigcirc , goes back ultimately to \bigcirc . The ligature \bigcirc is always to be transcribed \bigcirc ; \bigcirc is written \bigcirc . A hieroglyphic sign \bigcirc , so, is used for cases in which it is not certain whether the hieratic sign means \bigcirc ,

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1.6. Redundant signs.

had very likely disappeared in pronunciation; for example in had very likely disappeared in pronunciation; for example in had = had =

What has been said of 3, 3, is also to a great extent true of 4, i, and 4, w, which are sometimes omitted, sometimes kept, and sometimes supplied where they had never belonged. 4, 4, however, is regularly written, and not added erroneously. 23.

1.7. Peculiarities of J, b, \mathcal{A} , m, and m, n.

The Middle Egyptian negative particle \sim , n, is written $A_{\mathcal{C}}$, $b_{\mathcal{W}}$, corresponding to Coptic \mathcal{M} . Perhaps for reasons of uniformity, the other Middle Egyptian negative particle, \sim , nn, is written \sim , bn, in Late Egyptian, although the Coptic parallel suggests that it was probably pronounced either as \tilde{N} in the combination \tilde{N} ... λN or as \tilde{N} N in the $\tilde{N}N \in \mathcal{V} \subset \mathcal{N} \subset \mathcal{N}$ formation.

Occasional confusion between the prepositions n, n, and n, n, indicates that in some cases, and particularly before the sound n, n, n, n, n, has passed into n, n. This

1.8. A possible loss of the genitival , n.

The frequency of the writing n_n , n_n , instead of n_n , n_n , suggests that in some cases where it is written only once the n_n , n_n , was actually dropped from pronunciation. This is confirmed by the case of n_n , n_n ,

 $(T \propto T \circ v S)$ - show that the p3-n and t3-n.t in these names were pronounced respectively $m \ge$ and $r \ge .25$. It should be noted that the genitival n is always written m = 100, never $m \ge 100$.

1.9. The loss of final \circ , r, and \circ , t.

At the end of words \Leftrightarrow , r, has disappeared or passed into $\{i, i, as evidenced by the spelling <math>\{i, i\}$; for example \$ 10, tr, 26. 'time' becomes \$ 110, ti. 27. 3 1 , ptr, 28. 'see' becomes 20 1 5 , pti. 29. Sometimes also , , disappears from the middle of a word; for example □ < < ○ | , hrw, 30. 'day' becomes □ < ○ | , hyw 31. (often confused subsequently with rate (117 , h3w, 'time' 32.). , t, at the end of words has, as a rule, disappeared, and is often not written; for example $m \rightarrow p$, nh.t, mh.t, mh.t'emmer' becomes 🗱 🛴 🕠 , bty. 36. Some feminine words never display the feminine ending a , .t, and are only known to be feminine by their occurrence with the feminine definite article \hat{R} , t3, the demonstrative adjective \hat{R} \sim , t3y, or the possessive article $\Re M_{\chi}$, t3y.f. The definite articles and demonstratives are, in Late Egyptian, the only safe guide to the gender of nouns. Note that 🗓 🏗 🗓 🛣 🖟 🚭 , a3a3, 'pot', 37. , bt, 'seal' 38. and 38. , 3'', 'pot' 39. are feminine. Before pronominal suffixes the feminine ending is preserved, and is then written △ or 🔰 . Compare 🗐 , dr.t, 'hand'40. with 2 3 , dr.t.k, 'your hand'.41.

1.10. The Coalescence of ++-, z, and 0, s.

becomes $\stackrel{\square}{=}$ $\stackrel{\times}{=}$, p_s ; 43 . $\stackrel{\square}{=}$ $\stackrel{29}{=}$, s_{sp} , 44 . 'receive' becomes $\stackrel{\square}{=}$ $\stackrel{\square}{=}$

1.11. Variant writings of consonants.

To m, n, and $rac{1}{2}$, r, as writings for $rac{1}{2}$, Late Egyptian added $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}{2}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}$, $rac{1}$, r

The beginning of the coalescence of Δ , q, and Δ , g, is seen in the frequent writings $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \Delta$, $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} d$, $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} d$, $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} d$, instead of the etymologically correct $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} d$, $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} d$, $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} d$, if at unguent.

- 1.12. Bibliography and references.
- 1. LRL, 56, 1.
- 2. HO, 1, CXV, 4, rt. 5.
- 3. LRL, 34, 13.
- LRL, 34, 16.
- 5. LRL, 3, 10.
- LRL, 15, 10.
- 7. LRL, 7, 15.
- 8. LRL, 4, 3.
- 9. LRL, 50, 9.
- 10. LRL, 18, 15.
- 11. LRL, 51, 1.
- 12. HO, pl. LXVIII, 2, rt. 2.
- The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography, New Haven, 1934.
- Die Altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen, I & II, Leipzig, 1909 & 1910.
- 15. See also Albright & Lambdin, JSS 2, (1957), 113-127; Calice, AZ 44 (1907), 102; Edel, JNES 8 (1949), 44-47; Edgerton, JAOS 60 (1940), 473-506; W.M. Müller, Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern, Leipzig, 1893; W.A. Ward, JNES 16 (1957), 198-203.
- 16. но, pl. LXVI, l, rt. 14; pl. LXXII, l, rt. 11.
- 17. Černý, Ostr. Cairo Cat., 25677, rt. 2.
- 18. LRL, 14, 13.
- 19. See Mattha, Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo Univ., XX (1958, publ. 1962), 17-20; von Beckerath, AZ 95 (1969), 88-91; Edel, JNES 8 (1949), 35-39.
- 20. LRL, 54, 13.
- 21. LRL, 37, 7.
- 22. WB, III, 272.

2. PRONOUNS

with either the stative or hr or m + infinitive.

- a). With an adverb.See also Ex. 760.
- b). With an adverbial phrase.See also Ex. 752.
- c). With the stative.
 See also Ex. 769.
- d). With hr + infinitive.

Note that although the hr which precedes the infinitive is almost always omitted in the 20th Dynasty, we still transliterate it. The reasons for this are, firstly that there are still cases, even in the 20th. Dynasty, where the hr is actually written, hr000 and secondly, that hr101 conventionally indicates that the following verb is an infinitive and not a stative.

- 2.7. Interrogative Pronouns. 71.
- 2.7.1. (皇 , ib, 'Who?', 'What?' (See below 61.7.).

PRONOUNS

The following examples show that ib is to be classified as the equivalent of a bare noun.

a). Preceding the genitival n:

Ex. 81, BM 10052, 5, 9: 4 ξ τ ς δ \ , ib n

ḥn.w, What kind of vessels? (Lit. 'What of vessels?')

b). After a preposition:

Ex. 83, BM 10052, 1, 16: 4 \ 2, , mi ih, How?

Since ib is a noun equivalent, its syntactic position within the verbal system corresponds to that of a noun.

c). ih as direct object:

Ex. 84, BM 10052, 6, 4: 《 公 升 私 八 公 1 显 金 分 , iw.i (r) wnm ib m-di.tn, What shall I eat with you? (Lit. 'I shall eat what with you?').

Thus the following examples must be classified as nominal and adjectival sentences (see below Chapters 57-60).

- d). ih as a member of a nominal sentence pattern. See below Exx. 1599,1600.
- e). ih as subject of a ny-sw construction.

PREPOSITIONS

- 7.3.2. The preposition (hr)-'wy, 'in the charge of'.
- a). Forms.

b). Use.

- 7.3.3. The preposition m-b3h, 'in front of' (= Coptic $\overline{M}M\lambda2$)^{66.}
- a). Forms.

b). Uses.

m-b3h is used with gods, ⁷²· kings, ⁷³· or high officials (vizier, ⁷⁴· royal butlers, ⁷⁵· and 'magistrates' (n3-sr.w) ⁷⁶·). It is, however, sometimes used with a wider range of person;

and with inanimate objects:

PREPOSITIONS

r-h3w $\pm 3ty$ A. The punishment which was done to the thieves in the time of the vizier A.

- 7.3.6. The preposition n-h3, 'behind'.⁷⁸.

7.3.7. The preposition hr-h3t-n, 'before', 'in front of' (= Coptic 2172H \tilde{N}).

- 7.3.8. The preposition r-h3t (= Coptic 67HT).80.
- i). 'Before', 'in front of':

Ex. 404, Abb, 5, 2: le la D . La Ra A . Sm r-h3t

n3-sr.w, The coppersmith went in front of the magistrates.

7. PREPOSITIONS

ii). 'Because of':

7.3.9. The preposition (m-)hr-ib, 'in the midst of'.

- 7.3.10. The preposition r-ht, 'subordinate to', 'under the orders of'.
- a). Forms.

b). Use.

- 7.3.11. The preposition $m-\underline{h}nw$, 'inside', 'amongst' (= Coptic $2\bar{N}$ -). 84.
- a). Forms.

b). Use.

21. THE INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

21.5.2. The protasis of a conditional statement introduced by inn + a third future formation.

Ex. 910, Mayer A, 8, 8-9: 化介流 电流 能成 化 (TAL) 5- A TAL 44 5- 能 , inn iw.tn (r) dd i.g3i g3y.i, I will lie if you tell me to. (lit. 'If you bid me, "lie!" I will lie.')

- 21.6. The initial prospective stp.f can be followed by the following verbal formations.
- 21.6.1. A negative third future formation.

Note that the actor expression of *iri* is *imn* whereas the actor of the third future is .k.

21.6.2. An imperative form.

Ex. 912, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 5: 表 本元 中元 即 元]

P [], hn.tn smty st, Go and find out about them (lit. 'examine them').

21.6.3. An initial prospective stp.f.

21.6.4. A iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past.

22. THE BN STP.F FORMATION

CHAPTER 22. THE BN STP.F FORMATION

The initial prospective stp.f is negated by being preceded by bn.1.

22.1. The bn stp.i after the direct indicators of initiality.
After r-dd.

- 22.2. The bn stp.i formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.
- 22.2.1. After iw.

Ex. 919, RAD, 49, 5-6: \$\frac{1}{2} \to \frac{1}{2} \to \frac{

22.2.2. After wn.

See above Exx. 901 and 902.

22.2.3. Note that bn stp.f is not preceded by nty, the construction nty + the third future filling the gap.

22. THE BN STP.F FORMATION

- 22.3. The bn stp.i formation can be preceded by the following verbal formations.
- 22.3.1. The iw.f n.f construction, when both indicate the same time range.

22.3.2. The iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past.

- 22.3.3. The perfect active stp.f.
 See above Ex. 918.
- 22.3.4. A first present pattern preceded by the w3ħ imn pattern.

22. THE BN STP.F FORMATION

stay a wife; she should not have lovers (lit.'make love') and she should not commit adultery.

22.3.5. The emphatic i.dd.f formation.

Ex. 923, P. Cairo 65739, 26-27: () [III 21 5 f

The fill in the second for the se

- 22.4. The bn stp.f formation can be preceded by the following non-verbal patterns.
- 22.4.1. An adjectival sentence pattern indicating future time.

22.4.2. A one-membral nominal construction.

Ex. 925, P. Salt 124, vs. 1, 13-14: \(\frac{1}{2} \) \(\frac{1}

22. THE BW STP.F FORMATION

- 22.5. Bibliography and references.
- Behnk, Amarna-Grammatik, 90b; Erman, NAG, 765; Černý, JEA, 23 (1937), 188; Groll, Negative, 116-121.

23. THE FIRST FUTURE

CHAPTER 23. THE FIRST FUTURE

23.1. Morphology. 1.

The first future, i.e. st (m) n'y r $m\S'$ is built of the following elements:

- The preformatives of the first present;
- The preposition m + the infinitive of the verb n'y;
 Sometimes the m is omitted.

3. The preposition r + an infinitive.

Thus the immediate present is expressed by m n'y, whereas the futurity is expressed by the r + infinitive.

23.2. The first future after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After nty.

23.3. The peculiarity of the verb ba.

Note that, there are similar constructions which show slightly different characteristics when conveying the same tense.

23. THE FIRST FUTURE

- 23.5. Bibliography and references.
- Gardiner, Az 43 (1906), 97-98; Erman, NAG, 502;
 Polotsky, Papers, 236 (= OLZ 56 (1959), 458); Griffith, Stories, 153-154; Vergote, CdE 31 (1956), 218; Wilson, Coptic Future Tenses, 65-70.

CHAPTER 24. THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

24.1. Morphology.

Late Egyptian verbs sometimes form the imperative by adding the prothetic yod, AD, but often they have no distinctive mark at all. Both forms of the imperative can be found in the same verb. We must not, however, assume a priori that all verbs with imperative meaning and prefixed AD are true imperative forms. Coptic gives us a warning here, for it has very few real imperatives (all of them, incidently, with prefixed A:ANI, 'bring'; AII, 'do'; AII, 'pass on (to me)'; AII, 'say'), having generally replaced the imperative form with the infinitive. Furthermore, in two cases (ANAY, 'see' and AYWN, 'open') the prefix AII occurs with infinitive form of the verb. So it seems likely that among Late Egyptian imperatives, too, there may be infinitive forms (see above 11.5.2.) with prefixed AIII, and that, in addition, some imperatives at least may occur without AIIII and without being infinitive forms.

Examples of imperatives with the prothetic yod.

Ex. 930, LRL, 35, 16: 12 3, i.3s, Hurry!

Ex. 931, BM 10052, 1, 13-14: 业原集业, i.w3办, Stop!

Examples of imperatives without the prothetic yod.

Ex. 932, LRL, 11, 14: 查、以 , šdi (wi), Save me!

Ex. 934, LRL, 18, 8: A, dd, Say! (Quite exceptional.)

Ex. 935, LES, 73, 11-12: ♣ \$ & _ → *e , ddh sw, Imprison him!

Ex. 936, BM 10052, 12, 5: ♣ ♣ € = , gr.w, Keep silent (pl.)!

24.2. The dependent pronoun as direct object of the imperative.

What distinguishes the imperative form from the infinitive form of the imperative is their respective ways of expressing the pronominal object; the infinitive takes a pronominal suffix (see above 11.2.) and the imperative takes a dependent pronoun. The following are examples of the imperative with an attached dependent pronoun.

24.2.1. With the first person singular.

Ex. 937, LRL, 8, 2: A e 2 , ini wi, Bring me back!

Ex. 938, LRL, 2, 2: 🛣 , ini wi, Bring me back!

Ex. 939, LRL, 12, 8: 4 , ini wi, Bring me back!

24.2.2. With the second person masculine singular.

Ex. 940, LRL, 33, 4; 64, 5: o ini tw, Bring him back! (Lit. 'Bring you back! Note the redundant

Ex. 941, LRL, 30, 1: Mage, ini tw, Bring him (lit. 'you') back!

24.2.3. With the second person feminine singular.

Ex. 943, BM 10052, 14, 8: (2 2 7 1 1, i.m.) ti m, Fill yourself with

24.2.4. With the third person singular, masculine and feminine.

Ex. 944, P. Lee, 2, 5: 12 = Fe , i.iri sw, Do it!

Ex. 945, LRL, 20, 2: 12 2 10, i.iri st, Do it!

Ex. 946, LES, 73, 11-12: ♣ & C → ¥e, ddh sw, Imprison him!

Ex. 947, LES, 72, 7: \$\$ \$\alpha \quad \text{1} \text{ } \alpha \quad \text{1} \text{ } \text{ } \alpha \quad \text{ } \

Ex. 948, LES, 71, 14: \$\frac{1}{26}\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sq}}}}}}}}}}}\signt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sq}}}}}}}}}}\signt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sqrt{\sq}}}}}}}}\signt{\sint\sint{\sint{\sint{\sign{\sqrt{\sq}}}}}}}}}\signt{\sintin

24.2.5. With the second person plural.

Ex. 949, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 8: 2 1 1 2 e 2 1 2 e 2 2 , s3w.tw.tn, Beware!

24.2.6. With the third person plural.

Ex. 950, LRL, 35, 16: $\mathbb{R} \supset \mathbb{R}$ \mathbb{R} , i.3s st n.i, Bring them to me quickly!

Ex. 952, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 5: 🗫 은 🗎 🛍 🗓 , smtr st, Examine them!

Ex. 953, P. Lee, 1, 7: 12 \$\int \text{\(\hat{L}\)} \text{\(\hat{L}\)}

Ex. 954, LRL, 61, 8: 12 3 11 11 iri st, Do them!

Ex. 955, LES, 73, 16: 2 15 - 15 , ptr st, Look at them!

24.2.7. The dependent pronoun wi.

The dependent pronoun wi is often written 2; i.e. like the pronominal suffix of the first person singular.

Ex. 956, BM 10052, 1, 13-14: (股東 上) , i.w3ḥ (w)i, Let me (be)!

Ex. 957, LRL, 39, 13: (), i.ini (w)i, Bring me back!

Ex. 958, *LES*, 69, 10: 位 中点 , i.w<u>d</u> (w)i, send me!

In the case of ini, the i which follows i.ini is not the pronominal suffix but the dependent pronoun. Had i.ini been an infinitive, the ending t would probably have been inserted between ini and its pronominal suffix.

24.2.8. The adherence of the direct object to the verb.

So firmly does the dependent pronoun adhere to the preceding imperative that the dative expression with a pronominal suffix follows it:

Ex. 959, LRL, 35, 16: (图 文) 品 資 , i.3s st n.i, Bring them to me quickly!

Ex. 960, LES, 71, 14: $\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2$

It should be noted that where a noun appears as the object, the dative expression with a suffix naturally precedes it.

24.3.4. A defined relative form.

24.3.5. A defined relative clause.

24.4. Gender and number.

The imperative has only one form for masculine and feminine singular and for second person plural. Compare the following:

and

In the following example, the form gr.w looks as if it might be a plural imperative form.

In the above example, however, the form C = is probably only a determinative, since the imperative may do this without having a plural form of its own. This is certainly the case in the form A = in, m = in, 'Do not!' (see below Ex. 1009) and in the imperative in the following formation:

Ex. 973, LES, 72, 1: $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, ptr, Look! where the command is addressed to only one person.

24.5. Irregular formations.

24.5.1. The verb 🗚 🚴 , ii, 'come!'

The imperative of this verb takes the form $\stackrel{\triangle}{\longrightarrow} \stackrel{\triangle}{\searrow} \stackrel{\triangle}{\searrow} ,$ mi, or $\stackrel{\triangle}{\longrightarrow} \stackrel{\triangle}{\longrightarrow} \stackrel{\triangle}{\longrightarrow}$. No distinction is observable between the masculine and feminine forms, which correspond to the Coptic masc. $\triangle MOY$, and fem. $\triangle MH$. A plural form $\stackrel{\triangle}{\longrightarrow} \stackrel{\triangle}{\longrightarrow} \stackrel{\triangle}{\longrightarrow$

Ex. 975, Daressy, Ostr. Cairo Cat. 25264, 4: 八八 Come to the shore!

24.5.2. The verb ♠ , di.

The imperative of this verb is \\ \mathbb{A} \, imi. It is consistently written in this manner. \\ \mathbb{A} \, \mathbb{A} \, is a form which developed from an original hieratic \\ \mathbb{A} \, \mathbb{A} \, in which the ligature of the form \(\mathbb{A} \) had been misinterpreted as the form \(\mathbb{A} \). We conventionally use the transliteration imi, but nothing is known about its pronunciation in Late Egyptian. \(\mathbb{A} \) does not show any distinction of number.

When the form $\P_{\mathbf{A}}$, imi, means 'cause', 'let' it is followed by the non-initial prospective stp.f.

The phrase 'make someone give' or 'make something be given' was expressed in the XIXth. Dynasty by the formation Ex. 978, Daressy, Ostr. Cairo Cat. 25237, 8:

but in the XXth. Dynasty it was spelt.

Ex. 979, Ostr. BM 5672, 5: A A a c, imi dd.tw,
Cause one to give (lit. 'cause that one should give').
or sometimes

Ex. 980, Černý, Ostr. DM. 235, 5: 9 🕰 🕮 况 19, imi dd.tw, Cause one to give.

This last form is commonly abbreviated in Late Egyptian to imi.tw, and is used as a more polite and less abrupt means of saying 'give!'

The same is true of this form when it means 'cause', 'let'.

Ex. 982, LES, 74, 14: 12 4 2 10 12 40 , imi.tw wd.i sw, Let me send him (away).

The pronominal object of A a c , imi.tw is, consequently, expressed by means of a pronominal suffix.

Ex. 983, Sauneron, Ostr. DM. 563, 4: 18 4 20 4, imi.tw.f, Give it!

The following example, it should be noted, is probably only a mistake for imi.tw.f; compare Coptic MaTeq, MaTq.

Ex. 984, Černý, *Ostr. DM*. 34, vs. 1: (), imi.f,

We might also, perhaps compare the following with the Coptic MHITOY.

Ex. 985, P. Mallet, 1, 18: 4 & _ _ _ = , imi.tw.w, Give them!

24.5.3. The form 🌇 🏯 🏖 , imi hr.k, 'Pay attention'.

 $imi \ br.k$ is a closed prosodic unit, therefore the dative expression follows it.

Ex. 986, Černý, Ostr. DM, 227, 1: (A. A. 22 ~ ~)

imi hr.k n.i, Pay attention to me!

24.6. The strengtheners of the imperative form.

The imperative may be strengthened in any of the following ways:

24.6.1. By the reflexive dative.

24. THE IMPERATIVE

- 24.8. The imperative form after the direct indicators of syntactic initiality.
- 24.8.1. After r-ad.

Ex. 996, RAD, 53, 1: - 🚉 🟝 🛚 📸 , r-<u>d</u>d my.n, Saying, "Come!"

24.8.2. After a formation containing the verb da.

Ex. 997, BM 10052, 15, 8: 🔊 💸 🕆 🕸 🕦 🏂 🏗

11 🖅, <u>dd</u> <u>t</u>3ty <u>i</u>.<u>t</u>3y, The vizier said,
"Take!"

24.9. The imperative form after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After iw.

Ex. 998, LRL, 24, 2: A A B Le E le A R le

A a b A c E , imi ini.tw.w iw 3s 3s iw

m di 'h'.w, Let them be brought, and hurry up, hurry

up, and don't let them linger!

Note that the dependent iw, when preceding an imperative formation, cannot be classified as a subordinizer; it functions more as a marker of non-initiality. Also note that the combination iw + an affirmative imperative form is extremely rare.

- 24.10. Verbal formations capable of following the imperative form.
- 24.10.1. Another imperative form.

Note that the second imperative is not preceded by the dependent iw.

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24.10.6. The third future.

Ex. 1004, BM 10052, 10, 7: 图 基 定 电 解 与

..., i.gr tw iw.n (r) di.t n.k, Be
silent, and we will give you

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24.11. Bibliography and references.

- Till, Grammatik, 298.
- See Edgerton, Studies Griffith, 61-68; Williams, JEA 38 (1952), 62; Wente, LRL, 19, p.; Groll, Negative, Ex. 359.
- 3. Till, Grammatik, 299.
- 4. Crum, 9.
- 5. Crum, 7b.

CHAPTER 25. THE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

25.1. Morphology.

When describing the morphology of the negative imperative one must distinguish four main patterns:

- 25.1.1. Pattern I: the m iri stp.f pattern, which is composed of three elements:
- iri; i.e. the negatival complement of the verb iri;².
- 3. stp.f; i.e. the infinitive form of the verb in question.
- 25.1.2. Pattern II: the m dy A or the m dy stp.f pattern, 3. which is composed of two elements:
- m; i.e. the imperative of the negative verb imi;
- dy; i.e. the negatival complement of the verb di, which still possesses its full lexical meaning (i.e. when followed by a noun it indicates the notion of 'giving', but, when followed by the non-initial prospective stp.f, it indicates the notion of 'causing').
- 25.1.3. Pattern III: the m iri di.t stp.f pattern, which is composed of three elements:
- m; i.e. the imperative of the negative verb imi;
- iri; i.e. the negatival complement of the verb iri;
- di.t stp.f; i.e. the infinitive of the verb di, 'causing',
 + the non-initial prospective stp.f.

In pattern II it is the negatival complement form which carries the full lexical meaning of the conjugated verb, whereas

in pattern III this function is performed by the infinitive.

25.1.4. Pattern 4: the tm stp.f formation (see above 11.5.2.).

25.1.5. Conclusion.

In Late Egyptian the negatival complement form occurs only with the verbs iri^4 and di, b. the former is reduced to a mere grammatical element, but the latter has retained its full lexical meaning.

25.2. Pattern I.

25.2.1. Form.

25.2.2. The direct object expression.

The pronominal object of the infinitive is expressed by means of the pronominal suffix.

25.2.3. The verb iri.

The verb \sim , iri, 'make', forms its negative imperative in the following way:

That is, the *iri* which immediately follows *m* has lost its lexical meaning.

25.2.4. The number expression.

When used in addressing several persons together m iri is often written $\sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{i=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m} \sum_{j=1}^{m}$

Ex. 1009, P. Turin, Cat. 2044, 3: 图 前 早州區
公人里 (r) hpr, Do not go up until you see what will happen.

25.2.5. Pattern II.

a). Forms.

The negative imperative form of the verb di, 'give', 'cause', is $m \ dy$, 'do not give, cause'. This may be spelt in various ways, as the following examples demonstrate:

Ex. 1010, LRL, 8, 8: 1 , m dy.

Ex. 1011, LRL, 34, 13: 4 , m dy.

Ex. 1012, LRL, 36, 14: 5 4 5 , m dy.

Ex. 1013, LRL, 40, 2: 6 40 1 4 4 4 . , m dy.

Ex. 1014, LRL, 6, 16: 🖳 💴 (🗓 🚢 , m dy.

and can be spelt with $\stackrel{2}{ \longrightarrow}$, $\stackrel{2}{ \longrightarrow}$, or $\stackrel{2}{ \longrightarrow}$, instead of $\stackrel{2}{ \longrightarrow}$. $\stackrel{3}{ \longrightarrow}$, $m-\underline{d}r$, can also stand as a spelling of $\stackrel{3}{ \longrightarrow}$ $\stackrel{4}{ \longrightarrow}$, m $\stackrel{4}{ \longrightarrow}$ $\stackrel{4}{ \longrightarrow}$

Since the form $A \leftarrow a$ is the way in which the preposition m-di, 'at', 'with', is written (compare Coptic n+e), and since this form, together with the formation $A \leftarrow A = A = A$, is sometimes used in writing the conjunction m-dr, 'when' (once again

the Coptic is $\overline{N}Te_r$, as in $\overline{N}Tepeqc\omega T \overline{M}$,) we may assume that the negative imperative m dy was pronounced *ente in the same way as m-dr and its Coptic counterpart. 6.

b). dy with the sense 'put'.

The form $m \, dy$ is also used with the meaning 'do not give' or 'do not place', especially in the expression 'do not place your heart after me', i.e. 'do not worry about me'.

c). dy with the sense 'cause'.

More frequently the form is followed by the prospective stp.i and means 'do not cause' or 'do not let'.

i). m di stp.w:

Ex. 1016, LRL, 8, 4: ♣ ६ । 1 ♣ 五 元 = .

m dy 3ty.w, Do not let them suffer from want!

ii). m di stp.i:

iii). m di stp A:

Note that m di stp.f occurs very rarely.

25.2.6. Pattern III.

However, sometimes one finds, instead of m dy, the formation m iri, where di takes the form of the infinitive, and iri takes the form of the negatival complement. 7.

Ex. 1019, LES, 72, 8-9: ♣ ← ☐ □ ♣ ¶ ← 栓 ♥ e,

m iri di.t ptr.i sw, Do not make me see it.

- 25.3. The m iri stp.f after the direct indicators of initiality.
- 25.3.1. After a verbal formation composed of the verb aa.

Ex. 1021, BM 10052, 14, 17: 图 上版 — 五分(股, dd.f m iri.w g3y.i, He said, "Do not slander me!"

25.4. The m iri stp.f after the indirect indicators of initiality.

25.4.1. After iw.

The negative imperative can be made to depend on the preceding form by the addition of the dependent *iw*. The best translation is "And ..."; i.e. it functions as a connective element.

25.4.2. iw m dy stp.f after iw m dy stp A following a frontal extraposition.

Ex. 1023, LRL, 50, 13-16: Em an in.w, Now, as for the business of these five servants but don't let anyone rob his fellow among you, and don't give any of them to A.

25.4.3. iw m di stp A after a series of conjunctives.

- 25.5. Verbal formations which can precede a negative imperative formation.
- 25.5.1. An affirmative imperative formation.

25.5.2. A first present pattern indicating a state in the present.

Ex. 1026, LRL, 36, 14-15: ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ? L ?

Note that $m \ di \ h3ty.k$ continues the line of thought expressed by the first present.

25.5.3. An initial stp.i formation.

25.5.4. A conjunctive formation.

The negative imperative repeats negatively the idea which is expressed affirmatively by the conjunctive formation.

25.5.5. A iw bwpw.f ptr formation.

Ex. 1029, BM 10052, 12, 20-21: le da ll 📆 🗢 li se da ll 📆 🕳 , iw bwpwy.i ptr m ir.t.i m iri.w di.t iry.i g3i, But I did not see them with my own eyes. Don't force me to lie!

- 25.6. Verbal formations which can follow a negative imperative formation.
- 25.6.1. An affirmative imperative formation.

away from A. Hand it over to him, (and) make sure he ploughs it.

25.6.2. A series of imperative formations.

Note that the affirmative imperative formations are not preceded by iw, whereas the negative imperative formation is.

25.6.3. A third future formation.

25.6.4. A m dy stp.w formation can both precede and follow the conjunctive formation:

25.7. Non-verbal constructions which can precede a negative imperative formation.

A frontal extraposition.

Ex. 1034, LRL, 15, 7-8: , hr ir p3y.k-dd , hr ir p3y.k-dd m iri nn.t m h3b n.i, As for your telling (me), "Do not omit to write to me".

25.8. The m dy stp A formation after particles.

After br.

- 26.2. The i.iri.f stp.f + adv. after the direct indicators of initiality.
- 26.2.1. After r-dd.

Ex. 1036, LRL, 64, 12-13: A P TO Le A

B A R A R TO LE A

S'.t m-dr wn A dy, Saying, "It was after A had been here that you sent a letter."

26.2.2. After hn'-dd r-nty.

Ex. 1037, LRL, 42, 15-16: 人人之 不 他会 人人 是 他 是 后, hn'-dd r-nty i.iri p3-hm-ntr A wd dy iw iry.k w' irm.f, Thus, when you had come to an agreement with him the prophet A left here.

- 26.3. The *i.iri.f* stp.f + adv. formation after the indirect indicators of initiality.
- 23.3.1. After iw.

Ex. 1039, Mayer A, 6, 6-7: 化 化 合 化 合 压 全 化 品 压 全 化 品 压 全 化 的 品 全 化 的 品 本 x n o llll , iw i.iri.tw th3 A r-\$3' 3ba 6, A (then) having been attacked for six months.

26.3.2. After wn.

26.3.3. After nty.

See below Ex. 1060.

- 26.4. The emphatic formation is almost obligatory in the following sentence patterns.
- 26.4.1. Pattern I.

Questions in which the interrogative element is syntactically the indirect object of the verb, and in answers to such questions (questions, that is, in which the interrogative word is a stressed element).³.

26.4.2. Questions with hr in n A, 'on what kind of', as the interrogative adverbial element, and with a m-s3 A expression as the corresponding adverbial element in the answer.

26.4.3. Questions with mi ib, 'how', as the interrogative element, and with an adverb or an adverbial equivalent as the corresponding element in the answer.

Ex. 1042, BM 10052, 1, 16-17: (股 会 心 全) 上 1 4 2 (股 会 股 全) 368.

find it?" "It was already open when I found it".

26.4.4. Questions with hr ih as the interrogative element.

Ex. 1043, Sauneron, Ostr. DM. 580, rt. 4-5: 氧化 高级 图 正 图 常见 图 。 r-dd i.iri.k it3.t 3h.t.i ḥr iḥ, Saying, "Why is it that you are stealing my belongings?"

26.4.5. Questions with $m-di\ nim$, 'from whom, where', as the interrogative element.

Ex. 1044, LES, 66, 16-17: & e & e & e & f. W. S. wn i.iri.w wh3 p3-ntr m-di nym, Where would they have looked for the god then?

26.5. Pattern II.

Initial clauses, containing verbs of motion in the past tense, when these express the action aspect.⁴

26.5.1. The verb pri.

Ex. 1045, LES, 69, 2-4: PE CE RE PE LES PER L

26.5.2. The verb iy.

See above Ex. 1041.

26.5.3. The verb ⅓m. See below Ex. 1057.

When the verb $s\underline{d}x$ expresses the notion of 'spending the night' it is always followed by adverbial adjuncts. The verb $s\underline{d}x$ when expressing the notion of 'sleeping', 'being idle', takes the form of the stative, and is not necessarily followed by adverbial adjuncts.

26.7. Pattern IV.

Initial main clauses which contain a $m-\underline{d}r$ stp.f subordinate clause in direct speech.⁶.

Ex. 1050, BM 10383, 2, 5: PES SAMMA

IN A SALA A , i.iri(.i) pr.t m

p3-pr n pr-'3 m-dr iw A, I left Pharoah's house only
after A had come.

26.8. Pattern V.

Initial main clauses containing the verb $ini + r - \underline{d}b3$ in direct speech.

Note that the emphatic formation is often found in sentences containing the adverbial expression $m \ dwn \ m \ dwn$ as part of a passage of direct speech.

26.9. Conclusions.

Three facts will have been noted in the above analysis.

Interrogative initial main clauses composed with prepositional interrogative phrases almost always take the form of the emphatic

i.iri.f stp.f formation when expressing the action aspect; interrogative words, because of their function, have extra emphasis, and are always the predicate of a sentence. One may conclude that the emphatic i.iri.f stp.f + adv. is used when one of the adverbial elements which follows it has an extra emphasis, and when this element functions as its predicate. The indispensibility of the emphatic formation in prepositional interrogative sentences is the major indicator of that formation's syntactic nature.

The extra emphasis of the predicative adverb is generally due either to the presence of a particular kind of verb - a verb of motion, for instance, or a verb of incomplete predication like $s\underline{d}x^5$ - or to the presence of a particular kind of adverbial phrase, such as $m \ dwn \ m \ dwn$. In such a case, the emphatic formation is often used. When *i.iri.f* stp.f occurs in any other context it is due to the speaker's subjective preference, and not to grammatical necessity.

26.10. The grammatical rules which arise from the above conclusions.

Since the perfect active *stp.f* is limited to transitive verbs, it is only by taking the emphatic formation that intransitive verbs can express both past time and the action aspect⁵. within the framework of an initial main clause.

An i.iri.f stp.f formation can be followed by more than one adverbial element, and it must be admitted that it is only an analysis of the inner logic of the pattern involved which can assist in recognition of the predicate. However, the change of syntactic positions of adverbs can be used as an indication.

Obs. When adverbs of time and place follow the emphatic formation, and when the adverb of place is the predicate, a

change of word order takes place (see below Ex. 1058); e.g. dy, an adverb that usually has a front position, takes a final one; and, conversely, x' nb, which usually has a final position, takes a front one.

Optional emphatic formations would appear to pose similar problems. They, too, can be followed by more than one adverbial element. Are there any rules for distinguishing which element is the predicate? General rules are, undoubtedly, difficult to formulate, but a helpful approach is through the classification of syntactic complexes. For, although emphatic formations can certainly be followed by more than one adverbial element, these elements sometimes constitute a single syntactic unit, and cannot be treated separately.

At first sight, it looks as if *i.iri.f* i<u>t</u>3.t is here followed by two adverbial adjuncts, namely, r w3h and m t3-'.t. The latter is not really, however, an adverbial extension of *i.iri.f* i<u>t</u>3.t, but of r w3h; the adverbial adjunct which follows i.iri.f i<u>t</u>3.t has to be treated as single and indivisible: r w3h m t3-'.t.

Note that again i.iri imn hrw is followed by more than

one adverbial adjunct; indeed, it is followed by three: m

t3-p.t; iw di.f; and m rk.f. iri hrw does not mean 'thundering'
on its own, but only in conjunction with m t3-p.t. It is safe
to assume that hrw and m t3-p.t are inseparable; in fact, they
really constitute a single word. Since m rk.f is an extension
of iw di.f and not of i.iri imm hrw, the predicative adverb in
this case is the whole sentence iw di.f sth m rk.f.

26.11. The combination of direct and indirect speech.

Ex. 1054, LES, 65, 8-9: lell sell in s

i.iri.i nw is followed here by several adverbial adjuncts: r p3-kkwy; r-dd h3y.f 3tp.i p3-ntr; and r tm di.t. The first of these needs some comment. Since the r which comes after nw is almost a part of nw, 11. it can not be regarded as the emphasized predicate. Furthermore, since r tm di.t is the ultimate object of the speaker's wishes, I would like to suggest that r tm di.t is the predicative element. The sequence 'indirect speech - direct speech - indirect speech' suggests that the final element is the stressed one. This analysis appears to be confirmed by the following example.

dd.f nh3 n ht d'b p3-htp.w-ntr n3-nty w3h m p3-wd3
iw i.iri.i w3h.w im n-3by s3w t3y-ht, "It was this
storehouse you went to", they said. (Member 1.)
"Some sticks of charcoal belonging to the divine
offerings were in the storehouse", he replied.
(Member 2.) "Indeed, I had put them there in order
to preserve this seal". (Member 3.).

The complex exemplified by Ex. 1057 is composed of three sentence patterns:

- 1. An emphatic formation, in which $r p 3y w \underline{a} 3$, 'to the storehouse', is the predicative adverbial element.
- A nominal cleft sentence, in which nh3 n ht <u>a'bw</u> is the nominal predicate.
- 3. An emphatic formation, in which the adverbial $n-3by \ s3w$ t3y-ht is the predicative adverbial element.

The emphatic formation of sentence 3 is followed by two adverbial elements, im and n-3by s3w t3y-ht, 'in order to preserve'. im merely refers back to p3y-wd3, which had already been mentioned in the first sentence pattern. Since the adverbial n-3by adds new detailed information to the whole story, one may classify it, and not im, as the predicative adverbial adjunct.

Conclusion: although the i.iri.f stp.f formation is a nominal verb form, it can not serve as the subject or direct object of preceding formations. It is only capable of serving as a noun equivalent for an adverbial adjunct which follows it, or precedes it in the case of the in A i.iri.f stp.f formation. 14.

26.15. Types of verb forms capable of serving as the predicative adverbial element of an emphatic formation.

It seems, as a general rule, that any verb form preceded by the dependent iw is capable of serving as a predicative adverbial element, although it must be admitted that no examples of iw iw.f r stp.f or of iw + the initial prospective stp.f have been found in this capacity.

Any prepositional subordinate clause can function as a predicative adverbial element; it seems, however, that non-prepositional subordinate clauses and non-initial main clauses do not serve as predicative adverbial elements.

It sometimes happens that the first of two consecutive verb forms preceded by iw acts as the direct object and the second acts as an adverbial predicate.

Since i.iri.i gm.t is not followed by a direct object, iw di.f must be classified in this role and iw.w (hr) gm.t.i as the predicative adverbial element.

26.16. The impersonal passive emphatic formation.

In one emphatic formation the subject is left out altogether.

Here *i.iri* is not followed by an actor expression. The infinitive of a passive emphatic formation with a nominal actor expression may follow the *i.iri* element, and not the nominal actor expression.

26.17. The time indication of the emphatic formation. 15.

In Late Egyptian, i.iri.f stp.f stands for the following tenses in Sahidic.

- i). NTΣΥ Cωτ π (second perfect). 16.
- ii). εγιωτπ (second present). 17.
- iii). εψωμιωτ⊼ (second aorist). 18.
- iv). εγΝΣΟωΤΑ (second future). 19.

Since the emphatic formation of the verb *iri* itself reveals traces of time differentiations, it seems only reasonable to classify the emphatic formation according to variations of time. ²⁰.

26.18. The i.iri.f stp.f classified according to time indication.

26.18.1. Past tense.

Following bwpw.f stp.f, when both refer to the same time range.

26.18.2. The immediate Present Tense. (The equivalent of Coptic $eqc\omega\tau\vec{n}$).

Ex. 1065, Abb, 6, 1-2: 99 BB 12 96 FF 12 BB 12 96 FF 12 BB 12

- 26.18.3. The simple present. (The equivalent of the Coptic ლოგყასურ).
- a). i.iri.f ir.t.f r' nb.

See above Ex. 1058.

Note that the emphatic formation in Ex. 1058, when followed by r' nb takes the form of i.iri.tw ir.t r' nb, and not i.iri.tw r' nb; i.e. the verb iri itself has at least two forms.

b). hr i.dd.f.

Ex. 1066, LRL, 68, 5: SIDE A CE WING INC.

BY BY BY BY BY BY A PROPERTY AND A STANDARD AND

26.18.4. The emphatic formation used for referring to customs in the past. (Equivalent to Coptic εΝεψοωτῶ).

The form i.iri.f ir.t.f.

26.18.5. The second tense of the future.

b). After mtw.ø hpr.

Ex. 1069, LRL, 56, 1-2: 風点。 这里是是 學面 如此 全点 年 他 后中 以 以 , mtw.ø hpr i.iri p3-mw 'q r.s iw.s wd.tw, It will be planted by the time the water covers it.

c). After iw.

Ex. 1070, LRL, 20, 5-6: (e) & 😂 🖴 e &

26.18.6. The second tense of the initial prospective stp.f.

There is a special form of *i.stp.f* which refers to the future and is found in oaths, promises, and the apodoses of conditional sentences.

Ex. 1071, P. Cairo 65739, 27: \\ \(\bar{D} \) \(\bar{D}

Thus, although bn <u>dd.n</u> '<u>d3</u> is the semantic negative counterpart of <u>i.dd.n</u> m m3'.t, it can not be classified as its grammatical
counterpart. In other words, since '<u>d3</u> does not take the form
*m '<u>d3</u>, it can not be used in conjunction with the emphatic formation. bn <u>dd.n</u> '<u>d3</u> is the negative initial prospective stp.f,
and <u>i.dd.n</u> m m3'.t is the specific form of an emphatic formation
indicating future tense and optative mood.

There are very few verbs which can take the form $i.\underline{d}d.f$ (they are $\underline{d}d$, di, iw, ini and iri), other verbs, when taking the form of the emphatic prospective $i.\underline{d}d.f$ use the verb iri as an auxiliary element.

Compare

- 26.20.1. Patterns which can act as the adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation.
- Adverbs (see Exx. 1058).
- Adverbial phrases (see Exx. 1059 and 1068).
- A ny verbal formation which follows the circumstantial iw (see Exx. 1061, 1063, 1067, 1069, 1072 and 1073).
- Prepositional subordinate clauses (see 26.7.).
- 26.20.2. Patterns which apparently cannot act as the adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation.
- 5. The non-initial main clauses (see below Chapter 38-44).
- The non-prepositional subordinate clauses (see below Chapter 45-55).

Note that the non-initial prospective stp.f cannot act as the adverbial predicate of an emphatic formation; instead r-dd + the initial prospective stp.f is used:

26.20.3. Conclusions.

Since 1). groups 3-4 are interchangeable with adverbs (group 1) and adverbial phrases (group 2), one may conclude that verbal formations belonging to groups 3-4 are adverb equivalents.

And, since 2). groups 5-6 are incompatible with the emphatic formations (i.e. they can not interchange with adverbs), 384.

one may conclude that they are not adverb equivalents.

26.21. The i.iri.f stp.f + adv. after particles.

Note that since neither a relative form nor a participle can be preceded by particles, particles such as hr, y3, in, inn, and ist can be used as indicators for classification.

26.21.1. After hr.

See above Ex. 1066.

26.21.2. After y3.

See also Ex. 1061.

26.21.3. After the interrogative particle (i)n.

26.21.4. After inn.

See above Ex. 1065.

- 26.21.5. After ist.
- See above Ex. 1052.

26.23. Bibliography and references.

- Polotsky, Papers, 33-37 (= Ann. Serv. 40 (1940), 241-245);
 Papers, 43-51 (= RdE 11 (1957), 109-117); Papers, 71-96
 (= Egyptian Tenses); Papers, 173-197 (= Études, 69-93);
 Gardiner, JEA 33 (1947), 95-101; GG, 3 ed., p. X; Vergote,
 Bib. or. 17 (1960), 27; Parker, JNES 20 (1961), 181 (present II); Groll, Negative, 204-214; Williams, JNES 7 (1948),
 224-227.
- Groll, Negative, 92-93.
- Polotsky, Papers, 33-37 (= Ann. Serv. 40 (1940), 241-245);
 Nims, JEA 54 (1968), 162.
- Polotsky, Papers, 188 (= Études, 84); Groll, JNES 28 (1969), 188-189; Williams, JNES 7 (1948), 224-225.
- Polotsky, Papers, 155 (= Études, 51); Williams, JNES 7 (1948), 225; Groll, JNES 28 (1969), 189, 19.
- Groll, Negative, Exx. 332-334.
- Groll, Negative, Exx. 335-337
- See Sweet, English Grammar, 1770-1771.
- However, see Nims, JEA 54 (1968), 163 and note 4.
- 10. Nims, JEA 54 (1968), 162 and note 5.
- 11. Černý, Az 97 (1971), 46, 8.
- 12. Nims, JEA 54 (1968), 163.
- 13. Nims, JEA 54 (1968), 162; Groll, Negative, Ex. 320.
- 14. Groll, Negative, XXII, 3 and Exx. 426-427.
- Plumley, Grammar, 186.
- Plumley, Grammar, 202-203.
- Plumley, Grammar, 192-193.
- Plumley, Grammar, 206-207.
- Plumley, Grammar, 211 and 213.
- However, Demotic reveals a different table, see Williams, JNES 7 (1948), 223-235; Parker, RdE 10 (1955), 50-51, 54; Groll, Negative, 204-211.

28. CONSTRUCTIONS COMPOSED OF THE WN OF EXISTENCE

CHAPTER 28. CONSTRUCTIONS CONTAINING THE WW OF EXISTENCE. (SEE ABOVE 19.13.8.)

- 28.1. The minimal unit, containing the wn of existence. 1.

 The minimal unit is composed of two elements:
- The wn of existence;
- A bare noun;

Note that the adverb dy is optional.

28.2. Time indication.

wn Ø-A dy refers to present time.

28.3. The extended construction wn m-di.f Ø-A.

The wn m-di.f ϕ -A construction can take two basic forms:

- 1. wn m-di.f ø-A;2.
- wn Ø-A im m-di.f.³.
- 28.4. Form 1.

Form 1 is composed of four elements:

- The wn of existence;
- The compound preposition m-di;

Note that the m is sometimes omitted.

Ex. 1090, LES, 69, 15-16: 🖪 🏗 🏗 ಿ 急 e

28. CONSTRUCTIONS COMPOSED OF THE WN OF EXISTENCE

they had life

A pronominal suffix;

The pronominal suffix refers to the owner of the object expressed by ϕ -A.

A bare noun.

The bare noun expresses the owned object.

28.5. The syntactic relationship between the different elements.

It is very difficult to determine the grammatical relationship between the groups $wn \ m-di.f$ and $\phi-A$. Originally $\phi-A$ was the subject of wn, but since wn and m-di.f have become an inseparable unit, $\phi-A$ can not immediately follow wn. In fact it occupies the first possible position, that is, immediately following m-di.f. However, since $\phi-A$ in Coptic is felt to be a direct object, one can assume that the transition from subject to direct object started much earlier. The 'bareness' of A is a necessary element. Compare:

28. CONSTRUCTIONS COMPOSED OF THE WW OF EXISTENCE

with

and with

Ex. 1094, BM 10403, 3, 11-12: * A Re in m in the in the in the interverse of the of copper, which A said you had in your possession;

and with

and with

and with

28. CONSTRUCTIONS COMPOSED OF THE WN OF EXISTENCE

Ex. 1099, LRL, 19, 15: ﷺ وہا اللہ اللہ ﷺ wn ø-ḥmt im m-di.k, There is copper in your possession.

Thus, when ϕ -A immediately follows wn, the adverb im is almost obligatory.

28.9. The $wn m-di.f \phi \sim A$ after the direct indicators of initiality.

After da.

See above Ex. 1097.

28.10. The $wn \not o-A + Adv$. construction after the indirect indicators of initiality.

After nty.

Ex. 1100, BM 10054, rt. 2, 10-11: A se in A se

Note that the wn of existence is preceded by nty, and it does not take the form of a participle. It is excluded from the suffix-conjugation category. Therefore the wn of the following example should not be classified as the wn of existence, but as the wn of the past.

28. CONSTRUCTIONS COMPOSED OF THE WN OF EXISTENCE

28.12. Bibliography and references.

- Erman, NAG, 506; Plumley, Grammar, 233; Groll, Negative, 217-218; Stern, Grammatik, 308 and 368.
- Erman, NAG, 624; Plumley, Grammar, 235; Stern, Grammatik, 312-314; Spiegelberg, Grammatik, 377.
- Plumley, Grammar, 235, note.
- 4. Till, Az 69 (1933), 112-117.

29. THE NEGATIVE ELEMENT MN

CHAPTER 29. THE NEGATIVE ELEMENT MN

29.1. Morphology. 1.

Ex. 1103, BM 10383, 2, 5: 4 111 5 , mn.

Ex. 1104, BM 10052, 11, 24: 🚇 🏋 🗫 , 🞹 .

Ex. 1105, BM 10403, 3, 14: 🚨 📆 🗫 , mn.

Ex. 1106, Ostr. IFAO 862, 1 = Černý BIFAO 72 (1972),

p. 54, no. 48: 5 , mn.

29.2. Semantic connotation.

mn expresses the non-existence of bare or undefined nouns. When it acts as a noun equivalent it is preceded by the dependent iw and its semantic connotation is 'nothing'.

29.3. The minimal unit.

When preceding bare nouns in the minimal unit $mn \not \phi - A$, mn denotes 'there does not exist'.

29.3.1. mn 6-A.

Ex. 1108, RAD, 53, 16-54, 1: A mi so level

A mi so level

Marin so level

Mar

The minimal unit mn \$\phi-A\$ expresses a general non-existence as such. When a more limited and specific reference is expressed, a resumptive pronoun is required (see above Ex. 755). In Ex. 1108 mn \$\phi-\hbs.w\$ expresses the non-existence of \$\hbs.w\$ as such, whereas in Ex. 755 the non-existence of \$\hbs.w\$ is restricted to .w.

29. THE NEGATIVE ELEMENT MN

When the bare noun precedes mn the notion of lack of possession can be expressed by $m \, dx.t.f$ which follows mn.

Obs. The adjective nb does not define a noun which follows mn.

29.5. The $mn \ m-di.f \ \phi-A$ construction after the indirect indicators of initiality.

29.5.1. After iw.

29.5.2. After nty.

29. THE NEGATIVE ELEMENT MN

Ex. 1119, P. Berlin 10627, 9-10: Solution of the second of

The writing nty-iw is not here nty + the iw of the future, but a phonetic writing of Coptic ETE.

29.6. The mn m-di.f ø-A construction after particles.
After the interrogative in.

Ex. 1120, Ostr. IFAO 862, 1-2 = Černý, BIFAO 72 (1972), p. 54, no. 48: (i)n mn m-di.s im.w, Has she got nothing from them?

29.7. The $mn \not o-A$ construction following inn in contrast to the $bn \not p3-A$ construction.

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30. THE IH STP.K FORMATION

30.4.2. After ky-dd r-dd.

Ex. 1127, LRL, 8, 9-11: ~ 川岛....岛 星 高 希 M M J A , ky-dd r-dd ih dd.tn n imn, Another matter saying, "Please pray to Amon".

- 30.5. The it stp.k formation can follow the following verbal formations.
- 30.5.1. An imperative formation.

Ex. 1128, LRL, 4, 9: \\ \textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textbf{\textb

30.5.2. A circumstantial first present preceded by a first present.

- 30.6. The formation ih rh.k sw as an end position clause.
- 30.6.1. After a negative imperative.

30.6.2. After a conjunctive form.

30. THE IH STP.K FORMATION

- 30.8. Bibliography and references.
- Erman, NAG, 298 and 356 Anm.; GG, 450, 5, 440, 4 and 346,
 4.

31. THE PREPOSITIONAL INITIAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

GROUP III. THE PREPOSITIONAL INITIAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

CHAPTER 31. INTRODUCTION TO GROUP III

A prepositional subordinate clause is a verbal formation containing a prepositional phrase:

- 1. m-dr stp.f/(r-) \$3' m-dr stp.f (Coptic NTEPEYCWTM).
- i.iri.t.f stp.f/(r-)š3' i.iri.t.f stp.f (Coptic yantqcωτπ).
- m-ht stp.f.
- 4. r-tnw stp.f.

Prepositional subordinate clauses, unlike non-prepositional ones, can occupy both initial and non-initial positions; they are enabled to fill the former role by their possession of marked elements of subordination in their prepositions.

CHAPTER 32. M-DR STP.F

32.1. Morphology.

 $m-\underline{d}r$ stp.f is a subordinate clause of time. It is constructed from the compound preposition, $m-\underline{d}r$, 'since', plus a stp.f formation. The compound prepositional element $m-\underline{d}r$ has become an integral morphological constituent of the verbal formation. 1.

32.2. The type of the stp.f in the m-dr stp.f formation.

Thus the assumption that the stp.f which follows $m-\underline{d}r$ is the non-initial prospective stp.f is perhaps incorrect; the stp.n.f in Ex. 1134 is perhaps the circumstantial stp.n.f which still exists in the early 19th. Dynasty.

Thus, the morphemes $p \in \mathbb{R}$, which appear on the one side in $\mathbb{M} \triangle p \in \mathbb{Q} \in \mathbb{M} = \mathbb{M}$, $e^{T}p \in \mathbb{Q} \in \mathbb{M} = \mathbb{M}$, $e^{T}p \in \mathbb{Q} \in \mathbb{M} = \mathbb{M}$, (verbs composed of the verb di plus the non-initial prospective stp.f), and, on the other side, in $\mathbb{M} = \mathbb{M} = \mathbb{M} = \mathbb{M}$, should not be identified. This would explain the past indication of the formation $m-dr-stp.f.^2$.

32.3. The $m-\underline{d}r-stp.f$ after the direct indicators of initiality.

The $m-\underline{d}r-stp.f$, when following the direct indicators of initiality, is preceded by the preposition ir.

Note that the subordinate prepostional clauses can not be preceded by the indirect indicators of initiality; i.e. *iw m-dr-stp.f, *wn m-dr-stp.f and *nty m-dr-stp.f do not exist.

- 32.4. Verbal formations which can precede an $m-\underline{d}r-stp.f$ formation.
- 32.4.1. A first present formation with the stative of a verb of motion.

34.4.2. A iw.f (hr) stp.f formation of the past.

32.4.3. An emphatic formation. 3.

Ex. 1138, LRL, 64, 12-13: 中部 口(le 入 一 , i.iri.k h3b s'.t m-dr-wn A dy, It was after A was here that you wrote a letter.

32. M-DR STP.F

32.8. Verbal formations which can follow a $(r-) \times 3' - m - \underline{d}r - stp.f$ A iw.f (hr) tm stp.f of the past.

32. M-DR STP.F

32.9. Bibliography and references.

- Spiegelberg, Az 60 (1925), 59-61; Sethe, Az 62 (1926),
 Wolf, Az 69 (1933), 110-111, 664.
- This fact was first pointed out to me by Professor Fairman.
- Groll, Negative, Section 43.

THE I.IRI.T.F STP.F FORMATION

CHAPTER 33. THE I.IRI.T.F STP.F FORMATION

33.1. Morphology.

The i.iri.t.f stp.f formation is a clause of time indicating the notion of 'until he chooses'. As far as historical grammar is concerned, the i.iri.t.f stp.f is composed of four elements. 1.

- i = the preposition r;
- iri.t = the Middle Egyptian stp.t formation;
- f = the actor expression.
- stp = the infinitive.

However, the preposition r has already become, in the 20th. Dynasty, an integral part of the verb form itself. This is indicated by the 33' i.iri.t.f stp.f formation (see below Chapter 34). Since the additional element 33' is needed to convey the marked prepositional element, one is entitled to assume that i in i.iri.t.f stp.f has lost its prepositional force.

33.2. The i.iri.t.f stp.f after the direct indicators of initiality.

After r-dd.

Ex. 1143, LRL, 58, 7: \(\bar{L} \bar{

i.iri.t.f stp.f is never preceded by iw, wn or nty.

33.3. Verbal formations which can precede an i.iri.t.f stp.f formation.

35. THE M-HT-STP.F FORMATION

CHAPTER 35. THE M-HT-STP.F FORMATION

m-ht stp.f is a subordinate clause of time, expressing the pluperfect tense.

m-ht stp.f is very rare in non-literary texts.

Since there is no free stp.f formation which indicates the pluperfect tense when acting as a subordinate clause, the m-ht-stp.f has to be classified as a single unit, and not as a stp.f formation preceded by m-ht.

37. THE IW IN LATE EGYPTIAN

GROUP IV. THE NON-INITIAL MAIN CLAUSES

CHAPTER 37. THE IW IN LATE EGYPTIAN

There are four distinctive iw's in Late Egyptian, which, although outwardly indentical, must be classified as distinctive elements (see also 17.1.1.-17.1.4., 19.13.1. and Chapter 63).

37.1. The initial independent iw of the future.

This is the iw which occupies the first position of the third future. Its syntactic capabilities may hence be singled out by classifying the syntactic capabilities of the third future.

a). An iw preceded by the direct indicators of initiality $(r-\underline{d}d, r-nty, hn'-\underline{d}d r-nty, ky \underline{d}d)$ is the initial iw of the future. An apparent exception in the following example is to be explained as the omission of the opening sentence of an oath (see below 42.2.3.).

- b). An *iw* which is preceded by the indirect indicators of initiality (another *iw*, the *wn* of the past, or the relative pronoun *nty*) is the initial *iw* of the future.
- c). An iw which is preceded by bn is the iw of the future.
- d). An iw which takes the form iri when preceding a noun is the initial iw of the future.

37. THE IW IN LATE EGYPTIAN

iw.f (hr) (tm) stp.f of the future, which may function as:

- a). the apodosis after a wnn (hr) stp.f formation;
- b). the protasis when preceded by ir.

Since it can function as the apodosis of a subordinate clause, it must also be classified as a non-initial independent iw.

37.4. The dependent iw (the so-called 'converter').

The dependent iw is not a conjugation base, but, rather an additional element. This means that every initial main clause (both nominal and verbal) may be preceded by the dependent iw, which converts the initial main clause to a non-initial subordinate clause. Note that:

- a). the dependent iw is non-initial, and hence can not be preceded by $r-\underline{d}d$, $ky-\underline{d}d$ or r-nty. Nor can it be preceded by another iw, by wn or by nty.
- b). The dependent iw may follow:
 - i). an undefined or a bare noun (i.e. the iw in a w' -A iw construction is always the dependent iw).
 - ii). an emphatic formation (i.e. the iw in i.iri.f stp.f iw is always the dependent iw).
- c). The dependent iw can precede (but never follow) the negative element bn (which means that every iw in iw bn is the dependent iw).
- 37.5. Bibliography and references.
- de Buck, JEA 23 (1937), 161-163; Stricker, Acta Or. 16 (1938), 82-83.

CHAPTER 38. THE IW.F (HR) STP.F OF THE PAST 1.

38.1. Classification.

After the period of the 21st. Dynasty, iw.f (hr) stp.f begins to disappear as a form with past reference, being replaced by the perfect active stp.f or iri.f stp.f.

Since the circumstantial first present, the iw.f (hr) stp.f of the future, and the iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past, when occurring in the affirmative, look outwardly identical, one should look for the corresponding negative formations.

The iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past is non-initial main clause, as can be seen from the fact that it can act as the apodosis of an m-dr-stp.f.

Thus, since $m-\underline{d}r-stp.f$ is a prepositional subordinate clause, and since the iw.f (hr) stp.f formation which follows it acts as its apodosis, one must assume that the iw.f (hr) stp.f is a main clause (i.e. two subordinate clauses cannot act as a protasis-apodosis complex).

- 38.2. The iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past can follow the following verbal formations.
- 38.2.1. The perfect active stp.f.

38.2.2. The perfect passive ini.tw.f.

Ex. 1154, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 7: A ... I are least and inition. I with the little of the butlers for examination. He took his own life (lit. 'died by himself').

That the *iw.f* (*ḥr*) *stp.f* which continues *ini.tw.f* is the *iw.f* (*ḥr*) *stp.f* of the past and not the circumstantial *iw.f* (*ḥr*) *stp.f* is indicated by the fact that the *iw.f* (*ḥr*) *mwt* is followed by a reflexive dative, which can never follow an infinitive which interchanges with adverbs and statives; i.e. an infinitive filling the second position of a circumstantial first present. Also note that the form *stp.tw.f* of the past is a peculiarity of the verb *ini*.

38.2.3. The perfect passive stp.w.f formation.

38.2.4. A first present with the stative of a verb of motion.

That an iw.f (hr) stp.f following a first present with the stative of a verb of motion is the iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past is based on the fact that it is negated by iw.f (hr) tm

stp.f, and not by iw bn sw (hr) stp.f (see above Exx. 789-790).

38.2.5. First present patterns preceded by hr ir.

38.2.6. A wn.f + a stative (see above 19.13.7.).

Note that a iw.f (hr) stp.f formation which continues the wn.f sdr.tw formation is negated by tm, and not by iw bn sw (hr) stp.f (see below Ex. 1172).

38.2.7. The hr-wnn.f (hr) hpr formation.².

(See also Ex. 1173.)

iw.i (hx) gm.t A B, And as I was walking along (lit. 'when I was walking'), I found A and B.

Note that this passage is followed by four more iw.f (hr) stp.f formations.².

38.2.9. A relative form.

38.2.10. A passive particle.

Ex. 1162, P. Jud. Turin, 5, 6: 学常月中島....

ABCDE中島市島川盛 陸島, rmt iny.t
.... m-b3h ABCDE iw.w (hr) smtr.w, The people who
were brought before A, B, C, D and E, and whom
they examined.

38.2.11. A participle of the verb wn.

Ex. 1163, LRL, 67, 13-14: SAR RESERVALENTED IN STREET TO I MEDITED IN STREET TO I WITH THE MEDITED

38.3. Adverbial phrases which precede iw.f (hr) stp.f.

38.3.2. hr ir hrw.

- 38.4. iw.f (hr) stp.f after non-verbal constructions.
- 38.4.1. A bimembral nominal sentence.

38.4.2. A frontal extraposition.

CHAPTER 39. THE IW.F (HR) TM STP.F OF THE PAST

39.1. Morphology.

The iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past is made negative by tm, which precedes the infinitive. However, when the actor expression is a noun, tm may immediately follow iw; i.e. precede the nominal subject.

Note that in Ex. 1170, the element tm precedes p3-h3ty-', whereas in Ex. 1171 it follows it.

39.2. Classification.

That the iw.f (hr) tm stp.f of the past is an isomorphic negative pattern (i.e. it is identical with its affirmative correlative, except for the fact that it has the additional negative element tm) becomes obvious from the following syntactic complexes.

39.2.1. The iw.f (hr) tm stp.f as the apodosis of a hr iw $wn.f^2$ protasis.

39.2.2. The iw.f ($\hbar r$) tm stp.f as the apodosis of a $\hbar r$ wnn.f construction.

39.2.3. The iw.f (hr) tm stp.f of the past as the apodosis of the prepositional subordinate clause m-dr-stp.f.

Ex. 1174, Mayer A, 12, 9: \$\mathbb{R} \mathbb{R} \mathb

39.2.4. Conclusion.

The fact that a iw.f (hr) tm stp.f of the past can fulfil the same morpho-syntactic functions as the iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past, i.e. can only function as a non-initial main clause, indicates very strongly that the iw.f (hr) stp.f of the past and the iw.f (hr) tm stp.f of the past are one and the same form. 4.

- 39.3. Verbal formations which can precede the iw.f (hr) tm stp.f of the past.

- 39.3.3. A tw.i iy.tw formation.

39.3.4. A relative form within a frontal extraposition.

- 39.3.9. A wn.f formation.
 - Ex. 1183, BM 10052, 4, 23-24: 总是 中元 20.... 128 日本 20....
- 39.4. The semantic connotation of the iw.f (\(\hat{h}r\)) tm stp.f of the past. 6.
- 39.4.1. The iw.f (hr) tm stp.f formation expressing the non-execution of an intended purpose, expressed by a preceding third future formation.
 - Ex. 1184, Sauneron, Ostr. DM. 558, rt. 5-6: [e]

 RIA [e] III | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIII | IIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIII | IIIII | IIIII | IIII | IIIII | IIII | IIII | IIII | IIII | IIII | IIII |
- 39.4.2. The iw.f (hr) tm stp.f formation expressing the non-execution of a command postulated by a preceding imperative formation.

40. THE IW.F (HR) STP.F OF THE FUTURE

CHAPTER 40. THE IW.F (HR) STP.F OF THE FUTURE

40.1. Following wnn.f (hr) stp.f.

The iw.f (hx) stp.f of the future occurs after the pattern wnn.f (hx) stp.f. The h, wnn.f, plus infinitive is used in temporal clauses referring to the future, especially in the formula very often found in Late Egyptian letters, and written with varying degrees of cursiveness:

40.2. Following ir.

The iw.f (hr) stp.f of the future also occurs after ir as the protasis of an apodosis composed of a third future (see above 17.9.1.).

The iw of the iw.f hr stp.f of the future does not take the form iri when preceding a nominal actor expression (see above 17.12.).

40. THE IW.F (HR) STP.F OF THE FUTURE

Ex. 1188, BM 10052, 8, 21-22: 1 = 1 = 91 A11 is

Lack 19 = 1 2 , ir iw ky (ḥr) iy

mtw.f s'ḥ'.k iry.i, If someone else comes and
accuses you I will do (it again).

- 40.3. Bibliography and references.
- Černý, JEA 31 (1945), 41-42, note 1; JEA 35 (1949), 29; Hughes, Saite Demotic Land Leases (Chicago, 1952), 20, section g; Groll, JEA 55 (1969), 96-97, section 24 and note 4.

is in the passive voice.

The conjunctive is never preceded by the direct indicators of initiality, $ky-\underline{d}d$, $hn'-\underline{d}d$ r-nty or r-nty; nor by the indirect indicators of initiality, the dependent iw, the wn of the past, and the relative pronoun nty.

Since the conjunctive can function syntactically as a noninitial main clause, one may classify as such:

Ex. 1194, LES, 67, 13-14: \\ \omega \

Since mtw.i ir.t.s here functions as an apodosis one may assume that it can function as a non-initial main clause.

Thus the conjunctive is a verbal formation which expresses mere continuation or succession; it does not express any kind of subordination.

- 42.3. The conjunctive can continue the following verbal formations.
- 42.3.1. The simple imperative formation.

42.3.2. The imi stp.f formation.

Ex. 1196, BM 10052, 15, 7-8: 1 1 2 1 2 1 2 2

f backaelald & to , imi ini.tw
t3-nty 'nh.tw mtw.s s'h'.i, Let the one (the wife)
who is alive be brought, and let her accuse me.

42.3.3. The negative imperative m iri stp.f.

42.3.4. The negative $m \, dy \, \dots$ formation.

42.3.5. The negative br m-di tm + infinitive.

42.3.6. The ib stp.k formation.

Ex. 1200, LRL, 2, 3: La and lake care of A and B.

42.3.7. A iw.f (r) stp.f formation.

Ex. 1202, Mayer B, 5-6: $\{e^m\}$ $\{f^m\}$ $\{f^m$

42.3.8. A iw.f (hr) stp.f of the future.

42.3.9. A negative first present followed by a third future.

42.3.10. An infinitive.

for us, and then (lit. 'also') divide in fair division with us. $^{7}\cdot$

42.7. The mtw.ø hpr construction.

It seems that mtw.ø hpr expresses the notion of 'it happened' or 'it will happen' (see above Ex. 1069).

- 42.8. Bibliography and references.
 - Gardiner, JEA 14 (1928), 86-96; Mattha, BIFAO 45 (1947),
 43-55; Černý, JEA 35 (1949), 25-30; Hintze, Untersuchungen,
 61-62 and 264-274; Lichtheim, Polotsky Studies, 1-8;
 Volten, Polotsky Studies54-80.
 - See BM 10052, 3, 15.
 - See BM 10052, 1, 20 (very rare).
 - Also BM 10052, 7, 9; However, see Spiegelberg, Grammatik,
 152; Nims, JEA 24 (1938), 77-78.
 - See also LRL, 22, 14-16.
 - See also LRL, 41, 2.
 - Gardiner, JNES 12 (1953), 149, i; Černý, JEA 35 (1949),
 30-33; Hintze, Untersuchungen, 264; Wente, JNES 21 (1962),
 304-311.

CHAPTER 43. THE NEGATION OF THE CONJUNCTIVE1.

43.1. Morphology.

The conjunctive is made negative by the negative verb tm, which precedes the infinitive; i.e. tm itself takes the form of an infinitive, as does the following verb (see above Chapter 39).²

- 43.2. Verbal formations which can precede a negative conjunctive.
- 43.2.1. An affirmative conjunctive formation.
- b). wnn.f (hr) stp.f + iw.f (hr) stp.f of the future + mtw.f stp.f + mtw.f tm stp.f.

C). bw iri A (stp.f) + mtw.f stp.f + mtw.f tm stp.f.

- d). ih stp.k + mtw.i stp.f + mtw.k tm stp.f

 Ex. 1214, LRL, 4, 9-12: 【显点 如] 以 。

 图 ae 图 图 [m] 【e 图 图 图 , ih

 dd.tn n imn mtw.i mh qni(.i) mtw.k tm

 nn.t n A, You will pray to Amon and I will
 embrace And you will not neglect A
- 43.2.2. The affirmative imperative formation.

43.2.3. The negative imperative m iri ir.t formation.

43.2.4. The negative imperative m dy.

43.2.5. The iw.f(r) stp.f formation which follows an imperative.

43.2.6. An initial prospective stp.f.

Note that the tm can be omitted.

Ex. 1219, LRL, 22, 3: 四面 de Tombal de Tombal

43.2.7. A negative first present.

Ex. 1220, LRL, 58, 15-16: 99 The the form the first the

43.2.8. An emphatic formation, in which the emphasised element is a *iw bw i.iri.t.* A stp.f formation.

43.2.9. A relative form.

43.2.10. A participle of the verb wn.

43.2.11. The perfect active stp.f.

Ex. 1224, Mayer B, 8-9: 智 de 3 * 第 前几~

『....』 「日本」 Me A 「日本」 Me A 「日本」 Me A 「日本」 Me A I Me A Le Th 「芸 , hdb(.i)
p3-ms ② ② irm A i.wn irm.n mtw.f tm di.t.n
r-b1, I killed the apprentice ③ ⑤ with A who was with us, so that he might not betray us.

43.2.12. A nominal sentence pattern.

A ih p3-A pattern.

43.2.13. An adjectival sentence.

Ex. 1226, LRL, 28, 7-8: the second seco

43.3. After particles.

After hr:

44. THE 'H'.N AND DD.IN FORMATIONS

CHAPTER 44. THE 'H'.N AND DD.IN FORMATIONS 1.

44.1. Classification.

The 'h'.n stp.f and the <u>dd.in.f</u> formations are almost extinct in non-literary Late Egyptian. They appear only in court procedures; i.e. they are legal terminology. Since they do not follow the direct or indirect indicators of initiality they should be classified as non-initial clauses. However, since they can function as independent units, it is reasonable to classify them as non-initial main clauses.

44.2. 'h'.n stp.f.

Ex. 1228, Abb, 7, 1-8: (8 n !! 1) # 0cc1 12 60 引数了於A R Too D to BCD M 9 mm 数分配 黑田难… 带与甲屈 品 年 全國 羅 , hsb.t(?) 16 3bd 3 3h.t sw 21 hrw pn m t3-qnb.t '3.t n niw.t 'h'.n di imy-r-niw.t t3ty A ini.tw hmty B C D dd.in t3ty n n3-srw '3.y n t3-qnb.t '3.t n niw.t, Year 16, 3rd month of the innundation season, day 21. On this day in the Great Court of Thebes Then the Prefect of Thebes and vizier A caused to be brought the coppersmiths B. C. D. Then the vizier said to the great magistrates of the Great Court of Thebes Ex. 1229, Adoption, rt. 3-4: 7 - 99 e A 7613 e m 20 le & 30 20 m = le 10 10 le K Mem W M 后 含 Le do, 'h'.n iry A sš $n.i \ldots iw.f (hr) ir.t(.i) n.f m šri.t iw.f (hr) sš$ n.i n p3-swt nb, Thereupon A made a writing for me and made me his child and wrote down for me all he possessed.

45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

GROUP V. NON-INITIAL NON-PREPOSITIONAL SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

CHAPTER 45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

45.1. Classification.

The commonest use of the non-initial prospective <code>stp.f</code> is a dependent <code>stp.f</code> following <code>di</code>, 'cause', generally termed the subjunctive. This form of the <code>stp.f</code> is almost alone in being traceable down as far as Coptic, where it appears in such causative forms as <code>Talo</code>. This Coptic form, and others like it, show that the full vowel stood immediately before the suffix; i.e. <code>*setpof</code>. In Coptic this form only appears when dependent on the infinitive of <code>di</code>, and the number of verbs which appear in this type of formation is reduced to about forty. In Late Egyptian, however, any verb may be used. The verb <code>di</code> itself can take any possible verbal formation.

- 45.2. Verbal formations which the verb di can take.
- 45.2.1. The perfect active stp.f.

45.2.2. ih stp.k.

Ex. 1231, LRL, 23, 14-15: \\ \frac{1}{2} \\ \frac{1

45.2.3. Verbal constructions containing the infinitive.².

45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

a). The third future.

b). The first present.

c). The iw.f (ḥr) di.t of the past.

Ex. 1235, P. Jud. Turin, 2, 6: \\ \ell = \\ \rightarrow \rightarro

d). r + infinitive.

Ex. 1236, Abb, 5, 18: 2 Pc m A A 20121

2 = A 12 Pc M A 2 B A 20 ((() A 12 Pc M)

br iw.i (r) h3b hr.w m-b3h pr-'3 '.w.s. p3y.i-nb

'.w.s. r di.t wdy.tw rmt pr-' '.w.s, And I will

writing about them to Pharoah, 1.p.h., my Lord, 1.p.h.,
in order that servants of Pharoah, 1.p.h., may be
sent.

e). The conjunctive.

45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

45.2.4. The participle.

45.2.5. The relative form.

45.2.6. The imperative imi.

45.2.7. The negative imperative m dy.

the favour of gods and men!

Ex. 1241, LRL, 8, 7: A Lan M & C & A e E, m dy w'r.w, Do not let them flee!

45.2.8. The negative imperative m iri.

45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

45.2.9. The emphatic formation i.di.f.

Ex. 1243, LRL, 56, 4: () 量 希 人 () 人 () , i.di.tn iw.i, And you will cause me to come

45.2.10. The perfect passive stp.f.

Ex. 1244, BM 10052, 7, 9: 4 = 2 = 99 1 from

(() , dd.tw iry.f 'nh-n-nb '.w.s., He was

made to take an oath by the Ruler, 1.p.h..

45.3. Observations.

Note that the non-initial prospective form of the verbs

- 1. ii, 'come' is ∧ e ∧ , iw (see Ex. 1243);
- 2. iri, 'do' is 99 , iry (see Ex. 1242);
- wn, 'exist' is wnn or wn (see Ex. 1240 and Černý, Ostr. DM 317, rt. 4).

The non-initial prospective stp.f, when following di can not be made negative; it is only di which can take a negative form.

- 45.4. The non-initial prospective stp.f acting as a final or consecutive clause. 3.
- 45.4.1. Verbal formations which precede the non-initial prospective stp.f acting as a clause of purpose.

The imperative formation.

45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

i.iri nh3y hrw.w dy q3i-n.i wh3.i sw, Stay here with me a few days so that I can look for it.

45.4.2. The initial prospective stp.f.

Ex. 1247, LES, 65, 8-9: To The II is the first term of the god".

45.5. The non-initial prospective stp.f after particles. The interrogative (i)n, compare

with

Ex. 1249, Ostr. Brussels, E 317 = BIFAO. 72 (1972), p. 52, no. 42, 1-2: 【公里 证 管料 果瓜 说 。

(i)n it3i sw n3-rmt p3-mš', Should the soldiers collect it? and with

45. THE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

- 45.6. Bibliography and references.
- 1. Erman, Az 22 (1884), 28-37.
- 2. Plumley, Grammar, 173-176.
- Groll, Negative, Section 49.

46. THE NEGATION OF THE NON-INITIAL FINAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

CHAPTER 46. THE NEGATION OF THE NON-INITIAL FINAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F

46.1. Classification.

The non-initial final prospective stp.f is made negative by means of the negative verb tm. The verb tm takes the form of the non-initial prospective stp.f, and the verb actually negated takes the form of the infinitive. 1.

- 46.2. Verbal formations which can precede the tm.f stp.f formation.²
- 46.2.1. An imperative.

Ex. 1252, Sauneron, Ostr. DM. 592, 5: A A a c mile with a second with the second with a second with the second

46.2.2. A third future formation.

- 46. THE NEGATION OF THE NON-INITIAL FINAL PROSPECTIVE STP.F
- 46.2.3. A \emptyset -A (hr) stp formation.

46.3. The tm.f stp.f formation after particles.

After the interrogative (i)n

- 46.4. Bibliography and references.
- 1. GG, 347, 4; Erman, NAG, 794.
- Hintze, Untersuchungen, 253, V, 1; Groll, Negative, Exx. 360-373.

47. THE PASSIVE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.TW.F

CHAPTER 47. THE PASSIVE NON-INITIAL PROSPECTIVE STP.TW.F

Note that mostly, it is the verbs *di* and *ini* which can take the form which contains the element *tw* as a marker of the passive non-initial prospective *stp.f* formation.

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

CHAPTER 48. ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

48.1. Morphology.

48.1.1. The prothetic yod.

Late Egyptian has only one active participle. Its form is invariable, taking no account of difference of gender or number. Many participles have acquired a prothetic yod, Qod, these being in most cases biliteral verbs or verbs which have become biliteral in Late Egyptian. There are also, however, occasional examples of triliteral verbs (e.g. w'x, 'flee'; sfb, 'loosen'; and dgs, 'touch') which have acquired the yod.

The following are examples of the active participle with the prothetic $y\bar{o}d$:

Ex. 1259, BM 10383, 1, 6: 4 1 1 1 1, i.iy;

Ex. 1260, BM 10052, 13, 16: 42 ..., i.ini;

Ex. 1261, Mayer B, 9: 1₺ ₺ ෫, i.wn;

Ex. 1262, Mayer B, 8: 12 🎎 , i.wn;

Ex. 1263, Mayer A, 4, 3: 船為三, i.wn;

Ex. 1264, BM 10052, 3, 7: 4 🕏 🖁 🛌 , i.w3ħ;

Ex. 1265, LES, 65, 5: 1 1 1 1 € 1 € 1. wd;

Ex. 1266, Mayer A, 13, B5: 🕸 🚉 ((🕏 📐 , i.w'r;

Ex. 1267, P. Leop-Am., 3, 3: 【20 元 11 元 11 元, i.h3y;

Ex. 1268, BM 10403, 3, 16: 42 0 2 4 1 - , i.ptr;

Ex. 1270, LRL, 70, 11: 9 图 色 , i.hpr;

Ex. 1271, BM 10053, vs. 4, 21: 10 6 2 , i.sfh;

Ex. 1272, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2: () 他 二 上 , i.smtr;

Ex. 1273, BM 10053, vs. 2, 10: (1) 宋風人, i.šm;

Ex. 1274, Mayer A, 12, 9: \ \ 2 22 0 1, i. ssp;

Ex. 1275, BM 10053, vs. 1, 12: 42 \$ 12 11, i.t3y;

Ex. 1277, BM 10052, 1, 2: 【企品 证序点 i.dgs;

Ex. 1278, LRL, 67, 12: 42 (1), i.ad;

Ex. 1279, LRL, 19, 5: 42 = = 20, i.ttt;

Ex. 1280, LES, 67, 13: 12 2 ,i.iri;

Ex. 1281, RAD, 56, 5: 42 😂 , i.iri;

Ex. 1282, BM 10052, 8, 10: 42 , i.di;

Ex. 1284, LES, 65, 5: 中心, i.di;

In rare cases this prothetic $y\bar{o}d$ is written as \Leftrightarrow :

Ex. 1285, Ostr. DM. 608, rt. 1-2: < 💯 🗒 , r.ini;

Ex. 1288, P. Bulaq 10, rt. 15:
, r.di;

Ex. 1289, LRL, 45, 10: 8 , r.di;

Participles without the prothetic yod:

Ex. 1290, Abb, 6, 1: Δ_{II} , $\underline{a}a$; this is probably the Coptic $\Delta \Delta T$.

Ex. 1291, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 2: 🕮 е , wл;

Ex. 1293, P. Leop-Am, 4, 9: 1 2 , swd;

Ex. 1294, Ostr. DM. 46, vs. 4: 4, di.

It is interesting to observe that while \mathbb{R}^{n} \mathbb{R}^{n} \mathbb{R}^{n} , \mathbb{R}^{n} , and \mathbb{R}^{n} , \mathbb{R}^{n} , seem to be used indiscriminately, only \mathbb{R}^{n} \mathbb{R}^{n} , who is used in expressions of the type 'A who was (or 'used to be') high priest of Amon'.

48.1.2. The omission of the prothetic yod. 2.

The prothetic $y\bar{o}d$ is usually omitted when the participle is preceded by the definite article or by a demonstrative pronoun.

Ex. 1295, BM 10383, 1, 5: ¥ 🏗 ڪe 🗻, p3-hpr, What happened.

Ex. 1296, BM 10052, 13, 8: $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$

48.1.3. The spellings of the verb ii.

Note the spelling iw in the following example:

Ex. 1297, LES, 74, 1: $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{1}{4}$

It should be noted however, that $y \in A$, iw, has no parallels; it may be best at this stage of our knowledge to consider $\frac{\pi}{2} = y \in A$, n3-iw, as a mistake for $\frac{\pi}{2} = y \in A$, n3-iw, as the infinitive which follows the preposition m would be quite normal.

48.1.4. The immutability of participles.

The following examples illustrate the immutability of the participle, regardless of the number or gender of its antecedent.

Ex. 1298, LRL, 45, 9: 以上、 完 出 业 是 是 已 完 上 , p3y-rmt 2 i.iwn dy, These two men who were there.

Ex. 1299, LRL, 67, 13-14: A. wn m p3-pr, The wife who was in the house.

48.2. The expression of the direct object of the participles.

The pronominal direct object of a participle is expressed by the dependent pronoun. As with the imperative, a following 1st. pers. sing. is sometimes written 2 and note 2.

Ex. 1304, LRL, 23, 9: $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{A}_{\mathbb{A}} = \mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} = \mathbb{A} =$

Ex. 1305, LES, 64, 6: \\ \(\mathbb{D} \) \\ \(\mathbb{N} \) \\ \\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\ \(\mathbb{N} \) \\ \(\mathbb{N} \) \\ \(\mathbb{N} \) \\\ \(\mathbb{N} \) \\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\ \(\mathbb{N} \) \\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\ \(\mathbb{N} \) \\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\\ \mathbb{N} \) \\\\ \mathbb{N}

Ex. 1306, LRL, 8, 16: $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$, i. šsp st, Who received it (a letter, fem.).

- 48.3. The tense indication of the active participle.
- 48.3.1. Classification.

One has to distinguish between two main groups of active participles:

- the i.stp sw group;
- II. the i.iri stp.f group.

48.3.2. Group I.

The participle of verbs of less than four consonants, when taking the form *i.stp* sw mostly express either the past or the pluperfect tense.

48.3.3. The past tense.

48.3.4. The pluperfect tense.

Note that the participle i.wn very often expresses the pluperfect tense:

Ex. 1309, LRL, 45, 9: 12 5 e , i.wn, Who had been.

48.3.5. Extended or repeated action in the past is expressed by i.wn (hr) stp.f.

Ex. 1311, LRL, 35, 3: 12 2 2 2 2 100 111 , i.wn (hr) di.t 'q.w, Who used to give bread.

Note that the participle $2 + \sqrt{2} + \sqrt{2} = \sqrt{2} + \sqrt{2} +$

Ex. 1312, BM 10053, vs. 4, 18: 1 二 二 wn w3ḥ.ti, The great seat which lay

48.3.6. Group II.

A few verbs of less than four consonants, instead of forming a participle of the type *i.stp sw*, with past meaning, use the participle of the auxiliary verb , *iri*. The difference in form presumably reflects either a difference in tense indication or a semantic variation; we conjecture that these sometimes refer to present time, substituting a lost present (or 'imperfective') participle or a 'can' or 'made to' connotation for the regular *i.stp.sw* variety.³.

both as the qualified word, and as the subject of the relative clause.

Ex. 1318, BM 10403, 1, 7: The series of the

The n3 which here precedes iri acts both as the defined antecedent and as the subject of iri, whereas the n3 which follows iri is the direct object of iri.

The statement that an active participle is the equivalent of a relative clause is based on the fact that it is made negative by nty bwpw.f stp.f (see below 49.1.); i.e. the counterpart relationship between n3-iri and n3 nty bwpw.w ir.t.f indicates that according to the Egyptian feeling of language a relative clause introduced by nty corresponds to a sentence expressed by a participle, and thus they belong to the same syntactic category.

48.5.2. The antecedent of the active participle.

The antecedent of an active participle can be:

- a defined noun (see below Ex. 1321);
- a noun followed by nb (see above Ex. 967);
- 3. a proper name (see above Ex. 1223);
 - 4. the definite article (see above Ex. 1302);

- 48.6. Bibliography and references.
- Erman, NAG, 367-370; GG, 357.
- 2. Erman, NAG, 373.
- Groll, Non-verbal, 64-65, XIV; Erman, NAG, 378.

49. THE NEGATION OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

CHAPTER 49. THE NEGATION OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

The active participle when indicating the past tense is made negative by nty bwpw.f stp.f. Compare

give to me').

That $p3-nty\ bwpw.f\ di.t\ n.i$ is the negative counterpart of p3-w3h is based on the observation that in $p3-nty\ bwpw.f\ di.t$ the antecedent, p3, is identical with the subject of the relative clause, the pronominal suffix .f; i.e. it is a relative clause which expresses an activity in the past in which the antecedent is indentical with the subject of the relative clause.

Thus, in contradistinction to the participle, nty bwpw.f stp.f has an expressed subject. However, when indicating the simple present tense the participle is negated by nty bw iri.f stp.f.

50. THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

Ex. 1336, Mayer A, 11, 17: 字 化 点头 (1) 点, ø-rmt i.ddh, Men who were imprisoned.

Two passive participles can qualify the same antecedents.

50.4.2. A definite article or demonstrative.

See below Ex. 1346.

50.4.3. A single noun as antecedent for more than one passive participle.

Ex. 1338, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 1: \$\text{R} \text{R} \text{R

50.4.4. A single passive participle with more than one antecedent.

50.4.5. The passive participle with no antecedent.

50. THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

An archaic feature of administrative documents is the use in list headings of the passive participle with no preceding article or noun. The noun or nouns to which the participle refers follow the headings.

50.5. The passive participle with a subject of its own. 2.

The formation p3-A iry B is always followed by a resumptive pronoun referring to the antecedent.

50.6. The rarity of the passive participle.

Although quite a large number of examples of different usages of the passive participle have been given in the preceding paragraphs, it should be pointed out that only two

50. THE PASSIVE PARTICIPLE

50.7.1. A passive participle followed by the time expression $h_{rw} p_{r}$.

50.7.2. A passive participle followed by a date indicating past time.

- 50.8. Bibliography and references.
- 1. Erman, NAG, 371, 374 and 375.
- 2. Erman, NAG, 382-383.

CHAPTER 51. THE RELATIVE FORM 1.

51.1. Definition.

The relative form is a verbal form equivalent to a relative clause whose subject is different from its antecedent.

51.2. The subject expression of the relative form.

The subject of the relative form can be either a noun (see below Ex. 1350) or a pronoun (see below Ex. 1349); in this latter case it is expressed by the pronominal suffixes. Note however, that the pronominal suffix .tw is used very rarely with the relative form.²,

- 51.3. The antecedent of the relative form.
- 51.3.1. A defined noun.

Ex. 1351, P. Jud. Turin, 4, 1: A A Beson = In Alleria A Beson = In Aller

Ex. 1353, LRL, 50, 7-8: \$\frac{1}{16} \rightarrow \frac{1}{16} \rightar

Ex. 1355, BM 10052, 4, 24: $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$

51.3.2. A defining element.

Note that when a relative form is preceded by a definite article or by a demonstrative pronoun, it acts as a defined noun equivalent; in other words the definite articles and the demonstratives function both as defining and as substantivizing elements.

The definition of the relative form is necessary in bimembral nominal sentences (see below 57.12.26.-57.12.35.) whose second member is a relative form

51.3.3. Exceptions.

a). The antecedent of a relative form can be undefined if the antecedent is the heading of a list.

A list of names follows, with numbers of persons and quantities of metals.

The text should be emended to $\Rightarrow R \langle - \rangle$, $rm\underline{t}$ nb, 'all people' which is in fact found in BM 10403, 1, 4 and BM 10052, 4, 3.

Ex. 1362, BM 10052, 7, 7-8: $\Box = 4 + \Box = A + \Box = 9 +$

is at the end of line 7 and is damaged. One should probably read ? ! It was seeing with my (own) eyes (suffix of the first person omitted) that I made'.)

51.3.5. Extensions of the antecedent.

The relative form usually follows immediately after its antecedent, though this latter may be expanded by an adjective (including the adjective \bigcirc , nb), a noun following the n of the indirect genitive, a numeral (see Ex. 1372), or a participle extended by adverbial phrases (see Ex. 1371).

Ex. 1364, LRL, 52, 7: 🖂 ८ 🥽 - 42 🛏 🛂 🖟 🖟 🖟 All the letters which your brother sent me.

Ex. 1365, P. Rollin, 5: The e in the Min man and the state of the stat

Ex. 1366, LRL, 17, 14: $\frac{1}{2k} = \frac{1}{2k} + \frac{1}{2$

When the antecedent is the definite article, nb does not follow it; it follows the relative form.

The antecedents p3-nbw and n3-it3.w in Exx. 1374 and 1375 and the unexpressed direct objects of i.gmi.n in Ex. 1374 and of i.d3i.k in Ex. 1375 are identical; i.e. the antecedent functions both as the noun qualified and as the unexpressed semantic direct object.

51.6.2. The direct object when not completely identical with the antecedent.

The direct object of a relative form may contain an element which refers back to the antecedent, if it is not completely identical with it.

Note that .w in p3y.w-rn-rn (Ex. 1376) and .w in p3y.w-smtr (Ex. 1377), although referring back to the antecedents $n3-rm\underline{t}$ and $n3-i\underline{t}3.w$ are expressed.

51.6.3. The direct object when different from the antecedent.
When the direct object of the relative form is different
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from the antecedent it is fully expressed.

- 51.6.4. Relative forms compound with a bare noun are treated as a single unit (see Exx. 1378 and 1356).
 - 51.6.5. The expression of the direct object of compound relative forms.

When a relative form is composed of two words, the direct object is expressed, even if it is indentical with the antecedent.

The w following smy, refers back to p3-nbw hd.

51.6.6. The expression of the direct object of relative forms containing the auxiliary verb iri.

When a verb has more than three consonants it cannot take a relative form. The relative form of the verb , iri, is used instead, with the infinitive of the verb involved. In these cases a resumptive pronoun, identical with the antecedent, is required, and this is appended to the infinitive in the form of a pronominal suffix.

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vs. 1, 1-2; 1332.
                                                7; 769.
         <del>8-9</del>; 1205.
                                          BM 10403.
vs. 2, 3; 428.
                                           <u>l, 4;</u> 3.
         25; 237.
                                              4; 965.
         26; 227.
                                               4; 1462.
         27; 394.
                                              6; 1246.
BM 10068:
                                              7; 1318.
rt. 1, 2; 1334.
                                               <del>12-13;</del> 906.
         4; 69.
                                               <u>14; 199.</u>
         8; 369.
                                              23-24; 1502.
         11; 181.
                                              23-26; 1169.
rt. 2, 1-2; 1340.
                                              26; 94.
rt. 4, 22; 1356.
                                              <del>28-29</del>; 1345.
rt. 5, 18-19; 1337.
                                          2. 1; 265.
rt. 6, 13; 1429.
                                          3, 2; 971.
BM 10335 (= JEA 1
                                              2; 989.
(1925), pi. XXXV-
                                              <del>5-6;</del> 556.
XXXVIII):
                                              <del>5-6;</del> 1210.
vs. 20-21; 921.
                                              7; 540.
BM 10383.
                                              <del>7-8;</del> 596.
     <u>1, 1-2;</u> 1379.
                                              10; 646.
         4; 645.
                                              <del>11-12;</del> 1094.
         5; 1295.
                                              14; 1105.
         6; 1259.
                                              <del>14-15;</del> 1109.
         7; 123.
                                              14-15; 1442.
         10; 174.
                                              16; 1268.
         10; 317.
                                              16; 1489.
    2, 5; 1050.
                                              16; 1496.
         5; 1103.
                                              18; 968.
     3, <u>1-2;</u> 1170.
                                              18; 1367.
         3-4; 1171.
                                              <del>19-20;</del> 1516.
        6; 964.
                                              <del>19-21;</del> 638.
        6-7; 686.
                                              <del>25-27;</del> 1628.
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582, 5-6; 1593.
                                              Ostr. Gardiner:
                                              <u>140</u> (Allam, p. <u>42),</u> rt. <u>3-4;</u>
  586, <u>1; 55.</u>
                                              1258.
  586, 1; 183.
                                              198 (BIFAO 72 (1972), p. 67,
  586, 2; <u>56</u>.
                                              no. <u>92), 1-4;</u> 1254.
  592, 2-3; 203.
                                              unnumbered (BIFAO 72 (1972),
  592, 5; 178.
                                              p. <u>51</u>, no. <u>40)</u>, <u>1-3</u>; 1560.
  592, 5; 1252.
  592, 6-7; 826.
                                              Botti-Peet, Giornale:
  592, 6-7; 1415.
                                              14, 9; 38.
  593, <u>3; 180.</u>
                                              <u>19, 15; 131.</u>
  608, rt. 1-2; 1285.
                                              P. Gurob, Frgt. E (un-
                                              published); 1142.
  P. DM, (from the Černý MSS.,
  Notebooks 113 & 107):
  4 (Notebook 113), rt. 6; 1524.
                                              HO:
                         rt. 7; 990.
                                              pl. X, <u>1</u>, vs. <u>5</u>; <u>187</u>.
                         rt. 8-10; 1618.
                                              pl. XVI, 2, 4; <u>189</u>.
                         vs. 3; 1007.
                                              pl. XXI, <u>1</u>, rt. <u>3-4</u>; <u>367</u>.
  5 (Notebook 107), rt. 3-4; 876.
                                              pl. XXI, 1, vs. 3; 298.
                         vs. 3; 1567.
                                              pl. XXII, 2, vs. 1; 297.
  6 (Notebook 113), 8; 1020.
                                              pl. XXIII, 4, vs. 2-3; 254.
                                              pl. XXVII, <u>3,</u> vs. <u>5-6;</u> 1286.
  7 (Notebook 113), 6; 1082.
  8 (Notebook 113), rt. 2-3; 789.
                                              pl. XXVII, 5, 2-4; 485.
                         rt. 3; 837.
                                              pl. XXIX, 3, rt. 2; 18.
                                              pl. XXX, vs. <u>2-3; 24</u>.
  Ostr. Edgerton 1 (= Černý, JEA
                                              pl. XXX, vs. <u>6;</u> 111.
  27 (1941), <u>108</u>, no. 16):
                                              pl. XXXI, <u>l</u>, rt. <u>4</u>; <u>166</u>.
  <del>2-3;</del> 835.
                                              pl. XXXIII, 2, vs. 2-5; 484.
* 2-3; 1614.
                                              pl. XXXIV, <u>4</u>, rt. <u>5;</u> <u>85.</u>
                                              pl. XXXV, 2, vs. 1-2; 866.
  Florence Ostracon 2621 (= Allam,
                                              pl. XL, 6, 1; 135.
  p. 36-39):
                                              pl. XL, <u>6</u>, <u>1</u>; 765.
  vs. 9-10; 805.
                                              pl. XLII, <u>1</u>, vs. <u>1-2</u>; <u>429</u>.
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pl. LXXVII, rt. 3; 677.
  pl. XLII, 1, vs. 1-2; 1134.
                                               pl. LXXX, rt. <u>3</u>; <u>163</u>,
  pl. XLV, <u>l</u>, rt. <u>7</u>; 1568.
                                               pl. LXXX, vs. <u>15-16</u>; 760.
  pl. XLV, 3, vs. 1-2; 1459.

    p1. XLV, 3, vs. 1-3; 704.

                                               pl. LXXXIV, 7a, 46.
                                               pl. LXXXVIII, rt. <u>4-5</u>; <u>25</u>.
  pl. XLVI, 2, rt. 10; 1551.
  pl. XLVI, 2, vs. 2; 1550.
                                               pl. CXV, 4, vs. 1; 825.
  pl. XLVI, 2, vs. 3; 1552.
  pl. XLVI, 2, vs. <u>12-13</u>; 1253.
                                               Ostr. IFAO:
  pl. XLVII, <u>1</u>, rt. <u>6-8</u>; 1097.
                                               a). BIFAO 41 (1942):
  pl. XLVII, 1, vs. 2-3; 61.
                                               681 (p. <u>18</u>, no. <u>33</u>), <u>1</u>; 1549.
                                               681 (p. <u>18</u>, no. <u>33</u>), <u>1</u>; 1587.
  pl. XLVII, <u>1</u>, vs. <u>2-3</u>; 1545.
                                               682 (p. <u>15</u>, no. <u>25</u>), <u>1</u>; 1553.
  pl. XLVII, 1, vs. 14; 1565.
                                               694 (p. <u>18</u>, no. <u>34</u>), <u>1-2</u>; 1586.
  pl. XLVII, 2, rt. <u>1-3;</u> 482.
  pl. XLVIII, 2, vs. 3; 104.
                                               850 (p. <u>19</u>, no. <u>36)</u>, <u>1-2</u>; 1536.
  pl. XLIX, <u>1</u>, rt. <u>3-4</u>; <u>17</u>.
                                               b). BIFAO 72 (1972):
  pl. XLIX, <u>l.</u> rt. <u>5</u>; 279.
                                               851 (p. <u>57</u>, no. <u>59</u>), <u>1-2</u>; 1255.
  pl. XLIX, 3, rt. 6; 415.
                                               851 (p. <u>57</u>, no. <u>59</u>), <u>1-2</u>; 1578.
  pl. XLIX, 3, vs. 7; 537.
                                               854 (p. <u>52</u>, no. <u>43</u>), <u>1-2</u>; 1250.
  pl. XLIX, 3, vs. 7; 538.
  pl. LII, 2, rt. 9-10; 1564.
                                               854 (p. <u>52</u>, no. <u>43</u>), 1-2; 1585.
  pl. LVII, <u>l</u>, rt. <u>l</u>; 1408.
                                               859 (p. <u>53</u>, no. <u>46</u>), <u>1</u>; 1248.
                                                862 (p. <u>54</u>, no. <u>48</u>), <u>1</u>; 1<u>106</u>,
  pl. LVIII, 1, 3; 833.
                                               862 (p. <u>54</u>, no. <u>48</u>), <u>1-2</u>; 1120.
  pl. LXVI, 2, vs. 3-4; 105.
  pl. LXVII, 1, vs. 6-7; 838.
                                                869 (p. <u>60</u>, no. <u>68)</u>, <u>1-3</u>; 1541.
                                                878 (p. <u>59</u>, no. <u>64</u>), <u>1</u>; 1561.
  pl. LXX, <u>l</u>, rt. <u>8</u>; <u>34</u>.
                                                878 (p. <u>59</u>, no. <u>64</u>), <u>1</u>; 1576.
  pl. LXX, 1, vs. 8; 723.
  pl. LXX, 2, 4-5; 476.
                                                884 (p. 56, no. 54), 3-4; 1102.
  pl. LXX, 2, 6; 865.
                                                1107 (p. <u>59</u>, no. <u>65</u>), <u>1</u>; 1577.
  pl. LXX, 2, 10-11; 486.
                                               c). Unpublished:
  pl. LXXI, <u>1</u>, rt. <u>7-8</u>; <u>426</u>.
                                                1296, <u>7-8;</u> 847.
  pl. LXXII, 3, rt. 3-4; 351.
  pl. LXXIII, 2, rt. 2-3; 371.
                                                1328, vs. II, 2; 1528.
  pl. LXXIV, <u>13-14;</u> 828.
                                                1328, vs. II, 3; 1569.
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                                              16, 71, 1; 1321.
                                        <u>71, 1;</u> 1292.
     1; 22.
     3-5; 1625.
                                              9; <u>380</u>.
     5; 1574.
                                              <u>12</u>; 1538.
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                                              <u>14;</u> 948.
     7; 1468.
                                              14; 960.
     7; 1472.
                                              <del>16-72, 1;</del> 609.
     <del>7-8</del>; 1475.
                                        <u>72</u>, <u>1</u>; 973.
     9-10; 452.
                                              2; 1575.
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     <u>15-16;</u> 1053.
                                              <del>2-3;</del> 736.
     16-69, 2; 1056.
                                              <del>4-5;</del> 712.
                                              <del>4-5;</del> 1451.
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     2-3; 1045.
                                              <del>5-6;</del> 641.
     3-4; 291.
                                              6; 288.
     4-5; 74.
                                              7; 947.
     <del>4-6;</del> 1532.
                                              8; 1413.
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     6-7; 62.
                                              <u>11-12;</u> 1591.
                                              12-16; 577.
     <del>6-7;</del> 1117.
     7; 10.
                                        <del>73, 3-4;</del> 1439.
                                              4-5; <u>447</u>.
     7; 1563.
   <del>7-8;</del> 1537.
                                              <del>4-5;</del> 1424
     10; 958.
                                              11-12; 935.
                                              11-12; 946.
     <u>12-13;</u> 451.
                                              11-12; 1025.
     <u>15-16;</u> 1090.
     15-16; 1621.
                                              14-16; 1313.
     15-70, 1; 729.
                                              15; 883.
     16; 725.
                                              <u>16;</u> 955.
                                              <u>16-74</u>, <u>1</u>; 1598.
<u>70, 1-3;</u> 1465.
                                        74, 1; 1297.
     4-5; 1477.
     <u>12;</u> 1148.
                                              <del>1-2;</del> 884.
                                  583.
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