

# THE DEMOTIC VERBAL SYSTEM

*by*

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*This work is dedicated to George R. Hughes  
without whose aid and encouragement  
it could never have appeared.*



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# ABBREVIATIONS

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AcOr</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> , Leiden (1923–).
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> , Chicago (1884–1941).
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> , Cairo (1900–).
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> , Cairo (1901–).
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i> , Leiden (1943–).
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> , Brussels (1926–).
Černý, “LEG”	Jaroslav Černý, “Lectures on Late Egyptian Grammar at Brown University,” privately distributed, 1954.
<i>Enchoria</i>	<i>Enchoria, Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i> , Wiesbaden (1971–).
HLC	Hermopolis Legal Code.
<i>HO</i>	Jaroslav Černý and Alan H. Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , Vol. 1 (Oxford: At the University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1957).
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> , Baltimore (1891–).
JdE	Journal d'Entrée.
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> , London (1914–).
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux</i> , Leiden (1933–).
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> , Chicago (1942–).
LRL	Late Ramesside Letters.
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> , Berlin and Wiesbaden (1930–).
<i>OLZ</i>	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> , Berlin and Leipzig (1898–).
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i> , Leiden (1920–).
<i>Or</i>	<i>Orientalia</i> , N.S., Rome (1932–).
Parker, “Durative Tenses”	Richard A. Parker, “The Durative Tenses in P. Rylands IX,” <i>JNES</i> , Vol. 20 (1961) pp. 180–87.
Peet, <i>GTR</i>	T. Eric Peet, <i>The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press in conjunction with the Provost and Fellows of Worcester College, 1930).
Polotsky, “CCS”	H. J. Polotsky, “The Coptic Conjugation System,” <i>Or</i> , Vol. 29 (1960) pp. 392–422.
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> , Paris and Cairo (1933–).

<i>RIK</i>	K. A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> (6 vols.; Oxford: B. H. Blackwell Ltd., 1968–).
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i> , Hamburg (1974–).
<i>SAOC</i>	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931–).
<i>Serapis</i>	<i>Serapis, Student forum on the ancient world</i> , Chicago (1969–).
Wente, “SVM”	Edward Frank Wente, “The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian” (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1959).
Williams, “Morphology”	Ronald James Williams, “The Morphology and Syntax of Papyrus Insinger” (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1948).
Williams, “Verbal Forms”	Ronald J. Williams, “On Certain Verbal Forms in Demotic,” <i>JNES</i> , Vol. 7 (1948) pp. 223–35.
Wilson, <i>CFT</i>	Marvin R. Wilson, <i>Coptic Future Tenses: Syntactical Studies in Sahidic</i> . “Janua Linguarum, Series Practica” No. 64 (The Hague: Mouton, 1970).
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> , Vienna (1886–).
<i>ZAS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> , Leipzig and Berlin (1863–).
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Leipzig and Wiesbaden (1847–).

## GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

BM	British Museum
DelB	Deir el-Bahri
DelM	Deir el-Medina
E	Example
f.	feminine
L	Leiden (under heading Magical)
L	Louvre (under heading ‘Onchsheshonqy)
m.	masculine
O.	Ostrakon
P.	Papyrus
pl.	plural
s.	singular
Urk.	Urkunden

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# INTRODUCTION

Demotic is the name applied to both a script and a stage in the development of the Egyptian language. The stage of the language called Demotic has affinities with both Late Egyptian, its predecessor, and Coptic, its successor.<sup>1</sup> It was presumably much closer to the spoken language, especially when it first came into use, than was the archaic “classical” language preserved in religious texts and hieroglyphic inscriptions. The Demotic script is the most cursive one developed by the Egyptians. It was first used under Psammetichus I (ca. 650 B.C.), early in the 26th, or Saite, Dynasty. By the end of that dynasty, Demotic had become the official script for business and everyday affairs. By the Ptolemaic period Demotic was also the script in which literary compositions were written. The latest Demotic inscription, from Philae, dates from the middle of the fifth century of our era. This thousand-year span during which Demotic was used is divisible into three time periods: Saite and Persian, Ptolemaic, and Roman.

The following analysis of the Demotic verbal system is intended to update the work done by previous generations of Demoticists, especially Spiegelberg.<sup>2</sup> Many of the new insights into the structure of the Egyptian language that have come to light during the last thirty years are here applied to Demotic, often for the first time,<sup>3</sup> and advances made in the reading and understanding of Demotic itself are also incorporated. The result is the redefinition of the basic paradigms, the forms constituting these different paradigms, the meaning of each, and the syntactic usages of each of the various constructions. Since many of the new insights have come from the study of Coptic, the original study from which the present work stems<sup>4</sup> consisted of an analysis of the verbal system of two late Roman period texts, whose grammar is often quite close to that of Coptic. These two long texts provided examples of all the different forms used in Demotic, and their use precluded generalizing from the idiosyncracies of any one scribe.

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<sup>1</sup> On the relationship between Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic, see Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925) par. 2; Kurt Sethe, “Das Verhältnis zwischen Demotisch und Koptisch und seine Lehren für die Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache,” *ZDMG*, Vol. 79 (1925) pp. 290–316; Hermann Grapow, *Vom Hieroglyphisch-Demotischen zum Koptischen. Ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Sprachgeschichte* (“Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse,” Vol. 28 [Berlin, 1938]) pp. 322–49; B. H. Stricker, “De Indeeeling der Egyptische Taalgeschiedenis,” *OMRO*, Vol. 25 (1945) pp. 12–51; and Erik Hornung, *Einführung in die Ägyptologie. Stand. Methoden. Aufgaben.* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1967) par. 15c–d.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, is the basic reference grammar available for Demotic. František Lexa, *Grammaire démotique* (7 vols.; Prague: Edition d’auteur, 1949 [1947–51]) includes a large repertory of examples, but his analysis is much less accurate than Spiegelberg’s. The small recent grammar by Edda Bresciani (*Nozioni Elementari di Grammatica Demotica* [Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1969]), intended as a teaching grammar, is largely limited to Ptolemaic examples (see pp. 20–21); tends to use *Normalschrift*; omits sources of forms; and avoids problems. Georges Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire démotique du Papyrus Magique de Londres et Leyde* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936) is limited to that one text and contains many misconceptions. Such early works as Henri Brugsch, *Grammaire démotique* (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler, Libraire-Editeur, 1855) are now, for the most part, obsolete.

<sup>3</sup> Two major exceptions are Williams, “Verbal Forms,” and Parker, “Durative Tenses.” Unfortunately, Bresciani’s grammar does not incorporate recent discoveries.

<sup>4</sup> Janet H. Johnson, “Demotic Verbs and Dialects” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1972).

The two texts chosen were *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*<sup>5</sup> and *Der Ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge*.<sup>6</sup> Magical was written in the third century of our era and constitutes the latest long, connected Demotic text which has been preserved.<sup>7</sup> It consists of a collection of magical spells designed for use in various situations and contains 29 long columns on the recto and 33 shorter ones on the verso. Most commonly the spells give instructions for divinations, especially by lamp or oil, although other media are also included, such as the sun, dreams. Some of the spells are intended to provide relief from physical discomforts, for example, stings, dog bites, a bone caught in the throat; others to produce ill effect in other people, for example, fever, blindness, death. Many of the spells involve erotica and are intended to make one person love another. Various drugs are also described.<sup>8</sup> The spells include many magical words glossed in the Greek alphabet and written in the Demotic using “alphabetic” signs enabling the scribe to indicate vowels as well as consonants. The words glossed include many Egyptian words as well as the names of various foreign gods and “abracadabra” words. In addition, almost a hundred Egyptian words are written in cipher, the cipher indicating both consonants and vowels.

Mythus was chosen as the second text because, like Magical, it was discovered in Thebes, probably in that group of papyri found with Magical;<sup>9</sup> it seems to date from the second century of our era;<sup>10</sup> and it is a long literary narrative (23 columns) involving both masculine and feminine characters. Thus, it contains both forms and paradigm examples which supplement those found in Magical.<sup>11</sup> The mythological tale in Mythus involves the journey of the god Thoth, in the form of a monkey, south to Ethiopia, where he had been sent by the sun-god Pre in order to persuade Pre’s daughter Tefnut, a cat, to leave her exile in Ethiopia and return to Egypt, her homeland. The beginning and end of the tale are lost, but at the beginning of the preserved text Thoth is face to face with Tefnut and is attempting to carry out his mission. His arguments consist of various stories with animal characters. At least one of these, the story of the lion and the mouse, is also found in Aesop’s fables, al-

<sup>5</sup> Published by F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921).

<sup>6</sup> Published by Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln - „Kufi“) nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384* (Strassburg: R. Schultz & Co., 1917).

<sup>7</sup> *Magical* I 10. It was found in Thebes together with several other papyri, mostly Greek magical texts (*ibid.*, p. 1).

<sup>8</sup> The contents of the papyrus are summarized *ibid.*, pp. 15–18.

<sup>9</sup> *Mythus*, p. 1. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that the verso of Mythus contains Greek and Demotic magical texts similar to those of Magical. With the aid of a summer Grant-in-Aid from the American Council of Learned Societies, the author has recently had the opportunity to study the six columns which are wholly or largely Demotic. They are published by the author in “The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384,” *OMRO*, Vol. 56 (1975), where it is concluded that these spells were written by the same scribe who wrote Magical. Therefore, the forms and usages found on the verso of Mythus will be included under the general heading of Magical.

<sup>10</sup> *Magical*, in the third century of our era, is the *terminus ante quem* because of the magical additions on the verso of Mythus; see n. 9. This re-use implies that its original function had been lost. Thus Mythus should probably be dated several generations before Magical. Paleographically it is between Magical and P. Insinger, from the first century of our era. Thus Mythus should probably be dated to the second century of our era, as Spiegelberg (*Mythus*, p. 1) maintained.

<sup>11</sup> In which future and aorist tenses with 2 m. and 3 m. subjects are the most common.

though the Greek version is not as complete as that in Mythus. Finally Tefnut does return to Egypt, but the papyrus breaks off at this point, and the end of the tale is unknown.

The forms and constructions identified in these two texts have here been supplemented with the forms and constructions found in two Ptolemaic period texts, Setne Khaemwast I<sup>12</sup> and *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy*,<sup>13</sup> and conclusions based on the Roman period texts have been tested against the Ptolemaic material. Grammatical differences had been noted between Mythus and Magical, Magical being more similar to Coptic than was Mythus.<sup>14</sup> By comparing these two Roman period texts with two Ptolemaic texts, the historical changes in Egyptian grammar reflected in the written language during the long span of time during which Demotic was used were made clear. In addition, this comparison serves as a good setting for the presentation of the Demotic verbal forms within their historical perspective, showing how the verbal system changed through time from Late Egyptian, or Middle Egyptian if a straight line of development is seen, through Demotic to Coptic. This presentation helps explain some earlier and later forms previously not fully understood.

Of the two Ptolemaic texts chosen, Setne was used by Spiegelberg<sup>15</sup> as the basis for his analysis and presentation of Demotic grammar, while 'Onchsheshonqy is a relatively recent publication and has never been the subject of an adequate grammatical study. Setne cannot be dated precisely within the Ptolemaic period. The year 15 date at the end of the last page completely rules out only Ptolemy VII. Paleographically it is neither early Ptolemaic nor late Ptolemaic. It is the story of Setne Khaemwast, who went to the tomb of Naneferkaptah, the son of Pharaoh Mer-neb-Ptah, to get a magical book. Naneferkaptah, his wife Ahure, and her son Merib refused to give it up, and Ahure told Setne how they all finally drowned while Naneferkaptah was searching for the book. Setne was forced to call his brother to his rescue when he played draughts with Naneferkaptah for custody of the book, and lost. When Setne did get the book, Pharaoh ordered him to return it, but Setne refused. Soon he was seduced by Tabubu, who persuaded him to give her all his property, to disinherit all his children, and, eventually, to have them killed for her. But Setne awak-

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<sup>12</sup> Published by F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis. The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1900).

<sup>13</sup> Published by S. R. K. Glanville, *The Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy (British Museum 10508)*, Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, Vol. 2 (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1955).

<sup>14</sup> The most noticeable change in the verbal system of Coptic from that of earlier stages of Egyptian is that, in Coptic, verbal auxiliaries were prefixed to the complex of subject plus lexical verb, while in earlier stages of Egyptian, in most forms, the lexical verb itself was conjugated, and the subject suffixed to it. This latter practice was still predominant in Mythus, where the conjugated *sdm.f* was used in the past, aorist, perfect, and in most clause conjugations. But in Magical, although the suffix conjugation was still used, in many forms it was supplemented or replaced by the conjugation of the periphrastic verb *ir* "to do," the origin of the corresponding Coptic auxiliaries. Magical contains some archaisms, but, as Griffith and Thompson noted, "It is difficult to believe that any part of the work in its present redaction is more than a century or two older than the papyrus itself" (*Magical* I 13). The great similarity of Magical to Coptic is important because, as Edgerton noted, "Religious or magical texts may easily perpetuate isolated obsolete words and forms; but they do not suddenly introduce multitudes of new forms and new ways of writing several generations before these appear in everyday life" (William F. Edgerton, "Egyptian Phonetic Writing, from its Invention to the Close of the Nineteenth Dynasty," *JAOS*, Vol. 60 [1940] p. 492, n. 44).

<sup>15</sup> *Grammatik*, p. vi and par. 2.

ened from this nightmare, returned the book to Naneferkaptah, and brought the bodies of Ahure and Merib to Memphis from Coptos, where they had died and been buried.

On paleographic grounds, the editor of the British Museum copy of ‘Onchsheshonqy has dated it to the late Ptolemaic period, while suggesting that the original of which this is a copy was probably written during the “Late Period.”<sup>16</sup> The first five pages tell the story of ‘Onchsheshonqy, who was imprisoned for having overheard a plot against Pharaoh and not having told the king. When he realized that he would never be freed, he asked for papyrus and a palette that he might be able to write a book of instructions for his son. Instead, he was brought only the palette and told to write on sherds of the jars in which wine had been brought to him. Pages 6 through 28 are the maxims which ‘Onchsheshonqy then wrote. The style of the maxims is quite complex, but the lines are arranged haphazardly. The four lines of P. Cairo 30682 parallel sections of the British Museum copy of ‘Onchsheshonqy. Paleographically the Cairo copy seems to be slightly earlier than the British Museum copy. Smith, who called attention to the parallel, would rather see the Cairo document as an earlier copy of the Instructions of ‘Onchsheshonqy than a copy of some otherwise unknown wisdom text from which the author of the British Museum ‘Onchsheshonqy copied.<sup>17</sup> Another text which includes several passages found in ‘Onchsheshonqy is Louvre 2414, which was dated by Volten to the second century B.C.<sup>18</sup>

In order to identify all the forms and meanings, every verb form or auxiliary in the four texts was classified as a sentence or clause conjugation,<sup>19</sup> and, if a sentence conjugation, as positive or negative, as one of five tenses, and as a main or converted clause form. All the examples were then combined to establish paradigms which are as complete as possible, and the meanings of each were identified. But although, for the reasons given above, this study was based on the four texts named, it was not limited to them. Thus, the forms and meanings recognized in these texts were compared with those found in other Demotic texts, largely as found in the grammars of Spiegelberg and Lexa.<sup>20</sup> After the Demotic evidence was collected, the predecessors and successors were then considered, so as to trace the historical development.

The discussion of verbal forms in the following chapters will include positive and negative forms of all five basic tenses:<sup>21</sup> perfect (*wʒḥ.f sdm*), past (*sdm.f*), present (*tw.y*

<sup>16</sup> Glanville, ‘*Onchsheshonqy*, pp. xii–xiii.

<sup>17</sup> H. S. Smith, “A Cairo Text of Part of the ‘Instructions of ‘Onchsheshonqy,’” *JEA*, Vol. 44 (1958) p. 122.

<sup>18</sup> Aksel Volten, “Die moralischen Lehren des demotischen Pap. Louvre 2414,” *Studi in Memoria di I. Rosellini*, Vol. 2 (Pisa, 1955) p. 272. The four lines of the Cairo text and the three-page Louvre text are included in this study. They are generally included under the heading ‘Onchsheshonqy unless the differences between them and the British Museum copy are being stressed.

<sup>19</sup> This terminology is borrowed from Polotsky, “CCS.”

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 1, n. 2. No claim is made here that this is a comprehensive study of any material except the four texts mentioned above. Many examples from other texts which could illustrate points discussed here, and perhaps even clarify some of the problems that still remain, have certainly been overlooked. It is hoped that people familiar with such examples, or who come across them, will make them known so that the system presented here can be made even more generally applicable.

<sup>21</sup> Groll has concluded that already in the Late Egyptian verbal system “pure time indication is a fundamental structural feature” (Sarah Israelit-Groll, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* [London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1970] p. 36). She identified three basic time ranges in Late Egp-

*sdm*), future (*iw.y r sdm*), and aorist (*hr sdm.f*). Note that the tenses here are defined in terms of forms, and the tense label is the tense of a regular verb used in that form. An intensive analysis of the influence of semantics on the meaning of forms, such as that by Groll for Late Egyptian, would certainly add insight into our knowledge of the Demotic verbal system. But since Demotic has formal categories not found in Late Egyptian,<sup>22</sup> and since there is a very strong correspondence in Demotic between form and meaning, the role of semantics is much less critical for the proper analysis of the Demotic verbal system. Nevertheless there are categories of verbs which, by virtue of their semantics, behave differently from the majority of verbs. Those which have been noted<sup>23</sup> will be discussed in the appropriate sections. An intensive semantic analysis would probably turn up other verbs which do not obey the general rules which will be presented here. But the major contribution of such a study would probably be to define subcategories within the general categories here dealt with, especially in the present tense. Such an analysis would thus be a supplement, a very useful supplement, to the discussion presented in this volume. Such analysis has not been presented here for two reasons: (1) the corpus provided by the four texts under intensive study, supplemented by the grammars, is adequate for an analysis of verbal auxiliaries, but not adequate for an intensive semantic analysis; (2) the time required to gather an adequate corpus, and the benefits to be gained thereby, would not offset the value of prompt publication of this analysis of the verbal auxiliaries. I hope to be able to undertake such a semantic analysis in the near future and present the results as a supplement to the present volume.

The past tense indicated an action which was completed from the point of view of the present. The perfect tense indicated an action which was completed from the point of view of a time in the past. The literal translation of the perfect positive is “to have already done, to have finished doing something,” of the perfect negative, “not yet to have done something.” The present tense included both action going on in the “immediate present” and action continuing in the present, i.e., action going on in the present, without specifying the beginning, end, or duration of the action. It occasionally also had gnomic meaning. The future tense included both simple futurity and the injunctive meaning “should.” The aorist

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tian—past, immediate present, and future. The two additional tenses here called “basic” to Demotic are the perfect and the aorist. Late Egyptian used the negatives of these two constructions, but did not regularly use their positive equivalents. Instead, time adverbials were used with the so-called “First Present” (*ibid.*, p. xx, 1 and secs. 18 and 21). In Demotic, many of the “differences in development of the affirmative and negative systems” (*ibid.*, p. xx) have been erased, and the emergence in Demotic of fully functional positive aorist and perfect tense constructions, rather than time adverbials with the “present” tense, justifies identifying five basic tenses in Demotic.

Many of the time adverbials used in Late Egyptian to indicate time range do not occur in Demotic. Those which do occur are used not to define the time range of the clause in which they occur but to supplement the definition of the time range given by the verbal auxiliary. For example, both *hr hrw* and *m mne* “daily” occur with the aorist, which tense is used specifically to indicate a repeated action or a generalization. An example, from Mythus 3/29–30, is quoted below, E238Ca. In pre-Coptic transliteration, ʒ is used for aleph; ʿ for ayin. In Coptic transliteration, *q* is used for ϥ; *h* for ϣ, etc.; *d* for ϭ; and *th* for theta, etc.

<sup>22</sup> See above, n. 21.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., adjective verbs; the verbs *mr* “to love,” *msd* “to hate,” and *rh* “to know.” Categories of verbs which deserve study are those discussed by Groll, *Negative Verbal*, secs. 6–7, and “*Iw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian,” *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) p. 185, sec. IV.

was used for habitual or repeated action.<sup>24</sup> In addition to these five there is another tense which is here called the progressive (Coptic *tināsōtm*). This is actually a special form of the present tense using the verb *n* ‘‘to go’’ and has the literal meaning ‘‘to be going to, to be about to do something.’’ A sentence containing any of the main tenses, positive or negative, might be converted into a circumstantial, relative, or imperfect clause by prefixing the appropriate converter. The imperfect was used to indicate that the action began before the time of the main verb to which it was prefixed; it did not specify when the action ended. The imperfect form, although a converted main clause, was treated syntactically as a main clause. A fourth converter was the second tense converter, which nominalized the clause to which it was prefixed.

The present tense and its satellites, the converted forms of the present tense, are often referred to as durative tense forms. The term ‘‘durative’’ stresses that the action was perceived as being in process; the stopping point of the action was not important. With the durative tenses, a defined direct object had to follow the preposition *n* (written *n-īm* before a pronoun); an undefined direct object might, but need not do so. This is called the durative direct object rule.<sup>25</sup> The durative tenses are also called bipartite tense forms since, with a noun subject, the main clause present tense form consisted of only two elements, the subject and the predicate, in that order.<sup>26</sup> In Demotic all forms other than the present tense consist of either a suffix conjugation or what in Coptic is called a tripartite form, with a verbal auxiliary preceding the complex of subject plus predicate.

Before discussing the Demotic verbal system itself, a short discussion of morphology is needed. This is presented in Chapter 1. The discussion of the verbal system which comprises the remainder of this work is divided into three sections: Present Tense Sentence Conjugations, Non-Present Tense Sentence Conjugations, and Clause Conjugations. Clause conjugations are so called because they always form dependent clauses, never full sentences. Chapter 2 presents the evidence and conclusions reached concerning the present tense forms, including the progressive. Also included are discussions of the second tense

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<sup>24</sup> On the use of the term aorist, see H. J. Polotsky, ‘‘Zur Neugestaltung der koptischen Grammatik,’’ review of *Grammaire copte*, by Alexis Mallon, S.J., in *OLZ*, Vol. 54 (1959) p. 460.

<sup>25</sup> Despite the insertion of this preposition, the term ‘‘direct object’’ is used here in order to retain in the discussion of the duratives the terminology used with the non-durative forms. With some verbs the use of the preposition *n* with the direct object is obligatory, in all tenses, just as is the use of the preposition *r* with some verbs. With other verbs the use of *n* is mandatory only before defined direct objects after a durative; other tenses may or may not have this *n*. An undefined noun is a simple noun, without any article, demonstrative, or the like. An indefinite noun is either an undefined noun or a noun with the indefinite article. A definite noun is a proper noun or noun with the definite article, demonstrative, possessive, or the like. A defined noun is a noun with an article, demonstrative, etc. What are here termed defined and undefined nouns may also be called determined and undetermined nouns. On the Demotic form of this durative direct object rule, see Parker, ‘‘Durative Tenses.’’ Concerning the Coptic form, Walter C. Till, in *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)* ‘‘Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen und afrikanischen Sprachen,’’ Vol. 1 [Leipzig: Veb Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966] par. 259, says that the durative never used the pronominal form of the infinitive, only the absolute form followed by *mmo*. With a nominal direct object, the absolute infinitive plus *n* had to be used if the object was determined in any way, including by the indefinite article.

<sup>26</sup> The Coptic forms *ti*, *k*, *f*, etc., used for pronominal subjects cannot be subdivided into smaller units on the basis of synchronic evidence; thus the main clause present tense is bipartite throughout the paradigm.

system<sup>27</sup> and the suffix conjugation of adjective verbs.<sup>28</sup> In Chapter 3 are discussed the other four basic tenses: aorist, future, past, and perfect. Both chapters include discussions of both positive and negative forms, and of forms preceded by converters as well as those used in main clauses. Converted forms, produced by prefixing a converter to the main clause form, include the circumstantial, relative, and imperfect. With most tenses the second tense was also a converted form, and it is discussed with the appropriate basic tense. Chapter 3 ends with a discussion of the optative, which, although it is a sentence conjugation, cannot be preceded by any of the converters. Chapter 4 is devoted to the clause conjugations: terminative, temporal, conditional, *sdm.f* after *di*, causative infinitive, finalis, purpose clauses, and the conjunctive. Negative forms are also included where examples exist. Each chapter includes copies of the forms actually found in the four texts followed by a discussion of these forms and their meanings and usages, not only in these texts but also in the wider field of Demotic in general. Then the historical development of the corresponding forms from Late Egyptian, or Middle Egyptian, through Demotic into Coptic is presented.

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<sup>27</sup> The second tenses were not separate temporal tenses, but forms used to serve as subject to an adverbial predicate; see the discussion of the meaning and usage of the second tense in Chap. 2.

<sup>28</sup> These two categories are included within the chapter on the present tense even though there was often no formal distinction between the past and present tense; see below, the discussions in the appropriate sections of Chap. 2.



# CHAPTER 1

## MORPHOLOGY

This section is not an attempt to present a complete morphological description of the four texts studied, to give a description of the different classes of verbs which are attested, or to discuss specific forms which do not happen to occur within these texts. It is merely a short presentation of the forms of those verbs whose stems were written in two or more ways, preferably within one text. Because the Egyptian writing system wrote only consonants, not vowels, the majority of verbs show no written distinction between different verb forms. The most useful results for the study of morphology, in Demotic as in earlier stages of Egyptian, come from the study of the weak verbs, which will often indicate some differences. For the most part, those are the verbs discussed in this section.

### *SDM.F*

When using the periphrastic *sdm.f* of *ir* with a noun subject, the scribe of Magical graphically distinguished two forms. One, the past indicative, he wrote *ir* (ⲓ); the other he wrote *ire* (ⲓⲡ). The indicative is found only in the past tense, see Tables 28 (past) and 30–31 (past relative). The form *ire* plus noun is found in the positive aorist (Table 14), occasionally in the negative aorist (Table 17), and after the verb *di* in the causative infinitive (Table 49) and the optative (Table 43).<sup>1</sup> This same *sdm.f* was also used in temporal and finalis clauses.<sup>2</sup> Although no examples of these using the periphrastic verb *ir* with either noun or pronoun subject occur in Magical, the assumption seems justified that they too would have been written *ire*.<sup>3</sup> In Coptic the past auxiliary, descended from *ir*,<sup>4</sup> was spelled *a* before both noun and pronoun subjects. Note the spellings in Magical using *r*, glossed *a* elsewhere in Magical,<sup>5</sup> rather than *ir*. However, the Coptic descendant of *ire* was written *re*. Thus it seems likely that the *e* consistently written in Magical in these forms indicated

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<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the negative aorist should not be included in this category; see Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 52. A very doubtful example of a past tense relative form, with noun subject, written *ire* and glossed *re*, occurs in a passage whose meaning is uncertain.

E1:Magical 19/6

*iw.y r ir n.k n pꜣ ire pꜣy ge.t(?) ipt.w*

“I will act toward you as(?) that which this ... did.”

*Pꜣ ire pꜣy* is glossed *parepa*. This glossing of *pꜣy* and not the following noun, which appears to be feminine, may indicate that this is not a relative form at all.

<sup>2</sup> On which see the appropriate sections of Chap. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 58, stated that the “non-relative” *sdm.f* of the verb “to come,” written *iw.f* (Rylands IX *i-*iw.f**), was used in Demotic only after *di* (or *my*), *n-dr.t*, and *hr*, the same distribution as that of the spelling *ire* plus noun. Mythus, however, has an example used in a main clause (14/22).

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion of the Coptic past tense auxiliary in Chap. 3.

<sup>5</sup> There are nine instances in Magical where Demotic *r* is glossed *a*. One (2/14) involves the alphabetic spelling of a Greek word; another (10/30), the alphabetic spelling of the name of the god Anubis. In all the others the gloss *a* appears over an *r* that serves a syntactic function within the Demotic text. It is the gloss for the imperative prefix *r* twice in 1/5 (in *r-wn*) and once in 7/29 (*r-iry* glossed *ari*). The *r* of the relative form was glossed *a* in V16/3 (*r-ms* glossed *amsie*); the preposition *r* was so glossed in 1/8, in 9/23, and in V33/3, where *r-hr.y* was glossed *araei*.

the retention of the *r*-radical, no longer pronounced in the past auxiliary, and a pronunciation approximating the Coptic *re*.<sup>6</sup>

With some other verbs it is also possible to differentiate two forms of the *sdm.f*. An adjective verb when used as the main verb in a past or present tense clause was normally written *n3* plus the *sdm.f*.<sup>7</sup> In ‘Onchsheshonqy there are three verbs where the *sdm.f*, with a pronominal subject, includes *t* after the root, before the suffix pronoun subject. The three verbs are *snty* “to fear” (14/14), *shn* “to order” (15/19), and *sdr* “to spend the night” (20/17).<sup>8</sup> For the use of *t* before the suffix pronoun, compare the pronominal form of the infinitive.<sup>9</sup> The indicative *sdm.f* of the verb *rh* “to know” was written *rh* (Setne 4/4, Mythus 4/32),<sup>10</sup> as was, occasionally, the subjunctive after *di* “to cause,” the latter attested among these four texts only in Mythus (5/12).<sup>11</sup> Griffith<sup>12</sup> called attention to examples in II Khaemwast where this subjunctive *sdm.f* was written *ir-rh*. *3Ir-rh* was the normal form found in the negative aorist (Setne 4/21, ‘Onchsheshonqy 6/20, Mythus 4/7, Magical 21/39). This negative aorist consisted of the negative *bw* plus a *sdm.f*, rather than *bw* plus the periphrastic conjugation *ir.f sdm*, as with other verbs. It corresponds to the non-periphrastic Late Egyptian conjugation *bw rh.f* and to Coptic *mešak*.<sup>13</sup> The variant spellings presumably indicate different pronunciations of the indicative and non-indicative *sdm.f*s. A different type of distinction occurs with the verb *wn* “to be,” whose indicative *sdm.f* was normally written *wn*, but was written *wn-n3w* in the imperfect.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>6</sup> This is not to suggest that the pronominal form had lost the *re* in Magical. Coptic indicates otherwise. The optative, finalis, and temporal auxiliaries have *re* before all subjects, as does the positive aorist in Akhmimic. In the other dialects this *re* was lost before pronominal subjects in the aorist. Presumably the direct attachment of the pronominal subject to the verb form had the same effect as the *e* written with nominal subjects, i.e., preservation of the *r*. This suggests that the spelling of the aorist with *re* before all subjects, as in Akhmimic, was the original spelling.

<sup>7</sup> See below on adjective verbs.

<sup>8</sup> In 16/7 there is an example where the *sdm.f* of *mst* “to hate” is written *mst.t*, followed by a 1 s. pronoun subject. However, in 23/15 the *sdm.f* of this verb, with 3 m. s. pronoun subject, does not have the *t*. Thus the *t* is optional and may have been used in 16/7 to reinforce the final root *t*.

<sup>9</sup> See below on infinitives.

<sup>10</sup> Note that only one reference is given for each form although other examples of the form may occur in that text. If no reference is given for a text, the form does not occur in that text.

<sup>11</sup> ‘Onchsheshonqy has an example of the subjunctive *sdm.f* written *rh* in a purpose clause (6/7).

<sup>12</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis. The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1900) p. 106, n. to 1. 4. Richard A. Parker has called attention to similar examples in the Ptolemaic mathematical papyrus BM 10399 (F/6, F/15, and G/6 [broken]).

<sup>13</sup> Because Late Egyptian also used the non-periphrastic construction and because there are examples of the *sdm.f* of *rh* written *ir-rh*, it seems preferable to analyze the negative aorist as above rather than to assume that the form *bw ir rh.f* results from the inversion of subject and infinitive of the periphrastic conjugation *bw ir.f sdm*. Such inversion does occur elsewhere with the verb *rh*. See below, E302; Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925) par. 464; Walter C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)* (“Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen und afrikanischen Sprachen,” Vol. 1 [Leipzig: Veb Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966]) par. 347. See Chap. 3 for a discussion of the negative aorist.

<sup>14</sup> Or *rhwn-n3w*, in Mythus. Examples of the imperfect are cited below, Tables 4–6. For the *r* and *h* found in Mythus, see Chap. 2, the discussion following E20.

In Magical there are several verbs of which the *sdm.f* is written, exceptionally, with a final *e* ( $\nu$ ). These fall into two general categories: *sdm.f* after the verb *dī* “to cause” with noun subject, and *sdm.f* in the aorist with pronominal subject. Examples after *dī* with a noun subject include *phre* “to enchant” (29/11), *lbe* “to be mad (about)” (V29/1[?]), *hpre* “to happen” (9/14), *sdme* “to hear” (18/1), and *qde* “to go around” (9/31 and 10/13).<sup>15</sup> Examples in the aorist with pronominal subject include *whē* “to seek” (V15/1), *phre* “to enchant” (3/20), *rde* “to grow” (14/31), and *hpre* “to happen” (9/16).<sup>16</sup> Among the ciphers are the aorist forms *hr mtes* “she dies” (V32/10) and *hr mtef* “he dies” (13/20, 22, 23, and 24/30). This vocalization with *e* agrees with the *e* found in the examples just noted, and corresponds to the Coptic vocalization of forms such as Sahidic and Bohairic *mešak*, Akhmimic, etc., *mešek*, from *bw rh.k*, rather than the vocalization of forms such as Sahidic and Bohairic *maron*, Akhmimic, etc., *maran*, or Bohairic *thro*, which are stressed forms of the *sdm.f* used after *dī*. Thus Demotic may have contained three distinct *sdm.f* forms: That used in the indicative, that used in the aorist, and that used after *dī*. Note also that the glosses include the form *hsef*, from the verb *hṣy* “to praise,” which cannot be the pronominal infinitive, a form which was written *hys.t* (20/19), with *t*. Its vocalization is identical with that of *mtes* and *mtef*, and it is probably the same form.

With other verbs, there is nothing that distinguishes different forms of the *sdm.f*, but a few use a different spelling of the root in the *sdm.f* than in the infinitive.<sup>17</sup> The *sdm.f* of the verb “to come” was written *iw* (Setne 5/28, Mythus 11/29, Magical 3/24), while the infinitive was written *iy* (Setne 5/9, ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/22, Mythus 7/28, Magical 2/25). In both ‘Onchsheshonqy and Mythus, the *sdm.f* of the verb “to be great” was written  $\text{‘}(\text{ʒ})y$ <sup>18</sup> (‘Onchsheshonqy 14/10, Mythus 16/7), while the infinitive was written  $\text{‘}(\text{ʒ})w$  (‘Onchsheshonqy 7/21, Mythus 5/32). Neither the *sdm.f* nor the infinitive of this verb occurs in Setne, but in Magical the infinitive form was written  $\text{‘}w$  (18/26).<sup>19</sup> In Leiden I 384 the *sdm.f* of the verb “to bring” was written *in* (II\*/7) while the infinitive was written *iny* (III/4).<sup>20</sup> In Setne (4/4) the verb “to melt” was written *wty* in the *sdm.f* and *wyt* in the infinitive. The *sdm.f* of *dī* “to give, cause” was written  $\text{!}\mu$  (Setne 4/33, ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/11, Mythus 5/18, Magical 19/16).<sup>21</sup> The infinitive was written either  $\text{?}$  (‘Onchsheshonqy

<sup>15</sup> The other examples of *sdm.f* forms with noun subjects which have this final *e* are  $\text{‘}nhe$  “to live” (10/7) in an optative, *dde* “to say” (14/1 and 18/10) in past tense relatives, *swre* “to drink” (19/12) in the second past (see below, E203 and the following discussion), and *wwhe* “to curse(?)” (13/3) after the conjunction *mī* (written *mw*) “as.” This last verb is unattested elsewhere in Demotic.

<sup>16</sup> The only other examples of *sdm.f* forms that have this final *e* with pronominal subject are *wšte* “to worship” (10/26, 27/4, 20) used after *my*, the imperative of *dī* and *mste* “to hate” (11/11) used in a circumstantial past tense. Note that the pronominal infinitive form of *wšt* also has the *e* (10/1). On the different forms of the infinitive, see below. The example of *mste* is questionable because either the 1 s. or 3 pl. suffix pronoun subject has been omitted or *mste* is a passive *sdm.f* form. See below, E92D.

<sup>17</sup> Or in the qualitative or imperative, if no examples of the infinitive exist.

<sup>18</sup> Or with a form using *nʒ*; see below on adjective verbs.

<sup>19</sup> The *sdm.f* form exists only with *nʒ*.

<sup>20</sup> In Magical the scribe used *iny* in both the infinitive and the *sdm.f*, except that he used *in* as the *sdm.f* with 3 pl. subject (V2/11).

<sup>21</sup> Or  $\text{!}\mu$  (Mythus 16/8) or  $\text{!}\mu$  (Louvre 1/12).

18/22, Louvre 2/3, Mythus 6/6)<sup>22</sup> or ⲧ (Setne 3/16, ‘Onchsheshonqy 5/11, Mythus 12/12, Magical 6/2).<sup>23</sup> Both the *sdm.f* and the infinitive of the verb “to die” were written *mwt* in Mythus (5/30 and 15/26). Neither occurs in Setne, and only the infinitive, spelled *mwt*, in ‘Onchsheshonqy (10/5) and Magical (17/2). But in the ciphers in Magical the *sdm.f* was written *mte* (13/20) while the infinitive was written *mou* (13/13).<sup>24</sup>

One verb which appears in a number of spellings is the verb “to go out.” This verb does not appear in Setne. In ‘Onchsheshonqy only the infinitive is found, written *pr* (7/24). In Mythus the spelling *pr* is also the normal one. It is found for the infinitive (5/25) and the *sdm.f*, both in main clauses (12/24) and in relative forms (7/14). There is, however, one example of a relative form with 1 s. subject spelled *pre* (4/14). The greatest variation in the spelling of this verb occurs in Magical. The simple form *pr*, in a spelling very similar to the hieratic, was used for the infinitive (21/12), the imperative (18/25), and the qualitative (21/29, where it was glossed *po*). In addition, a form spelled *pyr* was also used for the infinitive (17/13) and the imperative (2/2), as well as a main clause *sdm.f* after the relative converter *nty* (11/5).<sup>25</sup> Yet another form, written *pry*, was used in relative forms (9/9) and after *di* (28/12).<sup>26</sup>

## INFINITIVE

Three forms of the infinitive were distinguished in Coptic: the pronominal with suffix pronoun direct object, the construct with noun direct object, and the absolute with no direct object or direct object following a preposition, i.e., an oblique object. Demotic scribes often distinguished the pronominal form from the other two by the addition of a ⲧ written after the determinative but before the pronoun object. The ⲧ was especially common with verbs whose final radical was weak. The four texts being studied include examples of the fol-

<sup>22</sup> Written in Mythus with an extra stroke ⲩ. Most of the examples written thus have a dependent pronoun direct object. The others are all construct infinitives. For the use of the dependent pronoun here, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 255.

<sup>23</sup> Almost all examples written thus are construct infinitives. Magical also has examples of the verb *di* written in hieratic, as the *sdm.f* and as the infinitive, in all three of its forms. For the form of the pronominal infinitive in Magical, see below.

<sup>24</sup> The verb *mḥ* “to seize” should, perhaps, be included in this listing. The *sdm.f* form occurs twice in Setne (5/13, 16), in both cases with pronominal subject and noun direct object. Setne, ‘Onchsheshonqy, and Magical all have examples of the absolute form of the infinitive written *mḥ.Ყ* (Setne 4/23, ‘Onchsheshonqy 24/19, Magical 13/16). The example in ‘Onchsheshonqy (11/9) where this form of the infinitive seems to have a noun direct object should probably be read with the preposition *n* before the noun, as in the identical passage in 24/19. Then all the examples in these three texts with the ⲧ would be absolute infinitives, and the distinction between *sdm.f* and infinitive would be the ⲧ. But in Mythus it is the absolute infinitive which is spelled *mḥ*, (19/26), while the *sdm.f*, with noun subject and pronominal direct object following the preposition *n-im*, is written *mḥ.Ყ* (7/17).

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion of these forms with *nty*, see E97 and n. 75 therewith.

<sup>26</sup> One could also note here that the *sdm.f* of the verb “to see” was written *nw* in Setne (4/2), ‘Onchsheshonqy (3/9), and Magical (4/8). But in Mythus it was written *in-nw* (9/29); the only exception is a main clause example in a direct quote written simply *nw* (16/23). The examples of the *sdm.f* of the verb *ḥms* “to sit” with the *.k* ending (Magical 4/2, Leiden I\*/27), often found in the qualitative (see below), are presumably errors. Magical includes one past tense relative form of the verb *ms* “to give birth” with noun subject glossed *amsie* (V16/3).

lowing final-weak infinitives with *t̄* before the pronominal direct object: *in(y)* “to bring” (Setne 6/1, ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/10, Mythus 8/21, Magical 5/27), *wpy* “to judge” (Mythus 9/27), *bʿy* meaning unknown (‘Onchsheshonqy 12/11), *psy* “to cook” (Magical V8/5), *fy* “to carry” (Magical 12/8), *m ... y* meaning unknown (Mythus 5/35), *mr* “to love” (Magical V30/4), *mby* “to be similar” (Mythus 6/24<sup>27</sup>), *mby* (‘Onchsheshonqy 7/12) or *myh* (Magical 21/22) “to beat,”<sup>28</sup> *ms* “to give birth” (Mythus 7/1, Magical 23/25), *mky* “to pamper” (‘Onchsheshonqy 6/19), *hwy* “to throw” (‘Onchsheshonqy 10/8, Magical 15/31), *hys* “to praise” (Magical 20/19), *st* “to cook” (Magical 24/38), *šn* “to ask” (Setne 4/18, ‘Onchsheshonqy 16/14, Magical 18/2), *qd* “to build” (‘Onchsheshonqy 18/20), *gm* “to find” (Setne 5/5, ‘Onchsheshonqy 15/5, Mythus 4/11, Magical 14/18), and *t̄ʒy* (Setne 4/26, ‘Onchsheshonqy 15/15, Mythus 16/27) or *t̄ʒyy* (Magical 6/4) “to take.”<sup>29</sup> But there are also many verbs with a final-strong radical which have *t̄* before the pronominal direct object. These are found mostly in ‘Onchsheshonqy and Mythus, including *ʒnt̄* “to restrain” (‘Onchsheshonqy 21/13), *mst* “to hate” (‘Onchsheshonqy 7/4), *mšt* “to inspect” (‘Onchsheshonqy 9/11), *mtr* “to instruct” (‘Onchsheshonqy 4/11), *nhs* “to awaken” (Mythus 7/16), *nḥm* “to protect” (Mythus 18/29, Magical 9/17), *nḥt* (‘Onchsheshonqy 12/13<sup>30</sup>) or *nḥty* (Mythus 18/2) “to trust,” *hʒʿ* “to leave” (Mythus 18/14), *hsf* “to scorn” (‘Onchsheshonqy 24/14), *štm* “to slander” (‘Onchsheshonqy 21/15), *ḥtb* “to kill” (‘Onchsheshonqy 12/20), *swt̄* “to deliver” (‘Onchsheshonqy 8/20), *smn* “to establish” (Mythus 14/30, Magical 23/2),<sup>31</sup> *shn* “to order” (‘Onchsheshonqy 22/25), *šms* “to follow” (‘Onchsheshonqy 16/7), *štšt* “to tear apart” (Mythus 4/4), and *dd* “to say” (Setne 4/18, ‘Onchsheshonqy 4/3, Mythus 8/27, Magical 28/14).<sup>32</sup> There are two other verbs which occur only in the imperative, but where the imperative may consist of the pronominal infinitive, with *t̄*.<sup>33</sup> These are *ʒwe* (Magical 18/24) or *ʒwt̄*, with *t̄* written before the determinative, (Setne 4/34)<sup>34</sup> “to praise” and *bty* “to hate” (‘Onchsheshonqy 22/16).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Unexpectedly, Mythus also has the *t̄* in the construct (7/15) and absolute (9/8) infinitives.

<sup>28</sup> It is probably the same verb which occurs in Magical 9/20 written *myšt*, with *t* before the determinative rather than *t̄* after it.

<sup>29</sup> The extra *y* (ⲙ) inserted in Magical before the *t̄* pronominal infinitive ending occurs occasionally in the construct infinitive also (25/31); see below, n. 44. Cf. the Coptic construct infinitive *d̄i* or *d̄e* with the pronominal infinitive *d̄it*. The one example of the pronominal infinitive of *t̄ʒy* without *y* or *t̄* (28/5) has the meaning “to put,” not “to take, receive.”

<sup>30</sup> The absolute infinitive also has the *t̄* in ‘Onchsheshonqy 16/22.

<sup>31</sup> The example in Mythus is broken; only *s[mn].t̄* is preserved. Causative biliteral verbs, such as *smn*, historically behaved like final-weak verbs, having a “feminine” infinitive as far back as Pyramid Texts. See Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Vol. I (“Analecta Orientalia,” Vol. 34 [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955]) par. 689.

<sup>32</sup> The *t̄* may be used here to indicate the pronunciation of the second radical, as in Sahidic and Subakhmimic *d̄at*, the participium conjunctum, or the rare Sahidic and Bohairic 3 pl. pronominal infinitive forms with *t* (see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1939] p. 754*a*). This may also be the explanation for those verbs in the above list whose final radical is *t* or *t̄* and for the *t̄* used after the absolute infinitive of *rd* “to grow” (Mythus 6/21), Coptic *rōt* (*ibid.*, p. 303*b*).

<sup>33</sup> Otherwise the *t̄* cannot be accounted for. If they were imperative forms, the direct object would consist of the dependent pronoun *s*, not *t̄f* or *t̄.s*. See below on the imperative.

<sup>34</sup> These may also be obsolete passives in *tw*, *ʒw.tw.k* “May you be praised!” as Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 246.

The pronominal infinitive of *ir* “to do” was written with *t* only in Magical V12/5–6, where it was written *iyt*,<sup>36</sup> as if from the verb *iy* “to come.” There are also examples with pronominal direct object written *iy*, without the *t* (21/35). In all other cases the pronominal infinitive, as well as the construct and absolute, was written *ir* (10/20).<sup>37</sup> Also in Magical, the pronominal infinitive of the verb “to mix” was always written *hyt* (V2/12), with the *t* before the determinative if there was one. But the construct form of the same verb was written *hy* (Magical 29/28), without the *t*.<sup>38</sup> Thus, although *t* is the third radical of the root, the scribe of Magical treated the word as final weak and wrote the radical *t* only in the pronominal form. This prompted Griffith and Thompson to list *hy* in their glossary to Magical as a separate entry, although interpreting it as an error for *hyt*.<sup>39</sup> Magical also includes an example of the pronominal infinitive of the verb “to test,” written *dn.t* (3/16). The other examples of this verb, in Mythus (8/14) and Magical (14/31), are qualitative forms in which *t* (or *t* [Magical 29/1]) was written before the determinative. This *t* is the third radical of the root, and the spelling in Magical of the pronominal infinitive with *t* after the determinative may be the result of an attempt to stress the *t* in this form, or it may be a false analogy with a third-weak verb, as happened with *hyt*, as described above. In Magical the pronominal infinitive of *di* “to cause” was written *dy* (5/28), with a *y* inserted before the pronoun direct object.<sup>40</sup> The ciphers in Magical include the pronominal infinitive of the strong verb *wnm* “to eat” spelled *ouam* (24/5), with no ending.

The 1 s. suffix pronoun, *y*, was usually not written after a pronominal infinitive with *t*, for example, *ms.t* (Magical 6/22), and, rarely, the *t* might even be written before the determinative, for example, *nhmt* (Magical 9/17).<sup>41</sup> The example in Magical of the pronominal infinitive of the verb *mr* “to love” with 1 s. direct object was written *mryt* (13/28).<sup>42</sup>

The absolute and construct infinitives are much less distinctive. Many verbs, especially final-weak verbs, were written with a final *e* (ⲉ). In some cases the presence of this ending may be significant since other forms in the same text do not have the *e*. The clearest example is the verb *ʿm* “to seal (with clay).” In Magical 19/30 the construct form was written *ʿm*, as was the pronominal form in 20/12, but in 8/4 the absolute infinitive was written *ʿme*.

<sup>35</sup> Magical has two examples of the imperative of *nh.t* “to be strong” (9/14, 18) and one example of the pronominal infinitive (9/12). In each case the verb must be translated with a 1 s. pronoun direct object. Thus the *t* must be doing double duty, serving both as the third radical of the verb and as the *t* of the pronominal infinitive and 1 s. pronoun, on which, see below.

<sup>36</sup> Or *iyyt*, with a *y* inserted before the *t* (V12/6).

<sup>37</sup> In 6/15 and 37, *y* was inserted after *ir* before the (3 f.) pronominal object.

<sup>38</sup> Coptic alternated between *hite*, which was final weak, and *hi*, which was doubly weak. See Crum, *Dictionary*, pp. 643a and 719b.

<sup>39</sup> *Magical* III [64–65] numbers 638 and 645.

<sup>40</sup> The pronoun following *dy* might be a suffix or dependent pronoun. This *y* also occurs once (Magical 5/25) before a dependent pronoun direct object in an aorist clause.

E2:Magical 5/25–26

*hr gm.k ysw n pʒ mʒʿ n pʒ s-qlm . . . iir.k dy.sw r wʿ lq n yl*

“You find them in the shop of the garland dealer . . . and you should put them in a glass vessel.”

<sup>41</sup> This is related to the Coptic use of *t* for the 1 s. suffix pronoun after consonants and double vowels. See Till, *Grammatik*, par. 185.

<sup>42</sup> In contrast to *mr.t* with the other pronouns, as noted above. For the 1 s. Coptic has *merit*, preserving the *ri*.

There are two verbs, also in Magical, where the absolute infinitive was sometimes, but not always, written with the *e*, while the construct and pronominal infinitives never had it. These are the verb “to separate,” whose absolute infinitive was written either *prđ* (13/9) or *prđe* (8/5), while both the construct (13/1) and pronominal (21/15) were written *prđ*; and the verb “to beat,” whose absolute infinitive was written both *myh* (15/24) and *myhe* (15/30), while the construct was written *myš* (9/20) and the pronominal *myh.t* (21/22) or *myšt* (9/20).<sup>43</sup> There is also an example in Magical where it is the construct form which has the significant *e*. The absolute infinitive of the verb *mr* “to love” was written *mr* (15/19). The construct form was usually written the same way (21/10), but there are two examples where the construct was written *mre* (12/1 and V12/4).<sup>44</sup> The pronominal infinitive was written *mr.t*, as noted above.

With most of the other verbs which have this ending, the only infinitive form attested in these four texts is the one with *e*, making it impossible to be certain that the ending had any morphological significance. Indeed, in a few cases, where more than one form of the infinitive is attested, all the forms have the *e*. Thus, in Magical the verb “to complete” was spelled *mnqe* in both the pronominal (6/34) and construct (V19/3) infinitives,<sup>45</sup> and the scribe of Mythus wrote *sšpe* for the verb *shpr* “to refresh” in both the absolute (13/33) and construct (22/11) infinitives. Thus, in the cases of other verbs, the scribe might have written more than one form of the infinitive with the *e* if he had had occasion to use the other forms, and no conclusions will be drawn from the presence of the *e*.<sup>46</sup>

With intransitive verbs, the absolute was the only possible infinitive. If this is compared with other forms of the verb, especially the *sdm.f* and qualitative, some verbs are seen to have distinctive infinitive forms. Several intransitive verbs have already been noted where the spelling of the root used in the infinitive differs from that used in the *sdm.f*.<sup>47</sup> Others, where the infinitive has a *y*-ending not found in the *sdm.f*, are the verb “to be numerous,” whose *sdm.f* was written ‘šʒ’ (‘Onchsheshonqy 8/13) while the infinitive was spelled ‘šʒy (Setne 3/2, ‘Onchsheshonqy 17/25, Mythus 6/15); and the verb “to be sound,” whose *sdm.f* was written *wđʒ* (‘Onchsheshonqy 2/9, Mythus 22/10, Magical 2/11) while the infinitive was written *wđʒy* (Magical V15/6).<sup>48</sup> In the verb “to be sad” the *r*-radical found in the

<sup>43</sup> See above, n. 28.

<sup>44</sup> Magical has only one example of the verb “to dream,” a construct infinitive spelled *pre* (V17/1). In Sahidic the construct infinitives of these two verbs were *mere* and *pere*, with the *r* and final *e*, to which the Demotic *e* may correspond. The only other distinctive construct form is the occasional spelling, in Magical, of the construct infinitive of *tʒy* “to take” with a *y*-ending (14/32). See above, n. 29.

<sup>45</sup> Magical does not have an example of the absolute infinitive of this verb.

<sup>46</sup> The final *e* is also found in the absolute infinitive of two verbs written in cipher in Magical: *libe* “to be mad (about)” (V32/1) and *šefe* “to swell up” (13/13). Other absolute infinitives found in cipher are *mkah* “to be troubled” (24/5), *tour* meaning unknown (13/25), and *qōnm* “to be blind” (13/12). Several infinitive forms are included among the glossed words. *Kom* “to create” in *komrē* (12/15) and *komtō* (7/6) is probably a construct infinitive, although the form *qom* (8/9) is probably the absolute infinitive. *Ouan* “to open” in *ouantō* (1/28) is also a construct infinitive.

<sup>47</sup> See above on the *sdm.f*.

<sup>48</sup> Note also that the *sdm.f* of the verb “to climb (aboard)” was written ‘l (Setne 3/24, Mythus 22/1[?]) while the infinitive was spelled ‘ly (Magical 25/11). This infinitive form was glossed *alo*.

*sdm.f thr* (Louvre 3/13)<sup>49</sup> is replaced in the infinitive by a weak *e* or  $\text{ʒ } \text{thē/th}ʒ$  (Setne 4/35, ‘Onchsheshonqy 27/21).<sup>50</sup> Much less certain, since the infinitive ending is *e*, is the example in Mythus of the verb “to meet,” with the *sdm.f* form spelled *shn* (17/17) and the infinitive written *shne* (22/9).<sup>51</sup>

## QUALITATIVE<sup>52</sup>

Those qualitatives graphically distinct from the infinitives of the same verbs were written several different ways, usually involving the old endings which, in earlier stages of the Egyptian language, had identified the subject of the qualitative. These endings no longer agreed with the actual subject, and merely identified the form as a qualitative. Normally a given verb consistently used one ending or another, without reference to the actual subject of the specific occurrence. The endings used are *.k* (originally 1 s.), *.t* (originally 2 s. and 3 f.), and *.w* (originally 3 m.). The following discussion deals only with those examples which have one of these endings, and no note is made of other examples of the same verb, even within the same text, that are without any ending. Also, only qualitatives used as predicates are discussed, not those used as epithets. The examples with *.k* include *in-iw.k* “to come” (Mythus 16/21), *h’y.k* “to stand” (Setne 5/34), *n’k* (Setne 3/12) or *in-n’k* (Mythus 2/26, Magical 5/24) “to go,” *in-qdy.t.k* “to sleep” (Magical V17/3),<sup>53</sup> and *hms.k* “to sit” (Mythus 15/34, Magical 7/9).<sup>54</sup> A greater number of examples occur with *.w*, including *ʒy.w* “to be great” (Mythus 11/19, Magical 14/8), *h’w* “to stand” (Setne 5/33<sup>55</sup>), *fy.w* “to fly” (Mythus 8/31), *mʒ’w* “to be right” (‘Onchsheshonqy 15/13), *mtr.w* “to be satisfactory” (‘Onchsheshonqy 1/17, Mythus 12/15, Leiden I\*/24, hieratic spelling I\*/16), *ir-rh.w* “to know” (Magical 9/4), *hr.w* “to be pleased” (Mythus 11/16), *hsy.w* “to praise” (Magical 3/35),<sup>56</sup> *h’w* “to appear” (Setne 3/14, Magical 10/1, var. spelling V22/9), *h’r.w* “to become angry” (Mythus 16/23), and *sre.w* “to arrange” (Magical 15/24).

An even greater number of verbs are used with the *.t*-ending. These include *iy.t* “to come” (Mythus 21/27),<sup>57</sup> *iwr.t* “to become pregnant” (Mythus 11/13), *d.t* “to be evil”

<sup>49</sup> And in the *sdm.f* form with *nʒ* written *nʒ-thr* (‘Onchsheshonqy 3/14); see below on adjective verbs.

<sup>50</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 98, note.

<sup>51</sup> For a possible graphic distinction between the construct and pronominal infinitive of *di* “to give,” see above, nn. 22–23.

<sup>52</sup> Many verbs do not have qualitative forms in Demotic and/or in other stages of the Egyptian language. See the discussion of Late Egyptian and Coptic verbs without qualitatives in Sarah Israelit-Groll, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1970) secs. 6–7.

<sup>53</sup> For the verbs “to come,” “to go” and “to sleep,” see the discussion of the qualitative forms of verbs of motion, below. With the verb “to come” the scribe of Rylands IX used a different form of the qualitative with 1 s. subject than with other subjects. Since the form used with the 1 s. (*iy.k* [2/5]) has the old 1 s. ending *.k* while the form used with other subjects was that found in other texts (*iw* [2/5]), it seems probable that the scribe was using the 1 s. form deliberately. Richard A. Parker has also noted a 1 pl. form written *iy.ti* (19/20).

<sup>54</sup> Also with *.t*, see below. There are also examples of the infinitive *hms* with this *.k* (Magical 4/2, Leiden I\*/27), which are errors.

<sup>55</sup> Unless the stroke after *h’* is for the preposition *r*.

<sup>56</sup> For the verbs “to be great,” “to know,” and “to praise,” see the discussion of qualitative forms involving changes in the spelling of the root, below.

<sup>57</sup> See below for the normal spellings of the qualitative of the verb “to come.”

(‘Onchsheshonqy 9/10), *mwt.t* “to die” (Mythus 15/23, Magical 3/27),<sup>58</sup> *mhy.t* “to be similar” (Mythus 6/4), *nd.t* (Magical 13/15) or *nd.yt* (Magical V32/6) “to mix,” *rd.t* “to grow” (Mythus 11/19),<sup>59</sup> *hwš.t* “to be offensive” (‘Onchsheshonqy 21/9), *hms.t* “to sit” (Magical V33/2),<sup>60</sup> *h<sup>c</sup>rt* “to forge (metal)” (Mythus 11/28), *hyt* “to rub” (Magical V3/18),<sup>61</sup> *smn.t* “to establish” (Mythus 12/9, Magical 3/7), *šm<sup>c</sup>t* “to weave” (Magical V6/4), *šhl<sup>c</sup>lt* “to burn” (Magical V5/7), *t<sup>3</sup>y.tw* “to take” (‘Onchsheshonqy 4/18),<sup>62</sup> *t<sup>3</sup>y-r.t* (Magical 14/21) or *t<sup>3</sup>y-r.yt* (Magical 16/11) “to light,” *di<sup>c</sup>-l<sup>c</sup>yt* “to mount” (Magical V33/1), and *di-qdy.t* “to twist” (Magical V4/16).<sup>63</sup>

With some verbs, the qualitative is not marked by any of these endings, but the spelling of the root in the qualitative differs from that used in other forms. In some cases where the spelling of the *sdm.f* differs from that of the infinitive, the qualitative is written the same way as the *sdm.f*. The following examples occur in these four texts: infinitive *iy* “to come” (Setne 5/9, ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/22, Mythus 7/28, Magical 2/25), qualitative *iw* (Setne 4/20, ‘Onchsheshonqy 20/12, Mythus 3/13);<sup>64</sup> infinitive *‘(3)w* “to be great” (‘Onchsheshonqy 7/21, Mythus 5/32, Magical 18/26), qualitative *‘(3)y.w* (Setne 6/11, ‘Onchsheshonqy 20/18) or *‘3y.w* (Mythus 11/19, Magical 14/8); infinitive *‘š3y* “to be numerous” (Setne 3/2, ‘Onchsheshonqy 17/25, Mythus 6/15), qualitative *‘š3* (Setne 5/16, ‘Onchsheshonqy 28/2[?]); infinitive *wd3y* “to be sound” (Magical V15/6), qualitative *wd3* (Setne 6/1, ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/3, Magical 21/36); and infinitive *th3/the* “to be sad” (Setne 4/35, ‘Onchsheshonqy 27/21), qualitative *thr* (Setne 3/3, ‘Onchsheshonqy 18/21, Mythus

<sup>58</sup> And *maout*, in the ciphers (Magical V29/3).

<sup>59</sup> The infinitive also has *t*; see above, n. 32.

<sup>60</sup> Also with *.k*, see above.

<sup>61</sup> See the discussion of the pronominal infinitive, above.

<sup>62</sup> It is less likely that these are pronominal infinitives (see above), rather than qualitatives, because they are used in the present tense system, in which the pronominal infinitive should not be used (see Chap. 2 on the form of the predicate in present tense constructions). In Magical 20/28 are two examples of *t<sup>3</sup>y* with the *y*-ending found in the pronominal infinitive. These two examples may also be qualitatives rather than infinitives.

<sup>63</sup> The verb *dnt* “to test” occurs once in Magical (29/1) in the qualitative, written *dnt*. On this verb, see above on pronominal infinitives. The adjective *w<sup>c</sup>.t* “alone” is the qualitative form of the verb *w<sup>c</sup>* “to be alone.” In these four texts it does not occur as a predicate, and so has not been included in the preceding list. It is worth noting, however, that in many cases a suffix pronoun, in agreement with the noun being modified, was suffixed to the form (‘Onchsheshonqy 9/20, Mythus 5/18, Magical 6/21). Magical sometimes spelled the form *w<sup>c</sup>e.t* (10/12). Several other verbs also have this *e*-ending in the qualitative, written before the determinative, including *wbhe* “to be bright” (Magical V3/5), *ph<sup>c</sup>te* “to throw down” (Magical 2/11), *mtne* “to provide” (Mythus 15/20), *nm<sup>c</sup>e* “to cover” (Setne 5/16), *ndhe* “to sprinkle” (Setne 5/15), *sše* “to scorn” (Mythus 5/28), *šfe* “to mix” (Magical V19/3), and *tse* “to raise” (Magical 29/21). But this *e* does not occur in all examples of such qualitatives, and in cases where the verb also occurs in some form other than the qualitative, the other form also has the *e*. Thus the construct infinitive of the verb “to provide” has the *e* (Mythus 15/22), and the verb “to scorn” appears in Mythus in the form *n3-sše.f* (6/20). For this form, see below on adjective verbs. Thus here as elsewhere not too much significance should be ascribed to the *e*.

<sup>64</sup> The gloss *eu* in *iaeu* (Magical 7/32) probably represented the vocalization of the *sdm.f* or (stative) qualitative form of the verb “to come,” written *iw* in the Demotic. Note also the form *iy.t* (Mythus 21/27) and the forms with *in* discussed below.

8/12).<sup>65</sup> One other verb with a distinctive qualitative form similar to a form of the *sdm.f* is the verb *rḥ* “to know.” Although the infinitive and the indicative *sdm.f* were both written *rḥ*, the qualitative was always written *ir-rḥ* (Setne 6/3, ‘Onchsheshonqy 13/19, Mythus 15/24, Magical 21/29),<sup>66</sup> using the *ir*-augment found also in the *sdm.f* used in the negative aorist.<sup>67</sup> The qualitative of this verb, which literally meant “to be in the state of having learned,” always meant “to know, understand,” never “to know how, be able,” as could the infinitive and *sdm.f*. This difference in meaning between the two forms, which has been noted by many people,<sup>68</sup> is not the result of the division of the Late Egyptian verb *rḥ* into two separate verbs,<sup>69</sup> but is simply the difference between the active meaning of the infinitive and the stative meaning of the qualitative.

The only text which contains a qualitative of the verb *dī* “to give” is Mythus, where it occurs four times. In each case it is written  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (17/28). This spelling is distinct from both the *sdm.f* and the infinitive forms.<sup>70</sup> The verb “to go” occurs in the infinitive only in Magical, where it is written *n<sup>c</sup>* (21/35). This form is identical with the *sdm.f* form in Mythus (16/29), but differs from both qualitative forms (*n<sup>z</sup>*, used only in the progressive and found only in Magical, and *in-n<sup>c</sup>*<sup>71</sup>). The ciphers in Magical include not only the infinitive form of *mwt* “to die” written *mou* and the *sdm.f* form written *mte*, but they also show that the qualitative form was *maout* (V29/3).<sup>72</sup> Thus both the *sdm.f* and qualitative forms retained the *t* radical lost in the infinitive, but the vocalization of the two was different. This was probably the case for most if not all of the other *sdm.f* and qualitative forms written identically. There are two other verbs, both in Mythus, of which no *sdm.f* examples exist but where there is a distinction between the infinitive and qualitative forms. These are infinitive *wy* “to be far off” (‘Onchsheshonqy 5/18, Mythus 8/17) and qualitative *ww* (Mythus 4/19) or *wwy* (Magical 22/4); and infinitive *šwy* “to be dry” (Mythus 7/32, Magical V25/5) and qualitative *šww* (Mythus 11/7).<sup>73</sup> Other distinctive qualitative forms include *ws* “to saw” (Mythus 14/27),<sup>74</sup> *ḥep* (Magical 6/26) or *hep* (Magical 12/12) “to hide,”<sup>75</sup> *ḥsy*

<sup>65</sup> Another example where the qualitative retains an *r* which had been lost in the infinitive is the verb “to curse,” where the infinitive was written *shwy* (Louvre 2/10) and the qualitative *shwr* (‘Onchsheshonqy 27/14).

<sup>66</sup> Examples with a .*w*-ending also occur in Magical (9/4); see above.

<sup>67</sup> See above on the *sdm.f*.

<sup>68</sup> E.g., W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954) pp. 252–53.

<sup>69</sup> As Griffith, *High Priests*, p. 106, n. to 1. 4.

<sup>70</sup> See above on the *sdm.f*.

<sup>71</sup> See below on the qualitatives of verbs of motion.

<sup>72</sup> As noted above on the *sdm.f* and in n. 58.

<sup>73</sup> Magical has one example of the qualitative spelled *šwy* (13/17). Other examples of the qualitative were written ideographically  $\text{𓂏}$  (V4/13), which makes it impossible to determine the ending. ‘Onchsheshonqy has three examples of the verb *sdr* “to spend the night,” two *sdm.f*’s (2/19 and 20/17) and an absolute infinitive (2/18), all written *sdr.t*. The other three texts write *sdr* in all forms, including the absolute infinitive (Mythus 5/16, Magical 5/23). Thus the *t* must be a quirk of the individual scribe who wrote ‘Onchsheshonqy. Compare this with his extensive use of *t* in the pronominal infinitive (see above) and his examples of the *sdm.f* forms with *t* before pronominal subjects (see above on the *sdm.f*).

<sup>74</sup> The *sdm.f* form (Mythus 18/6) was *wys*.

(Magical 20/19) or *hse* (Magical 20/20) “to praise,”<sup>76</sup> and *šel* “to be variegated” (Magical 12/4[?]).<sup>77</sup> The verb *šm* “to go” had no qualitative form; the qualitative of *n<sup>c</sup>* “to go” was used instead.<sup>78</sup> The glosses in Magical contain two forms which may be qualitatives: *po* “to go out” (21/29) and *men* “to endure” (9/10).

Verbs of motion, being intransitive verbs, had only one form of the infinitive, the absolute. Most had regular qualitatives indicating the state achieved through the action of the verb. Some, however, had qualitatives which indicated motion in progress rather than the state achieved. Three such qualitatives, written with the prefix *in*, are found in these texts: *in-n<sup>c</sup>* (Magical 12/27), more frequently written *in-n<sup>c</sup>.k* (Mythus 2/26, Magical 5/24, var. spellings V15/1 and 5) “to go”;<sup>79</sup> *(i)n-iw* (Setne 4/33, Mythus 2/7, Magical 9/33) or *in-iw.k* (Mythus 16/21) “to come”;<sup>80</sup> and *in-qdy.t.k* “to sleep” (Magical V17/3).<sup>81</sup> These forms derive from the construction preposition *m* plus the infinitive of a verb of motion, the form which, in earlier stages of Egyptian, had the meaning of motion in progress. Demotic *in* corresponds to earlier *m*.<sup>82</sup> The examples with *.k*-ending show clearly that the Demotic scribes consciously treated these forms as qualitatives, despite their origin. Coptic had an infinitive *ei* meaning “to come,” the descendant of *iy*, and an infinitive *nou* meaning “to

<sup>75</sup> The only other form found in Magical is the imperative, spelled *hp* and glossed *hōp* (21/8). Setne has the qualitative form spelled *hp* (5/5); ‘Onchsheshonqy has both infinitive (19/5) and *sdm.f* forms (23/4), all written *hp*, as does Mythus (infinitive 11/25, *sdm.f* 18/34).

<sup>76</sup> These spellings are to be contrasted with the infinitive forms written *hys* (20/19). There is also an example with *.w*; see above.

<sup>77</sup> No other forms of this verb occur, in either Magical or any of the other three texts.

<sup>78</sup> For a discussion of the examples of *n<sup>s</sup>* in Magical 21/27, 32, and 41, see Chap. 2, the discussion with E149–50. Richard A. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (“Brown Egyptological Studies,” Vol. 7 [Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1972]) p. 12, notes that, in P. Rylands IX, *šm* was not used in the durative, being replaced by *n<sup>c</sup>*. See also Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 186.

<sup>79</sup> The verb *n<sup>c</sup>* had two qualitative forms, *in-n<sup>c</sup>* and *n<sup>s</sup>*, as noted above. Both indicated motion in progress, *n<sup>s</sup>* being limited to use in the progressive and attested only in Magical; see below, Chap. 2, on the progressive. In some Demotic texts, especially early ones, the qualitative of *n<sup>c</sup>* was sometimes written without the *in*, e.g., *n<sup>c</sup>.k* (Setne 3/12). See Wenté, “SVM,” p. 32, n. 2, and p. 39.

<sup>80</sup> Rylands IX has an example written *n-iy.k* (5/4), as noted by Richard A. Parker. Note that the verb “to come” also had a qualitative indicating the state achieved through the action, written *iw* (Setne 3/20, ‘Onchsheshonqy 20/12, Mythus 3/13) or, exceptionally, *iy.t* (Mythus 21/27). These forms are descended from earlier qualitative forms of the verb, and, when used with the present tense to indicate the state achieved through the action, were the equivalent of past narrative; see E77 and the discussion therewith. Thus there were four distinct forms and usages in Demotic of the verb “to come”: infinitive *iy*; *sdm.f iw*; qualitative with stative, past, meaning *iw*; and qualitative with the meaning of motion in progress *(i)n-iw(.k)*. Other verbs of motion had only three forms: infinitive, *sdm.f*, and qualitative, meaning either motion in progress (e.g., *n<sup>c</sup>*) or stative.

<sup>81</sup> “To sleep” hardly seems to be a verb of motion, and note that the infinitive of this verb was also written *in-qdy.t.k* (‘Onchsheshonqy 3/7, Mythus 14/7, Magical 27/29). This spelling probably indicates a pronunciation close to Coptic *nkotk*. The only other verb in Demotic that has a qualitative with *in* indicating motion in progress is *in-sny* “to pass by” (P. Dodgson 18), quoted by Wenté, “SVM,” p. 32, n. 2.

<sup>82</sup> Wenté, “SVM,” Chap. 2; Sarah Israelit-Groll, “*Iw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian,” *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) p. 186, par. 11C.

go,” the descendant of  $n^c$ .<sup>83</sup> It also used the two qualitative forms  $na$  “to be (in the act of) going” and  $n\bar{e}u$  “to be (in the act of) coming.”<sup>84</sup> As Griffith correctly pointed out,<sup>85</sup>  $na$  is the qualitative of  $nou$ ,  $n\bar{e}u$  the qualitative of  $ei$ . These are the Coptic descendants of the Demotic qualitatives  $\dot{i}n-n^c/n^3$  ( $na$ ) and  $\dot{i}n-\dot{i}w$  ( $n\bar{e}u$ ).<sup>86</sup> The qualitative  $n\bar{e}u$  had no connection with the verb  $n^c$  “to go.”<sup>87</sup>

## IMPERATIVE

Some verbs had imperative forms distinct from the infinitive. With other verbs, the infinitive or a form identical with it was used as the imperative.<sup>88</sup> Those verbs which had separate imperative forms did not always use them.<sup>89</sup> The following imperative forms are found in these texts:  $\dot{i}m\dot{i}$  (Setne 3/12, var. spelling 5/6, Mythus 20/27, var. spellings 14/26 [ $\dot{i}m\dot{i}.t$ ], 19/28, 12/5, 21/22, Magical 1/10, var. spellings 1/6 [ $\dot{i}m\dot{i}.n$ ], 6/19 [three different spellings, including  $\dot{i}m\dot{i}.t$ ]) or  $my$  (Mythus 21/20, var. spelling 21/28) “come!”;  $r-\dot{i}ny$  (Setne 6/5, ‘Onchsheshonqy 16/9, Magical 2/5) or  $r-\dot{i}ny.t$  (Magical 9/35) “bring!”;  $r-\dot{i}ry$  (Setne 5/4, Magical 7/7) or  $\dot{i}ry$  (‘Onchsheshonqy 10/8, Mythus 13/25)<sup>90</sup> “do!”;  $\dot{z}wy$  (Mythus 11/27) or  $r-wy$  (Magical 16/13, var. spellings 16/12, 21/25)<sup>91</sup> “bring (here)!”;  $r-^c l$  “remove!” (Magical 2/4);<sup>92</sup>  $r-wn$  “open!” (Magical 1/5);  $e-nw$  “see!” (Mythus 15/17);  $r-lk$  “stop!” (Setne 5/6);  $m-\dot{s}m$  (Setne 5/4) or  $my-\dot{s}m$  (Magical 28/15) “go!”;  $my$  (Setne 3/4, ‘Onchsheshonqy 22/4, Mythus 11/29, Magical 1/4) or  $m^c y$  (Mythus 11/28) or  $r-d[y]$  (Magical V16/7)<sup>93</sup> “give!, cause!”;  $my-\dot{i}w$  “send!” (Magical 8/3);  $my-hpr$  “acquire!”

<sup>83</sup> As Spiegelberg suggested (*Mythus*, Glossar number 401), the example (17/10) of  $n^3-n^c$  (Coptic *nanou*) “to be beautiful” written  $n^3-n^c$  indicates that  $n^c$  was already being pronounced *nou*.

<sup>84</sup> See Till, *Grammatik*, par. 257, who noted that  $fn\bar{e}u$ , the present tense with  $n\bar{e}u$ , meant “he is on the way,” i.e., “he will come” with future meaning.

<sup>85</sup> *Magical* I 140, note to 21/27. See also P. Jernstedt, “Die grammatische und lexikalische Stellung des koptischen Verbums  $\mathfrak{N}\Delta$  ‘gehen,’” *Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des Sciences de l’URSS* (Leningrad, 1927) pp. 33–35.

<sup>86</sup> See also Griffith, *High Priests*, pp. 153–54, n. to 1. 8; H. J. Polotsky, “Zur Neugestaltung der koptischen Grammatik,” review of *Grammaire copte* (4th ed.) by Alexis Mallon, S.J., *OLZ*, Vol. 54 (1959) p. 458.

<sup>87</sup> As suggested in several recent works, e.g., Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 219b, and the separate entry for  $na$ , p. 217b; Wolfhart Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsverlag, 1967) pp. 116 and 118–19. The same error was made by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 110–11, in analyzing the Demotic words.

<sup>88</sup> See William F. Edgerton, “Obsolescence of the Imperative Mood in Egyptian,” in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London: Oxford University Press, Egypt Exploration Society, 1932) pp. 61–68; and Groll, *Negative Verbal*, p. 13.

<sup>89</sup> E.g., *Magical* used not only the imperative form of  $dd$  “to say,” but also the infinitive (1/23).

<sup>90</sup> In a broken passage in *Mythus* (3/27) is found the form  $\dot{i}r\dot{t}.s$ . The  $\dot{t}$  is not found elsewhere in *Mythus* in the imperative, e.g.,  $\dot{i}ry s$  (14/12), or in the pronominal infinitive, e.g.,  $\dot{i}r.f$  (5/28). Thus this form remains uncertain.

<sup>91</sup> There is also one example without  $r$  (16/11).

<sup>92</sup> *Magical* also has  $^c l$  (19/4) and  $^c l.w \dot{t}.m$  (V33/3).

<sup>93</sup> *Magical* also has examples using  $d\dot{i}$ , either the infinitive form (4/23), the infinitive form with  $y$ -ending (13/20), or the  $sdm.f$  form (15/14). H. J. Polotsky, “Modes grecs en copte?” in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (“Second Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute” [Boston, 1950]) pp. 76–79, noted that in

(‘Onchsheshonqy 6/10); *my-sb* “instruct!” (‘Onchsheshonqy 17/23); *r-ddy* (‘Onchsheshonqy 13/15, Magical 8/10) or *r-ddy*<sup>94</sup> (Setne 5/4, Magical 2/28) or *e-ddy* (Magical 6/32, glossed *edī*) or *e-ddt* (Mythus 11/25) or *e-dd* (Mythus 4/11) or *i-dd* (Magical 7/20) or *r-dd* (Leiden I\*/18) “say!”; and *m-ir* (Setne 4/31), ‘Onchsheshonqy 6/11, Mythus 11/25, Magical 8/14) or *pr* (Mythus 4/18) or *bn* (Magical 20/12) “don’t!” The imperative of *mtr* “to be witness” was glossed *mtō* (Magical 6/31); that of *hp* “to hide,” *hōp* (Magical 21/8).

When the form of the imperative is identical with the form of the infinitive, the two can be distinguished only when there is a pronominal direct object. The imperative uses the dependent pronoun as direct object; the infinitive uses the suffix pronoun. Thus the following are imperative forms: *r r tw.tn* “raise yourselves!” (Mythus 9/25); *nhs t.k* “wake up!” (Magical 2/25); *hb t(.y)* “send me!” (Magical 21/35); *šp t(.y)* “receive me!” (Magical 7/3); and *twn t.k* “raise yourself up!” (Magical 20/4). To the examples with dependent pronoun object following the imperative should be compared examples of the infinitive used as imperative and followed by the suffix pronoun as direct object, such as *klp* “open!” (Magical 2/29), *kš* “spit out!” (Magical 9/30), and *ths* “annoint!” (Magical V11/4). There are two examples which may be imperatives followed by the dependent pronoun or may be pronominal infinitive forms with a *t* before the suffix pronoun. These are *h> t.y* “leave me!” (Mythus 17/29) and *t>y t.k* “take yourself!” (‘Onchsheshonqy 8/3).<sup>95</sup> There are three other verbs in which the *t* must be the pronominal infinitive ending because the pronoun direct object is 3 person, in which the dependent pronoun does not have a *t*. These are *we.t.f* “praise him!” (Magical 18/24),<sup>96</sup> *bty.t.s* “hate it!” (‘Onchsheshonqy 22/16), and *hwy.t.f* “throw him!” (Magical V13/1).<sup>97</sup>

## ADJECTIVE VERBS

When the *sdm.f* of an adjective verb served as the predicate of a main clause, in the present or past tense, it was normally preceded by *n>*, the derivation of which is very uncertain.<sup>98</sup> The following examples occur in these four texts: *n>->* “to be great” (‘Onchsheshonqy 7/19, var. spelling 7/18, Mythus 3/26, Magical 2/27, var. spelling 9/11), *n>-n* “to be beautiful” (Setne 4/39, ‘Onchsheshonqy 20/10, Mythus 11/14, var. spelling 17/10, Magical 11/26), *n>-š>* “to be numerous” (‘Onchsheshonqy 7/20, Mythus 12/27), *n>-bin* “to be evil” (Magical 3/20), *n>-mr* “to be ill” (‘Onchsheshonqy 26/9), *n>-nfr* “to be

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Sahidic the imperative form *ma* was used with a following *nai* or *nan*, while *ti* was used with a following *nak* or *nētn*. Magical contains examples of *my n.y*, but no examples with a following *n.k* or *n.tn*, using either spelling.

<sup>94</sup> With a following suffix pronoun. The forms *r-iny.t*, *r-ʿl*, *r-lk*, *r-d[y]*, *e-ddy*, and *e-ddt* are also followed by suffix pronouns.

<sup>95</sup> That these are infinitive forms is especially possible in the case of *t>y* since Magical has an example of the imperative before a noun direct object written with the extra *y* often found in the construct infinitive (21/40).

<sup>96</sup> This verb also occurs in Setne (4/34), with 2 m. direct object *we.t.k*. See above, n. 34.

<sup>97</sup> These three verbs are included under pronominal infinitives with *t*; see above.

<sup>98</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 117, note; Kurt Sethe, “Zur Erklärung der koptischen Nominalverben der Eigenschaftswörter,” *ZAS*, Vol. 64 (1929) pp. 63–64.

good” (Setne 3/7, ‘Onchsheshonqy 12/8, Mythus 22/5, Magical 3/19), *nʒ-nḥt* “to be strong” (Mythus 19/3), *nʒ-ndm* “to be sweet” (‘Onchsheshonqy 19/3, Mythus 11/12), *nʒ-ršy* “to be joyous” (Mythus 4/24), *nʒ-ḥlq* “to be sweet” (Mythus 11/16), *nʒ-ḥy* “to be high” (‘Onchsheshonqy 12/23), *n(ʒ)-ḥm* “to be small” (‘Onchsheshonqy 7/20, Magical 21/28[?]), *nʒ-swk* “to be cunning” (Mythus 18/2), *nʒ-sbʒ* “to be educated” (‘Onchsheshonqy 8/3), *nʒ-sše* “to be scorned” (Mythus 6/20), *nʒ-šʕt* “to be cut” (‘Onchsheshonqy 15/24), *nʒ-m-šs* “to be significant” (‘Onchsheshonqy 20/9), *nʒ-šq* “to be serious” (Magical 6/34), *nʒ-ṯhr* “to be sad” (‘Onchsheshonqy 3/14), *nʒ-dlḥ* “to be small” (Mythus 19/2), and *nʒ-dk* “to be sharp” (Mythus 13/27).<sup>99</sup>

When the adjective verb was used in any other *sdm.f* form, or in the infinitive or the qualitative, the *nʒ* was not written.<sup>100</sup> There are also a few examples, especially in Mythus, where main clause *sdm.f* forms of these verbs are not preceded by *nʒ*. These include *ʒy* “to be great” (Mythus 16/7), *bin* “to be evil” (‘Onchsheshonqy 13/4, Mythus 10/32), *nfr* “to be good” (Mythus 10/31), and *ršy* “to be joyous” (Mythus 4/30). Note also that in three cases the scribe of ‘Onchsheshonqy has created adjective verbs, twice out of transitive verbs, by using the meaning of the qualitative: *nʒ-mr* “to be ill” from *mr* “to be ill,” *nʒ-sbʒ* “to be educated” from *sbʒ* “to educate,” and *nʒ-šʕt* “to be cut” from *šʕt* “to cut.”<sup>101</sup> He has also made an adjective verb from an adverb: *nʒ-m-šs* “to be significant” from *m-šs* “very, truly.” Thus, although in Mythus and ‘Onchsheshonqy there are some peculiar features, the distribution of forms in Setne and Magical is identical with that in Coptic, where the main clause suffix conjugation of adjective verbs contains the initial *nʒ*, but other forms do not.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>99</sup> There are five other verbs whose main clause *sdm.f* form written with *nʒ* was attested in other texts: *nʒ-wšḥ* “to be wide,” *nʒ-mnh* “to be excellent,” *nʒ-sbk* “to be small,” *nʒ-qy* “to be high,” and *nʒ-dr* “to be strong.” All are cited in Erichsen, *Glossar*. Two of these occur in Mythus in main clause *sdm.f* forms written without *nʒ*: *qy* (Mythus 20/15) and *dr* (Mythus 17/19). *Wšḥ* occurs only in Mythus, in the infinitive form *wšḥ* (11/31); *mnḥ* used as a predicate does not occur in any of the four texts studied. *Sbk* occurs in ‘Onchsheshonqy 16/24. If that line is taken as a complete sentence, then *sbk* is the predicate, written without *nʒ*. It is possible, however, that *sbk* should be read with the preceding line as an adjective modifying the noun *sn* “brother.”

<sup>100</sup> There are only two exceptions to this rule. ‘Onchsheshonqy has examples (6/11, 16/13, 25/18) of the infinitive form of *bin* “to be evil” written *n-bin*, in the negative aorist. The similar form in 17/18 may be a qualitative. In the same text the infinitive of *nfr* “to be good” was written *nʒ-nfr* in a conjunctive (17/18) and in a restored negative aorist (25/19); a possible qualitative so written is found in 6/11. A subjunctive *sdm.f* after *di* is so written in 27/4. The scribe of Magical wrote *nʒ-nfr* for all forms of the verb. Thus it occurs for the infinitive (19/9), the qualitative (V6/3[?]), and in non-main clause forms of the *sdm.f* (20/24).

<sup>101</sup> The main clause *sdm.f* form of *mr* also occurs in ‘Onchsheshonqy without *nʒ* (1/16). *Sbʒ* does not occur elsewhere in any of these texts, but Mythus has an example of the normal, transitive use of *šʕt*, without *nʒ* (18/32). For *nʒ-sbʒ*, see Coptic *nesbōō* “to be wise,” Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 229a.

<sup>102</sup> The suffix conjugation forms are cited in Till, *Grammatik*, par. 284. The infinitive equivalents are, e.g., *aiai* for *naa*, *ašai* for *naše*. The forms with *nʒ* are discussed below in Chap. 2, in the section on adjective verbs.

# CHAPTER 2

## THE PRESENT TENSE

The presentation of the present tense forms begins with the basic positive present tense construction and includes the spelling of the prefixes, the possible forms of the predicate, the usage and meaning of the construction, and its predecessors and successors. In each section both the basic main clause form and the forms with the circumstantial, relative, and imperfect converters are discussed. The same categories are then discussed for the present tense negative and the progressive. At the end of the chapter are included two constructions in which there is no formal distinction (at least not in most Demotic texts) between the past and present tense. These are the “second tenses” and the *sdm.f* of adjective verbs. For each of these, the form, usage and meaning, and history are presented.

### PRESENT

#### Positive

##### Forms

*Prefixes.* When the subject of a present tense main clause was a pronoun, the forms given in Table 1 were used. The numbers in the table give column and line references for the examples quoted. The forms can be transliterated as follows: 1 s.: *tw.y*; 2 m.: *dī.k* (Setne and ‘Onchsheshonqy), *īw.k* (Setne and Mythus), *īir.k* (Magical);<sup>1</sup> 2 f.: *tw.t*; 3 m.: *īw.f*, *r.īw.f* (Mythus); 3 f.: *īw.s*, *r.īw.s* (Mythus); 3 pl.: *st*. The 1 pl. *tw.n* and 2 pl. *tw.tn* are attested in other manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The spelling *īw.k* (Magical *īir.k*) reflects Coptic *k*. The earlier forms retain Late Egyptian *tw.k*. An example actually written *tw.k*, not *dī.k*, is cited by Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925) par. 137, α. Examples of the 2 m. with *īw* earlier than Mythus are somewhat suspect; they usually occur after the particle *in*, where the circumstantial was normally used; see E83 and Wente, “SVM,” pp. 117–18. The Setne example is an exception.

E3:Setne 6/11

*dd stne r pʒ hl-ʕ īw.k n smt n rmt īw.f ʕy n ms*

“Setne said to the old man, ‘You are in the manner of an old man.’”

<sup>2</sup> See Williams, “Verbal Forms,” Fig. 3. Spiegelberg presented the paradigm of main clause present tense forms in *Grammatik*, par. 135, to which presentation the comments in this note also apply. Forms written with *īir*, which Spiegelberg noted, are second tense forms and are included in that section; see below on second tenses. With a few exceptions, the forms cited in Table 1 agree with those given by Williams. It should be noted that ‘Onchsheshonqy had not yet been published when Williams wrote his article. Setne 5/13 has an example of 3 f. *īw.s* which Williams included among his circumstantial forms (Fig. 2). From among the forms found in Mythus Williams omitted the rare main clause 3 m. and f. forms *r.īw.f* and *r.īw.s*, the forms normally used in the circumstantial. The 2 pl. form he cited from Mythus 16/21 is in a negative and is included below in Table 7. In Magical, he failed to identify the 2 m. and 3 f. forms. The form *tw.f* (13/21) which he listed for the 3 m. is the *sdm.f* of the verb *dī* “to give,” used in the aorist. The examples of the 3 s. and noun forms with *tw* given in Georges Ortgeuthner, *Grammaire démotique du Papyrus Magique de Londres et Leyde* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936) par. 165, are from the expression *mn-tw* indicating non-possession, and these should not be called present tense forms. In both Setne and Mythus, Williams transliterated the 2 m. form as *īr.k* rather than *īw.k*. The sign in question is the form of *īw* used with the 2 m. pronoun, and it is distinct from the verb *īr* “to do.” See Charles F. Nims, “A Problem of Syntax in Demotic Documents,” in *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zur seinem 70. Geburtstag am 20. August, 1967*, ed. Wolfgang Helck (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968) p. 95, n. 9, and

Table 1. Present Tense

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/13	20/12	4/5	6/29
2 m.	6/3	19/2	5/22	20/19
	6/11			
2 f.			5/11	
3 m.	3/17	7/10	9/5	20/5
			4/19	
3 f.	5/13	8/6	21/27	v5/4
			11/11	
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.	3/2	3/22	10/2	9/9
DN	3/1	9/11	2/33	1/27
IN	5/5	4/11	2/5	v3/6
			9/24	8/2

Converted forms of the present tense include the circumstantial, relative, and imperfect, and the circumstantial and relative of the imperfect. Since the imperfect, although itself a converted form, served as a main clause, it could be preceded by other converters, as in Coptic. The forms given in Table 2 are those of the circumstantial present.<sup>3</sup> The examples with pronominal subject may be transliterated as follows: 1 s.: *iw.y*, *r.iw.y* (Mythus); 2 m.: *iw.k* (Setne and 'Onchsheshonqy), *r.iw.k* (Mythus), *ir.k* (Magical); 2 f.: *r.iw.t*, *r.ir*;<sup>4</sup> 3 m.: *iw.f*, *r.iw.f*

Richard A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1962) p. 54. Because the hand copies of many Demotic texts, including Mythus and Magical, were made near the turn of the century, before the minute differences between *ir.k* and *iw.k* had been noted, the shape of the sign over the *k* in the hand copy cannot be used as conclusive evidence as to the reading.

<sup>3</sup> The scribe of Louvre 2414 omitted the circumstantial converter unless it was followed immediately by a suffix pronoun.

E4:Louvre 2414, 3/7–8

*m-ir di p3y.k šr (n) mn-iry.t m-s3 mn-iry.t <iw> wn mtw.s hy*

“Don’t give your son (to) a wet nurse except a wet nurse <who> has a husband.”

<sup>4</sup> Two examples (7/32 and 13/14), both broken, of the 2 f. circumstantial present spelled *r.iw.t* have been included in Table 2. When the preserved parts of each are combined, the original spelling can be restored. Two examples written *r.ir* are also quoted. In the first (12/8) there is no room for the 2 f. pronoun *.t*, but the spacing of the second (21/23) allows for the restoration of the pronoun if desired; it is unnecessary. Both spellings using *ir* rather than *iw* should be compared to the Coptic *er(e)*.

Table 2. Present Tense, Circumstantial

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/19		11/31 8/21	6/30
2 m.	3/11	6/11	5/23	6/19
2 f.			7/32 13/14 12/8 21/23	
3 m.	3/10	2/17	3/8	3/10
3 f.	4/34	9/8	8/8	3/13
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.	5/16	5/16	13/11 15/12	3/8
DN	3/17	8/12	8/11	1/2
IN	3/37	6/14	20/29 9/15	3/13 9/7

(Mythus); 3 f.: *iw.s*, *r.iw.s* (Mythus); 3 pl.: *iw.w*, *r.iw.w* (Mythus). The 1 pl. *iw.n* and 2 pl. *in.tn* are attested, for example, in Rylands IX.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See Williams, “Verbal Forms,” Fig. 2. Spiegelberg presented the paradigm of circumstantial present tense forms in *Grammatik*, par. 154, to which presentation the following comments also apply. Forms written with *ir* which Spiegelberg noted are second tense forms and are included in that section; see below. As with main clause forms, there are few differences between the forms cited here and those identified by Williams. The 3 f. form in Setne 5/13 is a main clause form, not circumstantial. The 2 m. forms in both Setne and Mythus should be transliterated *iw*, not *ir* (as noted above, Chap. 2, n. 2). The Mythus forms without initial *r* (12/8, 14/26, 5/14) which Williams included as circumstantials are conditional forms (see below, Chap. 4). There are, however, two forms without *r* which have been included in Table 2 as circumstantial forms.

E5:Mythus 8/20–21

*inky t3y t3y.f kyd n wnm iw.y n yb m-s3.k r in.t.k*

“I am his right hand, being a claw after you to bring you back.”

E6:Mythus 15/12–13

*my hpr.f iw.w dd tw.y dlh n hty.t r-hr.t*

“May it happen that it be said, ‘I am smaller in form than you.’”

The first of the two has an adverbial predicate and thus must be a durative tense (see above, Introduction, and below, introduction to Chap. 3). In neither case can the spelling be the main clause present tense form, which was written *tw.y*, as in Table 1. But neither spelling has the *r* found in all other circumstantial forms in Mythus. Thus their identification as circumstantials can be only tentative. In addition to the circumstantial forms from Magical which Williams quoted, the 2 m. form has been included in Table 2. Ort-Geuthner (*Grammaire*, par. 194) has included *ir.k* with what are circumstantial forms (his terminology is misleading), but he calls it an emphatic form, which here it is not. Wentz, “SVM,” pp. 29–30, n. 6, has also suggested identifying some of the forms written *ir.k*

Table 3. Present Tense, Relative

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	5/17 		2/7 	7/23 
2 m.	4/25 	15/13 	18/3 	v14/7 
			17/13 	
2 f.			8/6 	
			17/4 	
			3/28 	
			11/17 	
3 m.		4/15 	5/28 	21/27 
			7/11 	
			5/35 	
3 f.		13/19 	8/21 	v13/3 
		23/2 (?) 	7/12 	
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.	3/8 		7/18 	7/3 
			8/25 	
			5/4 	
N =	3/1 	1/17 	3/25 	1/6 
N ≠	3/12 	2/19 	2/3 	1/24 
				2/6 

The forms of the present tense relative used with pronominal subject are given in Table 3. They consist largely of the relative converter *nty*<sup>6</sup> prefixed to the circumstantial form, although a few of the Mythus examples do not have the *r* found in the circumstantial. That they do not represent forms consisting of *nty iw* plus main clause is shown by the form of the 1 s. and 3 pl. The spacing in Mythus 17/4 indicates that the 2 f. relative form there never included the pronoun *.t*, but the one in 8/6 probably did. Both spellings indicate the *r* found in Coptic.<sup>7</sup> In addition to forms with *nty*, Mythus has some forms written like the conjunctive or independent pronoun.<sup>8</sup> In these forms too the 3 pl. *mtw.w* shows that the relative was based on the circumstantial rather than the main clause form.

in Magical as circumstantials, and he has noted that, if these are not so identified, the absence of any 2 m. forms, the most common person that appears in this text, is surprising.

<sup>6</sup> *Nty iw* with 2 m. subject in Setne and 'Onchsheshonqy and with 3 f. subject in 'Onchsheshonqy.

<sup>7</sup> As do the circumstantial 2 f. forms with *ir* discussed above, n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> See below, Table 50, and Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 7. Rare possible examples in 'Onchsheshonqy of the relative written *mtw* are discussed below, Chap. 4, E539–40.

The only main clause imperfect forms with pronominal subject which occur in these four texts are 1 s. examples written *wn-nʒw*, the imperfect converter, plus the circumstantial. See Table 4. The forms of the circumstantial and relative of the imperfect are given in Tables 5–6. The examples of the circumstantial, attested in this corpus only in Mythus, can be transliterated *rhwn-nʒw iir.s* and *rhwn-nʒw [ii]r.w*.<sup>9</sup> The relative forms can be transliterated: 2 f.: *rhwn-nʒw iir[t]*; 3 m.: *rwn-nʒw iw.f* (Setne) or *rhwn-nʒw iir.f* (Mythus); 3 f.: *rh[wn-nʒw ii]r.s*; 3 pl.: *rwn-nʒw iw.w*.

All the forms discussed so far are those which were used when the subject of the clause, whether main or converted, was a pronoun. When the subject was a noun, a distinction was made between a definite and an indefinite noun subject.<sup>10</sup> If the subject of a present tense main clause was a definite noun, no prefix was used. If, however, the subject was an indefinite noun, it was normally preceded by *wn* “to be.” See Table 1. Thus, in effect, if the subject was an indefinite noun, the clause was changed into an “existence” clause, which can literally be translated “there is a.”<sup>11</sup>

Table 4. Imperfect

	Setne	'Onchsheshongy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/3	4/3		
2 m.				
2 f.				
3 m.				
3 f.				
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.				
DN		3/19	8/14	9/10
IN		2/17	17/10	
			2/7	

<sup>9</sup> An example written *iw wn-nʒw iw.f* is cited in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 176, 12.

<sup>10</sup> For the distinction between definite and indefinite, see above, Introduction, n. 25.

<sup>11</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 441, and below, E21–22.

Table 5. Imperfect, Circumstantial

	Mythus	
1 s.		
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.		
3 f.	19/8	𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.	16/16	𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏
DN		
IN	18/22	𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏

Table 6. Imperfect, Relative

	Setne	'Onchsheshongy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.				
2 m.				
2 f.			14/18 𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏	
3 m.	5/22 𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏		7/27 𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏 13/21 𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏	
3 f.			20/20 𐎎𐎏 (𐎏)	
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.		5/15 𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏		3/6 𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏
N =	4/4 𐎎𐎏	4/8 𐎎𐎏	8/16 𐎎𐎏𐎏	
N ≠	4/21 𐎎𐎏	5/14 𐎎𐎏	15/29 𐎎𐎏𐎏𐎏𐎏	

E7A:Setne 5/9<sup>12</sup>*wn sbt nb hn.f*

“Every preparation (lit., all equipment) is in it.”

Lit., “There is every preparation in it.”

E7C:Mythus 2/5–6

*wn b3w ʾir-n.f n šp*

“Punishment awaits him immediately(?)”

<sup>12</sup> If examples are cited from more than one text illustrating the same point, they are all given the same number and identified as A (Setne), B ('Onchsheshongy), C (Mythus), or D (Magical). If more than one example from the same text is cited under the same example number, the examples are distinguished with small letters.

But there are also examples, in Mythus and Magical, without *wn*. In one example in Mythus a noun with the indefinite article serves as the subject of the qualitative of the verb “to come.”<sup>13</sup>

E8:Mythus 19/24                      *w<sup>c</sup>.t b<sup>c</sup>ʒ.t n bʒtm iw*  
 “A *latm*-bush came.”

Two other examples follow a second tense clause, and the context suggests that the second tense converter *ir* has been omitted before *šllwl* and *šdyhʒ*.<sup>14</sup>

E9:Mythus 11/2–3                      *ir.w n ihʒy hn by-wkm šllwl hn nʒ štʒ.w šdyhʒ iwt nʒ ikš.w*  
 “In the Arabian desert they are in jubilation; in the forests, jubilation; and among the Ethiopians, fun.”

The only other example without *wn* in what may be a main clause is an obscure phrase which occurs twice.

E10:Mythus 10/19 and 34–35  
*mi-qd šm tp sip hd*  
 “as ... tests silver(?)”

In Magical there are three main clause examples written without *wn*.

E11:Magical 14/28                      *ky dm<sup>c</sup> dd<sup>15</sup>*  
 “another papyrus says”

E12:Magical 8/2                        *w<sup>c</sup>.t ir.t rym kt sby*  
 “One eye weeps; another laughs.”

The former is an archaic expression used to introduce variant readings. The other two, which occur in a list of magical names, also sound archaic. None of these can be used to argue that the scribe of Magical did not use *wn* with indefinite subjects in the present tense system.

The circumstantial present with definite noun subject consisted of the circumstantial converter prefixed to the noun subject.<sup>16</sup> But with indefinite noun subject this converter was prefixed to *wn* preceding the subject. See Table 2.

E13A:Setne 3/37                        *iw wn mh-ntr 21 n mw hr-dʒdʒ.w*  
 “there being 21 (divine-)cubits of water over them.”<sup>17</sup>

E13C:Mythus 20/29–30                *r wn nhy.t n hbs m[h]*  
 “while a ... of a lamp bu[rns].”

E13D:Magical 14/20                      *mtw.k di ir.f kšp r-hn pʒ nhe iw wn w<sup>c</sup> hbs prh r hʒ.f*  
 “and you have him look into the oil while a cloth is spread around him.”

In Mythus there is only one example where *wn* is missing, this in a phrase the meaning of which is quite uncertain.

<sup>13</sup> For the syntactic peculiarities of this verb, see below, the discussion with E77.

<sup>14</sup> *Wn* was not used before indefinite noun subjects in the second tense.

<sup>15</sup> This could also be an archaic use of the participle, as in Middle Egyptian; see Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (3d ed.; London: Oxford University Press, on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964) par. 450, 1.

<sup>16</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 208.

<sup>17</sup> For the reading and translation, see Karl-Theodor Zauzich, “Gottesellen statt Gotteskraft,” *Enchoria*, Vol. 1 (1971) pp. 83–85.

E14:Mythus 9/15–16 *dd hpr iw(?) kby sip šp-nfr kby šc ms*  
 “for a constellation tests fortune, the first rising constellation(?)”

The only example in Magical without *wn* is one where the noun is modified by a number.

E15:Magical 9/7 *iw bs 2 hr.r.f*  
 “who wears two panther skins”  
 Lit., “while two panther skins are under him”

Elsewhere, nouns with numbers are treated as indefinite unless preceded by the definite article, as in Coptic.

E16a:Magical 9/33 *r-*iw.y kšp r-bnr h3[t.y(?)]* r nw m-s3 wsir ... iw wn šr inp 2 h3t.f*  
 “I have waited(?) to see Osiris ... while two sons of Anubis were before him.”<sup>18</sup>

E16b: Magical 8/16–18 *r-hr p3 hpš n p3 mh3 n p3 wrš iw wn w<sup>c</sup> yb n mdwl hd n hlpe 3.t iw wn mh-n-tp 3.t n b<sup>c</sup>nyp tks n-im.f*  
 “<Say it> opposite Ursa Major on the third day of the month while there is a clove of white three-lobed garlic in which three iron needles are piercing.”

See also E13A. Thus the example in 9/7 is probably an error.

*Wn* was also used before indefinite noun subjects in the imperfect, both main and converted forms. In all other cases, including those with definite noun subject,<sup>19</sup> the imperfect converter was prefixed not to the main clause form but to the circumstantial clause form. See Tables 4–6.<sup>20</sup> But in Mythus the converter was prefixed to a form containing *ir* rather than *iw*.

E18:Mythus 12/10–11 *n3 sdy.w rhwn-n3w ir.f dd n-im.w*  
 “the stories he was telling”

The only exception is 17/10, a main clause imperfect form where the necessary restoration does not leave room for either *ir* or *iw* before the definite noun subject.

E19:Mythus 17/10–11 *rhwn-n3w [n3 i3.wt n n3 t]w.w ir-rh n t3y.f snty.t irm p3y.f nhwr*  
 “[The small game of the moun]tains knew fear of him and terror of him.”

<sup>18</sup> For the analysis of *r-*iw.y kšp** as a past tense, see below, Chap. 3, the forms of the positive past tense.

<sup>19</sup> In Mythus and Magical. In both Setne and ‘Onchsheshonqy the imperfect converter was prefixed directly to the noun subject. This seems to be true also of Rylands IX, as quoted by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 171, and may reflect a difference between early (Persian and Ptolemaic) and later (Roman) Demotic.

<sup>20</sup> And Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 170–72. In Magical 9/10 the hand copy has *p3 hn.y*, but this is impossible grammatically. Griffith and Thompson, *Magical I* 68, n. to 1. 10, have suggested the correct reading, *iw*.

E17:Magical 9/10 *wn-n3w iw hn.y r mh3t n-im.k dy n p3 hrw*  
 “My desire was to seize you here today.”

The imperfect converter consisted of the imperfect form of *wn* “to be,” written *wn-n3w*; to this was prefixed circumstantial *iw/r* to make the circumstantial imperfect. The relative imperfect converter consisted of the relative form of *wn*, written *rwn-n3w*. See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 554. For the spelling with *h* found in Mythus, see below and n. 22.

That the spellings with *irr* in Mythus should not be interpreted as imperfect forms of the second tense is shown by the relative in 8/13–14, which has no adverbial adjunct.<sup>21</sup>

E20:Mythus 8/13–14      *thy.k ḥṣṭ.y rhwn-nṣw irr.f dnt*  
 “You damaged my heart which was tested.”

The *r* found in the imperfect converter in Mythus must have come by analogy with the *r* of either the circumstantial or the relative, or both; the *h* by analogy with the spelling of the irrealis.<sup>22</sup>

“Existence” clauses, whose purpose, as the name indicates, was to state that something existed, consisted of the *sdm.f* of *wn* “to be”; the subject of *wn* was the item whose existence was being asserted.<sup>23</sup> This subject could be an indefinite noun

E21A:Setne 6/3      *in wn md.t iw.s šlf*  
 “Is there a thing which is disgraceful?”

E21B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/11      *r-dbṣ ḥpr wn mtw.y wᶜ ḥ(m)-hl*  
 “because I have a boy”

E21C:Mythus 17/7      *pṣ kṣ wn kṣ r.r.f pṣ ṯ[ᶜ]l wn ṯᶜl r.r.f ᶜn*  
 “The bull, there is a more prolific(?); the st[ro]ng, there is also a stronger.”

E21D:Magical V3/6      *wn ke wᶜ*  
 “There is another one.”

or a nominalized relative.<sup>24</sup>

E22B:‘Onchsheshonqy 26/17  
*wn pṣ nty skṣ iw bw-ir.f ḥwy pṣy.f ...*  
 “There is one who plows although he does not thresh his ...”

E22C:Mythus 18/18      *ṣn wn pṣ nty r.iw.f r di [r] ḥṯ.y ḥr pṣ tṣ*  
 “Does anyone exist upon the earth who will fight me?”

Converted forms of “existence” clauses were regular, consisting of the converter (for example, the circumstantial converter *iw/r*) prefixed to the main clause form.

E23A:Setne 5/12      *iw wn wᶜ kṣm ir n.f mḥt*  
 “there being a garden making its north”

E23B:‘Onchsheshonqy 6/14      *m-ir ḥb ḥṯ n md.t ᶜ.t iw wn rmt rh iw iw.k rh ḥb.f*  
 “Don’t send a fool on an important matter while there is a wise man whom you could send!”

E23C:Mythus 2/9      *ḥpr.f r wn [wᶜ.t] snty tṣ nry.t r šm r-bnr*  
 “It happened that the vulture feared to go out.” Lit., “It happened that there was a fear of the vulture to go out.”

See also E16b.

<sup>21</sup> See below on the meaning and usage of the second tense. Note also that in Coptic the second tense of the imperfect was formed by prefixing the second tense converter to the imperfect, not vice versa.

<sup>22</sup> See Chap. 4 on the irrealis.

<sup>23</sup> The *sdm.f* here has present tense meaning. See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, n. to par. 117, and par. 441; Williams, “Morphology,” pars. 91b and 194; Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 34.

<sup>24</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, n. to par. 441. Although a nominalized relative clause, meaning “whoever,” contained the definite article, it was treated syntactically as indefinite.

In Egyptian, relative forms were used only after definite antecedents, so the distinction in relative clauses with noun subjects is not whether or not the noun is definite but whether or not it is identical with the antecedent. If the noun subject was different from the antecedent, *nty* was prefixed to the corresponding circumstantial form, as in the case of pronominal subjects.<sup>25</sup>

E24A:Setne 3/12	<i>p3 m3' nty iw p3y dm' n-im.f</i> “the place where this document is”
E24B:‘Onchsheshonqy 2/19	<i>t3 knh.t nty iw pr-3 n-im.s</i> “the chapel where Pharaoh is”
E24C:Mythus 7/2–3	<i>p3 š'ym nty iw t3 imy.t ms hn.f</i> “the stall in which the cat gives birth”
E24D:Magical 6/17	<i>p3 ntr nty iw p3 w3h-shn n drt.f</i> “the god in whose hand is command”

If the subject of the relative clause was identical with the antecedent, the subject was omitted from the present tense relative clause, and a participle was formed by prefixing the relative converter *nty* to the predicate of the relative clause.<sup>26</sup> See Table 3.

E25A:Setne 3/10	<i>n3 sh.w nty hr n3 g3.wt n n3 ntr.w</i> “the writings which are on the shrines of the gods”
E25B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/4	<i>n3 ntr.w nty irm.f</i> “the gods who are with him”
E25C:Mythus 6/5–6	<i>p3 m3qr n dwf nty rd.t hn p3 mw</i> “the papyrus reed which grows in the water”
E25D:Magical 17/9	<i>p3 nty hms</i> “the one who sits”

Magical also contains a few archaic examples of the old imperfective active participle, with gnomic meaning.

E26:Magical 10/26–27	<i>k3 syt nb šfe.t shd t3</i> “Oh bull who engenders, lord of awe who illumines the land!” <sup>27</sup>
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The relative form of the imperfect followed the same rules as the present tense relative. If the subject of the relative differed from the antecedent, the relative imperfect converter was used before the circumstantial form.<sup>28</sup>

E28Aa:Setne 5/22	<i>p3y-wn-n3w iw.f n-im.f</i> “what he was in” <sup>29</sup>
E28Ab:Setne 4/21	<i>p3 m3' rwn-n3w n3nfrk3pth n-im.f</i> “the place where Naneferkaptah was”

<sup>25</sup> See above, p. 37. Williams noted (“Morphology,” par 177) that in P. Insinger if the subject was not identical with the antecedent the scribe used “*nty iw* with a tense resembling the circumstantial in form.”

<sup>26</sup> In other words, a participle is a relative form without an expressed subject.

<sup>27</sup> Leiden I 384 has two examples of the archaic imperfect active participle.

E27:Leiden I 384vs., I*/10–11	<i>i šw 'nhε b3 'nhε</i> “Oh living Shu, living b3!”
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<sup>28</sup> Or, in Setne and ‘Onchsheshonqy with noun subject, before the main clause form. See above and n. 19.

<sup>29</sup> “What was in him” would have been written *p3y-wn-n3w n-im.f*, without repetition of the subject.

E28Ba:‘Onchsheshonqy 5/15

*nʒ bld.w nʒ hn.w rwn-nʒw iw.w tʒy.t.w nfr-hn hr mtk*  
 “the sherds of the vessels which had been taken in to him  
 carrying wine”

E28Bb:‘Onchsheshonqy 2/15–16

*md.t nb.t rwn-nʒw hr-sʒ-ʒs.t sʒ [rʿ]-ms dd n-im.w <n> ‘nh-  
 ššnqy [sʒ] tʒy-nfr*  
 “everything which Horsiese, the son of [Ra]mose, was  
 saying <to> ‘Onchsheshonqy, [the son] of Tjaynefer”

E28C:Mythus 15/29

*nʒ md.wt rhwn-nʒw iir pʒ šm n wnš kwf dd n-im.w*  
 “the words which the small ape was saying”

If the subject was identical with the antecedent, only the converter was used.

E29A:Setne 4/9

*rmt nb rwn-nʒw hr mr.t*  
 “every man who was on board”

E29B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/10

*pʒ tʒy-šbt rwn-nʒw ip r.r.f*  
 “the staff-bearer who was assigned to him”

E29C:Mythus 8/16–17

*iir.k in-iv r di pd.y n-drʒ pʒy.y hʿ.y kmy rhwn-nʒw n sty n  
 bte n hʒt.y*  
 “It is in order to cause me to yearn for my own (land),  
 Egypt, which was as the smell of emmer in my heart, that  
 you come.”

*Predicates.* The predicate in the present tense system might consist of an adverbial (including prepositional phrases), a qualitative, or an infinitive.<sup>30</sup> This is true of both main clause forms and converted forms (circumstantial, relative, and imperfect, with and without further converters).<sup>31</sup> If the predicate in a present tense clause was an infinitive with a defined noun or a pronoun as direct object, the absolute infinitive had to be used, although in most cases the absolute infinitive was not written distinctively.<sup>32</sup> The object followed the preposition *n* (*n-im*

<sup>30</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 438, and examples in pars. 136–37 and 439.

<sup>31</sup> Some scholars have set up a distinction between adverbial and verbal (i.e., qualitative or infinitive) predicates in the circumstantial present (e.g., Williams, “Morphology,” par. 109 vs. par. 124*a*). But all form a unit, using the same subject prefixes—as Spiegelberg recognized (*Grammatik*, pars. 155 and 210), although he failed to recognize the difference between circumstantial present and second tense prefixes. Ort-Geuthner (*Grammaire*, pars. 194 ff.) deals only with verbal predicates and has also failed to distinguish between circumstantial and second tense forms. In dealing with the relatives, both Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, pars. 529–43) and Ort-Geuthner (*Grammaire*, pars. 461–73) have distinguished between cases where the subject of the relative is identical with the antecedent and is omitted (leaving the relative pronoun *nty* to serve as subject of the relative), and those in which the subject of the relative differs from the antecedent and is retained; see the remarks above on the form of present tense relative clauses. But they have also subdivided the second category by type of subject (nominal or pronominal) and by type of predicate (adverbial or verbal). All circumstantial and all relative forms fit into one paradigm each, regardless of the predicate, just as do main clause present tense forms. Thus each of the three—main, circumstantial, and relative—should be viewed as a unit, with the interchangeable variety of predicates named above. See also H. J. Polotsky, review of *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)* by Walter C. Till, *OLZ*, Vol. 52 (1957) pp. 225–26, who argues for the inclusion of the Coptic “First Present” with the “verbal” conjugations.

<sup>32</sup> See Chap. 1 on infinitives.

before a pronoun).<sup>33</sup> With undefined nouns the preposition might be added, but was not mandatory.

Examples of present tense clauses in which the predicate consists of an adverbial occur in all four texts, in main clauses,

E30A:Setne 4/7 *dd.w n.f iw.f iir-hr.k irm rmt nb nty mtw.f dr.w*  
 “They said to him, ‘He is before you together with every man who belongs to him.’”

E30B:‘Onchsheshonqy 18/11  
*n3 hr̄t.w n p3 lh mšc n p3 h̄yr n3y p3 rmt rh st he.t.f*  
 “The children of the fool walk in the street; those of the wise man (they) are at his side.”

E30C:Mythus 9/21–22 *twyst p3 t3 iir-hr.y m-qd w.c.t fty.t*  
 “Behold, the earth is before me like a chest.”

E30D:Magical 14/32 *t3y.f hrr3 [m-]qd [t3 h]rr3 n 3nqe*  
 “Its flower is [l]ike [the f]lower of ....”

in circumstantial clauses,

E31A:Setne 3/14 *iw.f hpr iw.k hn imnty*  
 “If (it happens that) you are in the west”

E31B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/15–16  
*dd.y st iir-hr ‘nh-ššnqy s3 t3y-nfr w.c w.c b n p3-r.c iw.f dy n mn-nfr irm.y*  
 “I said it to ‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of Tjay-nefer, a priest of Pre who is here in Memphis with me.”

E31C:Mythus 16/5–6 *h.c p3-r.c n dw3 r.iw.f m itn 3 nb 3.t r n3y.f [n]w.w hr ršy r n3y.f s3tw.w hr ‘nh*  
 “Pre appeared at dawn being the sundisk, great of flames, his glances joyful, his rays carrying life.”

E31D:Magical 6/31–32 *n-drt gm.k wsir hr p3y.f rms n dwfe thn iw 3s.t n3y-d3d3.f iw nb.t-hw.t n3y-rd.t.f iw n3 n[tr.w] hw̄t.w n3 ntr.w shm.wt n p3y.f qd e-ddys 3s.t*  
 “When you find Osiris on his boat of papyrus and faience with Isis at his head, Nephthys at his feet, and the male g[ods] and female goddesses around him, say, ‘Isis . . .’”

in relative clauses,

E32A:Setne 3/8 *p3y hm-hl nty iir-hr.k*  
 “this youth who is before you”

E32B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/4 *n3 ntr.w nty irm.f*  
 “the gods who are with him”

E32C:Mythus 3/28 *p3 nty iw.t n-im.f*  
 “the (place) where you are”

<sup>33</sup> See Introduction and n. 25. Spiegelberg discussed the use of the preposition *n* with the direct object in *Grammatik*, pars. 251–52. But the Coptic usage, as defined by P. Jernstedt, “Des koptische Praesens und die Anknüpfungsarten des nähren Objekts,” in *Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des Sciences de l’URSS* (Leningrad, 1927) pp. 69–74, was followed much earlier than Spiegelberg realized. Parker (“Durative Tenses”) has found that the scribe of P. Rylands IX (Persian period, Darius I) used *n* just as the later Coptic scribes did.

E32D:Magical 5/12 *p3 nty iw t3 st.t n r.f*  
 “the one in whose mouth is the flame”

or in imperfect clauses.

E33A:Setne 4/21 *p3 m3c rwn-n3w n3nfrk3pth n-im.f*  
 “the place where Naneferkaptah was”

E33B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/8–9  
*rmt nb rwn-n3w (n) n3 štg.w n3y-3m-p3-nhs m-s3 ‘nh-ššnqy s3 t3y-nfr*  
 “every man who was (in) the prisons (called) Nayaam-panehes except ‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of Tjay-nefer”

E33C:Mythus 8/16–17 *kmy rhwn-n3w n sty n bte n h3t.y*  
 “Egypt, which was as the smell of emmer in my heart”

All four texts also include examples where the predicate of the present tense construction is a qualitative,<sup>34</sup> in a main clause,

E34A:Setne 3/25 *st iw r hry r h3t.n*  
 “They came down before us.”

E34B:‘Onchsheshonqy 2/14–15  
*n3 s3w.w n3 mr-msc.w n3 rmt.w 3y.w pr pr-3 mtr.w r.r.s dr[.w]*  
 “The Guards and the Generals and the great men of the Palace are all agreed to it.”

E34C:Mythus 17/28 *n3y.k hl.w st di r-bnr*  
 “Your teeth are loose(?)”

E34D:Magical 9/9 *st smnt hr p3 t3*  
 “They are established upon the earth.”

a circumstantial clause,

E35A:Setne 5/15–16 *r-ir.f gm t3 ry.t hr.t n p3 c.wy iw.f shr iw.s ndh iw p3y.s shr ndh n hstb n m3c.t [n] mfk n m3c.t*  
 “It being swept and sprinkled, its floor being sprinkled with real lapis lazuli and real turquoise, he found the upper room of the house.”

E35B:‘Onchsheshonqy 9/10  
*m-ir tnt n md.t iw.k d.t n-im.s*  
 “Don’t be angry over a thing in which you are at fault!”

E35C:Mythus 7/31–32 *m-qd t3 ih.t nty 3r p3y.s dnm r p3y.s ms ww n-im.s*  
 “like the cow who calls to her calf while her baby is far (off) from her”

E35D:Magical V33/2 *r-iw.f gm n n3 ntr.w dr.w iw.w hms.t r-hry r t3 s.t-wp.t*  
 “He found all the gods seated at the place of judgment.”

a relative clause,

E36A:Setne 5/10 *dd.f p3 nty mtry p3y*  
 “He said, ‘It is what is satisfactory.’”

<sup>34</sup> Including the qualitative of an adjective verb; see below, Chap. 2, n. 245.

E36B:‘Onchsheshonqy 21/9

*pꜣ nty hwš.t*

“the one who is injured”

E36C:Mythus 12/8–9

*mtw.t tꜣy nty iw sdm smnt ꜥrm.s tꜣy tꜣ hꜣ.t*

“You are the one with whom hearing has been established since the beginning.”

E36D:Magical 6/25–26

*ink nty rss n ꜥh hpr wr nty iw rn.f hep hn hꜣt.y*“I am one who watches for ...<sup>35</sup> whose name is hidden in my heart.”

or an imperfect clause.

E37B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/3

*wn-nꜣw iw.y ir-rh s dd ...*“I knew (it) that ...”<sup>36</sup>

E37C:Mythus 17/10–11

*rhwn-nꜣw [nꜣ iꜣ.wt n nꜣ t]w.w ir-rh n tꜣy.f snty.t ꜥrm pꜣy.f nhwr*

“[The small game of the moun]tains knew fear of him and terror of him.”

<sup>35</sup> The reading *ꜥh hpr wr* is that given by Griffith, *Magical* I 54–55, n. to 1. 25. He translates it (p. 55) “Light-scarab-noble(?)”. The same group of signs occurs in the Book of the Dead, Chapter 162. See Thomas George Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in The Oriental Institute Museum at The University of Chicago* (“Oriental Institute Publications,” Vol. 82 [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960]) pl. XCVI, 1. 1112 (Papyrus Milbank), translated by Allen (p. 285) “[The Essence of the Great One Shines].”

<sup>36</sup> *Rh* “to know” was the only verb which, as far back as Middle Egyptian, could have a direct object after the qualitative; see Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 320. On the difference in meaning between the infinitive and qualitative, see above, Chap. 1. In Late Egyptian, the qualitative of this verb, rather than the infinitive, was normally used in the present tense, i.e., *tw.y rh.kwi*. Since this construction consists of qualitative plus direct object, the *n* (or *n-im*) otherwise found with defined direct objects (see below), and found in E37C, was not mandatory. An example in Mythus shows the contrast between *ir-rh* plus defined noun object and the normal construction, verb (*mtre*) plus *n* plus defined noun.

E38:Mythus 9/24

*bn-pw.f wy r.iw.f mtre n nꜣy nty hr pꜣ tꜣ r tꜣy.y my.t r.iw.f ir-rh pꜣy.y knꜥ*

“He was not far off instructing those who are upon the earth to my way, knowing my anger.”

One passage in Magical where *ir-rh* is followed by defined direct objects also uses suffix pronouns as possessives, rather than using the form *pꜣy.k*, etc., thus suggesting that the phrase was an archaic one (see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 6).

E39:Magical 9/4–5

*tw.y ir-rh.w rn.k tw.y ir-rh.w ky.k tw.y [ir-rh.w] smte.k*

“I know your name; I know your form; I [know] your manner.”

Another passage seems to have been a more contemporary expression of the older phrase, using *pꜣy.k*, perhaps reinterpreting *ir-rh* as an infinitive, and inserting *n* before the direct object.

E40:Magical 21/29

*tw.y ir-rh n pꜣy.k rn tw.y ir-rh n tꜣy.k ...*

“I know your name; I know your craft(?)”

Examples of the present tense with *rh* and a following direct object in Rylands IX (Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 184) and the Ptolemaic mathematical papyrus BM 10399 (B/10, B/26, C/10 [broken], and C/24) probably consist of the qualitative of *rh* written *rh* rather than the infinitive without the preposition *n* “as the narrative *iw.f (hr) sdm*, a non-durative tense, with the same meaning as in the earlier stages of the language, ‘You have learned’ and so ‘you know’” (Richard A. Parker, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* [“Brown Egyptological Studies,” Vol. 7 (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1972)] p. 12). For the present tense translation of a past tense form, see below, Chap. 2, n. 70. For a discussion of the “narrative *iw.f (hr) sdm*,” see below, Chap. 4, n. 73.

- E37D:Magical 3/6–7 *p3y.w ky rwn-n3w iw.w smnt n-im.f*  
 “their manner in which they were established”
- Qualitative forms deriving from Late Egyptian *m* plus infinitive are also found as the predicates of present tense constructions, in main clauses,
- E41:Magical 20/19 *tw.y n3 hys.t.k*  
 “I am going to praise you.”
- in circumstantial clauses,
- E42C:Mythus 2/26–27 *hpr.fr p3 db3 in-n<sup>c</sup>.k r n3 wb3.w [n p3 t3 n] h3r*  
 “It happened that the avenger was going to the distant regions [of the land of] Syria.”
- E42Da: Magical 9/33 *r nw m-s3 wsir p3 ikš iw.f in-iw r-hn r d3d3.y*  
 “in order to see Osiris the Ethiopian while he is coming in to me”
- E42Db:Magical V17/3 *ir.k sh n3y r w<sup>c</sup>.t gb3.t n 3qyr mtw.k h3<sup>c</sup> hr d3d3.k ir.k in-qdy.t.k*  
 “You should write this on a reed leaf and you should put (it) under you while you are sleeping.”
- and in relative clauses.
- E43C:Mythus 18/17–18 *ih p3 nty r.iw.k in-iw r ir.f n h3<sup>c</sup>*  
 “What is this which you are coming to do (it) finally?”
- E43D:Magical 12/27 *hr h3t ir.t nb.t shm.t nb.t nty iw.y in-n<sup>c</sup> r hn r hr.w*  
 “before every heart and every eye of every woman before whom I am going in”
- The third category of predicates of present tense clauses is infinitives. This is by far the largest category, in both main clauses and converted clauses. According to the rules for durative tenses, only the absolute infinitive or the construct infinitive with undetermined noun object could be used. If what would otherwise have served as direct object were a determined noun or a pronoun, the preposition *n* (*n-im*) was inserted before the object and the absolute infinitive was used.<sup>37</sup> With intransitive verbs, the infinitive could never have a direct object, whether in a main clause,
- E44B:‘Onchsheshonqy 18/11 *n3 hrt.w n p3 lh mš<sup>c</sup> n p3 h3r*  
 “The children of the fool walk in the street.”
- E44C:Mythus 10/27 *n3 iwty.w irm n3 hm.w st šll hr [p3y.t] ‘š-shn*  
 “The old and the young (they) pray concerning [your] order.”
- E44D:Magical 16/26 *iw.f dd n.k tw.y nw r p3 wyn hn t3 st.t n p3 hbs*  
 “If he says to you, ‘I see the light in the flame of the lamp.’”<sup>38</sup>
- a circumstantial clause,
- E45A:Setne 4/34 *iw ih-wr.t rym m-s3.f*  
 “while Ahure cries after him”

<sup>37</sup> See above, Introduction and n. 25.

<sup>38</sup> Note that the direct object follows the preposition *r*, which was idiomatic with the verb *nw* and several other verbs. See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 250.

- E45B:‘Onchsheshonqy 25/14  
*hmy iw ḥ[ʔt] šm.t ḥʔt pʔy.s hy wy r tnt*  
 “Would that the heart of a woman and the heart of her husband be far (off) from quarreling!”
- E45C:Mythus 10/26  
*nʔy.w iwty[.w ... n rh]wy r.iw.w wšb ḥr nʔy.t dd.w*  
 “Their elders ... [at ni]ght while they answer your songs.”
- E45D:Magical 15/18–20  
*my ir s tʔ mn r mn iw.s mr n-im.f iw.s lby m-sʔ.f iw.s rqh n-drt.f iw.s qd m-sʔ.f r mʔ nb*  
 “Let A do it to B while she loves him, while she is mad about him, while she burns for him, while she seeks after him in every place.”
- a relative clause,  
 E46A:Setne 3/1  
*pʔ nty hwš r-ḥr.y*  
 “the one who reviles me”
- E46B:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/12  
*pʔ nty šm iwṯ sn 2 iw.w tnt*  
 “the one who goes between two brothers while they are quarreling”
- E46C:Mythus 6/26  
*nʔ ḥḥrd.w nty thn n mfky mʔ*  
 “the ... which sparkle of real turquoise”
- E46D:Magical 7/17  
*md.t nb.t nty iw.y šll ḥr.r.w dy n pʔ hrw*  
 “everything about which I am praying here today”
- or an imperfect clause.  
 E47:Setne 5/2  
*tʔ ḥl.t-šmsy rwn-nʔw mš m-sʔ.s*  
 “the servant girl who was walking after her”
- With transitive verbs of which the direct object was an undetermined noun, no preposition was needed, in a main clause,  
 E48B:‘Onchsheshonqy 23/18  
*pʔ nty iw bw-ir.f ir ḥs pʔy.f it iw.f ir tl r.r.f*  
 “The one who is not lazy, his father is energetic on his behalf”<sup>39</sup>
- E48C:Mythus 11/30–31  
*tw.y ir hʔt.t*  
 “I am afraid.”
- E48D:Magical 21/30  
*tw.y ḥwy ḥyt r.r.k n pʔ hrw*  
 “I cast anger against you today.”
- in a circumstantial clause,  
 E49A:Setne 3/27  
*ir nʔnfrkʔptḥ hrw 4 iw.f ir hrw nfr irm nʔ wʔb.w n ʔs.t n qbt iw nʔ šm.wt n nʔ wʔb.w n ʔs.t ir hrw nfr irm.y*  
 “Naneferkaptah spent four days celebrating with the priests of Isis of Coptos while the wives of the priests of Isis were celebrating with me.”

<sup>39</sup> Since the scribe of ‘Onchsheshonqy never wrote the preposition *r* of the future (see below, Table 20), this could be a future rather than a present tense, i.e., “his father will be energetic on his behalf.”

E49B:‘Onchsheshonqy 8/17

*rnn n dmy hry iw.f ir wpy.t*

“The blessing of a town is a lord who executes justice.”

E49C:Mythus 12/7

*r t3 qwqwpt.t ir n.s mn(?) -iry.t*

“while the hoopoe was acting as her wet nurse(?)”

E49D:Magical 4/8

*hr nw.k r p3 ntr iw.f n p3 smt n w<sup>c</sup> w<sup>b</sup> iw.f t3y hbs n šš-  
nswt hr-3t.f iw.f t3y š (sic! for tb.ty) r rd.t.f*

“You see the god while he is in the form of a priest, wearing clothes of byssus on his back and wearing sandals on his feet.”

or in a relative clause.

E50B:‘Onchsheshonqy 11/10

*p3 nty di-šm df3 r t3 p.t*

“the one who sends spittle to the sky”

E50C:Mythus 7/9

*t3 irty.t nty ir hr3.t n p3 r ... t3y*

“It is milk which makes food for the mouth ....”

E50D:Magical 2/17

*im3 n.i dd mtw.k p3y sšn ir pyr hn t3 srp.t n p3 nwst3r nty ir  
wyn r p3 t3 dr.f*

“Come to me for you are this lotus which came forth from the lotus of Pnastor which makes light for the entire land!”

When the direct object was a determined noun or a pronoun, *n* (or *n-im*) was used in main clauses,

E51A:Setne 5/33

*n3y.k hr3.w st wh3 n-im.k*

“Your children (they) are looking for you.”

E51C:Mythus 12/4

*tw.t mr n p3y.t tš*

“You love your homeland.”

E51D:Magical 17/20

*tw.y dd n-im.s*

“I say (it).”

in circumstantial clauses,

E52A:Setne 3/10

*hpr.f iw.f mš<sup>c</sup> m-s3 p3 h<sup>c</sup> iw.f <sup>c</sup>š n n3 sh.w nty hr n3 g3.wt n  
n3 ntr.w*

“It happened that he was walking behind the procession (while he was) reading the writings which are on the shrines of the gods.”

E52B:‘Onchsheshonqy 8/9

*m-ir st.k m-s3 sh iw.w t3y n-im.fr n3 <sup>c</sup>.wy.w hrr*

“Don’t desert(?) a scribe who is being taken to the houses of detention!”

E52C:Mythus 14/24

*r.iw.f fy n-im.w hr p3 hl*

“while he is carrying them under the shine”

E52D:Magical 20/14–15

*ir.k md r w<sup>c</sup> hm n nhe mtw.k md r.r.f n sp 7 ir.k di n-im.fr  
t3 plege m m-mnt*

“You should speak to a little oil, you should speak to it 7 times while putting it on the wound daily.”

in relative clauses,

- E53A:Setne 3/36 *gm.f n3 nty iw n3 3pd.w ... dd n-im.w dr.w*  
 “He found (out) everything the birds ... were saying.”
- E53B:‘Onchsheshonqy 2/14  
*n3 md.wt<sup>40</sup> nty iw iw.k dd n-im.w*  
 “the words which you are saying”
- E53C:Mythus 6/15  
*t3 sty.t mtw.w y t3y n-im.s*  
 “the flame which is taken (away)”
- E53D:Magical 27/2  
*šll p3 nty iw.y ir n-im.f m-b3h p3-r< p3y.y it*  
 “Prayer is what I am doing in the presence of Pre, my father.”

and in imperfect clauses.

- E54B:‘Onchsheshonqy 5/14–15  
*n3 md.wt rwn-n3w <nh-ššnqy s3 t3y-nfr sh n-im.w hr n3 bld.w n3 hn.w*  
 “the words which ‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of Tjay-nefer, was writing on the jar sherds”
- E54C:Mythus 7/27  
*n3 spsp.w rhwn-n3w irr.f ir n-im.w*  
 “the thoughts which he was making”
- The preposition *n* was not necessary after the verb *wh3* “to seek.”<sup>41</sup>
- E55A:Setne 5/19  
*iw.f hpr iw.k wh3.s n ir p3 nty mr.k st*  
 “If (it happens that) you seek (it) to do that which you desire (it)”
- E55B:‘Onchsheshonqy 7/10  
*iw.f (n) t3 s.t p3 nty wh3.f*  
 “He is (in) the place of the one who seeks him.”
- E55C:Mythus 8/1–2  
*p3 nty hq<3 r.iw.f wh3 p3y.f dmy p3 nty sy bw-ir.f bty.f*  
 “The one who is hungry seeks his town; the one who is satisfied does not hate it.”
- E55D:Magical 6/6–7  
*mtw.f šn n.k r p3 nty irr.k wh3.f*  
 “and he inquires for you about that which you seek”

Except for three examples with the verb *wh3* (for example, E55A), all the occurrences in Setne which have a determined direct object use *n*, whether in main or in converted clauses. In main clauses, the scribe of ‘Onchsheshonqy regularly wrote *n-im* before pronominal direct objects, as expected. But he omitted *n* before determined noun objects.

E56:‘Onchsheshonqy 27/17

*tw.y gm p3y.y m3<*  
 “I find my justification.”

<sup>40</sup> The plural definite article and the beginning of the word *md.wt* are found in 1. 7 of column *d*, Glanville, ‘Onchsheshonqy, pl. 29. The restoration of column *d* in the break in column 2 is due to George R. Hughes.

<sup>41</sup> See Walter C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)* (“Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen und afrikanischen Sprachen,” Vol. 1 [Leipzig: Veb Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966]) par. 260a; Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 23; Jernstedt, *Comptes-rendus de l’Académie des Sciences de l’URSS*, p. 70.

Presumably this is simply a graphic omission,<sup>42</sup> and the *n* would have been pronounced. In the present tense relative form, however, he rarely wrote either *n* or *n-īm*. Here too the omission of *n* before a noun subject could have been simply graphic, but the three examples with pronominal direct objects cannot be so explained because pronominal forms of prepositions were never omitted in writing.

E57a:‘Onchsheshonqy 14/4

*mtw.s t3 nty t3y.t.f*

“It is that which seizes him.”

E57b:‘Onchsheshonqy 23/21

*n3 3.w n3 nty wnm.w*

“The donkeys are the ones who eat them.”

E57c:‘Onchsheshonqy 24/20

*p3 nty b3k.s*

“the one who works her”

The scribe of Mythus also rarely wrote the preposition *n* before direct objects in present tense relative forms. Both defined nouns and pronouns were appended directly to the verb.<sup>43</sup>

E58a:Mythus 2/4–5

*n3 [h(?)]wt.w n3y nty pnq n3y.f iw.f.w hr t3 b3wy.t*

“The [hy]enas are the ones who tear apart his flesh in the grave.”<sup>44</sup>

E58b:Mythus 18/30–31

*n3-3n.w (sic!) ir md.t nfr.t n p3 nty ir.s 3n*

“Doing good for the one who also does it is beautiful.”

E58c:Mythus 14/4–5

*hr sdm.y r t3y nty iw p3-r3 p3 h3y p3 ... n3 ntr.w wpy.t.s hr p3 t3 n mny hn t3 ihy.t*

“I hear that which Pre, the sunlight, and the ... of the gods decide concerning the earth daily in the horizon.”

E58c may be a future tense relative, a form which could have a defined direct object without *n*.<sup>45</sup> But E58a and b do not have an expressed subject in the relative clause, and since the subject of a future tense relative clause was never omitted, even if identical with the antecedent, these examples can be only present tense.

Both Mythus and Magical have examples of the verb *mr* “to love” with determined noun or with pronoun direct object where the preposition *n* is used, as expected.

E59C:Mythus 12/4

*tw.t mr n p3y.t t3*

“You love your homeland.”

<sup>42</sup> This graphic omission of a preposition before a noun (never before a pronoun, where the preposition was written differently) is a trait common to some scribes, e.g., the scribe of the Family Archive from Siut (Sir Herbert Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934]). Richard A. Parker has suggested that the preposition *n* might be contained in the infinitive ending in *m/n*.

<sup>43</sup> Other examples of the omission of *n* before defined direct objects after the relative pronoun *nty* are cited by George R. Hughes, “The Cruel Father: A Demotic Papyrus in the Library of G. Michaelides,” in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson September 12, 1969* (SAOC, No. 35 [1969]) p. 50, n. to 1. 11. Was there something special about the relative which allowed the omission of *n*? See Parker’s suggestion, “Durative Tenses,” p. 183, examples 31–33, which could account for E58b.

<sup>44</sup> The meaning “hyenas” was suggested by Klaus Baer, and the restoration *[h]wt.w* is here suggested by comparison with the word *haite* “hyena” found in the ciphers in Magical. See Griffith, *Magical* III [112], no. 73.

<sup>45</sup> If so, the preposition *r* has been omitted between the subject and infinitive. See below, Table 22.

E59D:Magical 21/39 *mn r-ms mn ... iw.s mr n-im.f*

“A, whom B bore, ... whom she loves”

But both also have an example without the preposition, in identical or almost identical passages.

E60C:Mythus 8/15 *twyst r.iw.k mr p3y.k t3*

“Behold, you love your homeland.”

E60D:Magical V16/4 *mn r-ms mn ... iw.s mr.f*

“A, whom B bore, ... whom she loves”

Only two<sup>46</sup> other possible violations of the durative direct object rule occur in Magical, with the verb *šn* “to be ill in (a part of the body)”

E61:Magical V33/4 *tw.y šn d3d3.y tw.y šn he.t*

“My head hurts; my body hurts.”

and with the reflexive verb *lk* “to stop.”

E62:Magical V33/5 *n3 3s.t [lk].s iw.s šte n3 nb.t-hw.t lk.s iw.s swde*

“Does Isis [stop] doing magic? Does Nephthys stop curing?”<sup>47</sup>

Mythus has four examples without the preposition in circumstantial clauses. Two may represent the graphic omission of *n* before noun direct objects,

E64a:Mythus 14/22 *iw w<sup>c</sup> m<sup>c</sup>y r-hr p3 y<sup>c</sup>m r.iw.f 3th p3 n3r r p3 t*

“A lion came to the sea pulling the catfish to the bank.”

E64b:Mythus 17/13–14 *nm p3 [iir] hhe [n(?)] p3y.k [th3] r.iw.f šp p3y.k 3nm*

“Who is the one who scraped your [skin], shaving your skin?”

but two others have pronominal direct objects.

E65a:Mythus 14/29–31 *dd in-iw.t n sdm.t š ... r.iw.s st.s r.r.f*

“The seeing bird said an utterance(?) to the hearing bird ..., turning herself from it(?)”<sup>48</sup>

E65b:Mythus 14/32–33 *ih p3 nty r.iw.f r hpr hr p3 htb n p3 m<sup>c</sup>y r-k<sup>c</sup>my p3 srrf r.r.f r.iw.w h3<sup>c</sup>.f tne*

“What will happen concerning the killing of the lion against whom the griffon did evil, leaving him where?”<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> These few examples in Magical which violate the direct object rule (scribal errors) should be contrasted with the more than thirty examples, counting only those in main clauses, which have *n* (or *n-im*). Richard A. Parker has suggested that in E61 the preposition may be included in the infinitive ending in *n*.

<sup>47</sup> It is possible, as suggested by Griffith (*Magical* I 204, n. to 1. 5, but not in the glossary, numbers 429 and 431), that what is here read *n3*, the interrogative particle, is a writing of the negative future. If so, the translation of the passage would be “Isis will not [stop] doing magic; Nephthys will not stop curing.” But the passage as quoted is followed by one where the forms cannot be negative future because the predicate is an adverbial.

E63:Magical V33/5–6 *n3 p3 16 n n3-tbe.w n3 p3y.y w<sup>c</sup> n nht n ntr*

“Are the 16 those of the avenger? Is my one strength of a god?”

<sup>48</sup> This translation is questionable. The word order would suggest that *š* was an infinitive summing up the *dd* rather than a nominal direct object. But if so, there is nothing to which the *f* may refer.

<sup>49</sup> If the clause *r.iw.w h3<sup>c</sup>.f tne*, which is here taken as a circumstantial clause, were a second tense emphasizing the interrogative adverb *tne*, the meaning “Where did they leave him?” would fit the context very well, and the suffix direct object, without *n-im*, would be acceptable in a second past; see below, E175 and the discussion

This makes less convincing the argument for ascribing the absence of the preposition in the first two cases simply to graphic omission by the scribe of Mythus. Finally, there are three examples without the preposition in Mythus which are all problematical. In 10/25–26 the verb is broken, but the size of the break would allow for restoring not only the verb *tꜣy* “to seize,” as Spiegelberg has suggested, but also the preposition.

E66:Mythus 10/25–26 *nꜣy.t ḥwn.w [tꜣy n(?)] nꜣ qḥꜣ.w n mtr̥e r.ḥw.w sḏy r nꜣy.t md.wt*  
 “Your youths [seize] the sun’s rays at midday, speaking about your words.”

In 12/7–8 the sequence of tenses is uncertain, but the form *r.ḥr(.t) ḥꜣꜥ* appears to be a circumstantial.

E67:Mythus 12/7–8 *tw.y ḥr-rḥ s ḏḏ ḥr.t sdm.w r.ḥr(.t) ḥꜣꜥ msḏr.t r-ḥr.y ḥw.y ḥy ḥrm.t*  
 “I know (it) that it was when I came with you that you heard them, listening to me.” Lit., “putting your ear toward me”

In the third example the verb is *dī-šm* “to send.”

E68:Mythus 18/31–32 *pꜣ pne dī-šm r.f m-sꜣ nꜣ snḥ.w n pꜣ mꜣy*  
 “The mouse gnaws (lit., sends his mouth after) the bindings of the lion.”

If this is interpreted as the compound infinitive,<sup>50</sup> as above, then *r.f* “his mouth” is the direct object, and the preposition *n* would be expected. If, however, the sentence is interpreted as having the verb *dī* “to cause” followed by the *sdm.f* of the verb *šm* “to go” (which is the historical origin of the compound), the preposition would not be necessary.<sup>51</sup> The only other pos-

therewith. But the spelling *r.ḥw.w*, rather than *ḥr.w* or *mtw.w*, makes it very hard to accept this interpretation. For the forms, see below, Table 11 and E201.

<sup>50</sup> The compound infinitive was the “younger” infinitive with causative meaning, formed by prefixing the verb *dī* “to cause” to the *sdm.f* of the verb in question. (Compare the earlier use of the *s*-prefix.) The group *dī* plus *sdm* was then reinterpreted as an infinitive. Some examples appear already in Late Egyptian.

E69a:LRL 11/6 *mtw.k dīt-in.s n.ḥ*  
 “and send it to me”

E69b:LRL 47/16–48/1 *yꜣ tw.n dīt-šm ḥw.n ḥtḥt*  
 “Indeed we get going and go astray.”

(The translation of E69b is that of Edward F. Wentz [Late Ramesside Letters, SAOC, No. 33 (1967) p. 61].)

E70:Urk. III 129/1 *dī.ḥ dī-š(m).f p(t).ḥ mšꜥ*  
 “I made him send my army.”

E70, which stands for *\*dī.ḥ dī.f šm pꜣy.ḥ mšꜥ*, was noted by Klaus Baer. This infinitive, derived from *dī* plus *sdm.f*, must be distinguished from the causative infinitive consisting of the two separate elements *dī* plus *sdm.f*; see below, n. 51 and Chap. 4. See also Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 113–15. The combination *dī* plus *sdm* forming the compound infinitive at least occasionally resulted in a difference in pronunciation. Thus the verb *lk* “to stop,” so written in Magical V10/10, was written *ꜥlk* in the compound infinitive *dī-ꜥlk* (Magical V6/1).

<sup>51</sup> There are numerous examples, in these texts and in other Demotic texts, to show that neither the *sdm.f* serving as object after the verb *dī* nor the subject of this *sdm.f* was ever introduced by the preposition *n*. The Coptic descendant of this construction, the causative infinitive, could also be used in durative tenses without violating the direct object rule. On the Coptic usage, see Polotsky, *OLZ*, Vol. 52 (1957) p. 232, on par. 301, who gives examples rebutting Till’s statement to the contrary, *Grammatik*, p. 127, n. 10. See below, Chap. 4, where the Demotic examples of the causative infinitive are discussed.

sible examples without the preposition are better interpreted as *dī.y*, the *sdm.f* of the verb *dī*, than as *tw.y*, the identically written present tense auxiliary.

- E71a:Mythus 17/29      *h3' t.y r-bnr dī.y [l] p3 qb n t3y.k hr3.t*  
 “Let me loose so that I may cause the fe[tching] of double (the quantity) of your food!”
- E71b:Mythus 20/8–9      *im r-hry dī.y dī-swr.k k[wk] dī.y dī-wnm.k kwk n bny.t*  
 “Come down that I may make you drink *k[uk]*, that I may make you eat date *kuk!*<sup>52</sup>

In addition to having more examples which appear to violate the durative direct object rule than do any of the other texts, Mythus also has an example in which the adverbial predicate may precede the subject.

- E73:Mythus 5/27–28      *bw-ir.w gr3p n.f n-im.s dd n-im.s p3 nty r.iw.f ir.f*  
 “He (the sacred beetle) is not insulted on account of it (a name he has been called earlier in the passage) for in it is that which he does.”

This is very unusual word order; if the scribe had wanted to stress the adverbial, he could have used a second tense.<sup>53</sup> Thus, perhaps one should interpret *dd n-im.s* as a group with the *s* referring to the nominalized relative clause that follows: “He is not reproached thereby (i.e., by) saying what he does.”

Also in Mythus, the third person plural pronoun *st* was often used in main clauses between a plural definite noun subject and its predicate. In effect, this put the noun subject in anticipatory emphasis, but no distinction in meaning could be found between cases with *st*

- E74a:Mythus 17/28      *n3y.k hl.w st dī r-bnr*  
 “Your teeth (they) are loose(?)”
- E74b:Mythus 10/2–3      *n3y.t nw.w st n šl3m*  
 “Your glances (they) are in heat (that is, passion).”

and those without.<sup>54</sup>

- E75a:Mythus 10/9–10      *n3y.t w3lyl.w d'cm*  
 “Your musicians grieve.”
- E75b:Mythus 11/5      *n3y.w šhm.wt 'n.w n p3 h3r n wš n s3by*  
 “Their beautiful women are in the street without laughing.”

<sup>52</sup> For further discussion of these passages, see below, Chap. 4, nn. 157 and 163. An example in 13/23 follows a very broken passage. Although it may represent a present tense with pronomial infinitive,

- E72a:Mythus 13/23      *tw.y m33.t*  
 “I see you.”

it is more likely a *sdm.f* of the verb *dī*, followed by another *sdm.f*.

- E72b:Mythus 13/23      *dī.y m33.t*  
 “I caused that you see.”

<sup>53</sup> See below on the meaning and usage of the second tense.

<sup>54</sup> There are five examples using *st* with an adverbial predicate and twelve examples of adverbial predicates after plural noun subjects without *st*. There are three clear examples of *st* used in clauses with verbal predicates and six more which, although broken, are to be restored likewise. In 10/23 the *st* is destroyed; in the others, the plural noun, or part of it, is broken. There are nine examples of plural nouns with verbal predicates without *st*. This same construction occurs in other texts as well, e.g., ‘Onchsheshonqy 18/11, E30B.

Because of this construction, the *r.îw.s* in Mythus 11/11 is here considered a 3 f. main clause present tense form, even though the 3 f. present tense form is elsewhere written *îw.s*, as in Table 1.<sup>55</sup>

E76:Mythus 11/11                      *tʒy.t pks.t r.îw.s n îby*  
 “Your spit (it) is of honey.”

### Meaning and Usage

The construction present tense prefix plus predicate indicated present tense, either “immediate present” or continued action in the present.<sup>56</sup> See examples E30, 34B–D, 41, 44, 48, and 51. The only exception is the stative qualitative of the verb “to come,” written *îw*.<sup>57</sup> When used with the present tense prefix this form indicated the state existing after the action had occurred.<sup>58</sup> Thus the present tense meant “X is in the state of having come,” and the whole was equivalent to the past tense statement “X came.”

E77:Mythus 2/33                      *tʒ îmy.t îw*  
 “The cat came.”

See also E8 and 34A. The tense of circumstantial and relative present tense forms was synchronous with that of the main verb of the sentence in which the circumstantial or relative clause was used.

The circumstantial present was often used to express an action or state concomitant with the main verb.<sup>59</sup>

E78A:Setne 6/9                      *îr.w hrw ʒ grḥ ʒ îw.w whʒ ḥn nʒ ḥw.wt*  
 “They spent 3 days and 3 nights searching among the tombs.”

E78B:‘Onchsheshonqy 17/10  
*m-îr ys îw.k md îr-ḥr pʒy.k ḥry*  
 “Do not hurry while you are speaking before your superior!”

E78C:Mythus 8/10–12  
*ḏd tʒ îmy.t ikš.t r ḥʒt.s ḏwf r spte.s ḥmm r nʒ hhe.w n r.s n nyfʒ n sty.t m-qd pʒ fʒy*  
 “The Ethiopian cat spoke while her heart burned, while her lips were hot, while the flames of her mouth were the breath of a flame like the horned viper.”

<sup>55</sup> See also E55C for *r.îw.f* as a present tense main clause.

<sup>56</sup> See above, Introduction, and Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 138.

<sup>57</sup> See above, Chap. 1, qualitatives of verbs of motion and n. 80 therewith.

<sup>58</sup> See B. H. Stricker, “Etudes de grammaire égyptienne,” and “Notices sur le papyrus démotique 30646 du Musée des Antiquités au Caire,” *AcOr*, Vol. 16 (1937) pp. 84, 89–90; Sarah Israelit-Groll, “*’Iw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian,” *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) p. 186, par. 11A; Wente, “SVM,” chap. 4; Groll, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1970) sec. 32.

<sup>59</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 155.

E78D:Magical 6/5 *ir.k di 3lbwnṯ r p3 ʿh iw.f w<sup>c</sup>b ir.k di n p3y.k db<sup>c</sup> r d3d3.f  
n p3 ʿlw iw ir.t.f ḥtm*  
“You should put pure frankincense on the brazier while you put your finger on the head of the youth, while his eyes are closed.”

In addition, it was commonly used after the verb *ḥpr* “to be(come), happen.”<sup>60</sup>

E79A:Setne 3/14 *iw.f ḥpr iw.k ḥn imnty iw.k n p3y.k gy ḥr p3 t3 ʿn*  
“If (it happens that) you are in the west while you are still in your earthly form”

E79B:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/9–10  
*iw.f ḥpr iw p3y.k ḥry ḥms r-ḥr p3 yr m-ir thb drṯ.k m-b3ḥ.f*  
“If (it happens that) your superior is sitting by the river, don’t rinse your hands before him!”

E79C:Mythus 18/11–12 *ḥpr.f r p3 m<sup>c</sup>y m<sup>c</sup>š3 r.iw.f wh3 m-s3 rmt*  
“It happened that the lion went searching after man.”

E79D:Magical 21/19 *iw.f ḥpr ir.k wh3 r ir.f ʿn n wš n šm.f n ḥsy*  
“If (it happens) also (that) you wish to do it without its drowning”

It also served as a virtual relative clause after an indefinite antecedent.<sup>61</sup>

E80A:Setne 5/1 *m3<sup>c</sup> n p3 t3 iw.f n-im.f*  
“a place on earth where he was”

E80B:‘Onchsheshonqy 20/21  
*pr-ḥd iw.f mḥ (n) 3ndr3*  
“a storehouse which is full of beans(?)”

E80C:Mythus 17/11–12 *ḥpr w<sup>c</sup> hrw šhn.f r w<sup>c</sup> 3by r p3y.f th3 šp r p3y.f 3nm [s]ḥm  
r.iw.f n ks mwt n 1/2 ʿnh*  
“One day it happened that he met a panther whose skin was flayed and whose skin was [t]orn, who was half dead and half alive.”

E80D:Magical 5/3 *w<sup>c</sup> ph-ntṛ **iw.f dnt** mtw.k šm r w<sup>c</sup>.t ry.t n kke iw.s w<sup>c</sup>b iw  
ḥr.s wn r pr-rsy*  
“A **tested** god’s arrival. You should go to a clean dark room whose door (lit., face) opens to the south.”<sup>62</sup>

This is in contrast to the relative forms, which are found exclusively after definite antecedents.<sup>63</sup>

E81A:Setne 5/32 *p3y gy nty iw iw.k n-im.f*  
“this shape which you are in”

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 502–3. It also occurs after the particle *hmy* “would that,” see below, E460–63; and sometimes after *twyst* “behold” (*ibid.*, par. 425).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 524 and 526.

<sup>62</sup> The bolding indicates that the original was written in red.

<sup>63</sup> See the discussion of the form of present tense relative clauses, above, and *ibid.*, pars. 531ff.

- E81B:‘Onchsheshonqy 20/18  
*nʒ rmt.w nty ʿy n ms*  
 “the men who are old (lit., great of birth)”
- E81Ca:Mythus 17/13  
*ih r.r.k n pʒy gy mtw.k n-im.f*  
 “Why are you in this shape which you are in?”<sup>64</sup>
- E81Cb:Mythus 11/6–7  
*tw.t m-qd hʿpy nty wʿly r nʒ qʿʒ.w šw.w*  
 “You are like Hapy who overflows while the highlands are dry.”
- E81D:Magical V9/9–10  
*dī r pʒ mʒʿ nty šn n pʒ rmt*  
 “Put (it) on the place which pains the man!”
- Relative forms could also be nominalized.<sup>65</sup>
- E82A:Setne 3/12  
*nʒ nty hr-ʒt.f*  
 “those which are on it”
- E82B:‘Onchsheshonqy 23/7  
*pʒ nty mr šm.t iw wn mtw.s hy*  
 “the one who loves a woman who has a husband”
- E82C:Mythus 12/8–9  
*mtw.t tʒy nty iw sdm smnt irm.s tʒy tʒ hʒ.t*  
 “You are this one with whom hearing has been established since the beginning.”
- E82D:Magical 21/2  
*pʒ nty iw dʒdʒ.f n tny iw rd.t.f n niw.t*  
 “the one whose head is in Thisis while his feet are in Thebes”

These latter uses are common to all circumstantial and relative forms, not only those of the present tense.

With pronominal subjects other than 3 pl., a form indistinguishable from the circumstantial was used after the interrogative particle *in* (written *ʒn* in Mythus).

- E83A:Setne 6/11–12  
*in iw.k ir-rh nʒ ʿwy.w n htp nty ih-wr.t irm mr-ib pʒy.s šr hn.w*  
 “Do you know the houses of rest in which Ahure and her son Mer-ib are?”
- E83C:Mythus 18/28  
*ʒn r.iw.k sw n-im.y*  
 “Do you recognize me?”
- E83D:Magical 6/30–31  
*in iw.y dd n.k*  
 “Am I speaking to you?”<sup>66</sup>

The Greek passage in Magical 15/25–28 used an indicative present tense while the Demotic parallel in 15/29–30 used the circumstantial.

<sup>64</sup> Compare this example, where the relative is written *mtw.k*, with the same phrase in E81A, written *nty iw iw.k*.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 529.

<sup>66</sup> Here the interrogative particle was written *ʿn*. For further examples, see *ibid.*, par. 488. If the subject was a noun or the 3 pl. pronoun, the main clause present tense form was used after *in*, here written *nʒ*.

E84:Magical 14/24  
*nʒ pʒ ntr iy r-hn*  
 “Is the god coming in?”

E85:Magical 15/29–30 *ink p<sup>c</sup>pypetw metwb<sup>c</sup>nes iw.y fy hr t<sup>3</sup> qs.t n wsir iw.y in-  
n<sup>c</sup>.k r t<sup>3</sup>y.t.s r ibt r di htp.s n <sup>c</sup>lgh<sup>c</sup>h*  
“I am Papypeto Metobanes carrying the mummy of Osiris,  
going to take it to Abydos to let it rest in Alghah.”

But it should be noted that Greek has no circumstantial form similar to the Demotic.<sup>67</sup> This then is not evidence for the use of the circumstantial as an independent clause.

The imperfect converter changed a present tense clause into a past tense, but one that was still durative, in contrast to the form here called the past tense.<sup>68</sup> Thus, with an infinitival predicate, the best translation of the imperfect is often “he was doing” something, rather than “he did” something, as with the past tense.

E86A:Setne 4/3 *wn-n<sup>3</sup>w iw.y dd r n<sup>3</sup>nfrk<sup>3</sup>pth*  
“I was speaking (i.e., meant) with respect to (i.e., in comparison with) Naneferkaptah.”  
E86D:Magical 9/10 *wn-n<sup>3</sup>w iw hn.y r mh<sup>t</sup> n-im.k*  
“My desire was to seize you.”

But very commonly the imperfect converter was used, rather than the past tense, because the predicate of the clause was a qualitative (see above, E37B–C) or an adverbial,

E87:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/19 *wn-n<sup>3</sup>w t<sup>3</sup>(?) bh<sup>n</sup> h<sup>3</sup>t.f irm.f m-šs*  
“The ... of his heart was with him indeed.”

or because the clause was an existence clause.

E88:‘Onchsheshonqy 2/17 *wn-n<sup>3</sup>w wn w<sup>c</sup> rmt n<sup>3</sup>y-h.t-pr hr-tbn w<sup>c</sup> m<sup>3</sup>[<sup>c</sup>]*  
“A man of the household was in (the midst of) a pla[ce].”

When converted into a circumstantial or relative form, the imperfect had the same uses as the corresponding present tense forms, although the tense was past in relation to that of the main verb.

E89:Mythus 16/15–16 *rhwn-n<sup>3</sup>w wn wnš 2 hr p<sup>3</sup> tw r.iw.w šnb m m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup> rhwn-n<sup>3</sup>w  
[ii]r.w qrf*  
“There were two jackals on the mountain who were truly  
joined who were cunning(?)”

For examples of imperfect relative forms, see E33, 37D, 47, and 54.<sup>69</sup>

The present tense of the verbs *mr* “to love” and *mst* “to hate” could be expressed by the *sdm.f* of the verb rather than the present tense construction discussed above.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>67</sup> As pointed out by Klaus Baer.

<sup>68</sup> On which, see Chap. 3.

<sup>69</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 169–76.

<sup>70</sup> See *ibid.*, par. 122d. This distinction was true already in Middle Egyptian, not only of these verbs, but also of the verbs *rh* “to know” and *in* “to bring,” with which the past tense form (Middle Egyptian *sdm.n.f*, Late Egyptian and Demotic *sdm.f*) had English present tense meaning. See Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 291, 1; H. J. Polotsky, “Egyptian Tenses,” in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. 2 (Jerusalem, 1965) No. 5, par. 11, n. 8; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, secs. 4–5; Adolf Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2d. ed.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), n. to par. 313. On further peculiarities of the verb *rh*, see above, Chap. 1 on the spelling of qualitatives. Edward F. Wente, “The Late Egyptian Conjunctive as Past Continuative,” *JNES*, Vol. 21 (1962) p. 306, n. 19; Jaroslav Černý, “A Special Case of the Verbal Construction *iw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian,” in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1964) pp. 81–85; and Groll, *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) p. 190, par. VI, 22, 1, suggest that the original meaning

E91a: ‘Onchsheshonqy 26/22

*mr.y pʒy.y ʔry*

“I love my companion.”

E91b: ‘Onchsheshonqy 16/7 *m-ʔr ḏḏ mst.t.y pʒy.y ḥry*

“Don’t say, ‘I hate my superior.’”

The circumstantial and relative were formed in the regular manner, by prefixing *ʔw*

E92B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 23/15

*kl ʔw mr.f tgy mst.f pʒ nty wnm.f*

“An ape which loves fruit (he) hates the one who eats it.”

E92D: Magical 11/10–11

*mtw.f ḏḏ n.y md.t ʔw mst.<.y> s m ḥrw pn m grḥ pn*

“and (may) he (not) say to me anything which <I> hate today, tonight!”<sup>71</sup>

or *nty (ʔw)*.<sup>72</sup>

E93A: Setne 5/9

*pʒ nty mr.k st*

“that which you desire (it)”

E93B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 15/23

*tʒ nty mst.k st*

“that which you hate (it)”

E93Ca: Mythus 5/9–10

*bn pʒ nty ʔw mr s pʒ ntr ḥr pʒ tʒ r.r.s ʔn*

“There does not exist upon the earth that which god loves more than it.”

E93Cb: Mythus 5/13

*bn pʒ nty mr.w s r pʒy.w ʔ.wy n ms*

“Nothing exists which they love more than their place of birth.”

E93D: Magical 18/17

*pʒ ḥrḫ šps nty ʔw mr s ʒs.t*

“the noble youth whom Isis loves”

The scribe of ‘Onchsheshonqy also used the *sdm.f* of the archaic verb *ḥr* “to say” with present tense meaning.

E94: ‘Onchsheshonqy 10/6

*ḥwš r-ḥr.y pʒ nty ʔw.w ʔr.f ḥr.f n pʒ ḥ ʔw.w mtr.t.f*

“‘What they will do is irksome to me,’ says the fool, if they (would) instruct him.”

In ‘Onchsheshonqy the only other verbs of which the *sdm.f* is used with present tense meaning are *ʔnh* “to live” (one example), following the interrogative particle *ʔn*,

of *ʔn* was “to fetch,” or something similar, so that the past tense, “to have fetched,” is translated into modern languages as the present tense “to bring.” An example in Demotic where the *sdm.f* of *ʔn* has present tense meaning occurs in P. Insinger in a relative clause after *nty* (noted by Williams, “Morphology,” par. 92b).

E90: P. Insinger 32/19

*pʒ nty ʔn.w s n.f*

“that which is brought to him”

A possible example occurs in ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/20–21, E179B, 198B, and 318B. Note that existence clauses using the *sdm.f* of *wn* “to be” are also examples of a *sdm.f* used with present tense meaning.

<sup>71</sup> For the emendation, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 527, and Chap. 1, n. 16, above.

<sup>72</sup> See *ibid.* and pars. 535–36. That the relative converter *nty* was used, rather than the past tense relative form (on which see below, Tables 30–31), indicates that the scribes interpreted *mr.f* as a present tense and that this is not just a vagary due to the translation into a modern language.

E95:‘Onchsheshonqy 22/13

*in ‘nh.y hr.f n pʒ ir mwt*

“‘Am I alive?’ so says the one who has died.”<sup>73</sup>

and *hns* “to be mean” and *wnf* “to be joyous.”

E96:‘Onchsheshonqy 8/13

*hns pʒ ssw wnf pʒ ssw hr ‘šʒ nk rn hr.f*

“Be times bad or good, property increases through dispersing it.”

These last two are probably adjective verbs, even though they are not written with *nʒ*.<sup>74</sup>Magical has two examples of a verb other than *mr* and *mst* using *nty* plus *sdm.f* to express present tense meaning.

E97:Magical 11/5–6

*ink ... n tʒ ... ʒ.t nty iw pyr h‘py n hr.s*

“I am ... of the great ... under whom(?) Hapy comes forth.”<sup>75</sup>

E98:Magical 14/12

*imn imn pʒy.k rn n mtre nty iw dd rn.f dd ...*

“Amen is your true name ....”

As it stands, *nty iw dd rn.f* in E98 would be a passive *sdm.f* following *nty*. But the passive *sdm.f* was extremely rare in Demotic.<sup>76</sup> Griffith has suggested in the errata to his work that the passage be corrected to read *nty iw.w dd rn.f dd*, which would then be a normal present tense relative “whose name is mentioned, saying ....” But the relative would have a defined direct object without a preceding *n* (*n-im*).<sup>77</sup> It is possible that what the scribe intended to write was *nty iw.w dd n.f n rn dd* “who is called ....” or something similar. In Mythus the only example where the *sdm.f* of some verb other than *mr* or *mst* seems to have present tense meaning is very uncertain, and quite abnormal.

E99:Mythus 2/3

*pʒ nty ir.f hwry r.iw.w hwry[f dd(?)] hwry hwry*

“The one who robs, [he] will be<sup>78</sup> robbed for(?) the thief is thieved.”<sup>79</sup>

But “the one who robs” would normally have been written *pʒ nty hwry*.<sup>80</sup> Should one insert *n* after *ir.f*, as in Spiegelberg’s translation,<sup>81</sup> and translate “the one who acts as thief”? But this still involves *nty* plus *sdm.f*. It would almost seem that the scribe of Mythus has attempted to

<sup>73</sup> It is possible that *‘nh.y* is a future, so that the clause means “‘Will I live?’” See Chap. 3, the end of the discussion of the meaning and usage of the future.

<sup>74</sup> See above, Chap. 1, and below, in Chap. 2 on adjective verbs, where it is noted that the *sdm.f* of adjective verbs may have present as well as past tense meaning.

<sup>75</sup> Or is this a past tense using *nty iw* instead of the participle, similar to E317? If so, this would mean “under whom(?) Hapy came forth.”

<sup>76</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 245.

<sup>77</sup> As it should have; see E53.

<sup>78</sup> The translation as a future is uncertain because the scribe of Mythus normally wrote the preposition *r* in the future; see Table 20.

<sup>79</sup> Interpreting the first *hwry* as the noun “thief” and the second *hwry* as a qualitative. An alternative reading would take the supralinear mark after the first *hwry* to be the 3 pl. pronoun *.w*, giving *hwry.w hwry* “They robbed the robber.”

<sup>80</sup> See above, E25.

<sup>81</sup> *Mythus*, p. 13.

produce a past tense relative form “the one who has robbed” by prefixing *nty* to the main clause past tense form, rather than using the participial construction.<sup>82</sup>

## History

*Predecessors.* The late Egyptian ancestor of the Demotic present tense forms consisted of a noun or the pronominal compound, *tw.i*, etc., plus an adverbial predicate, which could be either a true adverb or prepositional phrase, a preposition plus infinitive, or a qualitative.<sup>83</sup> Existence clauses and clauses with *wn* before an indefinite noun subject were identical in form with the Demotic.<sup>84</sup> The tense of such forms was either undefined or was a general present, although the action in question might have begun in the past and be continuing up to the present.<sup>85</sup> The circumstantial and relative forms built on these present tense forms were synchronous in time with the main verb upon which they depended, whether that verb was present, past, or future.<sup>86</sup> However, the construction noun or pronominal compound plus qualitative of a verb of motion was used for past narrative, and in that use did not have present tense meaning.<sup>87</sup>

As in Demotic, the Late Egyptian circumstantial prefix consisted of the circumstantial converter *iw* prefixed to a noun or suffix pronoun subject.<sup>88</sup> The predicate might consist of an adverb,<sup>89</sup> *m* plus infinitive of a verb of motion,<sup>90</sup> or a qualitative.<sup>91</sup> In Late Egyptian, as in Demotic, the interrogative particle *in* was followed by the circumstantial.<sup>92</sup> The construction *iw* plus subject plus (*hr* plus) infinitive of any verb constituted the continuative and described an action which was non-synchronous with the time of the main verb. This construction was used for the circumstantial present tense only under limited circumstances.<sup>93</sup> The use of the con-

<sup>82</sup> For just such a form in Magical, see E317.

<sup>83</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 478ff. and 465ff.; Paul John Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974) pars. 34ff.

<sup>84</sup> See above, on the Demotic forms, and the examples quoted in Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 95 and 112 (the circumstantial) and Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 506ff.

<sup>85</sup> See *ibid.*, par. 481. Groll (*Negative Verbal*, sec. 8) defines the extent of the Late Egyptian present tense.

<sup>86</sup> See Edward F. Wente, “*Iw.f sdm* in Late Egyptian,” *JNES*, Vol. 20 (1961) p. 122, n. j; M. Korostovtsev, “Does the Model *iw.f hr sdm* of the Late Egyptian Praesens II Refer to Future?” *JEA*, Vol. 49 (1963) pp. 173–75; Ricardo A. Caminos, “Papyrus Berlin 10463,” *JEA*, Vol. 49 (1963) pp. 33–34; and Sarah Israelit-Groll, “*Iw.f [hr] tm sdm* in Late Egyptian,” *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) pp. 89–97, Pattern III, who agree that although this form is not in itself future, it may follow a preceding future form, against Jaroslav Černý, “On the Origin of the Egyptian Con-junctive,” *JEA*, Vol. 35 (1949) p. 29, and M. Korostovtsev, “Notes philologiques,” *RdE*, Vol. 13 (1961) p. 60, who restricted this form to use after past or present tense forms.

<sup>87</sup> As in Demotic with *iw*; see the discussion with E77. On the Late Egyptian evidence, see Groll, *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) p. 186, par. 11A; *idem*, *Negative Verbal*, secs. 20 and 22; Wente, “SVM,” chap. 4; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 39.

<sup>88</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 487.

<sup>89</sup> See *ibid.*, pars. 469ff.

<sup>90</sup> See *ibid.*, par. 500; Wente, “SVM,” pp. 133ff.; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 104, examples 3–6 and 19.

<sup>91</sup> See Frandsen, *Outline*, A(2), B(2), and C(2), and Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 488ff.

<sup>92</sup> See above, E83, and Erman, *Grammatik*, n. to par. 517, and examples in par. 739.

<sup>93</sup> Examples of what must be circumstantial present tense clauses where the predicate consists of *hr* plus an infinitive are very rare in comparison with the large number of examples where the predicate is a qualitative or *m* plus the infinitive of a verb of motion. Most of the examples which do exist involve verbs with syntactic peculiarities. Thus there are examples with the verb *šm* “to go” (on which see Wente, “SVM,” pp. 43–44),

tinuative as the apodosis of conditional or temporal clauses<sup>94</sup> and after imperatives<sup>95</sup> indicates that the continuative was, in some ways, an independent clause. The circumstantial was always a dependent clause.<sup>96</sup> It could serve as a virtual relative after an indefinite noun,<sup>97</sup>

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E100:Doomed Prince 4/7–8	“A dog following a grownup” <i>iw.f hr šmt hr t3 mi.t</i> “who was walking on the road”
the compound infinitive <i>dīt-in</i> “to send” (lit., “to cause to bring”),	
E101:O. DeIM 127, vs./3–4	<i>bn st hr dīt m nk iw.k hr dīt-int.f n.i</i> “They are not giving anything which you send to me.”
and various verbs which have no qualitative (see Groll, <i>Negative Verbal</i> , secs. 6–7).	
E102:Wenamun 2/77	“It cannot be that there is not one of you” <i>iw.f sdm md.t km.t</i> “who understands Egyptian.”
E103:BM 10052, 8/12	<i>[ih p3]y.k h̄ r-q3r-n.w iw.w sdd</i> “[What is the meaning of y]our standing in their company while they discussed?”
E104:LRL 47/10–11	<i>iw.n ir š3c 10 n hrw r 20 iw.f ptr w̄ hy m-mnt</i> “We shall spend from 10 to 20 days while he looks for an inspector daily.”
E105:LRL 31/11–12	<i>iw.i h̄.k m p3y.f wb3 m-mnt iw bw-ir.i qn iw.i sm3c m rn.w</i> “I standing in his open court daily without becoming tired while I pray in their names”

Note that, in the last example, the circumstantial present tense clause using the infinitive *sm3c* is parallel with one using the qualitative *h̄.k*. There are very few circumstantial present tense forms written *hr* plus infinitive, or infinitive alone, where the omitted preposition must have been *hr*, in which the syntactic limitations of the verb in the clause are not the reason for using the infinitive.

E106:BM 10053vs., 4/22	<i>iw sš sdy dīt n.f w̄ k3r iw.f irt m̄h 2 n hy</i> “and the scribe Sedy gave him a shrine which was two cubits high”
E107:O. DeIM 328, rt./4–5	<i>hr ptr wrš.f iw.f hr int t3 inh.t</i> “Now, see, he spends the day bringing the <i>inh.t</i> -vessel.”

The only other clear examples known to the author are Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 104, examples 20, 25, 26, and 30. The examples in P. Salt 124rt., 2/5–6 and 2/19–20, are less certain, although the former is qualified as occurring *r tnw hrw* “every day.” But this text has been described by Frandsen (*ibid.*, p. 102) as a “text of which the grammar is in many respects exceptional.” These forms should be regarded as having otiose *hr* (akin perhaps to the conjunctive written *mtw.f hr sdm*), and the preposition *hr* should not be restored in circumstantial present tense forms written without it. See also Thomas J. Logan, “*Iw.f hr tm sdm* in Late Egyptian,” *Serapis*, Vol. 2 (1970) pp. 29–35. Since in Demotic the continuative was specialized to serve as the protasis of conditional clauses, it is discussed in detail in that section; see Chap. 4.

<sup>94</sup> See below, Chap. 4, n. 73; Wente, “SVM,” p. 132, n. 4; *idem*, *JNES*, Vol. 20 (1961) p. 122, n. j.

<sup>95</sup> E108:Anastasi V, 22/3–4 *m-ir h̄ m h̄ nb iw t3y.i šct hr spr r.k*  
“Don’t delay at all when my letter reaches you!”

<sup>96</sup> See, e.g., the examples in Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 495; Fritz Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil and Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (“Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung Veröffentlichung,” No. 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952]) pp. 224–33; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 104, Function A.

<sup>97</sup> Frandsen, *Outline*, Function B.

which the continuative could not. Thus both morphology and syntax indicate that the circumstantial and continuative forms are separate entities.<sup>98</sup>

In Late Egyptian present tense relatives, the relative pronoun *nty* was prefixed to the subject.<sup>99</sup> If the subject of the relative clause was identical with the antecedent, the subject was omitted and *nty* served as subject of the clause.<sup>100</sup> The rare examples of *nty* followed by *iw* plus subject (rarely *ir* plus noun subject) have future meaning and should be considered future tense relatives, even those with adverbial predicates.<sup>101</sup> There is, however, one example of *nty* followed by *iw* plus a negative statement of possession.

E109:Berlin Ost. P. 10627/9–10

*nty iw mn m-di.f 'ddw*  
“who has no youth”<sup>102</sup>

Is this a presage of the Demotic usage which, as noted above,<sup>103</sup> has *nty* prefixed to a form identical with the circumstantial? The Late Egyptian imperfect consisted of the verb *wn* “to be” followed by noun or suffix pronoun subject and any of the adverbial predicates named above.<sup>104</sup> The relative form of the imperfect used either the participle or the relative form of *wn*, the participle being used when the subject of the relative clause was identical with the antecedent, the relative form otherwise.<sup>105</sup>

The construction pronominal compound plus adverbial or pseudo-verbal predicate did not appear in written Egyptian until the XVIIIth Dynasty.<sup>106</sup> It was never used in standard Middle Egyptian.

*Successors.* The Coptic equivalents of the forms found in Tables 1–6 are given in Polotsky, “CCS.”<sup>107</sup> As in earlier stages of the language, the predicate could consist of an adverb, in-

<sup>98</sup> The forms and meanings of the negatives of these two constructions are also different. See the discussion of the negative present, below, and of the negative conditional, in Chap. 4. Groll has shown that the *iw* of the circumstantial is different from the *iw* of the continuative (*Negative Verbal*, secs. 37–39; *JEA*, Vol. 55 [1969] p. 97).

<sup>99</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 483, 841, 843, and 847.

<sup>100</sup> See *ibid.*, pars. 840 and 842.

<sup>101</sup> See the discussion of Late Egyptian futures in Chap. 3.

<sup>102</sup> Quoted in Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 846; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, p. 76. The whole letter has been re-edited by Max Guilmo, “Une lettre de remontrances, l’Ostrakon Berlin P. 10627,” *CdE*, Vol. 40 (1965) pp. 235–48.

<sup>103</sup> See the discussion of the form of the prefixes, above.

<sup>104</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 506ff.; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 96B–D.

<sup>105</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 377, 393, and 396. Černý (“LEG,” sec. XI) also collected examples of the use of the imperfect *wn*. (Since this collection of examples is available to only a very small number of individuals and since it will be superseded, hopefully shortly, by Sarah Israelit-Groll’s publication of Černý’s Late Egyptian notes at the Griffith Institute, reference is made to it only when it contains a grouping of examples which does not occur in any of the standard grammars.) Frandsen (*Outline*, par. 97) divides participles and relative forms with *wn* into participles and relative forms “proper” and those “converting the first present into a ‘preterit relative form,’” the latter seeming to be simply nominalized participles and relative forms.

<sup>106</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 124 and 330.

<sup>107</sup> Pars. 5–6, 10–24, and 52–59. Polotsky’s work, although limited to the Sahidic dialect, is the latest and most up-to-date work dealing with Coptic. Where possible his article will be cited, rather than any or all of the individual Coptic grammars.

finitive, or qualitative.<sup>108</sup> With indefinite noun subjects the form of the existence sentence was used.<sup>109</sup> Relative forms with pronominal subjects used the suffix pronoun as subject, as in Demotic, not the pronominal compound, as in Late Egyptian.<sup>110</sup> Coptic spellings such as *etere* with noun subjects correspond to the Demotic spelling *nty iw* used whenever the subject of the relative clause was retained.<sup>111</sup> If the subject of the relative clause was identical with the antecedent, the subject was omitted and the relative particle *et* served as subject of the clause.<sup>112</sup> The relative form of the imperfect consisted of the prosthetic relative particle *e* and the imperfect *ne*, although rare examples using the relative particle *ete* are also attested.<sup>113</sup>

It is uncertain why the Demotic and Coptic relative converter was prefixed to a form identical with the circumstantial, whereas the Late Egyptian equivalent had been prefixed to the main clause form. Perhaps after the *y* of the relative pronoun *nty* was no longer pronounced, the two *t*'s of *nt tw.y*, etc., coalesced and the forms were reinterpreted as *nt iw.y*. The 3 person forms would then have been changed accordingly. But it is also possible that the *iw* in the relative was added in an attempt to indicate the *y* of *nty*. If so, this *iw* was treated like the circumstantial *iw*, occasioning the use of the suffix pronoun as subject, rather than using the pronominal compound. Otherwise \**nty iw tw.y* would have resulted. Note also that the participial forms *nty/et* do not have the *iw/e*. In Demotic and Coptic the relative pronoun *nty/et* was also followed by forms graphically identical with circumstantial forms of the negative present, negative aorist, negative future, negative past, and perfect.<sup>114</sup> It may have spread to these forms from the present tense relative by analogy. With the positive future one cannot distinguish circumstantial from main clause forms. With adjective verbs Coptic used the form identical with the circumstantial after *nty/et* only if the subject of the adjective verb was different from the antecedent. The scribe of Mythus never used the “circumstantial” form with adjective verbs; the scribe of Magical used it as in Coptic.<sup>115</sup> This seems to be clear evidence of the spreading use of this “circumstantial” form after the relative converter. The only tense with which the “circumstantial” was not used was the aorist.<sup>116</sup> The consistent use of *nty iw* in De-

<sup>108</sup> See Till, *Grammatik*, pars. 249–51; Georg Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) pars. 310–11 and 316–17. The pronominal infinitive could not be used in the present tense and the construct infinitive could be used only with undefined noun objects, in accordance with the durative object rule; see above, Introduction and n. 25.

<sup>109</sup> See Polotsky, “CCS,” sec. IX.

<sup>110</sup> Except with existence clauses; see *ibid.*, and pp. 397–400.

<sup>111</sup> See Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, pars. 462–63, and Walter C. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (2d ed.; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1961) par. 357, where both of these grammarians seem to reach the same conclusion, in contrast with Till, *Grammatik*, par. 470.

<sup>112</sup> As in Demotic; see the discussion with E25 and Polotsky, “CCS,” pp. 397–401. On the relative form of the existence clause, see *ibid.*, p. 409.

<sup>113</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 397–400.

<sup>114</sup> The example without *iw* quoted by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 192, from *Revue égyptologique*, Vol. 1 (1880) p. 113, is actually to be read *nty ir.t*, not *nty w3h.t*; see Giuseppe Botti, “Il contratto di matrimonio del Museo gregoriano egizio del Vaticano (Papiro demotico n. 2037 B),” *MDAIK*, Vol. 16 (1958) pp. 1–4 and pl. 1.

<sup>115</sup> Neither Setne nor ‘Onchsheshonqy includes examples where the subject of the relative is not identical with the antecedent. When the subject was identical, no *iw* was used.

<sup>116</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 545, quoted one example with *iw*.

E110:Canopus B41

*nty iw hr ir.w st*

“which men normally celebrate”



The form of *bn* in Mythus 4/17 seems very strange, but is perhaps merely the result of smudging of the papyrus at this point. Both the *bn* and the *ʒn* in Mythus 4/18 are broken, but easily restorable.<sup>118</sup> If a sentence had several adverbials forming the predicate, especially if they were long ones, the *in* was often placed after the first adverbial, which avoided both confusion and the risk of forgetting the *in*. E112a shows the normal word order; in E112b the *in* has been moved forward.

- E112a:Mythus 16/21–22      *bn mtw.tn nw r-ḥr.y r.ḳw.y in-ḳw.k r-ḥn r-ḥr.tn ʒn*  
 “Do you not see me coming in before you?”
- E112b:Mythus 6/19–20      *bn nʒ tw.w ḥr nʒy.w ḥpr.w ʒn n pʒ mʒˁ n pʒ gʒ nty ḳw bn pʒ*  
*nty nʒ-sšē.f r.r.f n kmy n pʒy.t tš*  
 “The mountains do not have their wonders in the attainment(?) of the food, than which there is nothing more scorned in Egypt, (in) your (home)land.”

The only example in these texts, or among the passages quoted in either Spiegelberg or Lexa,<sup>119</sup> in which the *in* preceded the adverbial is from Mythus.

- E113:Mythus 6/27–28      *bn nʒ tw.w n mfkʒ ʒn m-qd wˁ wrs n it n pʒy.f gy n rd.t n*  
*nʒy.t qˁ.w wt*  
 “The mountains of malachite are not like a grain plant in its manner of growing in your green high lands.”

The placement of *ʒn* in this example indicates either that only the subject of the sentence was being negated (not the predicate or the nexus between the subject and predicate) or that the *ʒn*, which normally would have come at the end of the quoted passage, has been moved to stand in front of the long prepositional phrase that forms the predicate for the same reason that it has been moved forward in a sentence elsewhere. Note that in one example the scribe did not move the *ʒn* to stand before the adverbial and then forgot to write it at the end of the clause.

- E114:Mythus 6/25–27      *bn nʒ ḥḥrd.w nty tḥn n mfkʒ mʒˁ mḥy r wˁ wrs n it n pʒy.f*  
*gy n rd.t n nʒy.t qˁ.w wt*  
 “The ... which sparkle of true malachite are not similar to a grain plant in its manner of growing in your green high lands.”

Spiegelberg quoted as examples of negative present tense sentences several passages without *in*, all with infinitival predicates.<sup>120</sup> The first two examples he quoted are negative existence clauses, which never use *in*.<sup>121</sup>

<sup>118</sup> These forms agree with those cited by Williams (“Verbal Forms,” Fig. 5) except that the example from Magical which he cited is actually a circumstantial form and is included in Table 8. Among the examples Spiegelberg quoted (*Grammatik*, par. 473) are a few in which *bn ḳw*, not just *bn*, was prefixed to the positive form. What the *ḳw* was intended to represent is unknown. In contrast to present tense relative or imperfect forms, and the form after the interrogative particle *in* (see above, Tables 3–6, E83, and the discussion of the Coptic present tense), the main clause forms, *tw.y*, etc., were always retained, never replaced by the circumstantial forms, *ḳw.y*, etc.

<sup>119</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 473, and František Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, Vol. 5 (7 vols.; Prague: By the author, 1949 [1947–51]) pars. 1107ff.

<sup>120</sup> *Grammatik*, par. 475.

<sup>121</sup> See below.

E115: Rylands IX, 14/21 *mn md.t ... iw bn wšb r-h.t.s*  
 “There is no thing ... to which there is not an answer.”

E116: Petubastis Ricci, 1/3–4  
*ih t3 nty iw bn iw n.w iy r rsy irm.n*  
 “What is that because of which there is not for them a coming southward with us?”

Two others are negative futures, which never use *in*.<sup>122</sup>

E117: Mythus 18/8 *r bn iw<.y> rh ddy m-s3.f*  
 “in order that <I> would not be able to run after him”

E118: Cairo 30605/23 *wn-n3w bn iw.y rh di n.f*  
 “I would not have been able to give to him.”

If these had been present tense negatives, they would have been written *bn tw.y*, not *bn iw.y*.<sup>123</sup> If the remaining few examples without *in* are not simply errors, they may be the last remnants of the Late Egyptian practice identified by Groll, who showed that *awn3*, the Late Egyptian ancestor of Demotic *in*, was, in the Deir el-Medineh material from the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, used only after purely adverbial predicates, not after qualitatives or infinitives.<sup>124</sup> But most examples in Demotic with infinitival predicates, as well as all examples with any other type of predicate, had the *in*.<sup>125</sup> Thus the omission of *in* must at most have been optional and was certainly far less common than its use. The Mythus example without *in* was included in Table 7 to call attention to the examples without *in*, whatever the reason for the omission may have been.<sup>126</sup>

To negate existence clauses, including those so formed because the subject was an indefinite noun, *mn* or *bn* was prefixed to the substantive whose existence was to be denied.<sup>127</sup> This substantive might be a noun without an article,

E120A: Setne 5/32 *mn hbs hr-3t.f*  
 “There are no clothes on his back.”

E120B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 19/7  
*mn šr pr-3 grh*  
 “There is no son of Pharaoh at night.”

<sup>122</sup> See Chap. 3.

<sup>123</sup> See Tables 1 and 7.

<sup>124</sup> *Negative Verbal*, secs. 25 and 33. For further discussion, see the section on Late Egyptian present tense negatives, below.

<sup>125</sup> See the other examples cited by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 473.

<sup>126</sup> Mordechai Gilula, “The Negation of the Adverb in Demotic,” *JAOS*, Vol. 92 (1972) pp. 460–65, suggests that one of the *in*’s in P. Insinger 13/23 is negating an adverbial, while the other, together with *bn-iw*, is negating the nominal sentence.

E119: P. Insinger 13/23 *bn iw n p3 nty mšc irm rmt swg in p3 nty 3k r-db3 swg in*  
 “It is not he who consorts with a fool who perishes (scil. as all men must sooner or later) for some other reason than his own stupidity.”

(Gilula gives credit to Klaus Baer for the above paraphrase.) It is possible, however, that the scribe moved the *in* part of the negative forward, as in E112b, but then forgot, and wrote it again at the end. If Gilula’s analysis is correct, this is an early example of the Coptic usage discussed below.

<sup>127</sup> *Mn* or *bn* replaced the *wn* used in the positive counterpart. No syntactic distinction was noted between *bn* and *mn*.

- E120C:Mythus 17/15 *bn hy [r.]r.f rmt*  
 “Nothing more cunning than man exists.”
- E120D:Magical V33/4 *mn [ky(?)] n-îm.y n wnm*  
 “There is no [desire(?)] of mine to eat.”
- a noun with the indefinite article or a word incompatible with the indefinite article,  
 E121:Mythus 4/26 *bn ky tpy.t ndm hr p3 t3 r.r.f*  
 “There is not another taste upon the earth sweeter than it.”
- or a nominalized relative clause.  
 E122A:Setne 5/17 *mn p3 nty îw.y rh îr.s*  
 “There is nothing which I can do.”
- E122B:‘Onchsheshonqy 21/9  
*mn p3 nty hwš r p3 3 r.r.f îw bn îw mtw.f p3 nty hwš.î in*  
 “There is none who injures his superior without being himself the one who is injured.”
- E122C:Mythus 6/18 *bn p3 nty wt r.r.f n rd.î*  
 “Nothing exists which grows better than it.”
- E122D:Magical 11/26 *mn p3 nty n3-‘n.f r.f*  
 “Nothing better than it exists.”

Table 8. Negative Present, Circumstantial

	Setne	‘Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	3/3			
2 m.				
2 f.				
3 m.		27/22	4/17	6/44
3 f.				
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.				
DN			4/18	
IN	5/30	17/14	16/6	14/16

The circumstantials (Table 8) and relatives (Table 9) were formed by prefixing the appropriate converter to the main clause form, with both pronominal

- E123A:Setne 3/3 *îw bn tw.y îr n p3y.y gy n sf in*  
 “while I was not in my form of yesterday”
- E123B:‘Onchsheshonqy 27/22  
*îw bn îw.f mtw.k in*  
 “while it does not belong to you”
- E123C:Mythus 4/17 *r bn îw.f irm.f 3n*  
 “while he is not with you”

Table 9. Negative Present, Relative

	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus
1 s.		
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.		
3 f.		
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.		
DN		
IN	22/17	6/20

E123D:Magical 6/4

*iw bnn.f nw m-s3 p3 hbs in*

“while he is not looking at the lamp”

and nominal subjects.<sup>128</sup>

E127A:Setne 4/38

*hpr.f iw mn mtw stne wp.t n p3 t3 m-s3 prh p3 dm<sup>c</sup>*

“It happened that Setne had no job in the world except unrolling the book.”

E127B:‘Onchsheshonqy 17/5

*[m-]ir di-hpr n.k nk iw mn mtw.k pr-hd*

“[Do]n’t acquire goods for yourself while you have no storehouse.”

E127C:Mythus 13/12

*gm.y st r bn ntr iwt.w*

“I found them without a god among them.”

E127D:Magical 14/16

*iw mn md.t n <sup>c</sup>de n-im.w*

“there being no falsehood therein”

<sup>128</sup> Except in Magical 6/4 (E123D), which is a unique spelling. There are very few examples of relative forms of the negative present other than relatives of negative existence clauses. There is an example from Canopus, quoted by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 546.

E124:Canopus B49

“the temple”

*nty iw bn iw[f] hn n3 irpy mh I r w<sup>c</sup>.t*

“which itself is not in the first (rank[?]) of temples”

The scribe of Louvre 2414 omitted the circumstantial converter before the negative present, just as he omitted it in positive present tense forms with a non-pronominal subject; see above, Chap. 2, n. 3.

E125a:Louvre 2414, 2/12

*m-ir dd iir-hr p3y.k hry iw.y di n.k p3 nk <iw> bn iw iw.f mtw.k in*

“Don’t say to your superior, ‘I will give you the goods,’ &lt;when&gt; you don’t have it.”

E125b:Louvre 2414, 1/13

*rmt <iw>bn iw mtw.f rmt dmy t3y.f 3my t3y.f mhw*

“A man &lt;who&gt; has no fellow townsman, his character is his family.”

Contrast E125b with the parallel sentence in ‘Onchsheshonqy.

E126:‘Onchsheshonqy 18/13

*rmt iw mn mtw.f dmy t3y.f 3my.t t3y.f mhw.t*

“A man who has no village, his character is his family.”

E128B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 22/17

*pʒ nty iw mn mtw.f ir.t.f r pʒ yr*

“the one who has not got his eye on(?) the river”

E128C: Mythus 6/20

*pʒ gʒ nty iw bn pʒ nty nʒ-sʒe.f r.r.f n kmy n pʒy.t tʒ*

“the food, than which there is nothing more scorned in Egypt, (in) your (home)land”

E128B has a defined noun (noun plus suffix pronoun) as its subject. This occurs in three other places in ‘Onchsheshonqy, in each case with *pʒ hw* “the profit” as the subject.

E129a: ‘Onchsheshonqy 24/22

*mn pʒ hw pʒy.y Œr*

“There is no profit in my son.”

E129b: ‘Onchsheshonqy 24/23

*mn pʒ hw pʒy.y bʒk*

“There is no profit in my servant.”

E129c: ‘Onchsheshonqy 24/24

*mn pʒ hw pʒy.y sn*

“There is no profit in my brother.”

Mythus and Magical also each contains an example which appears to have a definite noun after *mn/bn* in a negative existence clause, but both are errors. In both cases the relative converter *nty* was omitted.<sup>129</sup>

E131C: Mythus 9/19

*bn pʒ <nty> wy [r.]r.k mtw.y*

“I do not have anything <which> is far (off) from you.”

E131D: Magical V2/3

*mn pʒ <nty> nfr r-hr.y*

“There is none better than I.”

No examples of the negative imperfect were found in these four texts.<sup>130</sup>

*Predicate.* Since the negative present was compounded from the positive, the predicate of the negative, in both main and dependent clauses, might show the same variety as that of the positive, i.e., adverbial (E112b, 113, 123B–C, 127C–D), qualitative (E111C, 114), and infinitive (E111A, 112a, 123A and D).<sup>131</sup> Note that the preposition *n* (*n-im*) was used before a definite direct object (E111A and 123A).

Williams claimed<sup>132</sup> that *iw.f tm sdm* was the negative of the circumstantial in Demotic. But *iw.f tm sdm* was not a synchronous, circumstantial form and could never serve as a virtual

<sup>129</sup> See the parallels cited by Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, glossary number 229d, γ. There are several examples with *nty*.

E130: Mythus 15/11

*pʒ srrf nty iw bn pʒ nty nʒ-ʒ.f r.r.f*

“the griffon, than whom there is none greater”

<sup>130</sup> See the example quoted in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 175, no. 11.

E132: Rylands IX, 11/9

*ir.s hpr wn-nʒw bn hr-wdʒ sʒ pʒy.f-tʒw-ʒ.wy-bʒs.t n tʒy.w-dy in*

“It happened that Hor-oudja, the son of Peftjawawybast was not in Toudjoy.”

<sup>131</sup> See the examples in *ibid.*, par. 473.

<sup>132</sup> “Morphology,” par. 112, and “Verbal Forms,” p. 227, referring to William F. Edgerton, “On the Origin of Certain Coptic Verbal Forms,” *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) p. 261, n. 17.

relative. All such examples in Demotic are negative conditional clauses, including the examples which he quoted to support his argument.

E133:P. Insinger 4/19      *[rm]t rh iw.f tm rh bw-ir n3y.f rh.w ph*  
 “If an educated man (lit., an educated man, if he) does not know, his knowledge does not avail.”<sup>133</sup>

Williams was correct in pointing out<sup>134</sup> that *iw bn tw.y sdm ... in* is not a negated circumstantial clause but a circumstantial form of a negative main clause. But no negated circumstantial exists in Demotic, only this circumstantial negative.<sup>135</sup>

### Meaning and Usage

As with the positive, the negative present tense corresponded to an English present tense; the uses of the converted forms were the same as those of the positive. Thus the circumstantial could be used to indicate concomitant action (E123A, C–D and 127B–D), after *hpr* (E127A), and as a virtual relative.

E137B:‘Onchsheshonqy 18/13      *rmt iw mn mtw.f dmy*  
 “a man who has no town”

E137C:Mythus 4/17–18      *ih p3 h3w n ms shhy r bn p3y.s m3d ht hr-tw3.s 3n*  
 “What is the profit of manufacturing a sistrum whose ... and ... are not near it?”

E137D:Magical 25/16–17      *hr ir.k.f n w3 m33 iw.f n kke ... iw mn 3.wy n p3 iytn hr.r.f*  
 “You do it in a dark place ... under which there is no cellar.”

Of the two examples of the relative of the negative present, one (E128C) modified a defined noun, the other (E128B) was itself nominalized.

### History

*Predecessors.* The Late Egyptian negative of the present tense consisted of *nn* or *bn* prefixed to the positive present tense form.<sup>136</sup> The particle *iw n3* was sometimes added after the

<sup>133</sup> The other examples to which he referred are likewise negative conditional clauses (on which see Chap. 4).

E134:Setne5/37      *iw.w r hdb.k iw.k tm t3y p3y dm3 r p3 m33 n int.f r-ir.k*  
 “They will kill you if you don’t take this bookroll to the place from which you brought it.”

E135:P. Insinger 35/12      *h3t s3b3 iw.f tm rh*  
 “If the heart of an enemy does not know”

E136:Petubastis Krall, K/17–18      *hr t3 h3.t n n3y.k sn.w n3 t3y.k mhw3 r iw.w gm3.k n-im.w iw.w tm gm3.k n-im.w r iw.w ste.w r n3y.w t3 irm n3y.w dmy*  
 “at the head of your brothers, those of your family, if they find you there. If they don’t find you there, they will return to their districts and their cities.”

<sup>134</sup> “Verbal Forms,” p. 227.

<sup>135</sup> A negation of the circumstantial would be written *bn iw.y sdm ... in*, or something similar.

<sup>136</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 751, 758, and 762–63; Černý, “LEG,” pp. 15 and 38; and Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, p. 249, 6. The limitations on the use of *bn* with the “First Present” in Late Egyptian are summarized by Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 42 (3).

negative present clause to emphasize the negation.<sup>137</sup> Groll, studying the non-literary Theban texts from the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, was able to distinguish the present tense forms negated with *bn ... iwnʒ* from those negated with *bn* alone.<sup>138</sup> She concluded that *bn ... iwnʒ* negated the nexus between subject and predicate while simple *bn* negated immediate present statements, her “now”-present. *Bn ... iwnʒ* was especially common with true adverbial predicates,<sup>139</sup> while simple *bn* was most common with infinitival or qualitative predicates.<sup>140</sup> Negative existence clauses were formed by prefixing one of several possible spellings of the negative to the substantive whose existence was being denied.<sup>141</sup>

Circumstantial and relative forms of the negative present were formed by prefixing the circumstantial converter *iw*<sup>142</sup> or the relative converter *nty*<sup>143</sup> to the main clause form. Both *nn* and *bn* are found in negative existence clauses after the converters *iw* and *nty*.<sup>144</sup> In Late Egyptian, as in Demotic, the form *iw.f (hr) tm sdm* was distinct in meaning and syntax from the circumstantial negative present *iw bn sw (hr) sdm*. The former negated the continuative; the latter, the synchronous circumstantial.<sup>145</sup>

<sup>137</sup> According to Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 798, and Alan H. Gardiner, “The Word ,” *ZAS*, Vol. 41 (1904) pp. 130–35.

<sup>138</sup> *Negative Verbal*, Chap. 3. See also Sarah Israelit-Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1967) p. 98.

<sup>139</sup> *Negative Verbal*, Chap. 3. The only example Erman quoted with a verbal predicate is a negative imperfect.

E138:P. Mayer A, 3/25                      *bn wn.f irm.i iwnʒ*  
 “He was not with me.”

*Bn ... iwnʒ* also served as the negation of the second tense; see below.

<sup>140</sup> *Negative Verbal*, secs. 25ff. Both of these negations, with and without *iwnʒ*, are examples of Groll’s “isomorphism” group of Late Egyptian negatives, i.e., those in which the negative was formed simply by adding a negative element to the positive form (see *ibid.*, p. 92). Note that the semantic equivalent of many Late Egyptian present tense constructions consisted of a negative other than *bn*. See *ibid.*, Chap. 2.

<sup>141</sup> For examples see Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 748ff. (*nn*), 756 (*nn wn*, the Middle Egyptian form), 758 (*bn*), and 783 (*mn*). Examples with *mn* are quoted by Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 95. Groll, *Negative Verbal*, p. 21, distinguished between *bn* and *mn* in Late Egyptian negative existence clauses. According to her, *bn n.f* was used “with abstract nouns to express the non-ownership of a characteristic, permanent quality, or a non-acquirable quality,” while *mn mdi.f* was used “with concrete nouns to express the non-ownership of an object; or for a person, that he is not available.” But this distinction does not always hold, as, for instance, in Meneptah’s account of his Libyan war.

E139a:RIK IV, 8/9–10                      *nty bn n.w qrn.t*  
 “who have no foreskins”  
 E139b:RIK IV, 8/12                      *nty mn mdi.w qrn.t*  
 “who have no foreskins”

These examples were pointed out by Edward F. Wente.

<sup>142</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 761–63; Černý, “LEG,” p. 39; Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, pp. 249–50; Groll, *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) pp. 92–93.

<sup>143</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 760 and 841; Frandsen, *Outline*, p. 207.

<sup>144</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 527, n. to par. 750; par. 761 on the circumstantial; par. 784 on the relative. Note also E109.

<sup>145</sup> See above on the predicate of negative present tense clauses, and below on the Late Egyptian conditional.



different from the antecedent. The spelling *nty ïre* indicates the pronunciation *etere* found in Coptic.<sup>155</sup>

Table 10. Progressive

	Main	Circumstantial	Relative
1 s.	20/19		
2 m.	v28/1	v33/3	
2 f.			
3 m.			
3 f.			
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.	18/31		
N		8/14	29/2-3 23/21

Although the progressive is part of the present tense system, and thus a durative, the infinitive following *nʒ* may have a defined direct object without the mediation of the preposition *n* because, as Polotsky pointed out,<sup>156</sup> it is the *nʒ*, not the following infinitive, which abides by the durative rule. The following passage, which is addressed to the oil to be used in a spell, illustrates the progressive with following pronominal direct objects with and without *n-ïm*.

E144:Magical 20/19–21 *ïr.k ḥsy tw.y nʒ ḥys.t.k pʒ nḥe tw.y nʒ ḥys n-ïm.k ïr.k ḥse n-drt pʒ šʿy ïr.k mḥy n-drt ḥʿ.t tw.y nʒ ḥys.k šʿ d.t pʒ nḥe*  
 “You are praised. I am going to praise you, oh oil. I am going to praise you. By Fate you are praised. By me myself you are honored. I am going to praise you forever, oh oil.”

### Meaning and Usage

The qualitative form *nʒ* derives from the Late Egyptian construction *m* plus infinitive of a verb of motion and preserves the meaning of motion in progress.<sup>157</sup> Therefore the present tense with this qualitative has the meaning of motion in progress and is here called the progressive. The literal translation is “to be going to, to be about to do” something.

E143:Thes. 1012

*pʒ nty nʒ fe*

“the one who is going to cleanse”

<sup>155</sup> The circumstantial auxiliary written *ïw* before noun subject is historical. Further examples of both main and circumstantial forms occur in Richard A. Parker, “A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement,” *JEA*, Vol. 26 (1940) pp. 84–113. The examples are collected by Wentz, “SVM,” p. 36.

<sup>156</sup> “CCS,” par. 25.

<sup>157</sup> See above, Chap. 1 on the qualitatives of verbs of motion, and Wentz, “SVM,” chap. 2.

E145:Magical V28/1 *ỉr.k n3 di-šm s1w*  
 “You are going to send a star.”

Converted forms also indicate something which is going to happen.

E146:Magical 8/13–14 *ỉw.f hpr ỉw t3 mn t3 md.t n3 hpr*  
 “If (it happens that) a given thing is going to happen”

E147:Magical 29/2–3 *p3 nw nty ỉre p3-r3 n3 h3 n-ỉm.f*  
 “the moment in which the sun is going to rise”

There is also an example of a relative form in a circumstantial cleft sentence which is in the protasis of a conditional clause.

E148:Magical 23/21–22 *ỉw.f hpr ỉw mtw.k nty n3 šn ỉr.k mh ỉr.t.k n wyt mstme*  
 “If (it happens that) it is you who is going to ask, you should equip your eye with green and black eye paint.”

The examples of *n3* in Magical 21/27 and 41 are not examples of the progressive. In both places, the verb *šm* has been added above the line. Since *n3* serves as the qualitative equivalent of the infinitive *šm*,<sup>158</sup> and since in each of these cases the grammar requires an infinitive following the terminative,<sup>159</sup> it is possible that the scribe was correcting his own error, intending to replace *n3* with *šm*.

E149a:Magical 21/27 *š3-mtw.s n3/šm mn r-ms mn*  
 “until she goes (to) So and So, born of So and So”

E149b:Magical 21/41 *š3-mtw.s n3/šm n.f*  
 “until she goes to him”

In a third example, however, the terminative is followed by *šm n3(?)*, which would indicate that both were to be read, in that order.

E150:Magical 21/32 *š3-mtw.s šm n3 mn r-ms mn*  
 “until she goes to So and So, born of So and So”

In both E149a and E150 the word order *šm n3 mn r-ms mn* could be interpreted as the infinitive *šm* with the preposition *n(3)* “to,” which was supplied in the above translations. But in E149b the preposition *n* is written, so the interpretation of *n3* as *n* would be redundant, and *n3* would have no object. In any case, these three examples of *n3* are not examples of the progressive, which could never be used after the terminative.<sup>160</sup>

## History

*Predecessors.* It was Gardiner who identified the Late Egyptian ancestor of the progressive form—*tw.y m n3 y r sdm*.<sup>161</sup> Three Late Egyptian examples of the construction occur.

<sup>158</sup> See above, Chap. 1 on the qualitatives of verbs of motion and n. 78 therewith, and Wentz, “SVM,” p. 44.

<sup>159</sup> See Chap. 4.

<sup>160</sup> See the discussion by Griffith, *Magical I* 140, n. to 1. 21/27. According to a note in William F. Edgerton’s copy of *Magical*, Thompson put the *šm* too far to the left in 11. 27 and 41. Edgerton suggested reading *šm* between *š3-mtw.s* and *n3*, as in 1. 32.

<sup>161</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “The Origin of the Tense Futurum I,” *ZAS*, Vol. 43 (1906) pp. 97–98. See also *idem*, *Grammar*, par. 331, end, *m* plus infinitive of verbs of motion with the meaning “about to do” something. There is also an example in an Old Egyptian letter published by Battiscombe Gunn (“A Sixth Dynasty Letter from Saqqara,” *ASAE*, Vol. 25 [1925] pp. 242–55) noted by Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Vol. II (“Analecta Orientalia,” Vol. 39 [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1964]) par. 933, describing an action which has not yet really begun.



tion past, present, or future.<sup>167</sup> Second tense forms from other Demotic texts are quoted by Williams.<sup>168</sup> All the examples of the second tense in these four texts are main clauses. The

<sup>167</sup> Many of the forms cited in Table 11 agree with those identified as second present forms by Williams (“Verbal Forms,” p. 230, Fig. 1). In Mythus, however, Williams identified as second tenses two forms which are circumstantial present tense forms after the interrogative particle *in* (see E83)

E154a:Mythus 9/23                      *ʒn r.îw.k îr-rh nʒy nty sh r-hr.y m-dr̄t pʒ nb rh*  
 “Do you know these things which are written concerning me by the lord of knowledge?”

E154b:Mythus 21/23–24              *ʒn r.îr.[t] rh iy r kmy n hwʒ r ih[y n] wȳt ʕšʒy*  
 “Are you able to come to Egypt more than many green things?”

and one example of a past tense relative (see below, Table 30).

E155:Mythus 7/15                      *pʒ mhy.̄t pʒ ʕr pʒ imy r-ir.f*  
 “the comparison of the fly to the cat which he made”

Likewise, several of the examples Williams quoted from Magical are not second tenses. Three—*r-îw.y*, *r-îr.k*, and *r-îw.f*—are past tense forms (see Table 28; *r-îw.y* in 9/33 is quoted and translated above, E16a). Two of the others—*r-îr.f* and *îire* plus noun—are negative conditional clauses using the negative verb *tm* (see Table 48). The specific reference from which Williams quoted *îir.k* serving as a second present is more probably an injunctive future (on which, see Chap. 3 on the meaning and usage of the future).

E156:Magical 2/19–20                *îir.k h̄c n tʒ dwʒ.t nʒy-hr dr̄t.f n wsir îir.k šms [nʒ] by n ibt dd îw.w ʕnh n-îm.k dr.w*  
 “You should appear in the underworld before the hand of Osiris. You should serve [the] *ba*’s of Abydos so that they might all live through you.”

But the same form is, in fact, found in a second tense.

E157:Magical 20/20                    *îir.k h̄se n-dr̄t pʒ šcy îir.k mhy n-dr̄t h̄c.̄t*  
 “By Fate you are praised. By me myself you are honored.”

Table 11 also includes a few forms not noted by Williams, but which appear to be second tenses. Setne has an example of the second past with 1 s. subject

E158:Setne 3/11                      *r-îr.y sby <r-tbʒ> h̄pr îw.k ʕš n hyn.w sh.w*  
 “<Because> you are reading some writings I laughed.”

and a partially broken example of the second present with 3 pl. subject.

E159:Setne 4/26                      *îir.w tʒy pʒy.n ʕh̄ hr pʒ tʒ r-tbʒ.̄t.f*  
 “Because of it they take our lifetime upon earth.”

E159, however, does not include the preposition *n* before the defined direct object, as a present tense should; see below on the form of the predicate. According to context, this passage should be a past tense, despite the prefix *îir* rather than *r-ir*. E158 is parallel to the examples with 2 m., 3 pl., and noun subjects where the auxiliary was written *r-ir*, which examples are included by Williams. Magical has an example with a 1 s. subject written *îir.y*, which occurs parallel to the 1 s. spelling *r-îr.y*, correctly identified by Williams as a second tense.

E160:Magical 6/15–16                *r-îr.y di n-îm.k r tʒ gyd.t n tʒ ih̄.t kme.t îir.y di-mh̄ n-îm.k hn̄ tʒ gyd.t n tʒ ih̄.t sh̄m.t*  
 “In the hand of the black cow I (will) put you; in the hand of the cow I (will) burn you.”

There is also an example with 3 f. subject where, although the reading is uncertain, the clause seems to be a second tense.

E161:Magical 20/2–3                *tʒy.y mwt sh̄m.t-ʒs.t îre.s iy m-sʒ.y r-bnr r pʒ tʒ n hr r pʒ sbt n pʒ tʒ n h̄h r pʒ tʒ n nʒy wnm-rmt dd ...*  
 “My mother Sekhmet-Isis comes after me all the way to the land of Syria, the hill of the land of Heh, the district of these cannibals, saying, ‘...’”

Table 11. Second Tense

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	3/11		15/7	6/15 6/15
2 m.	3/11	11/21	8/16	20/20
2 f.			11/6	
3 m.	4/38 3/30	11/10	9/1 7/21	12/8
3 f.	5/3	6/12	3/8	20/2 20/7 (?)
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.	4/26 4/23	19/4	11/2	6/22
N	5/22 5/30	19/22	3/28	9/16

examples in Mythus of the imperfect converter *rhwn-nʒw* preceding *iir* plus subject are imperfect forms, not second tenses.<sup>169</sup> An example of the imperfect converter before the second tense does occur in the Hermopolis Legal Code.<sup>170</sup>

E163:HLC 8/28–29

*my rh.w s dd wn-nʒw iir.f hms n pʒ .wy r hn r pʒ hrw*

“Let it be ascertained whether, until the very day [of his eviction], he was living in the house.”

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.* Because both Spiegelberg and Ort-Geuthner wrote before Polotsky had identified the meaning, usage, and derivation of the second tense system, their terminology is very confused; see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 154 and 179; Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire*, pars. 194 and 213. For this reason, although second tense forms quoted by them may be discussed, no attempt will be made to account for every statement they made concerning what they called second tenses.

<sup>169</sup> See E20 and the discussion therewith. This is also true of Petubastis 2/15, where *iir* was used with a noun subject, presumably to indicate the Coptic pronunciation *ere*.

E162:Petubastis 2/15–16

*dd pr-ʒ pʒ hm-hl n wʿb n-tʒy hpr.f iw wn-nʒw iir nʒy rh hr hʒt.k ii<r>  
bn-pw.k iy n sfr-tbʒ ih*

“Pharaoh said, ‘Oh young priest, when it happened that it was known in your heart, why didn’t you come yesterday?’”

(The emendation to *iir* was suggested by Polotsky, *Etudes*, p. 88.)

<sup>170</sup> My thanks to George R. Hughes for allowing me to quote from this text. In Coptic, the second tense of the imperfect was formed by prefixing second tense *e* (from *iir*) to imperfect *ne* (from *wn-nʒw*); see Polotsky, “CCS,” pars. 17–18. No examples are known in which the imperfect *ne* was prefixed to the second tense form, as in E163.

Only one example of the second tense in Demotic preceded by the converter *iw* is known to the author.

E164:Rylands IX, 10/11<sup>171</sup> “Petiese, the son of Ieturou, was administering the southern district”  
*... iw iir.w ir p3y.f ip irm.f hr rnp*  
 “while with him its account was being made yearly.”

Examples of the relative converter before the second tense of the future also exist.

E165:P. Colon. Dem. I/15 *nty iir rmt nb (n) p3 t3 r ir.f n-im.w (n) rn.y*  
 “which, in my name, any man in the world will do therein”<sup>172</sup>

The examples which Spiegelberg cited<sup>173</sup> of *nty* plus *iir.k* are all to be read *nty iw* plus *iw.k*. Those from Setne (5/19, 23, and 25) are present tense relatives,<sup>174</sup> while II Khaemwast 3/19 is a future relative.<sup>175</sup>

*Predicates.* When the second tense was used as a present tense, it was a durative and its predicate followed the rules governing the present tense. Thus the predicate of the second tense clause could consist of an adverbial,

E167A:Setne 6/13 *iir n3 ʿ.wy.w n htp n ih-wr.t irm mr-ib p3y.s sr hr-twn p3 qh*  
*rsy n p3 ʿ.wy*  
 “At the southern corner of the house are the houses of rest of Ahure and Mer-ib, her son.”

E167B:‘Onchsheshonqy 26/8  
*iir.w <n->drt p3 scy p3 ntr dr.w*  
 “From the hand of Fate and God they all are.”

E167C:Mythus 11/2 *iir.w n ih3y hn by-wkm*  
 “In the Arabian desert they are in jubilation.”

E167D:Magical 9/16 *r-ire iby n sp.t*  
 “In my lips is honey.”

a qualitative,

E168B:‘Onchsheshonqy 14/13  
*iir pr wn r p3 nty iw wn nk <n->drt.f*  
 “To him who has something in his hand is a house open.”

<sup>171</sup> Quoted in Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 186, number 53. Late Egyptian parallels are cited in Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 110.

<sup>172</sup> Note that this example includes the preposition *r* indicating the future tense (see below, Tables 20–23). Such forms are discussed in Chapter 3, in the section on the future. This form was originally identified as a second tense of the future by George R. Hughes, review of *Demotische und koptische Texte* by Erich Lüdeckens *et al.*, in *JNES*, Vol. 32 (1973) p. 246. It is possible that ‘Onchsheshonqy contains an example of a second tense after the relative converter *nty*, but unfortunately the passage is badly damaged, and this interpretation is not certain.

E166:‘Onchsheshonqy 15/2 *m-ir ... md.t nty iir p3y.k h[ry hn].s n.k*  
 “Don’t [fail to do(?)] something which your sup[er]ior has entrusted(?) to you!”

<sup>173</sup> *Grammatik*, pars. 530 and 542.

<sup>174</sup> See above, Table 3 and the discussion of the form of present tense relative clauses.

<sup>175</sup> See Table 22 and the discussion of the form of future relatives in Chap. 3.

E168C:Mythus 8/16–17 *ỉr.k ỉn-ỉw r dỉ pd.y n-drỉ pꜣy.y Ỉꜥ.y kmy rhwn-nꜣw n sty n  
bte n Ỉꜣt.y*

“It is in order to cause that I yearn for my own (land), Egypt, which was as the smell of emmer in my heart, that you come.”

E168D:Magical 20/20 *ỉr.k Ỉse n-drỉ pꜣ Ỉꜥ.y ỉr.k mỈy n-drỉ Ỉꜥ.t*

“By Fate you are praised. By me myself you are honored.”

or an infinitive.

E169A:Setne 5/3 *ỉr.s ỉy r bw-nꜣy r wỈte m-bꜣỈ pỈỈ pꜣ ntr Ỉꜣ*

“In order to worship before Ptah, the great god, she comes here.”

E169B:‘Onchsheshonqy 11/10

*pꜣ nty dỉ-Ỉm dfꜣ r tꜣ p.t ỉr.f Ỉy r-Ỉr.f*

“The one who sends spittle to the sky, upon him it falls.”

E169C:Mythus 4/32

*ỉr.k km bỈn r-Ỉr.y r.ỉw.y nd[m] r.r.k*

“While I am plea[sant] to you, you achieve evil with respect to me.”

E169D:Magical 19/2

*r-ỉr.y ỉy r-bnr n Ỉrq ỈỈ ỉw r.y mỈ n snf n ỉwỈwe km*

“My mouth full of the blood of the black dog, I come out from Arqhah (the cemetery of Abydos).”

A defined direct object should be preceded by the preposition *n* (*n-ỉm*).<sup>176</sup>

E170A:Setne 3/11 *ỉr.k sby n-ỉm.y r-dbꜣ ỈỈ*

“Why are you laughing at me?”

E170D:Magical 6/14

*r-ỉr.y ỉny n-ỉm.k n pꜣ hrw ỉ pꜣ sỈ r dỉ nw pꜣ Ỉw r-Ỉn.k*

“It is in order to make the youth look into you that I am bringing you today, oh wick.”

This rule does not seem to apply in two examples in Mythus with the verb *qd* “to build.”

E171a:Mythus 7/3–4 *bw-ỉr.w qd.f n blbꜣ nty ỉw pꜣ Ỉꜥ.yr pꜣy ỉr.w qd.f n ỉny*

“It isn’t built of dung, which is filth. Of stone it is built.”

E171b:Mythus 3/28 *ỉr.w [qd] Ỉ.wy nb r Ỉp.f*

“It is in order to hide it that all houses are [built].”<sup>177</sup>

In other cases where the second tense auxiliary is followed by an infinitive plus defined direct object without the insertion of the preposition *n*, it is because the second tense is being

<sup>176</sup> Examples from Rylands IX are quoted by Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 181, numbers 2–6.

<sup>177</sup> The spacing in 3/28 does not allow restoration of the preposition *n* before *Ỉ.wy nb*. In Demotic a noun modified by *nb* was treated syntactically as a defined noun, as shown by the use of the relative form to modify it, rather than a circumstantial virtual relative (see above on the meaning and usage of present tense circumstantial and relative forms). Note that the resumptive pronoun is plural.

E172:Mythus 5/24 *ỈnỈ nb nty r.ỉw.k r rỈ ỉr.w*

“all (ways of) life which you will be able to lead”

The omission of *n* after *qd* is not known elsewhere, and these examples are probably not to be attributed to an idiomatic use of that verb.

used as a future or past tense. When so used, it could have only an infinitival predicate, but any of the three forms of the infinitive<sup>178</sup> could be used.

E173:‘Onchsheshonqy 23/7 *p3 nty mr shm.t iw wn mtw.s hy iir.w htb.t.f hr t3y.s pn3.t*  
 “The one who loves a woman who has a husband, upon her (very) doorstep he will be killed.”<sup>179</sup>

In addition, the scribe of Setne used a different prefix to mark the second past.<sup>180</sup>

E175A:Setne 5/15 *r-ir.f gm t3 ry.t hr.t n p3 .wy iw.s shr iw.s ndh*  
 “He found the upper floor of the house swept and decorated.”

E175B:‘Onchsheshonqy 2/11–12  
*iir.w int.k r pr pr-3 iw mn mtw.k nk n p3 t3*  
 “While you had nothing in the world you were brought to the palace of Pharaoh.”

E175C:Mythus 15/7–8 *iir.y dd n3 md.wt n rn.w r-db3 di ph.s n h3t.t*  
 “I only said the above words in order to cause that it reach your heart.”

E175D:Magical 6/22–23 *r-ir.w ms.t hr p3 ishte šps n ibt*  
 “Under the noble *išd*-tree in Abydos I was born.”

In all cases, whether past, present, or future, whatever the predicate, a second tense clause is followed by an adverbial of some sort, called the adverbial adjunct. The reason for this, and the form of the adverbial, are discussed below.

### Meaning and Usage

In Demotic, as in all stages of Egyptian, the second tense was used to nominalize a clause, allowing it to serve as the subject of a following adverbial predicate within the structure of a present tense sentence. The purpose of using the second tense was to stress the adverbial adjunct.<sup>181</sup> Since Egyptian generally did not allow free movement of an adverb to the beginning of a sentence for emphasis, the second tense system was used, making the adverbial adjunct the predicate of the sentence. This is especially clear in questions with interrogative adverbs.<sup>182</sup>

E176A:Setne 3/11 *iir.k sby n-im.y r-tb3 ih*  
 “Why are you laughing at me?”

<sup>178</sup> See above, Chap. 1.

<sup>179</sup> One possible example occurs in Mythus.

E174:Mythus 8/25–26 *iir.w ms p3 h3 nty iw t3y.w mwt ir.f n-im.w n nhby3.t nty iw t3 ntr.t*  
*t3y t3y nty r.iw.w r š r.r.s r di hy.s*  
 “There also will be born the lifetime which their womb will(?) make. Nekhbet, who is the goddess, is the one to whom they will call in order to cause that it fall.”

The example in Magical (7/1) of the second tense of the future is written *iiry iw.y r*. See below, Table 23.

<sup>180</sup> See above on prefixes. Examples from Rylands IX are cited by Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 186, numbers 50–53.

<sup>181</sup> See Polotsky, *Etudes*, Part II, and “CCS,” par. 30.

<sup>182</sup> See the examples in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 156 and 484.

E176C:Mythus 14/6 *ỉr.s Ỉpr n-ỉm.t r-tbỉ ỉh*  
 “Why does it happen to you?”

The emphasized adverbial adjunct following the second tense was usually a prepositional phrase or an adverbial clause. The prepositional phrase might consist of either preposition plus noun

E177A:Setne 3/31 *r-ỉr.f gm w<sup>c</sup> Ỉf n d.t n pỉ qd n tỉ tbe.t n rn.s*  
 “Near the box named he found an endless snake.”

E177B:‘Onchsheshonqy 22/5  
*pỉ nty nyn n pỉ ỉny ỉr.f hy r-Ỉr rd.t.f*  
 “He who shakes the stone, upon his foot it falls.”

E177C:Mythus 9/6 *ỉr.k ỉr <sup>c</sup>n Ỉr tỉy.f pty.t*  
 “Carrying his bow you act the ape.”

E177D:Magical 20/20 *ỉr.k Ỉse n-drt pỉ ỉ<sup>c</sup>y ỉr.k mhy n-drt Ỉ<sup>c</sup>.t*  
 “By Fate you are praised. By me myself you are honored.”

or preposition plus infinitive, especially *r* plus infinitive indicating purpose.

E178A:Setne 5/3 *ỉr.s ỉy r bw-nỉy r wšte m-bỉh pth pỉ ntr <sup>c</sup>*  
 “In order to worship before Ptah, the great god, she comes here.”

E178B:‘Onchsheshonqy 15/8  
*ỉr.w ỉp.f r ỉỉy.f*  
 “They reckon him only in order to despise him.”

E178C:Mythus 18/29 *ỉr.y ỉy r ỉr n.k tỉy.s ỉb.t*  
 “In order to repay you for it I am coming.”

E178D:Magical 6/14 *r-ỉr.y ỉny n-ỉm.k n pỉ hrw ỉ pỉ s<sup>c</sup>l r dỉ nw pỉ <sup>c</sup>lw r-Ỉn.k*  
 “It is in order to make the youth look into you that I am bringing you today, oh wick.”

Any kind of circumstantial clause could serve as the stressed adverbial adjunct.

E179A:Setne 5/30 *r-ỉr stne nhs ỉw.f Ỉn w<sup>c</sup>.t s.t Ỉrỉ.t ỉw Ỉnn.f Ỉr Ỉn n w<sup>c</sup>.t ỉỈyỉ*  
*ỉw mn Ỉbs n pỉ tỉ Ỉr-ỉt.f*  
 “When Setne awoke, he was in a hot smoky place, his phallus was in a ..., and he had no clothes on his back.”<sup>183</sup>

E179B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/20–21  
*ỉr.w ỉy ỉw ỉn.w st m-bỉh pr-<sup>c</sup> n tỉy Ỉty*  
 “Having brought<sup>184</sup> him before Pharaoh immediately, they returned.”

E179C:Mythus 4/32 *ỉr.k km bỉn r-Ỉr.y r.ỉw.y nd[m] r.r.k*  
 “While I am plea[sant] to you, you achieve evil with respect to me.”

<sup>183</sup> This translation reverses the main and subordinate clauses, in order to stress the adverbials as the Demotic does.

<sup>184</sup> Or could this be an example of the *sdm.f* of *ỉn* with present tense meaning? See above, n. 70.

E179D:Magical 19/2 *r-ir.y iy r-bnr n 3rq hḥ iw r.y mh n snf n iwīwe km*  
 “My mouth full of the blood of the black dog, I come out from Arqhah (the cemetery of Abydos).”

Although there had to be an adverbial adjunct serving as predicate to the second tense clause (called the “that”-clause by Polotsky), there did not need to be an overt verb, or a predicate of any sort, in the second tense clause itself.<sup>185</sup> Thus, in E167 (examples of second tense clauses with an adverbial predicate), E167C has both an adverbial adjunct and an adverbial predicate, while in E167A–B and D, there is only one adverbial, the stressed adverbial adjunct. The emphasized adverbial adjunct might also be the direct quote of a statement, especially after the verb *dd* “to say.”

E180:Mythus 8/28–29 *ir.s dd inky t3y t3y-f kyd.t*  
 “‘I am his [left] hand,’ she says.”<sup>186</sup>

The example in Mythus where the adverbial adjunct consists of *hpr* plus a circumstantial clause may be an error for *r-db3 hpr* plus clause, or may come from that construction.<sup>187</sup>

E183:Mythus 6/13–15 *ir.f dd n.f m3qr hpr r.iw.f n rn n t3 sty.t ʿn m-qd p3 m3qr n dḡf mtw.w šʿt.w r.iw.f iy n rd.t m-qd t3 sty.t mtw.w t3y n-im.s r.iw.s ʿš3y n mh*  
 “Because it has(?) the name of the flame also, like the reed of papyrus which is cut while it is still growing, like the flame which is taken (away) while it burns greatly, he calls it ‘reed.’”

It is only rarely that the second tense emphasizes a preceding time adverbial.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>185</sup> See Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 30.

<sup>186</sup> It might be better to analyze this as an AB nominal sentence “(What) she says is, ‘I am his [left] hand.’” To this may be compared the construction *dd.n.f*, the emphatic *sdm.n.f*, followed by direct quote, found already in Old Egyptian, a usage called to my attention by Edward F. Wente and Thomas J. Logan. There are two sentences in ‘Onchsheshonqy in which the second tense may be stressing a direct quote following *dd*.

E181a:‘Onchsheshonqy18/7 *ir rmt hm dd iw.y htb.t.k iw.f htb.t.k n m3ʿt*  
 “‘I will kill you,’ a poor man says. He will kill you, in truth.”

E181b:‘Onchsheshonqy18/8 *ir rmt 3 dd iw.y htb.t.k my d3d3.k hr t3y.f pn3.t*  
 “‘I will kill you,’ a rich man says. Put your head on his doorstep.”

For a different, more likely, interpretation of these two sentences, see below, E195.

<sup>187</sup> A similar example in Setne has been so interpreted; see above, E158. The explanation of another passage in Mythus with *hpr* following a second tense is even less certain.

E182:Mythus 5/8–9 *ir.s hpr hpr r t3 s.t r-pr.w n-im.s t3y*  
 “It is indeed a fact that it is the place from which they came forth(?)”

<sup>188</sup> There is also a passage in ‘Onchsheshonqy where the second tense may be stressing a preceding temporal adverb.

E184:‘Onchsheshonqy3/13–15 *p3 ssw hn.s ir p3 rʿ ir n.y p3 nty n3-ʿn.f di.f p3 ʿš-shn nfr pr-3 n h3t.y p3 ssw hn.s ir p3 rʿ ir n.y p3 nty n3-thr.f di.f p3 ʿš-shn bin pr-3 n h3t.y*  
 “On the day of commanding, if Pre was doing for me that which was good, he put good fortune for Pharaoh in my heart. On the day of commanding, if Pre was doing for me that which was grievous, he put evil fortune for Pharaoh in my heart.”

According to this interpretation, *p3 ssw hn.s* would be the stressed adverbial in both sentences. Glanville took both *ir*-clauses to be conditionals. For the translation of second tense clauses as conditionals, see below. According to form the *ir*’s could also be past tense relative forms; see Table 30.

E185:Magical 20/7

*tʒ wnw.t n dd nʒy r-ire.s fy n.y n wʿ.t fks.t*

“At the moment of saying these (things), she jumped at me(?)”

Since Polotsky established the meaning of the form, only Parker<sup>189</sup> and Williams<sup>190</sup> have studied the second tenses in any lengthy Demotic text. The second tense forms found by Parker in Rylands IX were used to stress purpose clauses, prepositional phrases, a circumstantial negative aorist, and the conjunction *dd* followed by an imperfect. The examples quoted by Williams have a prepositional phrase, an adverbial interrogative, or an adverbial clause serving as adverbial predicate. Certain *emplois abusifs* of the second tense have been noted.<sup>191</sup> In Magical the *ir.k* following *wʒh* may be such.<sup>192</sup>

E188:Magical 18/33

*ir.k wʒh ir.k sn hr pʒ nty ir.k whʒ.f ir.k wt.w*

“When you are finished asking about what you wish, you should send them away.”

But the form *ir.k* in Magical may rather be a circumstantial present or a future.<sup>193</sup>

E189:Magical 3/1

*iw.w wʒh ir.k dd n inp dd ...*

“When they have finished, you should speak to Anubis, saying, ‘...’”

There is one example in ‘Onchsheshonqy where the second tense seems to be stressing the direct object rather than an adverbial.

E190:‘Onchsheshonqy 23/14

*drt nb.t swtn n pʒ ntr ir.f šp drt pʒy.f mr.t*

“Every hand is extended to god. He accepts only the hand of his beloved.”<sup>194</sup>

<sup>189</sup> “Durative Tenses,” on Rylands IX.

<sup>190</sup> “Morphology,” par. 104ff., on P. Insinger.

<sup>191</sup> Polotsky, *Etudes*, par. 15. However, none of the examples to which Williams referred (“Verbal Forms,” pp. 224–25 and n. 31) have to be interpreted as second tenses. Two are examples of the conjunctive form written *n-ir.k*, rather than *mtw.k*, not the interrogative particle *n* (for *in*) followed by the second tense. See the discussion of the conjunctive forms below, with E496, and note that the interrogative particle *in* was followed not by the second tense but by the circumstantial; see E83.

E186a:Magical 20/27

*dd ir.k r mh.s n-ir.k di nʒ-nfr.s*

“in order that you fill it and make it well”

E186b:Magical V33/3

*hr imi n-ir.k wnm*

“Horus, come and eat!”

Williams also referred to the common injunctive use of the second tense in Magical (“Verbal Forms,” p. 225 and n. 40), but the tense used commonly for the injunctive was the future (see the discussion following E289). Williams’ confusion results from the fact that, in Magical, when the preposition *r* was omitted from the future, as it very commonly was, the second tense and future auxiliaries with 2 m. subject were identical. Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, pars. 159 and 161), too, interpreted future forms without the preposition *r* as second tenses or emphatics. Examples of the future written *ir.t* rather than *iw.t* were intended to indicate the Coptic pronunciation *ere* (see Table 20 and the discussion of the forms of the future, below).

E187:Rylands 20/4

“the children” *nty ir.t ms.t.w n.y*

“which you will bear to me”

<sup>192</sup> As Williams assumed (“Verbal Forms,” p. 225), and as in Coptic; see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1939) p. 473b, *ouō* with the second present.

<sup>193</sup> See Tables 2 and 20.

The second tense also had two other uses in Demotic. The first, the occasional secondary use as a conditional clause, is especially common in ‘Onchsheshonqy, although it does occur elsewhere.<sup>195</sup>

E192B:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/25

*ỉr.w đỉ n.k ʿq r-tbʾ swg my ỉr n.k sbʾ.t bty.t*

“If for stupidity you are given rations, let education be an abomination to you.”

E192C:Mythus 7/18–19

*ỉr.w ỉy r ỉr ỉby n sh ʿ.t rpy.t n nw.t r wn w ʿ qš n-dr̄.t.s tʾy nty r.ỉw.w ỉr.s*

“When it comes to putting *ỉby* [‘honey’] into writing (lit., If it is in order to make ‘honey’ in writing that they come), a figure of Nut with a reed in her hand is what they should make.”

E192D:Magical 12/8–9

*ỉr.f ỉr n đb ʿ 7 ỉr.k tʾy.t.f [r pʾy.k] ʿ.wy*

“If it amounts to *seven* fingers (measures), you should take it [to your] house.”

The examples of second tense forms used in conditional clauses in marriage contracts quoted by Spiegelberg<sup>196</sup> are also true second tense clauses, emphasizing the reflexive dative *n.t* (*h ʿ.t*) “yourself.”

E193:P. Lonsdorfer I/3

*ỉn-nʾ mtw.t ỉr.t šm n.t*

“If it is you who goes away”<sup>197</sup>

<sup>194</sup> Perhaps the genitive (*n*) *pʾy.f mr.t* is being stressed; i.e., “It is only of his beloved that he accepts the hand.” The example of *ỉr.f nfr* in Mythus 14/11–12 is discussed below, E224. The passage in Mythus 15/34–16/1 is very broken, but a reading *ỉr<-hr> pʾ sm st* based on the suggestions by Spiegelberg in the glossary (*Mythus*, Glossary numbers 65 and 671) is more likely than *ỉr pʾ <pʾ> sm st*, as given in the transliteration. If the reading *ỉr<-hr> pʾ sm st* is correct, the phrase would mean “before the ... of Seth.” It is not a second tense. The two examples written *ỉw.y* and *ỉw.w* in Mythus, which were tentatively identified as circumstantial present tense forms (see above, Chap. 2, n. 5), both have following adverbials. While these may be second tenses, the spelling with *ỉw*, rather than *ỉr*, would be very unusual.

E191a:Mythus 8/21

*ỉw.y n yb m-sʾ.k r ỉn̄.k*

“In order to bring you back I am a claw after you.”

E191b:Mythus 15/12–13

*ỉw.w đđ tw.y đlh n hty.t r-hr.t*

“‘I am smaller in form than you,’ they say.”

<sup>195</sup> For a discussion of the second tense as conditional, see Chap. 4, the end of the discussion of the meaning and use of the conditional. For a Late Egyptian example of the second tense used in the protasis of a conditional clause to stress an adverbial within the clause, see LRL 64/12–14, quoted by Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 90, example 5.

<sup>196</sup> *Grammatik*, par. 180c.

<sup>197</sup> Other examples of this same construction can be found in Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960) Table 4. George R. Hughes, *JNES*, Vol. 32 (1973) p. 246, noted another example of a second tense used in the protasis of a conditional clause in a legal text.

E194:P. Colon. Dem. I/14

*ỉr rmt nb (n) pʾ tʾ šht.tn n-ỉm.w (n) rn.n*

“If in our name any man in the world hinders you therein”

For further discussion of the relationship between the second tense and the conditional, see Chap. 4, the end of the discussion of the meaning and usage of the conditional, and n. 58 therewith, where Williams’ incorrect assertion (“Verbal Forms,” p. 225; “Morphology,” par. 107) that the second tense was the form used in conditional clauses is refuted.

The other use of the second tense was to form what is called a *Wechselsatz*.<sup>198</sup> In this type of sentence two second tense forms balance one another.

E195:‘Onchsheshonqy 18/7–8

*ỉr rmt hm dd iw.y hdb.t.k iw.f hdb.t.k n mʿ.t ỉr rmt ʿ3 dd  
iw.y hdb.t.k my dʿdʿ.k hr tʿy.f pnʿ3.t*

“If a poor man says, ‘I will kill you,’ in truth he will kill you. If a rich man says, ‘I will kill you,’ put your head on his door sill.”<sup>199</sup>

When the second tense appears in a gnomic sentence, it is being used to emphasize an adverbial adjunct and not because it has any inherent gnomic meaning, as Spiegelberg has suggested.<sup>200</sup>

E196B:‘Onchsheshonqy 9/9

*pʿ nty ʿšʿ sš md.t ỉr.f mwt n-ỉm.s*

“He who greatly despises a thing, from it he dies.”

E196C:Mythus 5/32–33

*ʿn-nʿw msh ʿw n ms n ʿ.wy nb ỉr.f mwt n tʿ hny.t nty iw  
tʿy.f nỉwt tʿy*

“When a crocodile grows old in any place, it is in the canal which is his city (i.e., home) that he dies.”

Spiegelberg quoted his examples incompletely. When viewed in fuller context they are seen to be good examples of the standard use of the second tense to stress an adverbial adjunct.

E197:Rylands IX, 11/21

*[pʿ] nty s ʿnh htr ỉr.f mwt n-drt.f*

“[The] one who nurtures a wolf(?), it is by its hand (i.e., through it) that he dies.”

Although the second past was often used in the midst of a narrative passage to stress an adverbial adjunct, it was not a narrative tense. Note the difference between the narrative forms and the second past in the following passages.

E198A:Setne 5/12–14

*šn stny dd pʿy ʿ.wy pʿ ʿ.wy n nm pʿy dd.w n.f pʿ ʿ.wy  
tabwbw pʿy šm stny [r] pʿ hn pʿ sbt r-ỉr.f di hr.f r pʿ pr-ħd  
n pʿ kʿm ỉr.w ʿn-smy n-ỉm.s ỉr-ħr tabwbw iw.s iw r-ħry  
mh.s drt stny dd.s n.f...*

“Setne asked, saying, ‘Whose house is this?’ They said to him, ‘It is the house of Tabubu.’ Setne went [to] the inside of the wall. To the chamber in the garden he gave his attention. They reported it to Tabubu and she came down and took Setne’s hand. She said to him, “....”

<sup>198</sup> See H. J. Polotsky, “Ägyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation,” *Or*, Vol. 33 (1964) pp. 279–82.

<sup>199</sup> For a different interpretation of these two sentences, see above, n. 186. As this example shows, such clauses may occasionally be translated as “if” clauses, but they are not true conditional clauses, on which see below, Chap. 4.

<sup>200</sup> *Grammatik*, par. 182.

E198B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/19–21

*dd pr-<sup>3</sup> my in.w ‘nh-ššnqy s<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup>y-nfr ir.w ddy r<‘nh-ššnqy s<sup>3</sup>> t<sup>3</sup>y-nfr ir.w ddy ir.w iy iw in.w st m-b<sup>3</sup>h pr-<sup>3</sup> n t<sup>3</sup>y hty dd n.f pr-<sup>3</sup> ...*

“Pharaoh said, ‘Let ‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of Tjay-nefer, be brought!’ They ran for <‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of> Tjay-nefer. They ran and, having brought<sup>201</sup> him before Pharaoh immediately, they returned, and Pharaoh said to him, ‘. . .’”

E198C: Mythus 4/29–33

*hn.s r p<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup> n rn.f gm.s p<sup>3</sup> nty hpr ... wnf hr.s ršy n<sup>3</sup>y.s nw.w ir.s ir n.f w<sup>3</sup>h r.iw.s wn[f] r[.iw.s] s<sup>3</sup>by r.iw.s dd mtw.k lš n wsr dy n p<sup>3</sup>y.y m<sup>3</sup>y.t ... n t<sup>3</sup>y.y my.t ir.k km bin r-hr.y r.iw.y nd[m] r.r.k rh.s p<sup>3</sup> šm n wns kwf dd gm<.s> p<sup>3</sup> nty hpr hr p<sup>3</sup> k<sup>3</sup>*

“She approached the above-mentioned food. She found what is(?) .... Her face rejoiced. Her glances were joyful. While rejoicing and laughing she turned her attention to him saying, ‘You are a fool and strong man here in my road ... in my way. While I am plea[sant] to you, you achieve evil with respect to me.’ The small ape knew that <she> had found what exists concerning the food.”

What Spiegelberg called examples of *ir.f sdm* as a narrative tense<sup>202</sup> are all examples not of *ir.f sdm* but of *r-ir.f sdm*, from Setne, and are second past forms. They contrast with the second present form *ir.f sdm* and with the narrative past tense form *sdm.f*<sup>203</sup>

E199: Setne 3/11

*sby.f dd n.f n<sup>3</sup>nfrk<sup>3</sup>pth. ir.k sby n-im.y r-tb<sup>3</sup> ih dd.f bn tw.y sby n-im.k in r-ir.y sby <r-tb<sup>3</sup>> hpr iw.k ‘š n hyn.w sh.w*

“He laughed. Naneferkaptah said to him, ‘Why are you laughing at me?’ He said, ‘I am not laughing at you. <Because> you are reading some writings I laughed.’”

In addition to *ir.f sdm*, both Mythus and Magical used other constructions to indicate a second past. In one passage in Mythus a circumstantial negative aorist is the adverbial adjunct being stressed by a series of second past forms in which the second tense auxiliary is written *nty iw*.<sup>204</sup>

<sup>201</sup> See above, n. 184.

<sup>202</sup> *Grammatik*, par. 181. From this analysis came his suggestion that Coptic *afsōtm* was descended from *ir.f sdm*; see Chap. 3 on the Coptic past tense.

<sup>203</sup> On the past tense, see below, Chap. 3.

<sup>204</sup> By analogy with the *nty* form of the relatives. See Polotsky, *Etudes*, p. 70; *OLZ*, Vol. 52 (1957) pp. 232–33, on Till, *Grammatik*, par. 334; and the discussion of the past tense relative in Chap. 3.

E200:Mythus 5/5–7

*nty iw n3 rmt.w iw.w nw r.r.f nty iw n3y.w iw.f.w wnf nty iw n3y.w 'y.w rwṯ nty iw n3 iwty.w ir mnḥ nty iw n3 mnḥ.w ir m3y r bw-ir.s ḥpr n k3 g3 ḥr p3 t3 bnr.f 'n*

“The men, when they saw it, their flesh rejoiced, their bodies were fresh, the old grew young and the young became new, even though this cannot happen with(?) any other food in the land except it.”

In two cases a form identical with the independent pronoun or conjunctive, which elsewhere in Mythus was used for the present relative forms with *nty*,<sup>205</sup> may have been used to write this analogical form of the second past.

E201a:Mythus 9/19–20

*mtw.k 'q r tne mtw.k šm r tne ḥ3ṯ.y*

“Where did you enter? Where did you go before me?”

E201b:Mythus 9/6–7

*mtw.k ḥpr m-qd spd r-ir qm n3 'ir qm.n*

“Like Sothis who created those who created us you have become.”

But a similar example has no adverbial adjunct and thus cannot be a second tense.<sup>206</sup> It must be a cleft sentence consisting of independent pronoun and active participle.

E202:Mythus 8/20

*mtw.k ir nb wrš*

“You are the one who acts as(?) master of time.”

In one passage the scribe of Magical used *iw sdm.f* as a second past rather than the circumstantial past suggested by the *iw*.<sup>207</sup>

E203:Magical 19/10–15

*[r] n md.t r šte n t3 mtw.t ḥr ḥ3ṯ.f n rmt iw w3ḥ.w di-swr.f phr.t nge dw.t 3we.ṯ.f 3we.ṯ.f y3blw p3 dd n nb n wsir iw swre 3s.t wsir p3 š'y '3 n ḥe.ṯ.k iw swre.w p3 3 ntr.w iw swr.y m-s3.w ḥ3ṯ dde n.k di ir.y th n.k di ir.y byk n.k di ir.y hy r-bnr n.k di ir.y hbrbre n.k di ir.y the n ḥ3ṯ n.k di ire r.y dd w' my wd3.y r kr'3 mw-bin mtw.t nb.t*

“[A spell] to say in order to remove the venom from the heart of a man who has (already) been made to drink a potion or poison(?). ‘Hail, hail, Yablo, oh golden beaker of Osiris. From you have drunk Isis, Osiris, the great Fate. The three gods drank and after them I myself drank in order that you will not let me get drunk, you will not make me experience shipwreck, you will not make me perish, you will not make me fall down, you will not make me be troubled in my heart, you will not make my mouth curse. May I be healed from every poison, pus, venom(?)!’”

The first *iw sdm.f*, *iw swre 3s.t*, stresses a prepositional phrase; the second and third, *iw swr.w* and *iw swre.y*, stress the same *dd* followed by a series of negative future forms.<sup>208</sup> A possible

<sup>205</sup> See Table 3.

<sup>206</sup> For other examples of the construction independent pronoun plus present or past participle, see Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, glossary number 367c and d.

<sup>207</sup> See Table 29.

<sup>208</sup> On which, see Chap. 3.

parallel for this construction is found in Petubastis, where the stressed adverbial is the interrogative adverb *tn*.

E204:Petubastis 3/8                    *nʒ s'nh.w ... iw gm.k s tn*  
 “The *s'nh's* ... where did you find them?”

These examples of *iw* prefixed to the *sdm.f* to form a second tense with past tense meaning are unusual. But if a Demotic scribe wished to stress an adverbial in a tense other than the positive past, present, or future—e.g., an aorist or a past negative—he prefixed *ir* to the main clause form of the tense desired. This *ir* served as a second tense converter and was used as were the circumstantial, relative, and imperfect converters. For this reason, examples of second tenses formed by prefixing *ir* to another auxiliary are discussed in the appropriate sections of Chapter 3. The standard second tense form *ir.f sdm* is also a converted form, of the present tense. This is readily apparent with nominal subjects. But, just as the presence of the circumstantial converter requires the use of the suffix pronouns to express a pronominal subject, so also the suffix pronouns are used as subjects after the second tense converter *ir*.<sup>209</sup> Note that the fact that *ir.f sdm* is a converted form of the present tense does not normally limit its use to the present tense.

### History

*Predecessors.* In Late Egyptian various constructions were used to stress an adverbial adjunct. The commonest was the tenseless form *ir.f sdm*. The form *i-sdm.f*, which, according to Groll, had future meaning, was used with bilateral and final-weak verbs.<sup>210</sup> However, with the verb *ir* “to do” the form *i-sdm.f* (i.e., *ir.f*) had past, present, and future meaning, while the periphrastic form *ir.f irt(t)* carried the same meaning as the Demotic second aorist.<sup>211</sup> The form *ir.f sdm* contained an infinitive, not a qualitative.<sup>212</sup> An exception occurs in BM 10052, in which *ir* plus noun serves as subject to a stressed prepositional phrase.<sup>213</sup>

E205:BM 10052, 5/22                    *ir nʒ tb.w r pʒy hd ʒ i-dd<.y> n.tn ʿn*  
 “It is to the main treasury of which <I> have already told you that the *tb*-vessels belong.”

An initial bare *sdm.f* of a verb of motion in both literary and monumental Late Egyptian also served to stress the following adverbial adjunct,<sup>214</sup> and in monumental Late Egyptian inscriptions initial bare *sdm.n.f* of verbs of motion is occasionally found used as a second tense.<sup>215</sup>

<sup>209</sup> Compare Table 2 with Table 11.

<sup>210</sup> See Groll, *Negative Verbal*, Excursus 2. Also see Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 86ff.; Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 302–4; Polotsky, *Etudes*, pars. 27 and 32; Richard A. Parker, “The Function of the Imperfective *sdm.f* in Middle Egyptian,” *RdE*, Vol. 10 (1955) p. 50, n. 3; Charles F. Nims, “Second Tenses in Wenamūn,” *JEA*, Vol. 54 (1968) pp. 161–64.

<sup>211</sup> See Groll, *Negative Verbal*, Excursus 2, pp. 208–9.

<sup>212</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 205–6, and the examples in Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 545ff. and 305ff.; Černý, “LEG,” p. 18; Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, pp. 260–62.

<sup>213</sup> Noted by Edward F. Wente.

<sup>214</sup> Except with the verb *iw* “to come.” See Edward F. Wente, “A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense,” *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) pp. 5–9.

<sup>215</sup> This is the Middle Egyptian past emphatic form, from which the Late Egyptian initial bare *sdm.f* was derived; see *ibid.*, pp. 9–13; Groll, *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) pp. 188–90; Polotsky, “Egyptian Tenses,” sec. IV. However, even with verbs of motion, initial bare *sdm.f* or *sdm.n.f* was less common than the periphrastic *ir.f sdm*.

Examples exist of *ir.f sdm* preceded by the circumstantial converter *iw*<sup>216</sup> and the relative pronoun *nty*.<sup>217</sup>

In Middle Egyptian there were separate emphatic forms for present tense (emphatic or nominal *sdm.f*) and past tense (initial bare *sdm.n.f*).<sup>218</sup> But neither of these is the immediate forerunner of the Demotic second tense form, and so no attempt will be made here to discuss them in full.<sup>219</sup>

*Successors.* It was for Coptic that Polotsky originally was able to establish the use of the second tenses to nominalize a clause, in order to allow it to serve as the subject of an emphasized adverbial adjunct within the present tense construction.<sup>220</sup> All dialects used a form derived from the Demotic *ir.f sdm* for the present tense, which is a durative tense.<sup>221</sup> The second tense clause might have as predicate an infinitive, a qualitative, or an adverbial, or it might have no overt predicate at all.<sup>222</sup> As with all duratives, a defined direct object had to follow the preposition *n* (*mmo =*). In Coptic, tense was always indicated within the second tense system. No dialect wrote the second past identically with the second present; not all dialects used the same form for the second past. Fayumic used a form written *aafsōtm*, which, like the second present, was derived from *ir.f sdm*.<sup>223</sup> This spelling would indicate that at some time a distinction in pronunciation developed which differentiated the second past from the second present. All other dialects, however, and occasionally Fayumic as well, used as the second past forms which were outwardly identical with the past tense relative forms.<sup>224</sup> This second past form was a secondary formation, presumably created by analogy with the relatives written *nty iw*.<sup>225</sup> The second past could be preceded by the circumstantial converter.<sup>226</sup> Any adverb or adverbial could serve as the stressed adverbial adjunct.

<sup>216</sup> See Korostovtsev, *RdE*, Vol. 13 (1961) pp. 54ff., sec. 4; Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 551; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 110; Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, p. 262.

<sup>217</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 550.

<sup>218</sup> See Polotsky, *Etudes*, pars. 28–29; *idem*, “Egyptian Tenses,” secs. IV and V; *idem*, “The ‘Emphatic’ *sdm.n.f* Form,” *RdE*, Vol. 11 (1957) pp. 109–17. See also Parker, *RdE*, Vol. 10 (1955) pp. 49–59, where he was able to show that a Demotic scribe, when translating a Middle Egyptian text into Demotic, interpreted Middle Egyptian emphatic *sdm.f*s as the equivalent of his second tense *ir.f sdm*, not his aorist, or second aorist. On the origin of the emphatic *sdm.f*, see Friedrich Junge, “Einige Probleme der *SDM.F*-Theorie im Licht der vergleichenden Syntax,” *Or*, Vol. 41 (1972) pp. 328–30.

<sup>219</sup> In Middle Egyptian, the nominal/emphatic and the prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f* forms could be used nominally after prepositions and in nominal sentences. This is not true of later stages of Egyptian, where the infinitive was used in these environments. See Groll, *Negative Verbal*, pp. 181–82; Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 85C and 90.

<sup>220</sup> *Etudes*, Part II; “CCS,” par. 11.

<sup>221</sup> See Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 30; and a summary of Polotsky’s arguments about second tenses in Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, pars. 346ff.

<sup>222</sup> See Polotsky, “CCS,” p. 407. The forms may be found in Till, *Grammatik*, par. 303; *Dialektgrammatik*, par. 248; Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 18; and Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 321.

<sup>223</sup> See Polotsky, *Etudes*, pp. 7 and 94ff.; for the form, see Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, par. 264, and Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 339.

<sup>224</sup> See Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, pars. 264, 347; Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 18.

<sup>225</sup> As is evident from both the historical development and formation of the second tense forms (see Polotsky, *Etudes*, p. 70), and the existence of such second past forms as those in Mythus with *nty iw* or *mtw*; see E200–201. Forms such as *ehafsōtm* found in the minor dialects, quoted by Rodolphe Kasser (“Compléments morphologiques

Negative

Forms

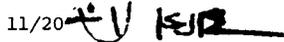
The negative of the second tense was formed the same way as the negative of the present tense, of which it was syntactically a subset,<sup>227</sup> i.e., by prefixing *bn* and inserting *in* after the adverbial. See Table 12.

E206B:‘Onchsheshonqy 11/20

*bn iir.w ms k3 (n) k3 in*

“It is not to a bull that a bull is born.”

Table 12. Negative Second Tense

	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus
1 s.		
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.		
3 f.		5/17-18 
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.	11/20 	
N		

E206C:Mythus 5/17-18

*bn iir.s hpr n n3 ntr.w n3 rmt.w w<sup>c</sup>.t.w 3n*

“It is not only to gods and men that it happens.”

Meaning and Usage

The construction *bn ... in* negated the nexus between the second tense clause serving as subject and the adverbial predicate, just as *bn ... in* always negated the nexus in present tense sentences. Further examples of the negative of the second tense are not common in Demotic.

E207:Petubastis 8/9

*bn iw iir.w iy r bw(?)-n3y r-tb3 t3 dn3.t hm-ntr n imn [i]n*

“It is not on account of the share of the prophet of Amun that they come here.”<sup>228</sup>

au dictionnaire de Crum,” *BIFAO*, Vol. 64 [1966] p. 64), consist of the second tense converter *e* prefixed to *hafsōtm*, the perfect tense form which is coalescing or has coalesced with the past tense *afsōtm*; see Chap. 3 on the Coptic perfect.

<sup>226</sup> See Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 11, obs.

<sup>227</sup> See above on the meaning and usage of the second tense, and the discussion with reference to Late Egyptian by Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 46.

<sup>228</sup> Quoted from Williams, “Verbal Forms,” p. 226. Williams’ assertion that the negative second present was used in negative conditional clauses is incorrect. See the discussion in Chap. 4 on the meaning and usage of the negative conditional.

Since *bn ... in* negated the nexus between subject and predicate, this same form of negation was also used when the subject was a second past.<sup>229</sup>

E208a:Rylands IX, 13/11–12

*bn iir(.y) ir.w n nzy.tn it.w in iir(.y) ir.w n imn*  
 “It was not for your fathers that I did them; it was for Amun I did them.”<sup>230</sup>

E208b:Rylands IX, 12/11–12

*n-drt sdm.(y) dd hwš nzy w‘b.w in bn iir(.y) iy n tzy hte in iw(.y) di di.w rs n p3 qd n p3y ‘.wy*  
 “When I heard that these priests did injury, did I not come immediately, causing a watch to be set around this house?”

E209:O. Strassburg 571

*bn iir.k hb n.y r md.t m3‘.t in*  
 “You haven’t written to me about any true thing.”

There are a few, quite rare, examples in Demotic of a second tense negated by the negative verb *tm*.

E210:‘Onchsheshonqy 25/20

*iir shm.t tm mr p3 nk n p3y.s hy ge hwṯ iir-ḥr ḥ3[t.s]*  
 “If about the property of her husband a woman does not care, another man is in [her] hear[rt].”

E211:Rylands IX, 1/14–15

*iir.(y) tm mh[y.t].k dd mtw.k rmt iw.f ‘[y n ms]*  
 “It is because you are an o[ld] man that I did not beat you.”<sup>231</sup>

In such cases the negative verb *tm* negated the infinitive contained in the second tense clause, rather than the nexus between the second tense clause and the following adverbial predicate; this remained positive. Thus, even though the subject was negative, the sentence as a whole was positive.<sup>232</sup> In Mythus there is one example of *iir.f tm sdm* with conditional meaning.

E212:Mythus 4/18–19

*pr dd r.iw.f ww n-im.y iir.f tm t3y n.t*  
 “Don’t say, ‘He is distant from me,’ if he does not touch(?) you.”

This is either another example of the occasional secondary use of the second tense as a conditional, such as E210 above, or it should be interpreted as simply a negative conditional, and not a second tense at all.<sup>233</sup>

## History

*Predecessors.* In Late Egyptian the nexus between a second tense subject and its adverbial predicate was negated with *bn ... iwn3*.<sup>234</sup> Both Erman and Černý, however, have quoted ex-

<sup>229</sup> Mythus has examples of the negative past tense converted to a second tense by prefixing the second tense converter *iir*. See Table 37 and E342.

<sup>230</sup> See Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 186, numbers 50–51.

<sup>231</sup> See *ibid.*, number 52.

<sup>232</sup> On the difference between these two types of negation, see Polotsky, *Etudes*, pp. 87ff.

<sup>233</sup> See the discussion with E192, above, and on the meaning and usage of the negative conditional in Chap. 4.

<sup>234</sup> Polotsky, *Etudes*, p. 87, Type A; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, secs. 41 and 45.

amples without *ḥwnʒ*.<sup>235</sup> To negate the verb within the second tense, but not the nexus between subject and predicate, the second tense of the negative verb *tm* was used.<sup>236</sup> By using both *tm* and *bn ... ḥwnʒ* it was also possible to negate both the verb within the second tense and the nexus.<sup>237</sup> In Middle Egyptian the verb within the second tense was negated by using the emphatic/nominal form of the negative verb *tm*,<sup>238</sup> while the nexus between the subject and predicate in a present tense sentence, including one with the second tense serving as subject, was negated by using *n ... ḥs*.<sup>239</sup>

*Successors.* In Coptic the nexus between any second tense subject and a stressed adverbial predicate was negated with (*n*) ... *an*.<sup>240</sup> It was no longer possible to negate the verb within the second tense clause by using the negative verb *tm*. Instead the relative negative, present or past, was used, with the relative converter *ete* functioning as the second tense morpheme.<sup>241</sup> In this case the negative second present would be written either *ete* plus negative present,<sup>242</sup> or, if the subject was indefinite, *etemn*;<sup>243</sup> the negative second past was written *etempfsōtm*.<sup>244</sup>

## ADJECTIVE VERBS

### Positive

#### Forms

As the predicate of a present or past tense main clause, the *sdm.f* form of an adjective verb was used,<sup>245</sup> usually written with preceding *nʒ*.<sup>246</sup>

E214A:Setne 3/7

*ḥr rmt mr pʒy.f ḥry n-ḥm.n ḥpr pʒy.y ssw n ḥr ḥsmn bn-pw.y*  
*ḥr ḥsmn ḥn ḥr.w ḥn-smy n-ḥm.s m-bʒḥ pr-ḥʒ nʒ-nfr ḥʒt.f*  
 “We made love to each other. The time for my period  
 came, but my period did not come. It was reported to  
 Pharaoh and his heart was very glad.”

<sup>235</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 765; Černý, “LEG,” p. 19.

<sup>236</sup> Polotsky, *Etudes*, p. 87, Type B.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, Type C. See also Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 45; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 91.

<sup>238</sup> Polotsky, *Etudes*, pp. 87ff.

<sup>239</sup> See Mordechai Gilula, review of *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* by H. Satzinger, in *JEA*, Vol. 56 (1970) pp. 207–12.

<sup>240</sup> See Polotsky, *Etudes*, p. 89; “CCS,” pars. 31–32; Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 418, 2 and 5; Till, *Grammatik*, par. 403.

<sup>241</sup> Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 31.

<sup>242</sup> See Polotsky, *Etudes*, p. 89.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88–89, and Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 361.

<sup>245</sup> The qualitative of an adjective verb was used within the present tense system with the meaning “to be in the state of having become X.”

E213:Setne 6/11

*rmt ḥw.f ḥʒy n ms*

“an old man,” lit., “a man who is old (of birth)”

For the identification of the form *ḥʒy* as the qualitative, see above, Chap. 1.

<sup>246</sup> For forms, see Chap. 1 on adjective verbs.

E214B:‘Onchsheshonqy 23/8

*n3-<sup>c</sup>n hms n p3y.k pr hm r hms n p3 pr <sup>c</sup>3 n ky*

“It is more pleasant to live in your (own) small house than to live in the large house of another.”

E214C:Mythus 15/28–29

*s3by.s dd t3 imy.t ikš.t n3-ndm h3t.s n n3 md.wt rhwn-n3w  
ir p3 šm n wns kwf dd n-im.w*“She laughed, namely the Ethiopian cat. Her heart was pleased with the words which the small ape was saying.”<sup>247</sup>

E214D:Magical 3/19–20

*iw hpr mtw p3y.f msdr 2 md n3-nfr.f m-šs sp sn iw.f hpr iw  
p3y.f msdr n wnm p3y n3-nfr.f iw.f hpr iw p3 i3b p3y n3-  
bin.f*

“If (&lt;it&gt; happens that) his two ears speak, it is very good. If (it happens that) it is his right ear, it is good. If (it happens that) it is his left, it is evil.”

This *sdm.f* could be preceded by any of the four converters:  
circumstantial,

E215A:Setne 4/38–39

*w<sup>c</sup>.t shm.t iw n3-<sup>c</sup>n.s m-šs*

“a woman who is very beautiful”

E215B:‘Onchsheshonqy 20/14

*ššt iw n3-<sup>c</sup>r.f n3-<sup>c</sup>š3 n3y.f šhb.w r n3y.f qbb.w*

“A window whose opening is large, its heat is greater than its cold.”

E215C:Mythus 12/27

*w<sup>c</sup>.t hnwhy <sup>c</sup>3.t r n3-<sup>c</sup>š3.s m m3<sup>c</sup>.t*

“a large fear which is truly great”

E215D:Magical 6/34

*w<sup>c</sup> ntr ... iw n3-šq.f r n3 md.wt nty iw.f r šm n-im.s*“a god ... who is serious concerning the things about which he will go”<sup>248</sup>

relative,<sup>249</sup>

E217A:Setne 3/5

*nty nb nty n3-<sup>c</sup>n.w*

“everything which is beautiful”

E217B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/14

*p3 nty n3-thr.f*

“that which was grievous”

E217C:Mythus 15/11

*p3 srrf nty iw bn p3 nty n3-<sup>c</sup>3.f r.r.f*

“the griffon, than whom there is none greater”

<sup>247</sup> On the use of *dd* to mean “namely,” see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 430h.

<sup>248</sup> The translation of (*n3-*)*šq* as “to be serious” is based on the interpretation of a passage in ‘Onchsheshonqy with the same verb.

E216:‘Onchsheshonqy 17/15

*m-ir šq r rmt ir-hr p3y.f iry n di-wpy.t*

“Don’t be serious to a man in the presence of his drinking companion (lit., his companion of making festival)!”

<sup>249</sup> The subject of the relative was always indicated; if the subject was identical with the antecedent, the subject was pronominalized. See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 532c, and Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire*, par. 142b.

- E217D:Magical 7/13–14 *pʒ ntr ... nty iw pʒ sbt nty nʒ-<sup>c</sup>n.f n-drt.f*  
 “the god ... in whose hand is the beautiful staff”<sup>250</sup>
- imperfect,  
 E221:Mythus 17/9 *rhwn-nʒw wn w<sup>c</sup> [m<sup>c</sup>y hr pʒ] tw rhwn-nʒw (nʒ-)nht.f n*  
*nmty.t*  
 “There was a [lion on the] mountain who was strong of strength.”<sup>251</sup>
- or second tense.<sup>252</sup>  
 E225:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/24 *ir nʒ-nfr phr.t <n>drt pʒy.s swnw*  
 “A remedy is effective only in the hands of its doctor (i.e., the doctor who prescribed it).”

<sup>250</sup> In Magical the relative converter was written *nty* if the adjective verb had a pronominal subject identical with the antecedent, as here. If the adjective verb had a nominal subject, the converter was written *nty iw*.

- E218:Magical 2/13 *pʒ ntr <sup>c</sup>nty iw nʒ-<sup>c</sup>rn.f*  
 “the great god whose name is great”

The only exception is one in which the spelling of the adjective verb (*n-nht* for *nʒ-nht*) is unusual in that it is abbreviated.

- E219:Magical 22/1–2 *mn pʒ nty iw n-nht.f r.w*  
 “No one stronger than they exists.”

Magical has no examples in which the pronoun subject is not identical with the antecedent that may be compared with the Coptic (in which, in this case, *e*, from *iw*, was used); see Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 461; Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 37a). Mythus has one broken example with *nty iw* where Spiegelberg restored the adjective verb *nʒ-n*.

- E220:Mythus 13/14 *pʒy smt nty iw n[ʒ-n].f*  
 “this form which is [beautiful]”

The spread of the use of the circumstantial form after the relative pronoun *nty* is discussed above, after the discussion of the Coptic present tense.

<sup>251</sup> A circumstantial imperfect used as a virtual relative clause (see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 176). Either the *nʒ* of the adjective verb or the *nʒ* of the imperfect form *rhwn-nʒw*, which were written identically, was omitted, presumably because the two identical signs were adjacent.

<sup>252</sup> Mythus 20/16–17 has examples of *ir* preceding *nʒ-ndm* which are probably second tenses, but the context is broken and unsure. Examples occur in P. Insinger (see Williams, “Verbal Forms,” p. 226).

- E222a:P. Insinger 30/1 *ir nʒ-<sup>c</sup>n <sup>c</sup>rd r-tbʒ hr.t gn*  
 “It is good to be assured on account of moderate food.”
- E222b:P. Insinger 8/4 *ir nʒ-<sup>c</sup>n shm.t iw.k grp pʒy.k hry n-im.s*  
 “If you reveal your rule in her, a woman is beautiful.”

‘Onchsheshonqy also has examples where the infinitive of the adjective verb is used in the normal second tense construction.

- E223:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/22–23 *ir hnq <sup>c</sup>w hr tʒy.f <sup>c</sup>ʒ.t ir irp <sup>c</sup>w iw bw-ir-tw.w glp.f*  
 “Beer matures only on its mash. Wine matures until it has been opened.”

There is a passage in Mythus which should perhaps be interpreted the same way.

- E224:Mythus 14/11–12 *w<sup>c</sup>.t sdm.t n pʒ-r<sup>c</sup> tʒ ir [dd].w n.y r.iw.s ww n (or r[?]) tʒ p.t r [pʒ] iytn*  
*ir.f nfr ir <sup>c</sup>n-smy n-im.s i[ir]-hr.y ir.y s n.f nfr*  
 “A hearing-bird of Pre is the one who [said] them to me while she was far from(?) heaven, from [the] ground. Reporting about her before me is good. Do it well for him.”



## CHAPTER 3

### NON-PRESENT TENSES

The other four basic tenses (aorist, future, past, and perfect) are all non-durative forms. Thus none of them may have a predicate consisting of an adverbial or a qualitative. But all three forms of the infinitive (absolute, construct, and pronominal) may be used. There are separate positive and negative forms for each; in addition to main clause forms, each basic construction may be preceded by any of the four converters to make circumstantial, relative, imperfect, and second tense forms. The optative, a main clause form which cannot be preceded by any of the converters, is discussed at the end of the chapter.

#### AORIST

##### Positive

##### Forms

The aorist consisted of the particle *hr* plus the *sdm.f*<sup>1</sup> of the verb. If the verb was a foreign word, or if it had more than three radicals, the periphrastic form, using the *sdm.f* of the verb *ir* “to do” followed by an infinitive, was often used. During the Roman period the use of the periphrastic conjugation spread until it could be found with any verb. Examples of the periphrastic conjugation are especially common in the latest of the four texts here studied, *Magical*.<sup>2</sup> See Table 13. The circumstantial was formed by prefixing *iw* (*r* in *Mythus*) to the main clause form; see Table 14. An example from ‘*Onchsheshonqy* with noun subject seems to be written particle plus subject plus infinitive, rather than particle plus *sdm.f*.

E228: ‘*Onchsheshonqy* 10/25

*hmy iw hr hpr šp p3 mwt*

“Would that life may always succeed death!”

The verb *šp* “to receive, succeed” is transitive and may take *p3 mwt* as its direct object; *hpr* “to occur” is intransitive. If *hpr* were the verb following *h*, *p3 mwt* would have to be a genitive after *šp*, and the sentence would mean something like “Would that the reception of death always occur!”<sup>3</sup> The 2 f. form in *Mythus* is certain even though the aorist particle

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<sup>1</sup> For the form of the *sdm.f*, see above, Chap. 1. Wilhelm Spiegelberg gives spellings of the aorist particle *hr* in *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925) par. 128.

<sup>2</sup> All the periphrastic forms using *ir* which Spiegelberg quoted (*ibid.*, par. 133) are from *Mythus* or *Magical*. See also Georges Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire démotique du Papyrus Magique de Londres et Leyde* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936) pars. 146 and 219.

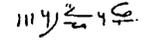
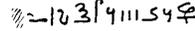
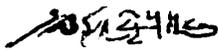
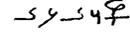
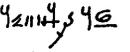
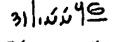
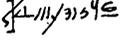
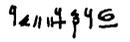
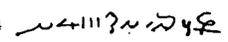
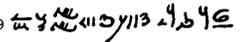
<sup>3</sup> There is also an example, in *Setne*, of what is either a circumstantial aorist written *iw hr* plus subject plus infinitive or a circumstantial *sdm.f* of the verb *hr* “to say” (see above, E94) followed by the particle *dd* marking the beginning of the quote. Since the latter analysis, which was suggested by George R. Hughes, involves fewer grammatical problems, it seems more likely.

E229: *Setne* 6/2

*gm.f s iw hr.w dd p3-r' p3y wn-n3w hn t3 hw.t dr.s*

“He found that they say, ‘It was Pre who was in the entire tomb.’”

Table 13. Aorist

	'Onchsheshongy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	L2/13 	14/3  13/30 	
2 m.			3/5  4/21 
2 f.			
3 m.	14/14 	3/29  15/4-5 	3/21  4/20 
3 f.	13/22 	5/14 	19/7  13/19 
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.	15/25 	15/6-7 	27/17  3/22 
N	8/13 	15/33-34 	3/18-19 

*hr* is partly destroyed. Note that in Magical the periphrastic verb *ir* is written *ire* before a noun subject.<sup>4</sup> In the non-periphrastic circumstantial form with noun subject in Magical, the scribe apparently realized that he had forgotten to write the verb and direct object and inserted them above the line. The relative form from Mythus quoted in Table 15 is uncertain.

E230:Mythus 7/19–21

*hpr tʒy nty swʿb nʒ r-pr.w šmʿy mhy mtw.w hr snt.w n mʒy bw-ir nʒ ntr.w htp hn nʒy.w qnhy.wt r bn-pw.w di wʿb.w*

“For she (is[?]) this one who purifies the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt which they reestablish. The gods are not content in their shrines when they have not been purified.”

Even though elsewhere in Mythus the scribe has written *mtw* for *nty*,<sup>5</sup> the attached suffix *w* is both unexpected and unnecessary. The examples quoted by Spiegelberg all consist of the relative converter *nty* (*iw*) prefixed to the aorist, not *nty* (*iw*) plus subject.<sup>6</sup> The spelling of the relative aorist forms found in Magical is the normal spelling. Note that the spelling of the second tense converter with the aorist in Magical is *r-ire*, rather than *iir*; see Table 16. When both the subject and the object of a non-periphrastic aorist were pronominal, the scribe of Magical occasionally used two suffix pronouns, rather than a suffix pronoun for the subject and a dependent pronoun as the object. Examples occur with the verbs *gm* “to find,” *ir* “to do,” *dd* “to say,” and *in* “to bring.”

<sup>4</sup> See above, Chap. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Table 3.

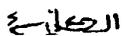
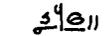
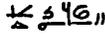
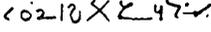
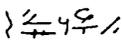
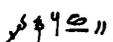
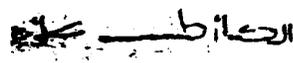
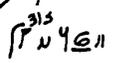
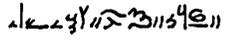
<sup>6</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 545. The converter is much more commonly written *nty* than *nty iw*; see the discussion following the Coptic form of the present tense and n. 116 therewith.

- E231:Magical 27/28 *hr gm.k.f iw wʒh.f ir snf*  
 “You find it having already become blood.”
- E232: Magical 13/17 *hr ir.k.f iw iʿh mh*  
 “You do it while the moon is full.”
- E233:Magical V15/5 *hr dd.k.f hr tʒ hʒt n dy*  
 “You say it before a ship.”
- E234:Magical V2/11 *magnēs pʒ mʿknes nty ʿnh hr in.w.f*  
 “Magnesium, living magnesium, it is brought.”

Spiegelberg<sup>7</sup> quoted no other examples using two suffix pronouns. The only other example known to the author occurs in the Leiden magical papyrus also written by the scribe of Magical.

- E235:Leiden I 384vs., IV/26  
*hr ir.k.f [...]*  
 “You do it [...]!”

Table 14. Aorist, Circumstantial

	'Onchsheshongy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.			
2 m.	9/6 		28/11  28/11 
2 f.		14/16 	
3 m.	21/12 		
3 f.			
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.	4/7 	8/29 	V3/6 
N	10/25 (?) 		4/1  V12/5 

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, par. 255.



E236b:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/12

*p3 nty šm iwṭ sn 2 iw.w tnṭ hr dī.w st iwṭ.w iw.w htp*

“He who goes between two brothers when they are quarreling, he is put between them when they are at peace.”

In Mythus and Magical also the aorist was used to express general ability, normal conditions, or a universal truth.<sup>8</sup>

E238Ca:Mythus 3/29–30

*hr hl.[f] r t3 p.t irm n3 ipt.w hr hrw hr hpr.f hn p3 mw  
irm n3 rym.w m mne*

“[He] flies to heaven with the birds daily. He exists in the water with the fish daily.”

E238Cb:Mythus 13/31–32

*ir.s hpr n-im.y r-tb3 [hpr] hr 3sq.y n p3 pr-hd*

“Because I normally hesitate in the treasury, it happens to me.”

E238D:Magical 5/25

*hr gm.k ysw n p3 m3c n p3 s-qlm*

“You find them in the shop of the garland dealer.”

This tense is especially common in Magical, where it was sometimes used to give instructions within the magical spells,

E239a:Magical 3/5

*p3y.f swḥ-iyḥ hr iny.k tb3 7.t n m3y ...*

“**Its spirit-gathering.** You bring seven new bricks ....”<sup>9</sup>

E239b:Magical 3/15

*hr ir.k.f šc p3 nw n p3 t3y wnw.t 7.t n p3 hrw*

“You do it until the time of the seventh hour of the day.”

sometimes to give the result of carrying out such instructions.

E240a:Magical 3/18–19

*ir.k dī-īw n3y hr md n3y.f msdr.w*

“When you announce these, his ears normally speak.”

E240b:Magical 11/21–26

*ih een n mnḥ tbt mtw.k dy.f r-hn [w<sup>c</sup>] sšn ... mtw.k mš<sup>c</sup>  
r m3c nb ... hr dī.f dī-hpr n.k ḥs.t 3.t iwṭ.w m-šs sp sn*

“A]pe of wax, fish, put it in a lotus ... and go to any place.... It normally creates very great praise for you among them.”

The aorist could also be used in both the instruction and the statement of the likely result.

E241:Magical 4/21–22

*hr ir.k w3ḥ w<sup>c</sup> pyngs n 3-wnw.t hr n3 tb3.wt ... mtw.k  
w3ḥ.f hr p3 pyn<sup>c</sup>ks hr ir.f dī-īw n3y.k syw.w n.k*

“You lay a tablet for reading hours on the bricks ... and you lay it on the tablet. It reveals to you your stars.”

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, pars. 129 (gnomic meaning) and 130b (in the sense of a command). Spiegelberg’s example of the use of the aorist as a narrative, par. 130c, is actually expressing general ability.

E237:Mythus 14/3–4

*twyst hr phr.y t3 p.t dd mtw.y sdm r n3y nty hn.s*

“Behold, I can enchant heaven in order to hear those things which are in it.”

See also Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire*, pars. 146 and 219.

<sup>9</sup> The bolding indicates that the original was written in red ink.

The circumstantial aorist, like all circumstantial forms, was commonly used after *hpr* “to become”

E242B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/7–8

*hpr.f iw hr in.w t3y.f hr3.t r[-bnr] pr pr-3 n-mnt*

“It happened that his food used to be brought out from the palace of Pharaoh daily.”

E242C:Mythus 14/15–17

*dd sdm.t n in-nw.t iw.f hpr r hr in-nw.t hn p3 y3m mtw.[t] nw r n3y nty hn p3 mw ih p3 ir hpr n p3 hf irm p3 n3r*

“The hearing bird said to the seeing bird, ‘If (it happens that) you can look into the sea and see those (things) which are in the water, what happened to the snake and the falcon?’”

and *gm* “to find,”<sup>10</sup> or as a virtual relative.<sup>11</sup>

E244B:‘Onchsheshonqy 9/6

*m-ir s3 phr iw hr ir.k s*

“Don’t disdain a remedy which you are accustomed to use!”

E244C: Mythus 8/29

*hpr r sy r hr ts.w s r h.t b3s.t p3y*

“For it is an amulet which is normally bound to the body of Bastet.”

E244D:Magical 4/1

*w3 s3-m3t iw hr ir s p3 ntr 3 iy-m-htp*

“a scout-spreader (sic!) which the great god Iymhotep normally does”

In contrast, the relative forms were used after defined antecedents

E245C: Mythus 7/19–21

*hpr t3y nty sw3b n3 r-pr.w sm3y mhy mtw.w hr snt.w n m3y bw-ir n3 ntr.w htp hn n3y.w qnhy.wt r bn-pw.w di w3b.w*

“For she (is[?]) this one who purifies the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt which they reestablish. The gods are not content in their shrines when they have not been purified.”<sup>12</sup>

E245D:Magical V15/1

*n3 rn.w n n3 ntr.w nty hr wh3.k s*

“the names of the gods for whom you search”

<sup>10</sup> And also after the particle *hmy* “would that”; see below, E461a.

<sup>11</sup> Further examples of the circumstantial aorist are quoted in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 131, who also quoted an example preceded by the imperfect converter (par. 132). The example quoted *ibid.*, par. 131a, as an independent use of the circumstantial aorist is actually a dependent clause.

E243:Magical 27/13–19

*p3 ky n ir p3 sn hn n p3 hbs ir.k iny w3 hbs iw.f w3b ... iw hr ir.k.f n w3 m33 n kke*

“**The manner** of doing the vessel inquiry with the lamp. You should bring a clean lamp ..., you normally doing it in a dark place.”

<sup>12</sup> For the odd formation of the aorist in this example, see E230 and the discussion therewith.

and could be nominalized and stand alone.<sup>13</sup>

E246:Magical 29/25      *nty hr ir.k dy.f r ir.t.f*  
 “what you put on his eye”

The aorist preceded by the second tense converter was, like other second tenses,<sup>14</sup> nominalized to serve as subject to a following emphasized adverbial predicate.

E247C:Mythus 14/8–9      *ir hr sdr.y n.y n rwhy r t3y.y 3sw.t šww*  
 “My throat being dry, I sleep in the evening.”

E247D:Magical 5/28–29      *r-ire hr ir.k dy.f r w<sup>c</sup> nk n yl mtw.k di p3 nk n yl r-hn w<sup>c</sup>*  
*nk n bld n w<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> iw.f hep n nw nb*  
 “In a place which is hidden at all times you put it in a glass thing and you put the glass thing in a pottery thing.”

With adjective verbs, the *sdm.f* without *n3* was used.<sup>15</sup>

E249:‘Onchsheshonqy 8/13      *hns p3 ssw wnf p3 ssw hr 33 nk rn hr.f*  
 “Be times bad or good, property increases through dispersing it.”

## History

*Predecessors.* Erman<sup>16</sup> suggested that the Late Egyptian construction *hr ir.f sdm* was the origin of the Demotic aorist. But this form consists of the conjunction *hr* prefixed to the second tense form *ir.f sdm*.<sup>17</sup> This same conjunction could be prefixed to many other constructions, including the *sdm.f*.<sup>18</sup> But neither *hr* plus *ir.f sdm* nor *hr* plus *sdm.f* had habitual meaning, and neither is related to the Demotic aorist. The graphically identical form *hr sdm.f*, however, which must be taken as a unit, distinct from the conjunction *hr* plus *sdm.f*, did describe repetitious or habitual action, i.e., what was customary, and this form was the Late Egyptian ancestor of the Demotic aorist.

E250:Bologna 1094, 1/2      *ih di.k hsb.wt r 3bw hr di p3-r<sup>c</sup>-hr-3hty snb.k*  
 “Render account satisfactorily and Pre-Harakhty will cause you to be healthy.”

<sup>13</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of relative aorist forms *ibid.*, par. 545.

<sup>14</sup> See Chap. 2 on the meaning and usage of the second tense.

<sup>15</sup> See Chap. 1 on adjective verbs. The one exception, noted in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, n. to par. 130c, is from P. Insinger.

E248:P. Insinger 24/3      *hr n3-nht p3y.f gy n lg.f*  
 “His curing becomes (more) difficult.”

See also Williams, “Morphology,” par. 74.

<sup>16</sup> *Grammatik*, par. 306.

<sup>17</sup> The example from Wenamun quoted *ibid.*, par. 309, is retranslated by Charles F. Nims, “Second Tenses in Wenamūn,” *JEA*, Vol. 54 (1968) p. 163.

<sup>18</sup> Examples of *hr* may be found in Adolf Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2d ed.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968) pars. 667ff., with the *sdm.f* also in Černý, “LEG,” p. 2.

E251:Turin A vs., 2/1      *ndm sš iw.f [rh] iʒt.f hr ʒb sw ntr.f*  
 “Pleasant is a scribe who [knows] his office—his god  
 loves him.”<sup>19</sup>

The Middle Egyptian ancestors of the Demotic aorist were *sdm.hr.f*, *hr sdm.f*, and *hr.f sdm.f*,<sup>20</sup> which Gardiner often translated as futures. But, as with the Demotic aorist, it is the normality or repetitiveness of the action which is being expressed by the use of these forms, which are common in instructions or in indicating results. Examples of *hr(.f) sdm.f* occur with gnomic meaning,

E252:Urk. IV, 1090/7–8      “The official who acts like this,”  
*hr rwd.f ʒ m tʒ s.t*  
 “he flourishes here in this place.”

in medical instructions,

E253:Ebers 59/9      *hr.tw nd.tw.s*  
 “It is ground.”

and in indicating the result in a mathematical problem.

E254:Rhind 22      *hr km 2/3 r-5 r-10 r-30 r 1*  
 “Two-thirds plus one-fifth plus one-tenth plus one-  
 thirtieth (always) amount to one.”

The uses of *sdm.hr.f* are similar; e.g., in the instructions for a mathematical problem,

E255:P. Kahun 8/27      *ir.hr.k 5 sp 4*  
 “You multiply five times four.”

in indicating the result in a mathematical problem,

E256:Rhind 62      *hpr.hr m 4*  
 “(It) (always) becomes four.”

and in medical texts.

E257:Ebers 101/7      “that means that his heart is hot”  
*wrd.hr ib.f hr.s*  
 “and his heart is weary through it”

The notion of repetition is very apparent in an example from Rekhmire.

E258:Rekhmire 12/29      *wn.hr.i m wfʒ n md.t nb.t*  
 “I was the topic of all talk.”<sup>21</sup>

This last is perhaps a good example of what Goedicke<sup>22</sup> has called the use of *sdm.hr.f* to indicate repeated past action. Another such example comes from the autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ebana.

<sup>19</sup> These examples, and others such as O. DeIM 227/1–3 and O. DeIM 418vs., were pointed out to me by Edward F. Wente. Further examples are found in Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 670. Sarah Israelit-Groll, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1970) sec. 18, has also recently noted that Late Egyptian *hr sdm.f* is the equivalent of the Demotic aorist and distinct from *hr* plus *sdm.f*; see her examples numbers 161–62, and see Paul John Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974) par. 24, (1).

<sup>20</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (3d ed.; London: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964) pars. 239 and 431. But see also Friedrich Junge, “Zur Funktion des *sdm.hr.f*,” *JEA*, Vol. 58 (1972) pp. 133–39.

<sup>21</sup> All these examples have been quoted from the appropriate sections of Gardiner, *Grammar*.

<sup>22</sup> Hans Goedicke, “The Inscription of *Hr-wr-rʿ*,” *MDAIK*, Vol. 18 (1962) p. 21q.

E259:Urk. IV, 3/5–6

*wn.hr.ỉ hr šms ỉty ˁ w s hr rd.wy.ỉ m-ht swtwf.hr wrt.f*  
 “Then (on numerous occasions, over a period of time)  
 I accompanied the king lph on my feet accompanying  
 his journeys on his chariot.”

In every case the forms with *hr* are expressing what was normal, expected, or repeated, i.e., what was customary. It was for this reason that they were used in instructions and in result clauses, and not because of any inherent future or result meaning.<sup>23</sup>

*Successors.* The aorist appears in Coptic both in main clauses and preceded by all four converters,<sup>24</sup> always denoting customary, regular action. In Akhmimic the aorist was written *hare*, retaining the *r* from the periphrastic verb *ir*. The other dialects had lost the *r* before pronominal subjects.<sup>25</sup>

Table 17. Negative Aorist

	Setne	<sup>1</sup> Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.			14/7 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	8/5 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠
2 m.		6/11 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠 12/5 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	17/27 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	
2 f.			13/14 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠 4/7 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	
3 m.		5/7 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	8/1 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	17/26 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠
3 f.		25/17 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	2/10 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.		7/12 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	5/27 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	
N	4/12 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	19/9 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠 12/3 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	6/21 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠	14/18 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠 22/3 𐩐𐩢𐩣𐩠

<sup>23</sup> That the Middle Egyptian geminated *sdm.f* was not the Middle Egyptian equivalent of the Demotic aorist is amply demonstrated by P. Carlsberg, in which a Demotic scribe has translated a Middle Egyptian text with geminated *sdm.f* forms into Demotic (see Richard A. Parker, “The Function of the Imperfective *sdm.f* in Middle Egyptian” *RdE*, Vol. 10 [1955] pp. 49–59). If these geminated forms had indicated habitual or repeated action, the scribe could have translated them using the Demotic aorist; if they were emphatics as per H. J. Polotsky (*Etudes de syntaxe copte* [Cairo: La Société d’Archéologie Copte, 1944] Part II), he could have used second tense forms, even second tense aorist forms. The scribe of P. Carlsberg translated them all using the second tense, never the aorist or the second aorist, thus indicating that the Middle Egyptian geminated *sdm.f* was not a tense used to indicate repetition. Repetition was indicated by the forms with *hr* discussed above or by *iw(f) sdm.f* forms (Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 462–63). See also H. J. Polotsky, “Ägyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation,” *Or*, Vol. 33 (1964) pp. 275ff.

<sup>24</sup> For the forms, see Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 18.

<sup>25</sup> See *ibid.*, pars. 52–58. In all dialects the subject was suffixed to the aorist auxiliary, with or without *r*, and preceded the infinitival predicate. Thus the periphrastic verb *ir*, and its *r*, must originally have been present in all dialects. See also above, Chap. 1, n. 6.

## Negative

## Forms

The negative aorist consisted of the negative particle *bw* and the periphrastic conjugation *ir.f sdm*. The only exception is the verb *ir-rh* “to know,” for which the non-periphrastic construction *bw sdm.f* was used.<sup>26</sup> See Table 17. Note that in one example in Magical the *sdm.f* of *ir* before a noun subject was written *ire*.<sup>27</sup> The circumstantial and relative were formed by prefixing *iw* (*r* in Mythus) and *nty iw* respectively to the main clause form; see Tables 18 and 19.<sup>28</sup> The 1 s. example of a relative form from Mythus is broken, but may easily be restored to read *nty iw bw-ir*.<sup>[y]</sup>. Note the various spellings of the 3 f. relative form in Magical. The example written *nty iw my.s* was an attempt at phonetic spelling;<sup>29</sup> the *e* between the *ir* and the suffix pronoun subject in 5/12 is unnecessary. Mythus has one example (16/17) of the imperfect where the converter (written *rhwn-nʿw*) was prefixed to the main clause form of the negative aorist, with noun subject.

Table 18. Negative Aorist, Circumstantial

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/3 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ		14/1 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ	
2 m.		6/20 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ		
2 f.				
3 m.		10/24 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ 11/15 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ	5/35 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ 12/33 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ	
3 f.		14/16 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ	5/7 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ 3/10-11 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ	21/39 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ
1 pl.				
2 pl.		7/18 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ		
3 pl.	4/21 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ	21/10 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ		
N		22/24 ⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓⲛ		

<sup>26</sup> See above, Chap. 1 on the *sdm.f* and n. 13. One example of *bw ir.f rh* is attested in Mythus (17/27), with the meaning ‘to know how, be able.’ In one passage in Magical using *ir-rh* the scribe wrote out the full relative form in the first clause, then omitted the relative converter *nty iw* in the second and used the Late Egyptian form *bw rh.f* in the third.

E260:Magical 9/4

PN *nty iw bw ir-rh.w rn.f bw ir-rh.w ky.f bw rh.w smte.f*

“PN whose name is not known, whose form is not known, whose manner is not known”

<sup>27</sup> See Chap. 1 on the *sdm.f*.

<sup>28</sup> In Louvre 2414 the relative converter with the negative aorist was written *nty*, not *nty iw*.

E261:Louvre 2414, 2/11

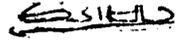
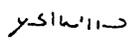
*m-ir shwy pʿ nty bw ir-rh.k sw*

“Don’t curse what you don’t know!”

That this scribe also occasionally omitted the circumstantial converter *iw* (see above, E4), suggests that he may have considered the *iw* in the relative converter to be the circumstantial *iw*; see Chap. 2 on the forms of the present tense prefixes.

<sup>29</sup> The Coptic is *etemes*, with *m*, not *b*; see below, n. 39.

Table 19. Negative Aorist, Relative

	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.		20/21 	
2 m.	18/18 		
2 f.			
3 m.	8/8 	8/17 	17/30 
3 f.		15/26 	17/27  5/12  17/2 
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.			19/7  9/4 
N		9/8 	

## Meaning and Usage

The negative aorist served as the negative equivalent of the aorist, expressing the negation of customary action or ability.<sup>30</sup>

E263B: 'Onchsheshonqy 22/15

*bw-ir msh tʒy rmt n dmy*

“A crocodile does not catch a local man.”

E263C: Mythus 8/2–3

*bw-ir hbs ir yʿl n pʒ hʒy dd bw-ir pʒy.y hrw n rmt hm ir  
pʒ mʒʿ iir-hr pʒy.t hr n rmt ʿʒ*

“A lamp cannot shine in the sun light, i.e., my voice of a poor man cannot substitute for your voice of a rich man.”

E263D: Magical 17/26

*iw.f hpr mtw.k tm tʒy-wʿb r.r.f bw-ir.f hpr*

“If (it happens that) you don’t purify it, it does not happen.”

Occasionally the negative aorist was used parallel with the present tense, still to express that something normally did not, or could not, happen.<sup>31</sup>

E264B: 'Onchsheshonqy 14/15

*rmt iw.f nw (r) hʒ.t.f bw-ir.f drp r hy*

“A man who looks before him does not stumble and fall.”

<sup>30</sup> Occasionally the negative aorist is found parallel to the positive.

E262: 'Onchsheshonqy 20/15

*hr šp.w tp-n-iʒw nb n ʿwy bw-ir.w šp ʒd*

“All small cattle are welcome in a house; a thief is not welcome.”

<sup>31</sup> Spiegelberg gives examples of this “gnomic” use of the negative aorist in *Grammatik*, pars. 204ff.

- E264C:Mythus 8/1–2 *p3 nty hq3 r.iw.f wh3 p3y.f dmy p3 nty sy bw-ir.f bty.f*  
 “The one who is hungry seeks his town; the one who is satisfied does not hate it.”
- Especially when following the vetitive, the negative aorist may often be translated “lest.”<sup>32</sup>
- E265A:Setne 4/12 *m-ir di ir.n hrr bw-ir pr-3 sdm n3 md.wt ir hpr n-im.n*  
 “Don’t let’s delay lest Pharaoh hear the things which happened to us!”
- E265B:‘Onchsheshonqy 7/4  
*m-ir mtr lh bw-ir.f mst.t.k*  
 “Don’t instruct a fool lest he hate you!”

The example in Magical which Ort-Geuthner so analyzed<sup>33</sup> is better understood as a circumstantial aorist with the omission of the circumstantial converter.

- E266:Magical 14/17–18 *dd md.t hr iny.k w3 dd n hmt mtw.k pth w3 twt n inp  
 hn.f mtw.k mh.f n mw n sdr n mn3 <iw> bw-ir p3-r3  
 gm3.f mtw.k dq hr.f n nhe n m3.t*  
 “**Formula.** You bring a copper cup and engrave a figure of Anubis in it and fill it with settled and guarded(?) water which Pre cannot find<sup>34</sup> and you fill its face with true oil.”

The converted forms of the negative aorist were used normally. Circumstantial forms are relatively common, in all their uses,<sup>35</sup>

- E268A:Setne 4/21 *hty t3 shr.t pr-3 iw bw ir-rh rmt nb n p3 t3 p3 m33 rwn-  
 n3w n3nfrk3pth n-im.f*  
 “The pleasure boat of Pharaoh sailed, no one at all knowing the place where Naneferkaptah was.”
- E268B:‘Onchsheshonqy 7/18  
*b3k iw bw-ir.w mhy.t.f*  
 “a servant who is not beaten”
- E268C:Mythus 13/33–14/1 *r-iw.y sspe n-im.y n p3 hrw iw bw-ir.y wnm m-s3 p3  
 [h3y]*  
 “while I refresh myself today, while I eat nothing except the [sunlight]”

<sup>32</sup> Spiegelberg, *ibid.*, par. 207, quoted examples; Williams identified several in P. Insinger where the negative aorist expressed negative purpose (“Morphology,” par. 99).

<sup>33</sup> *Grammaire*, par. 239, 2.

<sup>34</sup> Rather than “lest Pre find it.”

<sup>35</sup> The passage which Spiegelberg quoted (*Grammatik*, par. 206) as an example of a circumstantial negative aorist with narrative meaning is not a narrative. It is a synchronous form indicating a repeated action or, in this case, lack of action.

- E267:Rylands IX, 3/6–7 *ir.w sp 4 n hb m-s3.w iw bw-ir.w iy iir.w iy n p3y.w sp mh 5*  
 “They were sent for four times without coming. On the fifth time, they came.”

Note also the examples after the particle *hmy* “would that”; see below, E461b.

- E268D:Magical 21/39–40 *iw.s qd m-sꜣ mn r-ms mn r mꜣꜥ nb nty iw.f n-īm.w iw.s mr n-īm.f iw.s lby m-sꜣ.f iw bw ir-rḥ.s mꜣꜥ n pꜣ tꜣ iw.s n-īm.f*  
 “while she seeks after So and So son of So and So at any place where he is, she loving him, she being mad about him, she not knowing a place on earth in which she is”
- as are relative forms.
- E269B:‘Onchsheshonqy 8/8 *mn pꜣ nty iw bw-ir.f mwt*  
 “There is no man who does not die.”
- E269C:Mythus 6/17 *pꜣ iny nty iw bw-ir nꜣ tw.w qm pꜣ nty wꜥ r.r.f*  
 “the stone whose better the mountains cannot create”
- E269D:Magical 17/27–28 *tꜣ st nty iw bw-ir.s htm*  
 “the flame which cannot be quenched”
- There is only one example with the imperfect converter<sup>36</sup>
- E270:Mythus 16/17 *rhwn-nꜣw bw-ir wnš [hꜣꜥ] pꜣy.f [i]ry n-īm.w r.īw.w swr r.īw.w wnm*  
 “The jackal was not in the habit of [abandoning] his companion while they were eating or drinking.”
- and none with the second tense converter.

## History

*Predecessors.* The Late Egyptian ancestor of the Demotic negative aorist was *bw-ir.f sdm*, using the periphrastic verb *ir*.<sup>37</sup> The Middle Egyptian equivalent was *n sdm.n.f*.<sup>38</sup> These forms were used in general descriptions and characterizations, expressions of repeated action, denials of ability, and sometimes as apodoses of conditional clauses—the uses of the Demotic negative aorist.

*Successors.* The meaning and usage of the Coptic negative aorist were identical with those in the earlier stages of the Egyptian language.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See also the examples quoted by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 175, 9 and 10, and 205.

<sup>37</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 553 and 768; Černý, “LEG,” p. 20; Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 21 and 23. Non-periphrastic *bw sdm.f* was largely limited to the verb *rḥ* “to know.” For the form of the *sdm.f* used after *bw*, see Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 21. Because the positive aorist was rare in Late Egyptian, the affirmative patterns corresponding to the negative aorist were often supplied by the present tense. See *ibid.* and Groll, *Negative Verbal*, p. xx and chap. 2. Examples of the circumstantial negative aorist are cited in Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 105.

<sup>38</sup> See Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 418.

<sup>39</sup> For the forms, see Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 18.

## FUTURE

## Positive

## Forms

The auxiliary of the future tense was written as shown in Table 20. The spellings *r.îr* with noun subject and *îir* with 2 f. subject correspond to the Coptic spellings *ere*, with an *r* before the subject. The scribe of Magical normally wrote *r* before a noun subject.<sup>40</sup> As in the present tense, the 2 m. auxiliary was always written *îir*, both in main and converted forms, this being an idiosyncrasy of this scribe.<sup>41</sup> The predicate was always an infinitive. The scribes of Setne and Mythus consistently wrote the preposition *r*, the “*r* of futurity,” before the infinitive, except that the scribe of Setne omitted this preposition with a 1 s. subject.<sup>42</sup> The scribe of Mythus usually wrote the auxiliary with an *r* before *îw*, also. Thus, the 1 s. example with neither *r* would seem suspect, but the form is used as a direct quote in an abridged sentence, is parallel to the negative future, and is certainly a future.

E274: Mythus 8/4–5                    *pꜣ îir ḏḏ bn îw.y m-sꜣ ḏḏ n.t îw.y kmkm n.f syḥt(?)*  
 “The one who said, ‘I will not,’ after saying to you, ‘I will,’ inflict(?) leprosy(?) on him!”<sup>43</sup>

The 3 pl. example from Mythus without the preposition *r* before the infinitive is in a broken passage, the sense of which is quite uncertain.

E275: Mythus 2/3                    *pꜣ nty îr.f ḥwry r.îw.w ḥwry[.f]*  
 “The one who robs (acts as robber[?]) [he] will be robbed(?).”<sup>44</sup>

<sup>40</sup> The example in which hieratic *îw* precedes the noun subject is an example of the hieratic forms sprinkled throughout Magical.

E271:Magical 11/11                    *îw p-rꜣ r sḥt ḥꜣt.w*  
 “Pre will impede their hearts.”

Williams (“Verbal Forms,” Fig. 4) failed to identify this form or those of the 3 m. and 3 pl. Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 164, quotes examples with noun subjects in which the auxiliary was written *r/îw* or *îir*, the latter being “phonetic.” Note the Late Egyptian use of *îr*, as noted by Alan H. Gardiner, “The Origin of Certain Coptic Grammatical Elements,” *JEA*, Vol. 16 (1930) pp. 220–34. See also Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 556 and 559.

<sup>41</sup> And also of the scribe of the Demotic Gardening Agreement (Richard A. Parker, “A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement,” *JEA*, Vol. 26 [1940] pp. 84–113). Williams, “Verbal Forms,” Fig. 4, incompletely quoted the form of the 2 m. The specific example which he quoted is part of a relative form.

E272:Magical 6/37                    *în tm îry s pꜣ nty îir.k r îr.f bn îw.y r di n.k nhe*  
 “If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil.”

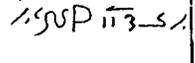
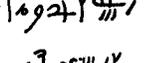
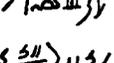
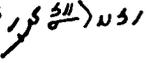
He interpreted the two strokes as the *îw* with the relative, rather than part of *îir*. The following is a better example of the form.

E273:Magical 2/7–8                    *r-îny pꜣ wyn n.y r-ḥn ḏḏ îir.k r di sꜣ r-îr.y dy n pꜣ hrw*  
 “Bring the light in to me in order that you may give me protection here today!”

<sup>42</sup> F. Ll. Griffith (*Stories of the High Priests of Memphis: The Sethon of Herodotus and the Demotic Tales of Khamuas* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900] p. 83, n. to 1. 1) suggested that this was the result of the preceding semivowel *y*.

<sup>43</sup> The reading *syḥt* “leprosy” was suggested by George R. Hughes, as was the translation “inflict” for *kmkm*.

Table 20. Future

	Setne	'Onchsheshongy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	3/1 	6/10 	13/18  8/5 	5/15  21/35 
2 m.	3/13 	8/10 	16/24 	2/7-8  2/14 
2 f.			2/2 	
3 m.	4/37 	5/3 		3/12  4/20 
3 f.		22/8 	15/8 	5/8 
1 pl.			21/22 	
2 pl.				
3 pl.	5/37 	15/14 	2/29  2/3(?) 	8/6  2/20 
N		5/2 	13/22 	9/21  11/11  16/15 

The scribe of Magical did not write the *r* between the subject and predicate as consistently as did the scribes of Setne and Mythus. When the *r* was not written, the forms of the auxiliary were in large part identical with those of the circumstantial present.<sup>45</sup> That forms without *r* between subject and predicate are future forms is indicated by the parallels between otherwise identical phrases with and without the *r*.<sup>46</sup>

- E276a:Magical 6/9 *iw.f hpr ïr.k r ïr.f*
  - E276b:Magical 27/33 *iw.f hpr ïr.k ïr.f*
- “If (it happens that) you will do it”

<sup>44</sup> The problems involved in analyzing the first part of this sentence are discussed above, with E99. Williams did not include this form, the 1 s. *iw.y*, or the 2 f. example from Mythus in his presentation of future forms from various Demotic texts (“Verbal Forms,” Fig. 4). The form with noun subject in Setne which Williams quoted is here interpreted as a circumstantial future because it follows the verb *hpr* “to happen”; see Table 21 and the discussion of the usage of the converted forms of the future, below. The 3 m. form from Mythus which Williams cited is part of a future relative and is included in Table 22. The 2 m. forms in both Setne and Mythus are to be transliterated (*r*)*iw.k r*, not (*r*)*ir.k r* (see above, Chap. 2, n. 2). See also Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 163.

<sup>45</sup> And the conditional; see Tables 2 and 47.

<sup>46</sup> Also compare 6/14–15 (E402) with 6/37 (E272).

E277a:Magical 28/8	<i>nty ïr.k r šnṭ.f r-ïr.w</i>
E277b:Magical 25/22	<i>nty ïr.k šnṭ.f r-ïr.w</i> “(those things) which you will ask him about (them)”
E278a:Magical 17/8	<i>nty ïw.y r šnṭ.f r-ïr.w</i>
E278b:Magical 17/29–30	<i>nty ïw.y šnṭ.f r-ïr.w</i> “(those things) which I will ask him about (them)”
E279a:Magical V26/4	<i>pʒ nty ïr.k r šnṭ.f r-r.f</i>
E279b:Magical 27/17	<i>pʒ nty ïw.w r šnṭ.w r.r.f</i>
E279c:Magical V18/5–6	<i>pʒ nty ïw.y šnṭ.k hr.r.f</i> “that which you (var., they or I) will ask him (var., them, you) about (it).”

In other cases the presence of a defined direct object not introduced by the preposition *n* indicates that a form without *r* cannot be a circumstantial present, which is a durative tense,<sup>47</sup> and the form must therefore be interpreted as a future.

E280a:Magical 21/35	<i>ïw.y hb.k</i> “I will send you.”
E280b:Magical 2/14	<i>ïr.k ‘š nʒy</i> “You should recite these (things).”

The paradigm produced by these methods is unique in that, although some of its forms are identical with circumstantial present forms or conditional forms, the paradigm as a whole is not identical with any other complete paradigm. The scribe of ‘Onchsheshonqy never wrote the preposition *r*. Thus, the future tense forms in that text may be identified either by context or by the presence of a defined direct object without the mediating preposition *n*.

The common omission of the *r* between subject and predicate probably reflects an earlier change of the preposition from consonant to vowel, as it appears in Coptic. Using a writing system in which it was not necessary to write vowels, the scribe could then omit the preposition without much danger of misunderstanding. It would still have been pronounced, however, as the Coptic spelling indicates. The alternation between writing and not writing the *r* is also found in P. Insinger.<sup>48</sup> Both Ort-Geuthner and Spiegelberg<sup>49</sup> recognized that some forms that looked like circumstantial present forms with future meaning might be future forms with graphic omission of the *r* before the predicate, but both concluded, mistakenly, that they were more likely circumstantial present forms. As already noted in the discussion of the circumstantial present, that form was always synchronous with the main verb, and so had future meaning only when it followed a future form. Of the two examples mentioned by Ort-Geuthner as examples of circumstantial present forms with future meaning, one is a relative present tense without any future nuance

E281:Magical 2/22	<i>mtw.k dd n.y wʒh n md.t mʒ˘.t hr md.t nb.t nty ïw.y šn</i> <i>hr.r.w</i> “and tell me an answer in truth concerning everything about which I am asking”
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while the other is an injunctive future.

<sup>47</sup> See Chap. 2 on the form of the predicate in the present tense.

<sup>48</sup> See Williams, “Morphology,” par. 113.

<sup>49</sup> *Grammaire*, n. to par. 208, and *Grammatik*, par. 159, respectively.

E282:Magical 20/12

*ir.k* ‘*m.f*

“You should swallow it.”

Note the use, in the latter example, of the pronominal infinitive rather than the absolute infinitive plus *n-im*.

Table 21. Future, Circumstantial

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/17 	11/2 		
2 m.	4/27  5/9  5/17 	7/17 	16/16 	6/9  27/33 
2 f.				
3 m.		13/20 (?) 		18/2  3/12 
3 f.				
1 pl.			2/13 	
2 pl.				
3 pl.				
N	3/4 			

The forms of the circumstantial future are given in Table 21. Those in Mythus and Magical, in ‘Onchsheshonqy with 1 s. subject, and in Setne with 1 s. or noun subject are identified as circumstantial by their usage.<sup>50</sup> The circumstantial converter *iw* was not written and the forms were thus graphically identical with the main clause future forms.<sup>51</sup> The regular 2 m. form in Setne, *iw iw.k r*, consisted of the circumstantial converter *iw* plus the main clause form.<sup>52</sup> In one of these examples, the preposition *r* has been omitted, but the form of the auxiliary is different from that of any other auxiliary using *iw*, and the infinitive has a defined direct object.

E283:Setne 5/9

*iw.k r iy r p3-B3s.t ... iw iw.k ir p3 nty mr.k [st] irm.y*

“You should come to Bubastis ... while you will do what you desire with me.”

<sup>50</sup> See below on the usage of the future and E461c. This is true also of the example in Setne written simply *iw.k r*. In Mythus, the example of the 1 pl. is broken, but may easily be restored as *r.iw.n r*.

<sup>51</sup> The circumstantial converter *iw* had probably coalesced with the beginning of the future auxiliary.

<sup>52</sup> The scribe of Rylands IX wrote the circumstantial converter before the future and wrote the *iw* converter differently from the *iw* auxiliary (e.g., 4/16), as noted by Rafael Ventura. This corresponds to the different syntactic functions of the two *iw*'s, as noted by Groll, (*Negative Verbal*, secs. 37–39; *JEA*, 55 [1969] 97) for Late Egyptian.

This must therefore be a circumstantial future. With a 2 m. subject the scribe of ‘Onchsheshonqy also formed the circumstantial by prefixing the circumstantial converter to the main clause form. The example in ‘Onchsheshonqy with a 3 m. subject is uncertain.

E284: ‘Onchsheshonqy 13/20

*sb>. t n shm.t myh š‘ iw.f š‘t ‘t.t f*

“A woman’s learning is a measure of sand lacking its member(?)”<sup>53</sup>

The future relative consisted of the relative converter *nty*<sup>54</sup> plus the circumstantial form; see Table 22. That some relative forms written without *r* must be future forms was recognized by Spiegelberg<sup>55</sup> because the subject of the relative clause appeared even if identical with the antecedent. Such a subject would have been deleted in a present tense relative.<sup>56</sup> In Magical the second tense converter, written *iry* in Demotic and glossed *ere*, was prefixed to the main clause form using the preposition *r*; see Table 23. In other texts the second tense of the future used the general second tense form, with or without the preposition *r*. See E165 and 173.<sup>57</sup> Examples with the preposition *r* occur in Rylands IX.

E286: Rylands IX, 6/5–6

*dd n.f pr-‘> dī.k mšt r p> t> rsy ir(.y) r dī ip.w s irm.k  
dd p>-dī->s.t p>y.y nb ‘> ir.f hn n p>-dī->s.t p> ‘> n mr  
dd n.f pr-‘> iw.f hn n.f ‘n irm.k m-s> hpr ir.w r dd t>y.f  
md.t irm.k*

“Pharaoh said to him, ‘You inspect the Southland. With you I will have it reckoned (i.e., *you* will be responsible for it).’ Petiese said, ‘My great lord, to Petiese the Master of Shipping is it commanded.’ Pharaoh said to him, ‘It is commanded to him still, along with you, except that it is with you that its affairs will be discussed.’”

The only example of the imperfect converter prefixed to the future in these texts forms the protasis of an unreal conditional clause.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>53</sup> This translation is due to George R. Hughes.

<sup>54</sup> Or *nty iw*, as with the present tense relative; see above, Chap. 2, n. 6. The scribe of Louvre 2414 wrote the future relative with 2 m. subject without the extra *iw*, just as he omitted *iw* in certain present tense forms; see above, Chap. 2, n. 3.

E285: Louvre 2414, 3/5

*p> nty iw.k ir.f*

“that which you will do (it)”

<sup>55</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 542.

<sup>56</sup> See Chap. 2 on the form of present tense relatives.

<sup>57</sup> Also Chap. 2, nn. 166, 172, and 179.

<sup>58</sup> See below, Chap. 4 on the irrealis, and Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 496. In par. 174, 7, he quoted examples of the imperfect converter prefixed to the future, sometimes omitting the *r*, and an example of the imperfect relative with the future.

Table 22. Future, Relative

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/18 <i>ⲡⲁⲛⲉ</i>	10/13 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	13/33 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	9/16 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i> v18/5 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>
2 m.		2/13 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	5/24 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	6/37 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i> 3/16 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>
2 f.				
3 m.	3/29 <i>ⲡⲁⲛⲉ</i>	6/4 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	18/18 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	6/34 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>
3 f.		7/24 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	2/14 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.		4/21 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	7/5 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	27/17 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i> 22/1 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>
N	3/13 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	4/20 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	14/30 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>	

Table 23. Future, Second Tense

	Magical
1 s.	7/1 <i>ⲕⲁⲓⲛⲉ</i>
2 m.	
2 f.	
3 m.	
3 f.	
1 pl.	
2 pl.	
3 pl.	
N	

Meaning and Usage

The future, in both main and subordinate clauses, was used to express not only simple futurity

E287A:Setne 5/8 *ⲓⲱ.ⲑⲣ ⲧⲃⲓ.ⲧⲧⲣ ⲱⲥ ⲙⲓⲥ*  
 “He will take you to a place.”

E287B:‘Onchsheshonqy 18/22  
*ⲙ-ⲓⲣ ⲉⲃ ⲓⲱ.ⲃⲓ ⲡⲓⲃⲓ ⲛⲕ ⲛ ⲡⲓⲃⲓ ⲣⲙⲧ ⲓⲱ ⲃⲛ ⲓⲱ ⲓⲱ.ⲕ ⲉⲓ ⲧⲛ ⲛ.ⲑ*  
 “Don’t say, ‘I will give this thing to this man,’ while you will not give it to him.”

E287C:Mythus 21/22 *ⲣ.ⲓⲱ.ⲛⲣ ⲙⲓⲃⲓ.ⲧ*  
 “We will see you.”

- E287D:Magical 15/30–31 *iw.f hpr mtw t3 mn myhe irm.y n p3 hrw iw.y r hwy.t.s  
r-bnr*  
“If (it happens that) So and So fights with me today, I will throw her out.”
- but also vows and injunctions.<sup>59</sup>
- E288A:Setne 5/23–24 *iw.f hpr iw.k wh3 n ir p3 nty mr.k st irm.y iw.k r di sh  
n3y.k hrt.w hr p3y.y sh*  
“If (it happens that) you wish to do what you desire (it) with me, you should make your children write (i.e., sign) under my document.”
- E288B:‘Onchsheshonqy 13/18 *iw.k wn.f r t3y.k mwt r r.t t3y shm.t*  
“You should open it (your heart) to your mother; she is a discreet(?) woman.”
- E288C: Mythus 2/2 *ir.t r ir n.t mtre.t r shn-nfr nb*  
“You should meet for yourself all well-being.”
- E288D:Magical 3/11–13 *ir.k sde r hry hn d3d3.f iw.f h r rd.tfr t3 h3.t dd n  
iw.f r ir sw n sm r p3 hn iw.f hpr iw.f ir sw ir.k di-sdr.f  
r-hr he.t.f ir.k hbs.f n w.t sn.t n 3yw.t iw.s w b*  
“You should speak down to his head while he is already standing up, ‘Will he be worthy of going to the vessel?’ If (it happens that) he is profitable, you should make him lie down upon his belly and you should clothe him with a kilt of clean linen.”
- When it followed the particle *dd* “in order that,” the future had purpose meaning.
- E289:Magical 2/19–20 *ir.k sms [n3] by n ibt dd iw.w nh n-im.k dr.w*  
“You should serve [the] *ba*’s of Abydos so that they might all live through you.”<sup>60</sup>

The above identification of the forms and uses of the future tense shows that the very common forms in Magical which Griffith and Thompson translated as a bland present tense are actually injunctive future forms, giving instructions or serving as the apodosis of conditional clauses, as in E288D and 287D. With this understanding, one can see that the commonest forms in Magical are the injunctive future and the aorist, plus a large number of imperative and independent conjunctive forms. All these forms describe customary action or give an order. This is what one would have predicted for a long series of instructions.

The converted forms had the same range of meaning as the main clause forms. Thus a circumstantial future form expressed a subordinate future action or idea.

<sup>59</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of various usages, *ibid.*, pars. 164–68.

<sup>60</sup> See also E273.

- E290A:Setne 5/9 *iw.f hpr [iw].k w[hʒ] n ir pʒ nty mr.k s irm.y iw.k r iy r pr-Bʒs.t r pʒy.[y] ʿ.wy wn sbte nb hn.f iw iw.k ir pʒ nty mr.k [st] irm.y*  
 “If (it happens that) you w[ish] to do that which you desire (it) with me, you should come to Bubastis to m[y] house (every preparation is in it), while you will do what you desire with me.”
- E290B:‘Onchsheshonqy 7/3 *m-ir hʒʿ wp.t pʒ bnr pʒy.k šr iw iw.k rh di ir.f st*  
 “Don’t leave work except to your son while you will be able to make him do it.”
- E290D:Magical 21/12 *mtw.k md r.r.f r-hr pʒ-rʿ iw.f r pr n sp 7*  
 “and you should speak to it before Pre while he is about to rise, seven times”
- It could serve as a virtual relative after an indefinite noun,  
 E291B:‘Onchsheshonqy 6/14 *m-ir hb lh n md.t ʿʒ.t iw wn rmt rh iw iw.k rh hb.f*  
 “Don’t send a fool on an important matter while there is a wise man whom you could send!”
- E291D:Magical V15/7 *iw.f r ir wʿ.t bʒkʿy.t ʿʒ.t iw.f iny ʿde r-hn*  
 “It will do a great work which will bring in a criminal.”<sup>61</sup>
- was used after the verb *hpr* “to happen,”  
 E294A:Setne 5/17 *my hpr.f iw.k r ir pʒy.k gy n wnm*  
 “May (it happen that) you (will) make your manner of eating!”<sup>62</sup>
- E294D:Magical 6/9 *iw.f hpr iir.k r ir.f r iny shm.t n hwt*  
 “If (it happens that) you will do it in order to bring a woman to a man”<sup>63</sup>
- or could be the emphasized adverbial adjunct after a second tense.  
 E296: Mythus 16/29–30 *iir.w qrf.k r iw.k r šm r iw.k mnš-nfr*  
 “While you will go being ..., they trick you.”

<sup>61</sup> Magical also contains one example of the form *iw.f r sdm* following a noun defined by *nb* “all, any.” But elsewhere a noun defined by *nb* was treated as definite and should be followed by a true relative form, not a circumstantial virtual relative. Thus it is possible that in the one example the relative converter *nty* was mistakenly omitted by the scribe.

E292:Magical 17/8 *mtw.k šn n.f hr hb nb md.t nb.t nty iw.y r šnt.f r.w dy n pʒ hrw*  
 “and you should ask him about everything, all things about which I would ask him here today”

E293:Magical 18/2 *mtw.k sde wbʒ.f n hb nb <nty> iw.f r šnt.k r.r.f*  
 “and you should speak to him about anything about which he will ask you”

<sup>62</sup> The examples of the circumstantial future with noun subject also occur after the verb *hpr*.

E295:Setne 3/2 and 4 *hpr.f r tʒy.n mhwt r ʿšʒy*  
 “May it happen that our family will be numerous!”

<sup>63</sup> See also the example quoted above, E288D.

The scribe of Setne used the form of the circumstantial future, with the circumstantial converter *iw*, after the interrogative particle *in* with 2 m. subject. By analogy, examples in Setne with 1 s. subject and in Mythus with 1 pl. subject are also identified as circumstantial forms.<sup>64</sup>

E297Aa:Setne 4/27	<i>in iw iw.k r rh tʒy.t.f r-tbʒ dr</i> “Will you be able to take it through strength?”
E297Ab:Setne 4/17–18	<i>in iw.y rh šm r qbt mtw.y hms n-im.w</i> “Will I be able to go to Coptos and dwell there?”
E297C: Mythus 2/13	<i>in r.iw.n r rh hpr r nʒy hpr</i> “Will we be able to exist while these exist?”

See also E288D.

As with other relative forms, future tense relatives could be used to modify a defined antecedent

E298B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/20–21	<i>i nʒ rmt.w nty iw.w gm nʒ bld.w nʒ hn.w</i> “Oh, you people who will find the potsherd”
E298C:Mythus 5/24	<i>bn grʒp n nḥ nb nty r.iw.k r rh ir.w hn.f</i> “There is no insult in all (ways of) life which you will be able to lead in it (your town).”
E298D:Magical 6/11	<i>nʒ sh.w nty iir.k š.w r pʒ sʿl</i> “ <b>the writings</b> which you should recite (them) to the wick”

or could be nominalized and used as a substantive.<sup>65</sup>

E299A:Setne 4/18	<i>iḥ pʒ nty iw.y ddt.s n.f</i> “What is that which I will say (it) to him?”
E299B:‘Onchsheshonqy 7/16	<i>m-ir hrr r šms pʒ nty iw.f šms.t.k</i> “Don’t delay to serve the one who will serve you!”
E299C:Mythus 2/14	<i>tʒy nty r.iw.s r šm r bnr</i> “this one who will go out”
E299D:Magical 9/20	<i>pʒ nty iw.f r myšt iw.f r myš nswt</i> “He who will strike me, he will strike the king.”

Note that the subject of the relative was always included, even if identical with the antecedent, in which case it was pronominalized.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> See E83.

<sup>65</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of future relatives in *Grammatik*, par. 544.

<sup>66</sup> See above for the forms.

The example in Magical of the second tense of the future is in a threat to a god.

E300:Magical 6/37–7/2 *in tm ỉry s pꜣ nty ỉr.k r ỉr.f bn ỉw.y r dỉ n.k nhe ... bn ỉw.y r dỉ n.k ʿt ỉ pꜣ hbs ỉry ỉw.y r dỉ n.k n tꜣ he.t n tꜣ ỉh.t shm.t mtw.y dỉ snf n pꜣ ỉh hwꜣ m-sꜣ.k*  
 “If not doing it is what you will do, I will not give you oil, I will not give you fat. Oh lamp, it is in<sup>67</sup> the belly of the cow that I will give to you and I will put blood of the bull after you.”

In addition to what has here been called the future form, some *sdm.f*s also had future meaning, although the independent use of such *sdm.f*s was rare.<sup>68</sup>

### History

*Predecessors.* The Late Egyptian antecedent of the Demotic future tense was written *ỉw.f (r) sdm*.<sup>69</sup> With noun subject, *ỉr* was generally used rather than *ỉw*.<sup>70</sup> As in Demotic, the future was used not only in simple future statements, but also in promises, threats, and the like,<sup>71</sup> and might also be equivalent to English “let” or “may.”<sup>72</sup> Groll<sup>73</sup> was able to show that, syntactically at least, the future meaning in the Late Egyptian *ỉw.f (r) sdm* came from the *ỉw*, this *ỉw* being syntactically distinct from the circumstantial *ỉw*.<sup>74</sup> The circumstantial form of the future in Late Egyptian was written *ỉw ỉw.f (r) sdm*.<sup>75</sup> In Late Egyptian, as opposed to Demotic, the “Third Future” could have an adverbial predicate (other than preposition *r* plus infinitive). Thus in Late Egyptian this form could be both durative and non-durative. The imperfect future was written *wn ỉw.f (r) sdm*.<sup>76</sup> In Middle Egyptian the

<sup>67</sup> This may be a direct object introduced by *n*, which *n* is necessary in Coptic if the direct object is separated from the infinitive by anything, here the indirect object. Whether or not *n* is to be translated “in,” *n tꜣ he.t* is adverbial in the Demotic and is the emphasized adverbial adjunct.

<sup>68</sup> See below, optative, for the more common meaning of an independent *sdm.f* with future meaning. See also perhaps the use of *hpr.f* as a conditional, Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 122e.

<sup>69</sup> Even in Late Egyptian the preposition *r* might be omitted in writing, especially in the latter half of the XXth Dynasty; see Edward F. Wente, “*Ỉwỉw.f sdm* in Late Egyptian,” *JNES*, Vol. 20 (1961) p. 122, n. j.

<sup>70</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 503, 557, and 559; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 30; and I. E. S. Edwards (“Appendix to Battiscombe Gunn, The Decree of Amonrasothes for Neskhons,” *JEA*, Vol. 41 [1955] p. 99), who found an example of *ỉ < r < ỉr* with noun subject. See also Gardiner, *JEA*, Vol. 16 (1930) pp. 220–28.

<sup>71</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 503 and 557–59; M. Korostovtsev, “Does the Model *ỉw.f hr sdm* of the Late Egyptian Praesens II Refer to Future?” *JEA*, Vol. 49 (1963) p. 175; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, p. 135, conclusion; and Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 31.

<sup>72</sup> Gardiner, *JEA*, Vol. 16 (1930) p. 221, numbers 6 and 7. See also Edward F. Wente, “A Letter of Complaint to the Vizier To,” *JNES*, Vol. 20 (1961) p. 257, n. s.

<sup>73</sup> *Negative Verbal*, secs. 38 and 39; see also Frandsen, *Outline*, p. 231 (e).

<sup>74</sup> Groll, *Negative Verbal*, secs. 37–39. Presumably the preposition *r* reinforced the future meaning. See also Sarah Israelit-Groll, “*Ỉw.f [hr] tm sdm* in Late Egyptian,” *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) pp. 89–97, where she isolated three separate *ỉw*’s in Late Egyptian.

<sup>75</sup> See Wente, *JNES*, Vol. 20 (1961) pp. 120–23; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 37; M. Korostovtsev, “Notes philologiques,” *RdE*, Vol. 13 (1961) pp. 60–64; and the earliest such example, P. Berlin 10463, rt./2, published by Ricardo A. Caminos, “Papyrus Berlin 10463,” *JEA*, Vol. 49 (1963) pp. 29–37 and pl. 6. Examples were collected by Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 103.

<sup>76</sup> See Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 96E, and Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 503, note.

an analogous forms *iw.f r sdm* and *mk sw r sdm*<sup>77</sup> were used for future actions, either simple or conditioned by the will of the speaker. In both Late Egyptian and Middle Egyptian some prospective *sdm.f* forms had future meaning.<sup>78</sup>

*Successors.* For the forms of the Coptic future, see Polotsky,<sup>79</sup> who inferred a circumstantial future form by analogy with the circumstantial of the negative future used after *dekaas*.<sup>80</sup> The relative, which was very common in Demotic, is attested only in Bohairic. No examples are known of the imperfect future, as found in Mythus, or of the second future.<sup>81</sup> The Coptic future was most commonly used in wishes, commands, and promises, or to express purpose or result, especially after *de* or *dekaas*.<sup>82</sup> The progressive was used to express a simple statement of futurity.<sup>83</sup>

## Negative

### Forms

The negative future consisted of the negative particle *bn* prefixed to the positive future form; see Table 24. The preposition *r* was usually omitted.<sup>84</sup> The 2 f. example from Mythus is partly destroyed, but probably originally read *bn iw.t*; the example with 2 m. subject is probably to be transliterated *bn iw.k*.<sup>85</sup> The negative future never included the particle *in* found in the negative present.<sup>86</sup> Some of the examples which Spiegelberg quoted as examples of the negative present without *in* are actually negative future forms.<sup>87</sup>

E301: Mythus 18/8

*w3ḥ-īw drṯ.y snḥ r bn iw<.y> rḥ ddy m-sʔ.f*

“My paw had (already) been bound in order that <I> would not be able to run after him.”<sup>88</sup>

<sup>77</sup> See Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 332.

<sup>78</sup> For Late Egyptian, see Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 35, and Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 14 and 29; for Middle Egyptian, Polotsky, *Or*, Vol. 33 (1964) pp. 269–72.

<sup>79</sup> “CCS,” par. 18 and nn. *b* and *c*, and par. 10 obs. 1.

<sup>80</sup> See *ibid.*, and H. J. Polotsky, review of *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)* by Walter C. Till, *OLZ*, Vol. 52 (1957) p. 233.

<sup>81</sup> See Walter Till, “Der Irrealis im Neuägyptischen,” *ZAS*, Vol. 69 (1933) pp. 112–17, and Mythus 18/10 (E452) and Magical 7/1 (E300).

<sup>82</sup> Coptic *de* comes from Demotic *dd*, which also formed purpose clauses with following future tense forms; see E289, and Georg Steindorff, *Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) par. 440; Wilson, *CFT*, pp. 23, 28, and 29, and chap. 6.

<sup>83</sup> See Chap. 2 on the Coptic progressive.

<sup>84</sup> Forms from other texts are collected by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 195, and Williams, “Verbal Forms,” Fig. 6. Examples with *r* in addition to those in Magical cited in Table 24 were noted *ibid.*, pp. 227–28, and n. 75.

<sup>85</sup> Not *bn ir.k*, as in Williams, “Verbal Forms,” legend to Fig. 6; see above, Chap. 2, n. 2.

<sup>86</sup> On which see Chap. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 475.

<sup>88</sup> If this is to be understood as a circumstantial form with the meaning of a result clause, see Wentz, *JNES*, Vol. 20 (1961) p. 121. For further discussion of this example, see below, E344.

Table 24. Negative Future

	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	16/7	8/5	7/1
2 m.	10/7	18/15	6/36
	17/1		19/13
			L I*/27
2 f.		4/15	
3 m.	13/3		
3 f.	16/24		V5/7
1 pl.		16/23	
2 pl.			
3 pl.			
N	8/14	19/19	

The passage in Mythus with a noun subject is broken, and the meaning is not completely certain, but it seems to be an example where the verb *rh* “to know” has moved in front of its subject, as in Coptic.

E302:Mythus 19/19 *bn iw rh hhw n [bn]y.t n p3 ...*

“Millions of [da]tes of the ... will not be able to ....”

‘Onchsheshonqy also contains examples of the negative future consisting of *bn iw* plus the *sdm.f*, with 2 m., 3 f., and noun subjects,<sup>89</sup>

E303a:‘Onchsheshonqy 15/19–20

*bn iw shn.t.k dn3.t bn iw di n.k ‘y he.t trp*

“You shall not order crime; greed shall not give you food.”

E303b:‘Onchsheshonqy 16/24

*sbk t3y.y dni.t n p3 ‘.wy n p3y.y it bn iw ‘š3.s*

“My share in the house of my father is small; it will not be large.”<sup>90</sup>

although the example with the verb *rh*, with 3 m. subject, is written normally, with the subject before the infinitive.

<sup>89</sup> There are three examples in ‘Onchsheshonqy of *bn iw* plus the *sdm.f* with 2 m. subject (10/7, 15/19 [E303a], and 15/22). There are no examples of main clause negative future forms with 2 m. subject where the subject precedes the infinitive, although there is a circumstantial negative future example, quoted in Table 25. Thus the restoration in 17/1, where *bn iw* and the tail of a *k* are preserved before a break, is uncertain. It may be *bn iw [iw].k*, as suggested by George R. Hughes, or there could be a verb missing between *iw* and *k*. Glanville (‘Onchsheshonqy, p. 40) read ‘y(?).

<sup>90</sup> The *sbk* “small, to be small” at the beginning of this line may belong to the sentence in the preceding line. See above, Chap. 1, n. 99. If so, the rest of the line should be translated “My share in the house of my father will not be large.”

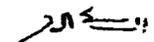
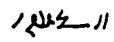
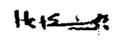
## E304: 'Onchsheshonqy 13/3

*rmt iw ir.w n.f md.t nfr.t r-h3.t bn iw.f rḥ di-šp n.s*

“A man to whom a favor has been done first will not be able to give receipt (i.e., return[?]) it.”

The spelling listed under Magical for the 2 m. written *bn iir.k r* comes from Leiden I 384. The spellings *bn n.k* and *n.k* actually found in Magical are quite unusual; they may be semiphonetic. If so, the spelling *n.k* indicates that the negative element was being pronounced simply *n*. Compare this with the circumstantial negative present form *iw bnn.f ... in*, from Magical, in Table 8.<sup>91</sup>

Table 25. Negative Future, Circumstantial

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Magical
1 s.			
2 m.		11/9 	
2 f.			
3 m.		10/13 	
3 f.			8/15 
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.		4/3 	
N	5/5 	9/18 	

Converted forms were built normally, by prefixing the appropriate converter; see Tables 25–27. Note that none of the converted forms in 'Onchsheshonqy have the odd form *bn iw* plus *sdm.f* found occasionally in the main clause form; all are written with the subject preceding the infinitive. In the 2 m. of the circumstantial, a double *iw* has been written between the negative particle *bn* and the subject pronoun *k*, as if the scribe had first made a circumstantial future, then added the negative particle *bn*, and then added another circumstantial converter, in front of *bn*, as normally. Note also the unusual spelling with noun subject in the imperfect form written *wn-n3w bn iw-n3*.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Williams (“Verbal Forms,” Fig. 6) did not include the example from Mythus with noun subject or the example from Magical written *n.k* for the 2 m. The example from Setne with noun subject which he included is a circumstantial negative future, and it is included in Table 25.

<sup>92</sup> This *n3* also occurs before noun subjects in the negative future in Petubastis; see E375.

Table 26. Negative Future, Relative

	'Onchsheshonqy	
1 s.	24/22	𐎎𐎗𐎛𐎗𐎛𐎗𐎛
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.	7/5	𐎎𐎗𐎛𐎗𐎛𐎗𐎛
3 f.		
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.		
N		

Table 27. Negative Future, Imperfect

	'Onchsheshonqy	
1 s.		
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.		
3 f.		
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.		
N	19/14	𐎎𐎗𐎛𐎗𐎛𐎗𐎛

## Meaning and Usage

The negative future negated the future in both its uses, as a simple future

E305B: 'Onchsheshonqy 16/7

*m-ir dd mst.t.y pʔy.y hry bn iw.y šms.t.f*

“Don’t say, ‘I hate my superior. I will not serve him.’”

E305C: Mythus 15/30

*bn iw.y htb.k bn iw.y di htb.w t.k*

“I will not kill you. I will not let them kill you.”

E305D: Magical V5/6–8

*r-ire dwʔ hpr mtw.k gm pʔ sym iw.f šhlʔt bn iw.s r iwr  
iir.k gmt.f iw.f wtw.t iw.s r iwr*

“If, when dawn comes, you find the plant scorched, she will not become pregnant. If you find it green, she will become pregnant.”

and as an injunctive, expressing will.

E306B: 'Onchsheshonqy 10/7

*drp.k r rd.t.k n ʔ.wy rmt ʔʔ bn iw drp.k r ls.k*

“You may stumble with your feet in the house of a great man; you must not stumble with your tongue.”

E306C: Mythus 17/20–21

*dd.w pʔy.n hry ... bn iw.k ir ʔwʔʔ n-drt.f rmt*

“They said, ‘Our lord, ... may you not feel sorrow at the hand of man!’”

In the latter case the examples with 2 person subject somewhat parallel the vetitive, just as the positive parallel the imperative.<sup>93</sup> After the particle *dd* “in order that,” the negative future, like the positive future,<sup>94</sup> had purpose meaning.

E307: Magical 19/13

*dde n.k di ir.y th*

“in order that you not let me get drunk”

<sup>93</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 196.

<sup>94</sup> See E289.

Converted forms of the negative future were used regularly, the circumstantial having its normal range of uses,

E308A:Setne 5/5 *iw.y dī tʔy.w t.t r wʕ mʔʕ iw.f h̄p iw bn iw rmt nb n pʔ tʔ gm.t.t*

“I will have you taken to a hidden place where no man on earth will be able to find you.”

E308Ba:‘Onchsheshonqy 18/22

*m-ir dd iw.y dī pʔy nk n pʔy rmt iw bn iw iw.k dī st n.f*

“Don’t say, ‘I will give this thing to this man,’ while you will not give it to him.”

E308Bb:‘Onchsheshonqy 12/21

*m-ir šm n md.t iw bn iw iw.k rh̄ ir.s*

“Don’t attempt a thing which you will not be able to do!”<sup>95</sup>

E308D:Magical 8/15

*iw.f h̄pr iw bn iw.s r h̄pr ir.k iy n.y n pʔy.k smte n gʕlʕšyre*

“If (it happens that) it will not happen, you should come to me in your form of *galashyre*.”

the relative modifying a noun or being used as a substantive,

E309a:‘Onchsheshonqy 24/23

*mn pʔ h̄w pʔy.y bʔk nty iw bn iw.f ir pʔy.y bʔk*

“There is no profit in my servant who will not do my work.”

E309b:‘Onchsheshonqy 7/5

*m-ir mtr pʔ nty iw bn iw.f sdm n.k*

“Don’t instruct the one who will not listen to you!”

the imperfect serving as a main clause.<sup>96</sup>

E310:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/14

*hwn-nʔw šr h̄ry pʔ nty ir h̄ry wn-nʔw bn iw-nʔ rmt wšt m-bʔh̄ pʔ ntr*

“If the son of the master were the one who acted as master, men would not worship before God.”

<sup>95</sup> ‘Onchsheshonqy also has an example of the circumstantial negative future following *hmy* “would that!”

E308Bc:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/13 *hmy iw bn iw.f mwt pʔ nty iw.y pgy n.f pʔy.y h̄bs*

“Would that the one for whom I should rend my clothing will not die!”

The reading *h̄bs* “clothing” is due to George R. Hughes. It is possible that Mythus 18/8 (E301) is an example of a circumstantial negative future used as a result clause. See n. 88 with E301. But the analysis as the preposition *r* “in order that” plus the negative future seems more likely.

<sup>96</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of negative future relative forms in *Grammatik*, par. 546, and one example of the imperfect converter plus the negative future, which he took to be the negative present without *in*, *ibid.*, par. 475; this example is cited above, E118. There are also examples of the imperfect converter with the negative future in P. Loeb 7/33–34 and Petubastis 13/22, the latter quoted *ibid.*, par. 174, 8.

## History

*Predecessors.* In Late Egyptian the negative future was formed by prefixing *bn*, as in Demotic, or *nn*, as in Middle Egyptian, to the future form *iw.f(r) sdm* or to the prospective *sdm.f*, the latter especially in oaths.<sup>97</sup> In Middle Egyptian *nn* was prefixed to the prospective *sdm.f* or to the Middle Egyptian future form *sw r sdm*.<sup>98</sup>

*Successors.* In Coptic only main clause, circumstantial, and relative forms of the negative future are attested.<sup>99</sup> They were used as the negative counterpart of the future in both statements and injunctions.

## PAST

## Positive

## Forms

Throughout the Demotic period the past tense was written using the indicative *sdm.f*. At the beginning of the period, the periphrastic form *ir.f sdm* was used in the cases of 4- and 5-radical, foreign, and compound verbs.<sup>100</sup> By the Roman period, when Mythus was written, although the indicative *sdm.f* was still fully functional, the periphrastic conjugation had spread beyond its earlier restrictions and could be used even with such common biliteral verbs as *nw* “to see” and ‘š “to call.”<sup>101</sup> Magical contains examples of the indicative *sdm.f*

<sup>97</sup> Jaroslav Černý, “The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents” *JEA*, Vol. 31 (1945) p. 40, n. *b*; Klaus Baer, “The oath *sdf3-tryt* in Papyrus Lee, 1, 1,” *JEA*, Vol. 50 (1964) p. 180, n. 1; and the references in those places. See also Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 35, *bn sdm.f*, and sec. 37, *bn* plus future *iw.f(r) sdm*. An example of the circumstantial negative future used in an oath, where the circumstantial is best translated as a conditional, occurs in the Turin Strike Papyrus.

E311:Turin Strike Papyrus vs., 2/10–19

*w3h imn w3h p3 hq3 iw bn di.i 12 n inw-mw hr wnm 12 <hr> smh  
dm3 12 ... iw.i gm [...] iw.i it3 w3h m-b3h t3ty*

“By Amun and by the ruler, if I don’t provide 12 water-carriers for the right (side) and 12 for the left, total 12, ..., I will find [...] and I will take an oath before the vizier.”

This example was called to my attention by Edward F. Wente. According to Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 47, some Late Egyptian “Third Future” patterns were made negative with *bn ... iwn3*. For an example of the imperfect negative future, see Černý, “LEG,” p. 30, XI*d*.

<sup>98</sup> See also Old Egyptian *n sw r sdm* quoted in Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* Vol. II (“Analecta Orientalia,” Vol. 39 [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1964]) pars. 938 and 1090, as noted by Edward F. Wente.

<sup>99</sup> For the forms, see Polotsky, “CCS” par. 18.

<sup>100</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 178. The replacement of a conjugated *sdm.f* by a periphrastic form using the verb *ir* “to do” is also found in the aorist, optative, *et al*.

<sup>101</sup> For a discussion of the periphrastic examples of *shn* “to lease” in the *Family Archive from Siut*, see George R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases* (SAOC, No. 28 [1952]) p. 24; for a general discussion of the verb *shn*, see *idem*, “Notes on Demotic Egyptian Leases of Property,” *JNES*, Vol. 32 (1973) pp. 153–60. Spiegelberg quoted examples of the narrative *sdm.f* in *Grammatik*, par. 120*a*, and of narrative *ir.f sdm* in par. 178. On the use of *ir.f sdm* parallel to *sdm.f*, see par. 177. Spiegelberg discussed examples of *r.ir.f sdm* in

with past meaning, but the only example of the periphrastic *ir.f sdm*, with 1 s. subject and the common 3-weak verb *pr* “to go forth,” occurs in Leiden I 384. In the text of Magical itself, the auxiliary of the past tense, which is more common than the indicative *sdm.f*, was written *r* with noun subjects, *r.iw* with pronoun subjects. Since *r* was glossed *a* in Magical,<sup>102</sup> this spelling can be seen to correspond phonetically to the Coptic past tense *afsōtm*. One could even argue that it is Coptic being written in Demotic script. The *iw* with pronoun subjects is a graphic suffix carrier, found also in some parts of the present and perfect paradigms.<sup>103</sup> That these are past tense, which is non-durative, is indicated by those examples in which there is a defined direct object without the intervening preposition *n*.

E312a:Magical V20/2–3      *r-iw.f šk<sup>c</sup>.fr d̄d̄.f n ʒ r n md.t ikš*  
 “He beat(?) him on his head with three spells in the  
 Ethiopian language.”

E312b:Magical V33/4      *r w<sup>c</sup> g<sup>c</sup>wm<sup>c</sup> t̄ȳt̄ r w<sup>c</sup> t̄w̄ rsy di-<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.y*  
 “A fever seized me; a South wind stopped me.”

Note in the latter example that the indefinite subjects are not preceded by *wn*, as they would be in a durative tense form.<sup>104</sup> For all the forms of the past tense used in main clauses in these four texts, see Table 28.<sup>105</sup> Note that the indicative *sdm.f* of certain verbs has not past but present tense meaning.<sup>106</sup> Apparently the past tense of these verbs was indicated by the periphrastic construction *ir.f sdm*.

E313:Setne 3/7      *ir rmt mr p̄ȳ.f īry n-īm.n*  
 “We made love to each other (lit., ‘Each of us loved  
 his fellow’).”

The circumstantial past was formed regularly, by prefixing the circumstantial converter to the main clause form; see Table 29. The only example with the periphrastic conjugation could instead be the *sdm.f* of the verb *ir* with a following noun.

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*Grammatik*, par. 181, but see above, Chap. 2 on the second tense. By the Roman period, the old *sdm.f* may have been lost from speech entirely, as in Coptic.

<sup>102</sup> See above, Chap. 1, n. 5.

<sup>103</sup> See Tables 1, 4–6, and 38. This analysis is preferable to the interpretation given by Ort-Geuthner (*Grammaire*, par. 211) who called *iw* the auxiliary verb and *iir* with 2 m. subject the emphatic form thereof, all under the heading auxiliary verb *ir*.

<sup>104</sup> See the discussion with E7.

<sup>105</sup> The noun subject in Mythus 3/8–9 is broken, but easily restored.

<sup>106</sup> See the end of the discussion of the meaning and usage of the present tense, in Chap. 2.

Table 28. Past

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	3/4 4/13-14	3/11	7/28	20/8
2 m.	3/22	3/15	8/13	10/18
2 f.			8/31	
			12/4	
3 m.	3/6 3/32	1/10 1/16	2/9 12/30	3/2 V20/2
3 f.	5/2 5/6	2/15	3/9 12/22	20/8
1 pl.	3/24 3/24		16/23	
2 pl.				
3 pl.	3/2 6/15	1/3 3/20	3/3 16/19	6/35 19/15
N	3/2 6/2	1/15-16	2/16 12/16	13/2 V33/4

Table 29. Past, Circumstantial

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/18			
2 m.		15/6	15/32	
2 f.			11/25	
3 m.	3/39	15/9		L I*/13
3 f.				
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.		3/20		
N			3/8 7/17	18/7

Table 30. Past, Relative (Modifier)

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/26		4/14	10/7
2 m.	5/14		16/33	9/9 5/14
2 f.	5/28		14/18	
3 m.		3/5 4/3	2/23	
3 f.	5/3		3/17	7/7/3
1 pl.	3/40			
2 pl.			16/22	
3 pl.		7/12	5/2	6/13
N =	3/3 4/36	4/5	5/26 16/15 6/25	2/17 21/21 V20/2
N ≠	3/23	4/17	21/32	L I*/3 2/16 12/26 15/13

E314: 'Onchsheshonqy 15/9

*sbk iw n3-sb3.f iw ir.f mwy mwy n 'd n3y-ir.f*  
 "A youth who is schooled, who has thought; thinking wrongly is what he did."<sup>107</sup>

The example with 3 m. subject from Magical actually comes from Leiden I 384.

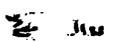
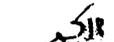
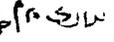
The forms of the past tense relative are presented in Tables 30 and 31. The first shows the form used when the relative clause modifies a preceding, defined, noun.<sup>108</sup> The second shows the form used when the relative was itself nominalized.<sup>109</sup> When used as a modifier, the past tense relative consisted of a special "relative" form, written *r-sdm.f*. This relative form was used whenever the subject of the relative clause differed from the antecedent. If, however, the subject of the relative clause being used as a modifier was identical with the antecedent, the past participle was used. This normally consisted of the past participle of the periphrastic verb *ir* "to do" plus the infinitive. The only exceptions to the rule prescribing the use of the relative form *r-sdm.f* for the past tense relative used as a modifier when the subject of the relative differed from the antecedent, other than the forms in Magical written *nty-r*, which will be discussed below, are examples in 'Onchsheshonqy where the relative form of the verb *ir* was written *ir* plus subject, rather than *r-ir* plus subject. These examples are included in Table 30 and are the result of the phonetic peculiarities of the verb *ir*. The form of the past participle used as modifier varies more between different

<sup>107</sup> The form read *iw ir.f* is identical with the form *ir.f*, the second tense auxiliary. If *n 'd* can be interpreted as an adverbial adjunct, then the whole sentence can be analyzed as a second present: "A youth who is schooled, thinking wrongly is what he has done when he thinks."

<sup>108</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 549–51.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 552–53.

Table 31. Past, Relative (Nominalized)

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	5/25 			9/27 
2 m.		3/12  13/16 		27/16 
2 f.			4/6 	
3 m.	5/6 	15/9  16/14 	17/26  9/14  7/27 	
3 f.				
1 pl.	5/18 			
2 pl.				
3 pl.		4/19  12/23 	15/21  3/7 	6/35 
N =	3/12  5/31 	7/21 	4/16  9/9  7/28 	2/21 
N ≠		2/16 	5/30  18/20 	27/31  21/28 

texts. The scribe of Setne normally wrote the past participle of periphrastic *ir* as *ir*, thus forming the past participle of all other verbs as *ir sdm*. But in one instance he wrote *iir sdm*. This is the normal form in 'Onchsheshonqy. The scribe of Mythus normally wrote *r-ir sdm*, but in one case wrote *r-iir sdm* and in another wrote *ir sdm*. This latter is the common form in Magical. There is one possible example of an archaic perfective active participle of the verb *gm* "to find" in Magical, but this is more likely to be a scribal error.

E315:Magical V20/1-2 *imn p3y hwt hy p3y hwt ikš ir iy r-hry n mrwe r kmy gm hr p3y.y šr*

"Oh Amun, this high male, this Ethiopian male who came down from Meroe to Egypt and found Horus, my son"

Quite probably the scribe has simply omitted *ir* before *gm*. In Leiden I 384vs., the scribe of Magical has used an archaic perfective passive participle when invoking Imhotep.

E316:Leiden I 384, I\*/3 *iy-m-htp wr s3 pth ms n hrt-nh.t*

"Imhotep the great, the son of Ptah, (who was) born of Kherti-ankh"

When a past tense relative form was nominalized, by prefixing the definite article to the relative form, the article and the *r* of the relative form were combined in writing. In Mythus, this combined form consistently takes the shape of the copula; in 'Onchsheshonqy the form of the copula was used except before the verb *ir* "to do," where the definite article was prefixed to the participial form *iir*. In Setne, when the definite article prefixed to



Table 32. Past, Second Tense

	Setne	Mythus
1 s.	3/11	
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.	3/30	
3 f.		
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.	4/23	
N	5/30	5/5-6

E318B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 3/20–21

*ir.w ddy r <nh-ššnqy s> tʒy-nfr ir.w ddy iir.w iy iw  
in.w st m-bʒh pr-ʒ n tʒy hty dd n.f pr-ʒ ....*

“They ran for <‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of> Tjay-nefer. They ran and they returned, and, having brought<sup>115</sup> him before Pharaoh immediately, Pharaoh said to him, ‘....’”

E318C: Mythus 12/13–20

*hbr.w s n pʒy.s hbr nfr n wʿ.t mʿy.t hʿr.t t ... hwy.s pʒy.s  
šlf r hʒt n-im.s ir pʒy.s mʒkʿyt ir lhb n sty.t ir tʒy.s ʒt.t  
iwn n snf ir hr.s pʒ hl n pʒ itn ir ir.t.s rhrh n sty.t ir  
nʒy.s nw.w šlʒm mw nbʒ.t ... ir.s bwbw n-im.s dr.s  
tʒy nʒy nty n pʒy.s qd nb mʒqr*

“She was changed into her good form of a raging lioness .... She threw her hair before her, her skin(?) smoked of fire, her back was the color of blood, her face shone like the Aten, her eye glowed of fire, and her glances made heat like flames .... All of her shone. All those near her took fear(?)”

E318D: Magical 3/2

*iw.f dd hʿ.f iir.k dd n.f dd ...*

“If he says, ‘He stood up,’ you should speak to him, saying, ‘....’”<sup>116</sup>

<sup>115</sup> See above, Chap. 2, n. 184.

<sup>116</sup> Examples using the auxiliary *r(.iw)* are quoted above, E312. There is one example using the periphrastic conjugation *ir.f sdm* in Leiden I 384.

E319: Leiden I 384vs., I\*/2–3

*ir.y pyr n tʒ hr.t-ntr n wn-nfr*

“I went forth from the necropolis of Wen-nefer.”

As examples E318A–D show, narrative passages consisted of a series of narrative forms following one another.<sup>117</sup>

The circumstantial past tense indicated something which had occurred before the time of the main verb.

E320:‘Onchsheshonqy 17/21

*šm.t iw mr.w st irr.w h3<sup>c</sup>.s iw h3<sup>c</sup>.w s*

“A woman who was loved, having been abandoned she is (completely) abandoned.”

As with other tenses, the circumstantial past was also used as a virtual relative<sup>118</sup>

E321A:Setne 3/39

*iw.y n smt n rmt iw ph.f r pr-nfr*

“I being in the manner of a man who has reached Pernefer”

E321B:‘Onchsheshonqy 15/6

*mn md.t nfr.t m-s3 md.t nfr.t iw ir.k s (n) p3 nty 3yt n-im.s*

“There is no good deed except a good deed which you have done for the one who needs it.”

E321C:Mythus 11/24–25

*3n wn md.t r sdm.t s r h3<sup>t</sup>.t psy n-im.s*

“Is there a thing which you heard at which your heart is aroused?”<sup>119</sup>

E321D:Magical 18/7

*šn hn iw di s n.y w<sup>c</sup> swnw hn p3 tše n pr-md3*

“a vessel inquiry which a doctor in the district of Oxyrhynchus gave to me”

and after the verb *hpr* “to happen.”

E322A:Setne 4/18

*iw.f hpr iw šm.y r mn-nfr*

“If (it happened that) I went to Memphis”

E322C: Mythus 3/8–9

*irr.s hpr r in-nw [p3 tb3 t3 nry].t ... r.iw.f psy n hynw i3.wt [n(?)] tw*

“While he was cooking some mountain cattle, (it happened that) [the avenger] saw [the vulture] ....”

As is regularly true of relative forms, the past tense relative, including the past participle, could be used after a defined noun

E323A:Setne 3/40

*p3y dm<sup>c</sup> r-šp.n n3y hyyt.w [‘3y.w(?)] r-tb3.t.f*

“this book on account of which we experienced these [great(?)] trials(?)”

<sup>117</sup> There is no “continuative” form as in Late Egyptian; see below on the Late Egyptian past tense and *n*, 129 therewith.

<sup>118</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of the circumstantial form in *Grammatik*, par. 127, and, as virtual relatives, in pars. 525 and 527.

<sup>119</sup> Note the contrast between the circumstantial present and the circumstantial past, both used as virtual relatives.

- E323B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 4/17  
*t3 mtr.t r-sh it-ntr nh-sšnqy s3 t3y-nfr*  
 “the instruction which the God’s Father ‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of Tjay-nefer, wrote”
- E323C: Mythus 16/22  
*ih p3 gy n tm pt h3t.y r-ir.tn*  
 “What is the manner of not fleeing before me which you did?”
- E323D: Magical 21/26  
*ir.k n n p3y gy nty r wsir p3y.k it sm n-im.f r-tb3 mn r-  
 ms mn šc-mtw.w di t3 st.t m-s3 h3t.s*  
 “You should go in this form in which your father Osiris went on account of A, whom B bore, until the flame is put after her heart.”
- E324A: Setne 4/5–6  
*md.t nb.t ir hpr n n3nfrk3pth*  
 “everything which happened to Naneferkaptah”
- E324B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 4/5  
*rmt nb ir mtr r p3 š-shn bin pr-3*  
 “everyone who conspired in the evil plot against Pharaoh”
- E324C: Mythus 14/19–20  
*p3 hf irm p3 nšr r-ir hy r p3 y m*  
 “the snake and the falcon which fell into the sea”
- E324D: Magical 2/17  
*mtw.k p3y sšn ir pyr hn t3 srp.t n p3 nwst3r nty ir wyn r  
 p3 t3 dr.f*  
 “You are this lotus which came forth from the lotus of Pnastor which makes light for the entire land.”<sup>120</sup>
- or could itself be defined and thereby nominalized.<sup>121</sup>
- E325A: Setne 5/18  
*t3y-ir.w.n r bw-n3y r-tb3.t.s*  
 “this concerning which we came here”
- E325B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 16/14  
*m-ir šnt.k m-b3h p3 ntr mtw.k sny t3y-dd.f*  
 “Don’t demand an oracle<sup>122</sup> of God and then neglect what he said!”
- E325C: Mythus 15/21  
*hr ir(?) p3 tb3 p3 mšyh n p3y-tb3.w s*  
 “The avenger has power over the one who was avenged.”
- E325D: Magical 14/1  
*p3y-dde<sup>123</sup> ke rmt n.y dd ...*  
 “that which another man said to me, saying, ‘...’”

<sup>120</sup> Note the clear difference between the past and present tense relatives.

<sup>121</sup> Spiegelberg has discussed participial forms in *Grammatik*, in pars. 236ff., relatives in pars. 549ff. See also Williams, “Morphology,” pars. 132–33. In pars. 535 and 543, Spiegelberg quoted the examples from Magical of *nty-r* plus *sdm.f*, but also included an example of *nty* plus *sdm.f* of *mr* “to love,” used with present tense meaning; see E93.

<sup>122</sup> This translation is that of B. H. Stricker, “De Wijsheid van Anchsjesjonq,” *JEOL*, Vol. 15 (1957–58) p. 24.

<sup>123</sup> Note the spelling with *e* before a noun subject; see above, Chap. 1 on the *sdm.f*.

- E326A: Setne 6/1                    *p3 ỉr ỉnt.k*  
 “the one who brought you”
- E326B: ‘Onchsheshonqy 19/3  
*n3-ndm p3 mw n p3 ỉr dỉ st r p3 ỉrp n p3 [ỉr šp(?)]*  
 “Water is sweeter to the one who has given it than  
 wine to the one [who has received(?)] <it>.”
- E326C: Mythus 7/29                *mtre.y ỉ.t n-ỉm.w h3.y n3 ỉr hpr n p3 hm n srt n ntr*  
 “I myself instructed you about the things which hap-  
 pened to the small holy *srt*-animal.”
- E326D: Magical 2/21                *p3 ỉr pyr n h3t.f n p3 š3y 3*  
 “the one who went forth from the heart of the great  
 fate”

For the meaning and usage of the second tense of the past tense, see the discussion of second tenses in Chapter 2.

### History

*Predecessors.* In Late Egyptian the past tense was most commonly expressed using the indicative *sdm.f*.<sup>124</sup> But with verbs of motion the *sdm.f* was not a narrative tense but an emphatic.<sup>125</sup> Past narration in such cases was indicated by the present tense with the qualitative.<sup>126</sup> With some verbs, especially foreign verbs or verbs having more than three radicals, the periphrastic form *ir.f sdm* was used.<sup>127</sup> The Late Egyptian *sdm.f* or *ir.f sdm* also served as a perfect.<sup>128</sup> After an initial narrative form, narration was continued by the continuative *iw.f (hr) sdm*.<sup>129</sup> For the circumstantial past, Late Egyptian used either *iw sdm.f* of transitive verbs or *iw.f* plus qualitative of verbs of motion.<sup>130</sup> Late Egyptian had separate forms for active and passive past relative and participial forms, the latter being used when the subject was identical with the antecedent.<sup>131</sup> The imperfect converter *wn* could be prefixed to the *sdm.f*.<sup>132</sup> The Middle Egyptian counterparts of the Late Egyptian

<sup>124</sup> See Frandsen, *Outline*, secs. 3–4; Wentz, “SVM,” p. 140 and n. 1; and Sarah Israelit-Groll, “*Iw sdm.f* in Late Egyptian,” *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) p. 185, sec. 3.

<sup>125</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 188–90, sec. 5, and Edward F. Wentz, “A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense,” *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) pp. 1–14.

<sup>126</sup> See Wentz, “SVM,” chap. 4; Groll, *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) pp. 185–88, sec. 4. See also the identical use of the present construction with the qualitative *iw* “to come” found in Demotic; see the discussion with E77.

<sup>127</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 543.

<sup>128</sup> A. de Buck, “The Judicial Papyrus of Turin,” *JEA*, Vol. 23 (1937) p. 161o, considered it to be basically a perfect tense. Demotic used different forms for the two different meanings of the same Late Egyptian form; see below on the Coptic perfect.

<sup>129</sup> See the discussion below, Chap. 4, n. 73; Wentz, “SVM,” pp. 57–61; *idem*, *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) p. 2. On the connections between Late Egyptian and Demotic, see Wentz, “SVM,” pp. 125–26 and 142.

<sup>130</sup> See Groll, *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) pp. 184–90; Wentz, *JNES*, Vol. 28 (1969) pp. 1–14; Černý, “LEG,” p. 25; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 101.

<sup>131</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 366ff.

<sup>132</sup> See the examples in Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 96F.

were *iw sdm.n.f*, continued by *sdm.n.f*, for transitive verbs and the qualitative for verbs of motion.<sup>133</sup>

*Successors.* For the forms of the Coptic past tense, which has the same past meaning as is found in the earlier stages of the language, see Polotsky.<sup>134</sup> The derivation of this Coptic form has been disputed. It has been suggested that it came from *ir.f sdm*, from *iw.f hr sdm*, or from *w3h.f sdm*. But these are the ancestors of the Coptic second tenses,<sup>135</sup> conditional,<sup>136</sup> and *hafsōtm*,<sup>137</sup> respectively. The most likely form from which to derive Coptic *afsōtm* is the periphrastic form *ir.f sdm* discussed above, which was gradually replacing the *sdm.f* during the Roman period.<sup>138</sup> This suggestion is reinforced by the observation that the prospective *sdm.f*, i.e., the *sdm.f* used after *di*, in the optative, etc., was also regularly being replaced by the periphrastic *ir.f sdm*. This replacement was common already in Mythus and Magical; it was complete in Coptic. One cannot reject the suggestion that Demotic *ir.f sdm* produced Coptic *afsōtm* by arguing that in the other auxiliaries Demotic *ir.f sdm* appeared in Coptic with an *r*. These latter forms came from the prospective *sdm.f* of *ir*, not from the indicative. The derivation suggested here takes into account the similarity in meaning and usage between the Demotic past tense, both periphrastic and non-periphrastic, and the Coptic past tense; the dissimilarity to the other forms suggested as ancestors; the fact that the descendants of each of the others can be identified; and the gradual extension of the periphrastic conjugation noted above. This understanding of the development of the past tense forms points to the explanation of the forms from Magical written *r(.iw)*. They appear to be phonetic renderings of the Coptic *afsōtm*, suggesting that the auxiliary was already being pronounced *a*. Its derivation from the verb *ir* no longer being obvious, its historical spelling was abandoned. Similarly, the relative forms written *nty r* correspond to the Coptic past relative *ntafsōtm*, with *r* for historical *ir*.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>133</sup> See Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 68 and 323–24.

<sup>134</sup> “CCS,” par. 18. This same form had perfect meaning in most Coptic texts; see below.

<sup>135</sup> See Chap. 2 on the Coptic second tense, vs. Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 548; Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 313; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 181.

<sup>136</sup> See below, Chap. 4 on the Coptic conditional, vs. B. H. Stricker, “Etudes de grammaire égyptienne,” *AcOr*, Vol. 16 (1937) pp. 81–84, and Kurt Sethe, “Das Verhältnis zwischen Demotisch und Koptisch und seine Lehren für die Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache,” *ZDMG*, Vol. 79 (1925) p. 292, 4a.

<sup>137</sup> See below on the Coptic perfect, vs. William F. Edgerton, “On the Origin of Certain Coptic Verbal Forms,” *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) pp. 257–61. See also Hughes, *JNES*, Vol. 32 (1973) p. 154.

<sup>138</sup> Only certain archaic expressions, adjective verbs, and the like, escaped being replaced by the periphrastic in Coptic. See Walter C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)* (Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen und afrikanischen Sprachen,” Vol. 1 [Leipzig: Veb Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966]) pars. 281–96 and 313.

<sup>139</sup> But the use of the *sdm.f* after *nty-(i)r* is then historically inaccurate and must be the result of a false analogy, providing further evidence that the auxiliary was no longer perceived as a verb.

## Negative

## Forms

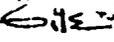
The past tense negative consisted of the auxiliary *bn-pw*, the subject, and an infinitive; see Table 33.<sup>140</sup> Converted forms were built regularly, by prefixing the appropriate converter: *iw* for the circumstantial,<sup>141</sup> *nty* for the relative,<sup>142</sup> *wn-nʒw* for the imperfect,<sup>143</sup> and *ir* for the second tense.<sup>144</sup> See Tables 34–37. The writing of the attested 1 s. main clause form in Mythus is quite unusual, but the reading seems certain.

E327:Mythus 2/20                      *bn-pw.y int.f n.k*  
 “I did not bring it to you.”

The unusual writing is probably due to smearing or to a break in the papyrus. The 3 f., 1 pl., and 3 pl. circumstantial forms and the 3 pl. relative form in Mythus are broken, but easily restorable. The example of the imperfect converter prefixed to the past negative occurs in a broken passage, but this interpretation seems correct.

E328:Mythus 16/2                      *dd.s ʿn ir bn-pw.f di iw.f n hr.ʒ.t n pʒ ʒy dd rhwn-nʒw*  
*bn-pw.f ... n kbʒ*  
 “She said again, ‘To the offering animal he did not give flesh as food.’ That means, he had not ... the weak.”

Table 33. Negative Past

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus
1 s.	3/7 	4/11 	2/20 (?) 
2 m.	5/37 		
2 f.			
3 m.	3/20 	4/2 	2/19 
3 f.			
1 pl.	4/12 		
2 pl.			
3 pl.	3/25 	4/15 	9/20 
N	4/6 	12/15  3/7 	10/99 

<sup>140</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 197.

<sup>141</sup> Written *r* in Mythus.

<sup>142</sup> Prefixed to the circumstantial form.

<sup>143</sup> Written *rhwn-nʒw* in Mythus.

<sup>144</sup> For the converted forms of the negative past, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 199 and note.

Meaning and Usage

The past negative served as the negative equivalent of the past tense.<sup>145</sup>

E329A:Setne 6/18–19 *‘l stne r mr.t r t3 shr.t pr-‘3 hty.f bn-pw.f hr r ph.f r mn-nfr*  
 “Setne climbed on board of the pleasure boat of Pharaoh, he sailed, he did not delay, and he reached Memphis.”

E329B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/15 *t3y.w n.f gšt bn-pw.w t3y n.f dm‘ sh.f hr n3 bld.w*  
 “They took him a writing-palette, but they did not take him a roll of papyrus. He wrote on the potsherds.”

E329C:Mythus 12/28–29 *hbs p3 tw hr.f km n3 tw.w ir p3 h3y qrmṯs n mtre bn-pw.f sw n t3 p.t*  
 “The mountain covered its face; the mountains became black; the light made darkness at noon; and he did not recognize heaven.”

Spiegelberg<sup>146</sup> quoted an example from Mythus as an example of a past negative with present tense, gnomic meaning.

E330:Mythus 10/28–29 *bn-pw.w rh hms r p3 htm ir 3t*  
 “They do not know how to dwell while the throne perishes.”

Table 34. Negative Past, Circumstantial

	Setne	‘Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	3/39	10/16	8/3	9/11
2 m.	4/27	3/22		5/7
				v18/6
				6/36
2 f.			4/11	
3 m.	5/18		6/16	7/27
3 f.		25/9	8/9	v7/2
1 pl.			16/25	
2 pl.				
3 pl.	6/10	5/18	7/21	5/4
N	4/39	3/7		4/2

<sup>145</sup> See *ibid.*, par. 198a.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 198b.

Table 35. Negative Past, Relative

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus
1 s.			12/1 
2 m.			
2 f.			
3 m.		12/4 	
3 f.			
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.			15/18 
N	4/21 		

But the past tense of the verb *rh* “to be able” was used not only in Demotic but also in other stages of Egyptian as the equivalent of an English present tense.<sup>147</sup>

The circumstantial negative past often had the meaning “without having ....”

E331A:Setne 5/18 *ir stne hrw nfr irm tabwbw iw bn-pw.fnw r p3y.s smt n sp sn*

“Setne spent a holiday with Tabubu never having seen her like.”

E331B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/21–22

*dd n.f pr-3 n3-ššnqy s3 t3y-nfr in wnm.k p3y.y q sdm.k t3y.y bin.t iw bn-pw.k iy r di gm.y s*

“Pharaoh said to him, “‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of Tjay-nefer, did you eat my rations and did you hear evil against me without coming to let me know it?””

E331C:Mythus 16/24–26

*n3-n di wnm.k t.n r t3y.n nmt.y.t hr-3t.n r bn-pw.[n] šp s.t-tb3 n hw3 r di wnm.k t.n r iw.k hsy*

“Letting you eat us while our strength is upon us, without [our] having received troubles, is better than letting you eat us while you are tired.”

E331D:Magical 5/7–8

*mtw.k sdr n.k hr w.t tme.t n qme iw bn-pw.k sde wbe rmt nb n p3 t3*

“and you should go to sleep on a reed mat without having spoken to anyone on earth”

<sup>147</sup> See above, Chap. 2, n. 70.

Table 36. Negative Past, Imperfect

	Mythus
1 s.	
2 m.	
2 f.	
3 m.	16/2
3 f.	
1 pl.	
2 pl.	
3 pl.	
N	

Table 37. Negative Past, Second Tense

	Mythus
1 s.	
2 m.	6/12
2 f.	
3 m.	6/2
3 f.	
1 pl.	
2 pl.	
3 pl.	
N	

In addition, the circumstantial negative past had the regular circumstantial uses as virtual relative,

E332A:Setne 4/38–39 *w<sup>c</sup>.t šhm.t ... iw bn-pw šhm.t hpr n p3y.s nw(?)*  
 “a woman ... in whose appearance(?) no (other) woman has come into being”

E332B:‘Onchsheshonqy 8/4 *m-ir ir md.t iw bn-pw.k šn n-im.s (n) t3 h3.t*  
 “Don’t do a thing about which you have not inquired previously!”

E332D:Magical 4/1–2 *hr iny.k w<sup>c</sup> tks n ht n dyt iw.f t3y rd.t 4.t iw bn-pw rmt nb n p3 t3 hms hr-3t.fr nhh*  
 “You bring an olivewood stool with four legs on which no man on earth has ever sat.”

after *hpr* “to happen,”<sup>148</sup>

E334A:Setne 6/15 *iw.f hpr iw bn-pw.w gm ih-wr.t*  
 “If (it happens that) they have not found Ahure”

E334C: Mythus 4/11 *nty iw hpr.fr bn-pw.t gmf.fr hr n3y*  
 “when it happens that you have not found him in this way”

E334D:Magical 17/13 *iw.f hpr iw bn-pw p3 wyn pyr*  
 “If (it happens that) the light did not come forth”

or as the adverbial adjunct of a second tense.

<sup>148</sup> Or *gm* “to find.”

E333:Setne 6/10 *gm s n3nfrk3pth iw bn-pw.w gm n3<sup>c</sup>.wy.w n htp*  
 “Naneferkaptah found out that they had not found the places of rest.”

Spiegelberg quoted examples of the circumstantial negative past tense, *ibid.*, pars. 199–200.

- E335: Mythus 6/16 *ir.f dd wyt r bn-pw.f dd kt-ht iny*  
 “Without having named other stones, he named greenstone.”

Spiegelberg suggested<sup>149</sup> that some circumstantial past tense negative forms had present or future meaning, but this is incorrect. All circumstantial past negative forms, including most of the examples he quoted, described events prior in time to that of the verb to which they are circumstantial.

- E336a:Magical 13/8–9 *my n.f p3 wywy ... š<sup>c</sup>-mtw.w prd r n3y.w iry.w iw bn-pw.w htp r šwe r nhe*  
 “Give him strife ... until they are separated from each other, they never having been at peace, ever.”
- E336b:Magical V18/5–7 *mtw.k sde irm.y ... iw bn-pw.k dd n.y md.t n <sup>c</sup>de*  
 “and speak to me ... without having said to me falsehood”
- E337:P. Insinger 7/3 *h<sup>c</sup> iw bn-pw.w wh3.f*  
 “a life which was not sought”
- E338a:Setne 5/9–10 *iw.k r iy ... iw bn-pw.y ir md.t nds.t*  
 “You should come ..., I not having done the thing of a humble woman(?)”
- E338b:Setne 3/24 *iw bn-pw.y hrr*  
 “I will bring this book”  
 “without having delayed.”

All these can be rendered “without having ...” Any future nuance, such as future perfect, has been acquired from the preceding verb.<sup>150</sup> The other two examples quoted by Spiegelberg are not *bn-pw* but *bn iw*, the negative future,<sup>151</sup> and thus they do indeed have future meaning.

- E339:Setne 5/5<sup>152</sup> *iw.y di t3y.w t.t r w<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> iw.f hp iw bn iw rmt nb n p3 t3 gm.t*  
 “I will have you taken to a hidden place where no one on earth will be able to find you.”

As with the relative forms of other tenses, the relative forms of the past tense negative could be used to modify a preceding definite noun

- E340A:Setne 4/21 *p3 rmt rh nty iw bn-pw ky hpr m-qdy.t.f*  
 “the wise man whose like did not come into being”
- E340C:Mythus 11/32 *p3 rym nty iw bn-pw.y wnm.f*  
 “the fish which I did not eat”

or could be nominalized to serve as nouns themselves.<sup>153</sup>

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 200.

<sup>150</sup> This is also true of the examples which Ort-Geuthner (*Grammaire*, par. 237) quoted as having present negative meaning.

<sup>151</sup> On which see above.

<sup>152</sup> The passage in Setne 5/8 is similar.

<sup>153</sup> Spiegelberg discussed past negative relatives in *Grammatik*, par. 547.

E341: ‘Onchsheshonqy 12/4

*pꜣ nty iw bn-pw.f šp s.t-tbꜣ*

“the one who has not experienced danger”

The imperfect converter with the negative past formed a clause meaning “he had not . . .,” as in E328, quoted above. The second tense converter made the negative past clause into a nominal clause serving as subject to a stressed adverbial adjunct.<sup>154</sup>

E342: Mythus 16/12–13

*ir bn-pw.k dd n.y nꜣy n tꜣy tꜣ hꜣ.t r-tbꜣ ih*

“Why did you not tell me this before?”

## History

*Predecessors.* The past tense negative in Late Egyptian was *m/bw pwy.f sdm*, the direct ancestor in form and meaning of the Demotic.<sup>155</sup> The Middle Egyptian past negative was *n sdm.f*.<sup>156</sup> The Late Egyptian form *bw pwy.f sdm* derives from the *n sdm.f* of the verb *pꜣy* “to have done in the past.”<sup>157</sup> When preceded by the circumstantial *iw*, the Late Egyptian, like the Demotic, meant “without having . . .”<sup>158</sup>

*Successors.* The past negative in Coptic was used as in earlier stages of Egyptian.<sup>159</sup>

## PERFECT

### Positive

#### Forms

The perfect tense auxiliary was written *wꜣh* or *wꜣh-*iw**; see Table 38. This *iw* is identical with the *iw* found in the past auxiliary in Magical written *r(.iw)* and with the suffix carrier found in some parts of the present tense paradigm.<sup>160</sup> The circumstantial and relative were formed by prefixing the appropriate converter; see Tables 39 and 40.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>154</sup> See Chap. 2 on the meaning and usage of the second tense. Another example is quoted above, E328.

<sup>155</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 776ff.; Černý, “LEG,” pp. 13–15; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 1; and Frandsen, *Outline*, secs. 7 and 9.

<sup>156</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 105, 1, and 455; Mordechai Gilula, review of *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* by H. Satsinger, *JEA*, Vol. 56 (1970) p. 207.

<sup>157</sup> See Gilula, *JEA*, Vol. 56 (1970) p. 207; Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 484; Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 776; and the Old Egyptian examples of *n sp pꜣ.f sdm* quoted in Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Vol. II, par. 903.

<sup>158</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 781; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 102.

<sup>159</sup> The forms are given in Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 18.

<sup>160</sup> See Tables 1, 4–6, 28, and 30–31. Only one example has a noun subject, Mythus 18/7–8 (E344). The spelling of the auxiliary *wꜣh-*iw**, rather than *wꜣh*, indicates that the scribes were treating it as an auxiliary, not simply as the past tense of the verb *wꜣh* “to stop.”

<sup>161</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of the circumstantial and relative forms in *Grammatik*, pars. 190ff., and an example of a relative formed with *i-wꜣh* in par. 194, 4.

E343:II Khaemwast 4/28–29 *nꜣ md.wt i-wꜣh.k dd n-*im.w**

“the words which you had (already) said”

In par. 193 he cited a participial form written *nty wꜣh*. The omission of the subject indicates that the auxiliary *wꜣh* was no longer perceived as a verb. On the second tense of *wꜣh.f sdm*, see Williams, “Verbal Forms,” p.

Table 38. Perfect

	Setne	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	5/28	4/10	27/17
2 m.	3/21		
2 f.			
3 m.		14/23	v8/4
		14/25	
3 f.			
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.			2/25
N	4/5	19/6	17/12
		18/8	2/24

### Meaning and Usage

The perfect tense described an action which had already taken place and was commonly used to provide background information, in contrast to the past, which was used in past narration.<sup>162</sup> The best translation is often “X has already happened.”<sup>163</sup>

226 and nn. 52–53. Edgerton, *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) p. 260, recognized the meaning “already” and the use of the forms as “perfect or pluperfect,” but nevertheless saw it as the ancestor of *afsōtm*; see below.

<sup>162</sup> See above. See also the examples quoted by Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 188ff., and František Lexa, *Grammaire démotique* (7 vols.; Prague: By the author, 1949 [1947–51]) Vol. 4, pars. 710ff. In one passage in Mythus the verb *snḥ* must have the intransitive meaning “to be bound,” otherwise unattested in Demotic, but found occasionally in Coptic (W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1939] p. 348b).

E344:Mythus 18/7–8

*dī.y dr̄.y iwt p̄ ḥt ḥtb.f r.f r-ḥr.f rh.f s r-ḥr.y dd w̄ḥ-īw dr̄.y snḥ r  
bn iw<.y>rḥ d̄dy m-s̄.f*

“I put my paw between the wood. He shut its mouth on it. He was capable of (doing) it to me because my paw had (already) been bound, in order that <I> would not be able to run after him.”

The *iw* in the auxiliary *w̄ḥ-īw* can be seen *supra-linie* on the photograph of column 18 (pl. XVIIa), as noted by George R. Hughes. It must be identical with the *iw* found elsewhere in Mythus and occasionally in Magical, with pronominal subjects; see Table 38.

<sup>163</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of the circumstantial and relative forms in *Grammatik*, pars. 190ff., and an example of a relative formed with *i-w̄ḥ* in par. 194, 4.

E343:II Khaemwast 4/28–29

*n̄ md.wt i-w̄ḥ.k dd n-īm.w*

“the words which you had (already) said”

In par. 193 he cited a participial form written *nty w̄ḥ*. The omission of the subject indicates that the auxiliary *w̄ḥ* was no longer perceived as a verb. On the second tense of *w̄ḥ.f sdm*, see Williams, “Verbal Forms,” p.

Table 39. Perfect, Circumstantial

	Setne	Magical
1 s.		
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.	4/4      𓄏𓄏	5/28      𓄏𓄏𓄏
3 f.		
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.		19/10      𓄏𓄏𓄏
N		

Table 40. Perfect, Relative

	Mythus	Magical
1 s.		
2 m.		5/14      𓄏𓄏
2 f.		
3 m.		
3 f.		
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.	2/31      𓄏𓄏𓄏	
N		

E345A: Setne 5/28

*md.t nb.t r-dd.t w3h.y ir.w n.t dr.w*

“Everything which you mentioned, I have already done all of them for you.”<sup>164</sup>

E345C: Mythus 4/22–23

*dd.f t3y.y hr.t p3 k3w n rn.f w3h-ir.w y dd.t.s n.t p3y.f rn n mtr*

“He said, ‘My lady, the above-mentioned food, I have already told you its true name.’”

226 and nn. 52–53. Edgerton, *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) p. 260, recognized the meaning “already” and the use of the forms as “perfect or pluperfect,” but nevertheless saw it as the ancestor of *afsōtm*; see below.

<sup>164</sup> The perfect tense is indicating something which happened prior to the action of the past tense form.

- E345D:Magical 17/12–13 *ỉr.k šnt.f đđ ‘n wʒh pʒ wyn hpr iw.f hpr iw bn-pw pʒ  
wyn pyr ỉr.k đỉ ire pʒ ‘lw hʿ.f sđe n r.f r pʒ hbs*  
“You should ask him, ‘Has the light (already) ap-  
peared?’ If (it happens that) the light did not come  
forth, you should have the youth himself speak with  
his mouth to the lamp.”
- What would appear to be a narrative example parallel to the simple past tense<sup>165</sup> is also  
better understood as description.
- E346:Michaelides 7–8 “He is called our father although he has not been mer-  
ciful to us; with whom our mother spent many years.”  
*wʒh.s ms.n [đỉ].f n-mwt tʒy<.n> mwt*  
“She had born us. He [caused] <our> mother’s death.”
- The meaning and usages of both the circumstantial
- E347A:Setne 4/4 *rđ.f s iw wʒh.f wyt*  
“He could do it (because) it had already dissolved.”
- E347Da:Magical 27/ 27–28 *ỉr.k hʒʿ.f šʿ hrw 40 ... hr gm.k.f iw wʒh.f ỉr snf*  
“If you leave it **forty** days ..., you find it having (al-  
ready) become blood.”
- E347Db:Magical 19/10–11 *[r] n md.t r šte n tʒ mtw.t hr hʒt.f n rmt iw wʒh.w đỉ-  
swr.f phr.t nge đw.t*  
“[A spell] to say in order to remove the venom from  
the heart of a man who has (already) been made to  
drink a potion or poison(?)”
- and relative forms were regular.
- E348C:Mythus 2/30–31 *pʒ ‘hʿ n tʒ imy.t ... nty iw wʒh.w hpr n-im.y ỉrm.s*  
“the lifetime of the cat ... which had already hap-  
pened to me with her”
- E348D:Magical 5/13–14 *wnđ.k r-ỉr.y dy n pʒ hrw mw ky pʒ ky n wnđ.k r mwses  
nty r.ỉr.k ỉr.f hr pʒ tw nty iw wʒh.k đỉ-hpr pʒ kke pʒ  
wyn nʒy-hr.f*  
“Reveal yourself to me here today in the manner of  
the form of revealing yourself to Moses which you did  
upon the mountain before which you had (previously)  
created darkness and light.”<sup>166</sup>

<sup>165</sup> In the Michaelides document published by George R. Hughes, “The Cruel Father: A Demotic Papyrus in the Library of G. Michaelides,” in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson September 12, 1969* (SAOC, No. 35 [1969]) p. 46. See also his note, p. 49.

<sup>166</sup> The perfect tense relative describes an event which had happened prior to the event mentioned in the preceding past tense relative form. The passage from a marriage contract quoted in Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, par. 192) as an example of a perfect tense relative with simple past tense meaning has been quoted incorrectly. Spiegelberg quoted

E349:Vatican 2037B/2 *nʒ hrđ.w nty wʒh.t ms.t.w*  
“the children whom you bore”

But the photograph published by Giuseppe Botti, “Il contratto di matrimonio del Museo gregoriano egizio del Vaticano (Papiro demotico n. 2037B),” *MDAIK*, Vol. 16 (1958) pp. 1–4, pl. 1, shows that this is to be read *nty*

## History

*Predecessors.* This auxiliary appeared first during the Ptolemaic period,<sup>167</sup> although the verb *wʒh* was in use much earlier. In Late Egyptian the present perfect was indicated with the *sdm.f* or *ir.f sdm*.<sup>168</sup> With intransitive verbs, the qualitative in a “First Present” construction often functioned as a perfect.<sup>169</sup>

*Successors.* That the Coptic form *hafsōtm*<sup>170</sup> found in early Coptic manuscripts came from Demotic *wʒh.f sdm* is generally agreed.<sup>171</sup> But *hafsōtm* is usually translated as a simple past narrative, similar or identical in usage and meaning to the simple past form *afsōtm*,<sup>172</sup> and is understood as a dialectical or textual variant thereof.<sup>173</sup> This led some to derive *afsōtm* from Demotic *wʒh.f sdm* with the loss of the *h*.<sup>174</sup> But Demotic *wʒh.f sdm* was, as seen above, a descriptive perfect tense, giving explanatory background, while Coptic *afsōtm* was originally used only for past narration. In some Coptic manuscripts the forms with *h* are used in perfect descriptive passages giving background information, in contrast to forms without *h* which are used for past narration.

E350a:De Resurrectione 46/14–19<sup>175</sup>

*a]hn soun pšēre ngar mprōme auō ahn pisteuē de  
aftōoun abal hn netmaout auō peei petndou mmaf de  
afšōpe nbōl abal mpmou*

“For we had come to know the Son of Man, and we had come to believe that he rose again from the dead, and this is he of whom we say that he became the destruction of death.”

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*ir.t ms.t.w*, not *nty wʒh.t*. This then is an example of the relative converter *nty* prefixed to the periphrastic past tense form; see the discussion with E317. The more common expression was *r-ms.t n.y*; see Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960) Table 5.

<sup>167</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 188; Lexa, *Grammaire*, Vol. 4, par. 710.

<sup>168</sup> See the discussion of the Late Egyptian past tense, above.

<sup>169</sup> Groll, *Negative Verbal*, secs. 20–21.

<sup>170</sup> Walter C. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (2d ed.; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1961) par. 262.

<sup>171</sup> It is occasionally found in the Old Coptic texts, also. See Edgerton, *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) p. 258; Paul E. Kahle, *Balaʾizah: Coptic Texts from Deir el-Balaʾizah in Upper Egypt*, I (London: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1954) pp. 171–75; Robert Haardt, “Versuch einer altkoptischen Grammatik” (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna, 1948); *idem*, “Koptologische Miscellen,” *WZKM*, Vol. 57 (1961) pp. 96–97.

<sup>172</sup> E.g., Edgerton, *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) pp. 257ff.; Kahle, *Balaʾizah I* 171–75; Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 313c; and the references in those places.

<sup>173</sup> Kahle (*Balaʾizah I* 174) called the insertion or omission of *h* in early Coptic texts “so uncertain that no real weight can be attached to its presence in the prefix *ha*” and attributed the *h* to an attempt to distinguish the past and second present at the time of the standardization of the Middle Egyptian dialects. He had to admit, however, that the earliest such text had no *h*.

<sup>174</sup> For the most likely derivation, from Demotic *ir.f sdm*, see the discussion of the Coptic past tense, above.

<sup>175</sup> All the Coptic texts quoted in this section date from the fourth century.

E350b:De Resurrectione 45/23–28

*tote qe nthe ntaha papostolos doof de anšp hise nmmef  
auō antōōn nmmef auō anbōk atpe nmmef*

“But then as the Apostle had already said, ‘We suffered with him and we arose with him and we went to heaven with him.’”

E351:Veritatis 26/7–16

*alla afr ousōma ounaq n štartr afšope nhreī hn nskeuos  
de haeine ahoušouōou hnkaue ahoumahou de[s] hnkaue  
ahoushnitou hnkaue ahoupanou haeine ahoutoubau  
hnkekaue ahoupōše maeit nim aukim auō auštartr*

“But it took on body as well. A great confusion reigned among the jars for some had been emptied, others had been filled; some had been provided for, others had been overthrown; some had been sanctified, still others had been broken to pieces. All the spaces were shaken and confused.”

E352a:BM 2724/9

*āiei ebol hīt[o]ttk ekmokh nhēt etbe pqol ete haīdos*

“I left you while you grieved because of the lie which I had told.”

E352b:BM 2724/24

*haīshēt nak etbepai dekekō nai ebol nanob[e]*

“I have written to you about this in order that you forgive me my sins.”

Thus, early Coptic still distinguished these two tenses, as did Demotic.

But this distinction was lost early in the Coptic period, leading to the confusion and coalescence of the two forms. The levelling took place in different directions. In some texts, e.g., the Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic, both the past narrative and the perfect descriptive forms were written with the *h*.

E353a:Gospel of John 6/22

*pʒ etnthalassa hauneu de mmn dai mmeu nsa ouei auō  
de mpeīs alē epdai mn nefmathētēs alla nefmathētēs  
ouaeu nete hauše nau*

“Those who were in the sea saw that there was no boat there except one and that Jesus had not entered the boat with his disciples, but his disciples alone were the ones who had gone away.”

E353b:Gospel of John 6/65–66

*nafdō mmas de etbe peī haīdas nētn de mmn qam  
n[hi]eī šarai imēti nsetes nef ebal hitn piōt etbe peī  
haoulaši nef mathētēs še nau*

“He said, ‘Because of this I have told you that no one can come to me unless it is granted him by the Father.’ Because of this many of his disciples drew back.”

E353c:Gospel of John 6/41

*naukremrem oun pe [n]di nioudei etbētf de hafdas de  
anak pe paik etehafi ebal hin tpē*

“Then the Jews murmured at him because he had said, ‘I am the bread which has come down from heaven.’”

E353d:Gospel of John 9/28 *hausehou mm[af] eudō mmas de ...*  
 “They reviled him, saying, ‘....’”

E353e:Gospel of John 9/34–35

*hauhitf ebal auō hafšōtm ndi īs de hauhitf ebal*  
 “They threw him out. And Jesus heard that they had thrown him out.”

In other texts, the past narrative was occasionally written with *h*, although usually without. In this case the forms with and without *h* were sometimes supplemental parts of the same past narrative paradigm, as in Acta Pauli,<sup>176</sup> in which *h* was used with noun subjects. Sometimes it was simply a matter of style.

E354:P. Bodmer VI, 7/15–17

*etbepāi hiī abol atōmt pho eteiouahf aīēi arof hisōmnt*  
*mpaklok nhnkrea aīpōrh mmof nhnamphitapis nte qēme*  
*aīnouđh noukrokos hepaklok paēi noukinnamōn*  
 “Because of this, I came out to meet you; the face which I love, I found it;<sup>177</sup> I stretched out straps <upon> my bed (frame); I spread out on it Egyptian tapestries; I sprinkled saffron on my bed, and in my house, cinnamon.”<sup>178</sup>

But since the past narrative form without *h* was more common than the forms with *h*, the levelling more commonly left both forms written without the *h*. As this practice came to predominate, as it did in standard Coptic, the separate identity of the perfect was lost.<sup>179</sup> Thus Demotic had two separate forms for past and perfect, although both Late Egyptian and (standard) Coptic used the same form for both meanings.

The relatives with *h* also originally referred to an event which had occurred previously.

E355a:Apocryphon Johannis 68/3–4

*astadro nqi tefmtrmnhēt nouou anetahtamiof*  
 “His wisdom made him stronger than those who had created him.”

E355b:Apocryphon Johannis 69/12–14

*afšōpe nourōme ešaumou paī pe ntahei ehrai nšorp*  
 “He became a mortal man, the one who had come down first.”

<sup>176</sup> Edited by Carl Schmidt, *Acta Pauli: Übersetzung, Untersuchungen und koptischer Text* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905).

<sup>177</sup> See Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer VI: Livre des Proverbes*, *Scriptores Coptici*, Vol. XXVIII, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Vol. CXCIV (Louvain: Secrétariat Général du CorpusSCO, 1960) p. 18, n. 2.

<sup>178</sup> See also the Akhmimic version of the Ascension of Isaiah, ed. by L. Th. Lefort, “Fragments d’Apocryphes en copte-akhmîmique,” *Le Muséon*, Vol. 52 (1939) pp. 7–10; P. Lacau, “Fragments de l’Ascension d’Isaïe en copte,” *Le Muséon*, Vol. 59 (1946) pp. 453–67.

<sup>179</sup> There are rare examples from the Arabic period of non-literary texts using the *h*; see Kahle, *Bala’izah I* 174–75.

In contrast with the main clause form, the relative form *e(n)tah* continued in use, especially in Theban texts,<sup>180</sup> although specialized as the past participle.<sup>181</sup> In such participles, *ha < wʒh* was clearly no longer considered a conjugated verb, but only an auxiliary.

Table 41. Negative Perfect

	Mythus	
1 s.		
2 m.		
2 f.		
3 m.		
3 f.		
1 pl.		
2 pl.		
3 pl.		
N	7/32	ⲕⲉⲥⲓⲱ

Table 42. Negative Perfect, Circumstantial

	'Onchsheshongy	Magical	
1 s.		11/21	ⲁⲓⲱⲥⲓⲱ
2 m.		6/11	ⲁⲓⲱⲥⲓⲱ
		15/6	ⲁⲓⲱⲥⲓⲱ
2 f.			
3 m.		3/11	ⲁⲓⲱⲥⲓⲱ
3 f.		v5/3	ⲁⲓⲱⲥⲓⲱ
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.	19/23		15/6
N			ⲁⲓⲱⲥⲓⲱ

## Negative

### Forms

The examples of the main clause auxiliary of the negative perfect, *bw-ir-tw*, are given in Table 41. More common are the circumstantial forms given in Table 42,<sup>182</sup> which consist of the circumstantial converter plus the main clause form.

### Meaning and Usage

This form negated the perfect tense and meant “X had not yet happened.” As with the positive, the negative perfect was used most commonly in descriptions.

E356:Mythus 7/32 *bw-ir-tw r.t šwy*

“Your mouth had not yet dried up.”

The form appeared most frequently in circumstantial clauses, in which it can usually be translated “before X happens/happened.”<sup>183</sup>

<sup>180</sup> See Crum in H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition: The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, Vol. 2 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 1926) p. 291, n. 3 to no. 544; Kahle, *Bala'izah I* 175–79; and the references in those places. See also Peter Nagel, “Der frühkoptische Dialekt von Theben,” in *Koptologische Studien in der DDR* (Halle-Wittenberg: Institut für Byzantinistik, 1965) p. 44, par. 3.43.

<sup>181</sup> See also Demotic *nty wʒh*, quoted above, n. 161.

<sup>182</sup> Spiegelberg cited forms in *Grammatik*, par. 201. In Magical, the 3 pl. form has a short vertical stroke, replacing the long stroke found elsewhere in the paradigm. This is also true of the terminative (Table 45) and the conjunctive (Table 50).

E357:Magical 6/11

*nʒ sh.w nty iir.k ʿš.w r pʒ sʿl r pʒ hbs r tʒ hʒ.t iw bw-ir-tw.k ʿš r pʒ ʿlw*

“the writings which you should recite to the wick, to the lamp, first, before you have spoken to the youth”

The circumstantial could also be used as a virtual relative.

E358:Magical 3/11

*mtw.k iny wʿ hm-hl iw.f wʿb iw bw-ir-tw.f šm irm šm.t*

“and you should bring a pure youth who has not yet gone with a woman”

The only example of the negative perfect in ‘Onchsheshonqy is a circumstantial example used as the stressed adverbial adjunct after a second tense.

E359:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/23

*iir irp ʿw iw bw-ir-tw.w glp.f*

“Until it has been opened, wine matures.”

## History

*Predecessors.* The Late Egyptian *bw sdmt.f* and periphrastic *bw irt.f sdm* were equivalent to the Demotic negative perfect in both form and meaning.<sup>184</sup> The Late Egyptian comes from the Middle Egyptian form *n sdmt.f*, with the same usage and meaning.<sup>185</sup> As in Demotic, the circumstantial was more common than the main clause form in both Middle and Late Egyptian.

*Successors.* Polotsky<sup>186</sup> listed both the main clause and converted forms of the negative perfect. As in the earlier periods, the circumstantial form was more common than the main clause form, the meaning in both cases being identical with that in the earlier periods.

## OPTATIVE

### Positive

#### Forms

There are three forms of the optative in use in Demotic—initial prospective *sdm.f* and *my* plus simple or periphrastic *sdm.f*. *My* is the imperative of the verb *di* “to cause.”<sup>187</sup> The three forms are interchangeable and are therefore included in one paradigm; see Table

<sup>183</sup> Examples of both main and circumstantial clause negative perfect forms are quoted *ibid.*, pars. 202–3. Williams (“Morphology,” par. 122) called this form the “negative temporal” because of the common translation “before.” But here the form *n-drt sdm.f* is called the temporal; see Chap. 4. The negative thereof would be formed with the negative verb *tm*, the manner of negating all clause conjugations; see the introduction to Chap. 4. The terminology “negative perfect” for the form *bw-ir-tw.f sdm* stresses the perfect tense meaning and its position as one of the basic tenses. Groll (*Negative Verbal*, sec. 21) also identified *bw-ir-tw.f sdm* as the negative equivalent of Demotic *wʒh.f sdm*.

<sup>184</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 445; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 20; Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 25–28 and 106 (circumstantial).

<sup>185</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 402–3.

<sup>186</sup> “CCS,” par. 18.

<sup>187</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 184.

43.<sup>188</sup> “Optative” is the traditional name applied to Coptic *marefsōtm*, from Demotic *my ir:f sdm*. Polotsky<sup>189</sup> has shown that syntactically this is a “causative imperative”; many of the Demotic examples, especially those written *my* plus the non-periphrastic *sdm.f*, retain the literal meaning “cause that ...” or “let ....” Although the second person occurs freely as subject of the prospective *sdm.f*, the literal meaning of the forms with *my* tends to prevent a construction such as *my sdm.k* “cause that you hear!”<sup>190</sup> There are no certain examples in ‘Onchsheshonqy of any form of the optative with 2 m. subject, but the example in 19/2 may be an optative.

Table 43. Optative

	Setne	‘Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	3/4		17/9	3/17
2 m.			3/2	11/3
2 f.			19/4	
3 m.	3/2 3/4	2/9	17/26 8/22	10/8 3/2
3 f.		13/15	5/11	15/17 13/28
1 pl.	4/12			
2 pl.				
3 pl.	3/5	3/19-20	5/31 12/3	2/28 9/22
N	5/14	4/2 14/10	16/31 11/29-30	10/7 2/11 2/26

E360: ‘Onchsheshonqy 19/2

*dd.k n.y(?) [...] tw.k mwt dd.k n.y(?) [...] ... tw.k ‘nh*  
 “May you say to me(?) [...] you die; may you say to  
 me(?) [...] ... you live.”<sup>191</sup>

The example from Mythus with 2 f. subject is partially destroyed, but can easily be restored *wḏʒ.t* “May you prosper!”; that with noun subject is to be restored *wḏʒ [pʒy.t] tʒw* “May [your] breath prosper!” In Magical 13/28, *my ir.s* was added over the line as a correction, and therefore written smaller than the normal size of the auxiliary and smaller than

<sup>188</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of the prospective *sdm.f* with optative meaning *ibid.*, par. 121, and examples of the optative using *my* in pars. 184–86. Ort-Geuthner (*Grammaire*, par. 140) qualified the optative use of the prospective *sdm.f* as archaic.

<sup>189</sup> “CCS,” p. 393.

<sup>190</sup> In Coptic also the second person of the “optative” does not occur in “classical” texts. The “simple” imperative was used instead. In *t*-causatives the imperative was sometimes formed with *ma* (see Till, *Grammatik*, par. 310); H. J. Polotsky, “Modes grecs en copte?” in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (“Second Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute” [Boston, 1950]) pp. 76–79, rebutting L. Th. Lefort, “À propos de syntaxe copte,” *Le Muséon*, Vol. 60 (1947) pp. 11 and 22.

<sup>191</sup> The initial *sdm.f dd.k* could also be a past tense: “You said ....”

the infinitive. Despite the “verse” point between the noun subject and infinitival predicate in Magical 2/26, this seems to be one clause using the spelling of *ir* as a periphrastic verb before noun subjects.<sup>192</sup>

E361:Magical 2/26                    *my ire qme mh pʒ tʒ n wyn*  
 “May creation fill the earth with light!”

In Magical 19/16 Ort-Geuthner<sup>193</sup> read *my tw.y sdm* and interpreted it as a present tense after the imperative *my*, forming an imperative. It should be read *my* plus the *sdm.f* of the verb *di*<sup>194</sup> followed by an infinitive with pronoun object.

E362:Magical 19/16                    *my di.y hwy.t.w r-hry*  
 “Let me cause them to be thrown up (i.e., vomit them)!”

### Meaning and Usage

All three forms indicate a wish or desire. Those formed with *my* often retain the literal meaning “cause that ...” or “let ...,” as noted above. Although the optative *sdm.f* is common only in oaths and similar archaic expressions,

E363A:Setne 4/24                    *i ir.f pʒ ʿhʿ n pʒ-rʿ*  
 “Oh, may he make the lifetime of Pre!”

E363B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/2            *nh hr.k pʒy.y nb ʿʒ*  
 “By your face (lit., may your face live), my great lord!”

E363C: Mythus 3/13                    *nh pʒ-rʿ*  
 “By Pre (lit., may Pre live; or, as Pre lives)!”

it does occur elsewhere.

E364A:Setne 3/2                    *hpr.f r tʒy.n mhw.t r ʿšʒy*  
 “May it happen that our family (will) be numerous!”

E364B:‘Onchsheshonqy 20/17            *ir.k mre n htr ʿʒ sdr.t.k n tʒy.f hyb.t*  
 “(When[?]) you act as groom to a great span, may you sleep in its shadow!”<sup>195</sup>

E364C:Mythus 5/31–32                    *qsʿs.w t.k mtw.k htp r pʒy.k hn*  
 “May you be buried and rest in your sarcophagus!”

E364D:Magical 11/3                    *nhm.k t. mw ihy nb*  
 “May you save me from everything!”

The form *my* plus the *sdm.f* was very common;

E365A:Setne 4/26                    *my di.w n.y pʒy dmʿ*  
 “Let me be given this papyrus!”

<sup>192</sup> See above, Chap. 1 on the *sdm.f*.

<sup>193</sup> *Grammaire*, par. 166.

<sup>194</sup> Which is identical in form with the present tense auxiliary *tw*.

<sup>195</sup> This may be an example of the *sdm.f* used to indicate either the simple or injunctive future, in which case the translation would be “you should sleep in its shadow” or “you will sleep in its shadow.”

E365B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/19–20

*my in.w ʿnh-ššnqy s3 t3y-nfr*

“Let ‘Onchsheshonqy, the son of Tjay-nefer, be brought!”

E365C:Mythus 12/3

*my ir.w gwe irm.t*

“Let them make festive with you!”

E365D:Magical 3/17

*my wʿb.y mw ky hb šps*

“Let me be pure like the form of the noble ibis!”

that using the periphrastic form *my ir.f sdm* was quite limited until the late period, but common then, as in Magical.

E366:Magical 13/28

*my ire mn r-ms mn mryt my ir.s mh m-s3.y*

“May So and So whom So and So bore love me; may she burn for me!”

In one example in Magical the optative was changed by the scribe into the conjunctive.

E367:Magical 9/22

*mtw.w dd*

*my ir.w dd n.y n t3 m3ʿ.t*

“So that they speak ...”

“Let them speak to me the truth!”<sup>196</sup>

## History

*Predecessors.* In both Middle and Late Egyptian the forms *imʿ sdm.f* and (*ih*) *sdm.f* were used to express a wish or desire.<sup>197</sup>

*Successors.* The Coptic optative auxiliary was written *maref*, as noted above, and indicated a wish.<sup>198</sup>

## Negative

### Forms

The negative equivalent of the optative using *my* consisted of the vetitive *m-ir* plus the infinitive *di* plus a following *sdm.f* or periphrastic *ir.f sdm*; see Table 44.<sup>199</sup>

### Meaning and Usage

The negative optative, or negative causative imperative, to use Polotsky’s terminology,<sup>200</sup> retained the literal imperative meaning of the vetitive, being best translated “Don’t let ....” This is true of both non-periphrastic

<sup>196</sup> On the translation of the conjunctive as a result clause, see below, Chap. 4, n. 172.

<sup>197</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 291 and 298; Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 46 and 48A; and Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 338, 2, and 228.

<sup>198</sup> As noted above in the discussion of forms. See also Till, *Grammatik*, par. 310.

<sup>199</sup> On the combination *di* plus *sdm.f* or *ir.f sdm*, see Chap. 4 on the causative infinitive.

<sup>200</sup> “CCS,” p. 393. Cf. Lefort, *Le Muséon*, Vol. 60 (1947) p. 26. See also Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 219, and Williams, “Morphology,” pars. 131 and 94.

Table 44. Negative Optative

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Magical
1 s.			
2 m.			
2 f.			
3 m.			17/16
3 f.			21/40
1 pl.	4/12		
2 pl.			
3 pl.		4/14	
N	4/8	14/12	

E368A:Setne 4/8

*m-ir di šm n3nfrk3pth r mn-nfr*

“Don’t let Naneferkaptah go to Memphis.”

E368B:‘Onchsheshonqy 14/23

*m-ir di smy rmt r.ir.k*

“Don’t let a man complain against you!”

E368D:Magical 21/40

*m-ir di wnm.s m-ir di swr.s m-ir di sdr.s m-ir di hms.s*

“Don’t let her eat; don’t let her drink; don’t let her lie down; don’t let her sit down!”

and periphrastic forms.

E369A:Setne 4/12

*m-ir di ir.n hrr*“Don’t let us delay!”<sup>201</sup>

E369D:Magical 17/16

*m-ir di ir.f nw m-s3 ge m33 m-s3 p3 hbs w3.t.f*

“Don’t let him look at another place except the lamp alone!”

In one case in ‘Onchsheshonqy with the adjective verb *nfr* “to be good,” the scribe used the form *n3-nfr*.<sup>202</sup>

E370:‘Onchsheshonqy 27/4

*m-ir di n3-nfr ky n ...*

“Don’t cause that another ... be good!”

The use of *n3* is unusual; other examples of adjective verbs in this construction, as elsewhere after *di*, do not have it.

E371:‘Onchsheshonqy 14/12

*m-ir di 33 n3y.k md.wt*

“Don’t let your words be numerous!”

<sup>201</sup> The periphrastic conjugation is not used elsewhere in Setne with the verb *hrr* “to delay,” which occurs frequently in the past negative. Perhaps as George R. Hughes suggested, the *sdm.f* of this verb did not exist.

<sup>202</sup> See Chap. 1 on adjective verbs and n. 100 therewith.

## History

*Predecessors.* The Late Egyptian antecedent of the Demotic negative optative is *m-dyt sdm.f*, rarely *m-ir di sdm.f*.<sup>203</sup> The Late Egyptian form could be preceded by circumstantial *iw*.<sup>204</sup> The corresponding Middle Egyptian form is *m rdi sdm.f*.<sup>205</sup>

*Successors.* The Coptic negative optative or negative causative imperative is *mprtrefsōtm*, which was used to express a negative wish.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> See Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 46 and 48B; Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 789–91.

<sup>204</sup> Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 109; Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 792.

<sup>205</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 340, 3.

<sup>206</sup> Till, *Grammatik*, par. 346.

# CHAPTER 4

## CLAUSE CONJUGATIONS

The clause conjugations are the terminative, temporal, conditional, *sdm.f* after *dī*, causative infinitive, finalis, purpose clauses, and the conjunctive. They are so called because they form dependent clauses, never full sentences.<sup>1</sup> The predicate always consists of an infinitive or *sdm.f*, never an adverbial or qualitative. All are negated with the negative verb *tm*,<sup>2</sup> not by a separate negative form using *bw/bn*, as are the sentence conjugations. Clause conjugations cannot be preceded by any of the converters. Since the forms of the positive and negative do not differ except by the presence or absence of *tm*,<sup>3</sup> there will be no separate discussions of the negatives, with the exception of the conditional.<sup>4</sup>

### TERMINATIVE<sup>5</sup>

#### Forms

The terminative was normally written *š<sup>c</sup>-tw.f sdm* or *š<sup>c</sup>-mtw.f sdm*; see Table 45. Thus, although there do exist forms such as those in Magical where part of the terminative auxiliary is identical with the auxiliary of the conjunctive, the existence of others, such as those in Louvre 2414 and Mythus, written with *tw* rather than *mtw* indicates that the similarity is merely a coincidence and that the terminative should not be understood to be composed of *š<sup>c</sup>* plus the conjunctive.<sup>6</sup> Note the small tick between *mtw* and the 3 pl. suffix pronoun *w* in Magical, taking the place of the tall stroke found in the rest of the paradigm.<sup>7</sup> Note that in one example in Mythus the auxiliary is written *hr-tw.f* rather than *š<sup>c</sup>-tw.f*, indicating that *hr* and *š<sup>c</sup>* were being pronounced identically.<sup>8</sup>

E373:Mythus 7/9

*t3 irty.t nty ir hr3.t n p3 r hr-tw.f ms 3bhy t3y*

“It is milk which makes food for the mouth until it produces a tooth.”

<sup>1</sup> There is only one exception—the examples of the conjunctive form used as main clause; see below.

<sup>2</sup> Spellings of *tm* from various manuscripts are given in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1925) par. 478.

<sup>3</sup> Negation with *tm* involved the use of the negative verb in a positive clause. The clause remained positive syntactically, only the meaning was negative. A negative main clause with *bw/bn* involved the negation of the clause itself. This distinction is also noted in the discussion of the negation of the second tense; see Chap. 2 and n. 232.

<sup>4</sup> The reasons for this will become apparent in the discussion of the negative conditional, below.

<sup>5</sup> This terminology is borrowed from Williams, “Morphology,” par. 123.

<sup>6</sup> As Spiegelberg suggested, *Grammatik*, par. 148.

<sup>7</sup> This is also true of the conjunctive and the negative perfect; see Tables 50 and 42.

<sup>8</sup> See also a Ramesside period example where the terminative auxiliary seems to be written *hr nty*.

E372:O. Brussels E6311, rt./4–6

*n p3 hmty r in (n) p3y.f ntr hr nty t3y hmt n nht-min p3y.f šri iy m hsmn*

“For the metal smith to bring (to) his god until this wife of Nakht-Min, his son, comes with natron.”

Table 45. Terminative

	'Onchsheshongy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.			
2 m.	L 2/5		
2 f.			
3 m.		7/9	13/7
3 f.		21/3	12/10
1 pl.			
2 pl.			
3 pl.			13/9
N		12/3	7/19

### Meaning and Usage

The terminative, which followed the main clause, meant “until something happens/has happened.”<sup>9</sup>

E374B:Louvre 2414, 2/4–5 *m-ir qd p>y.k 'wy hr t>y.k nht š<-tw.k ...f*  
 “Don’t build your house on your levy(?) until you have ... it.”

E374C:Mythus 21/3 *fy.s r kmy irm.f š<-tw.s ph r nhb*  
 “She flew to Egypt with him until she reached El Kab.”

E374D:Magical 7/18–19 *ir.k š n>y š<-mtw p> wyn hpr*  
 “You should recite these until the light appears.”

Following a negative sentence, the terminative may, but need not, be translated “before.”

E375:Petubastis 3/9–11 *bn iw-n> imn t>y yr r niw.t ... š<-tw 'nh-hr s> nswt di n.y p> s'nh*  
 “Amun will not travel to Thebes ... before Ankh-Hor, the son of the king, gives (lit., until Ankh-Hor, the son of the king, has given) me the prebend.”

In one example in Mythus the terminative auxiliary *š<-tw* was followed by a *sdm.f* rather than the subject plus the infinitive. In addition, the *š<-tw sdm* was written in red, as if it were the beginning of a new paragraph.

E376:Mythus 4/26–27 *nhm qnh>. [t ...] t>y.f wp.t š<-tw sdm t> imy t ikš.t*  
 “A shrine cheered [...] his job, **until** the Ethiopian cat **heard**.”

Two examples of *š<-tw* plus the *sdm.f* are found in the Hermopolis Legal Code, where the meaning seems to be “before.”

<sup>9</sup> Spiegelberg quoted examples of the terminative in *Grammatik*, par. 148; Williams from P. Insinger in “Morphology,” par. 123.

E377a:HLC 8/32 *nʒ hrt.w n pʒy.f it nʒ nty ʿnh irm nʒ iir mwt šʿ-tw mwt pʒy.w it*  
 “the children of his father, those who are alive and those who died before their father died”

E377b:HLC 9/7–8 *hpr.w (n) šr pʒy.y it mwt.w šʿ-tw mwt pʒy.w it*  
 “They were (born) as children of my father. They died before their father died.”

Another example is found in the Decree of Raphia, where the meaning seems to be “as soon as,” or the like.<sup>10</sup>

E378:P. Cairo 50048/19–20 *bn iw md ir hʿʒ hn nʒ nty snʒ n ir.w n nʒ ntr.w šʿ-tw sdm.f ʿn dd ir.w gm[ʿ] ʿšʒ [n] nʒ sšm nʒ ntr.w kmy*  
 “Nothing will be lacking in that which is customarily done for the gods as soon as he hears again that much evil was done [to] the images of the gods of Egypt.”

## History

*Predecessors.* In Late Egyptian the terminative, meaning “until” as in Demotic, used the *sdmt.f*, usually of the periphrastic verb *ir* “to do,” after the preposition *šʿ* (i.e., *šʿ iir.tw.f sdm* or *šʿ.tw.f sdm*) or after the preposition *r* (i.e., *r.irt.f sdm* or *iir.tw.f sdm*).<sup>11</sup> There are also occasional Late Egyptian examples of *r sdm.f*, the Middle Egyptian form, which had the same meaning.<sup>12</sup>

*Successors.* The Coptic terminative likewise meant “until.” The negative was formed with *tm*.<sup>13</sup>

## TEMPORAL

### Forms

The temporal was written *n-drt*, or some phonetic equivalent thereof, plus the *sdm.f*. Thus, in Mythus the temporal auxiliary was written *nty iw*, resembling the form of the relative and the second past; in ʿOnchsheshonqy it was written *n-tʒy*.<sup>14</sup> See Table 46. The only

<sup>10</sup> This example was noted by George R. Hughes.

<sup>11</sup> See Adolf Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (2d ed.; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968) par. 443; Alan H. Gardiner, “The Origin of Certain Coptic Grammatical Elements,” *JEA*, Vol. 16 (1930) pp. 231–34; Paul John Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974) pars. 56–58.

<sup>12</sup> See Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (3d ed.; London: Oxford University Press on behalf of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1964) par. 407, 1.

<sup>13</sup> For the forms, see Walter C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (Säidischer Dialekt)* (“Lehrbücher für das Studium der orientalischen und afrikanischen Sprachen,” Vol. 1 [Leipzig: Veb Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1966]) par. 312; *idem*, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (2d ed.; Munich: C. H. Beck, 1961) par. 260.

<sup>14</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 510, also cited forms written *mtw*. For the significance of the similarity of forms in Mythus between the temporal and the second past, see below, where it is noted that in some Coptic dialects the second past was used for the temporal.

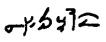
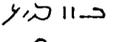
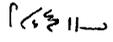
examples of the temporal using the periphrastic form *ir.f sdm* are from the Demotic Chronicle.<sup>15</sup>

E379:Demotic Chronicle 4/1

*n-drt ir.f shn*

“When he commanded”

Table 46. Temporal

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.				
2 m.				6/31 
2 f.				
3 m.	5/35 		4/11 	
3 f.			21/7 	
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.		3/15 	15/18-19 	
N				

### Meaning and Usage

The temporal was used in dependent clauses corresponding to English “when” or “after something (has/had) happened.” The time of the action of the temporal clause was always anterior to the time of the action of the main clause.<sup>16</sup> The temporal clause normally preceded the main clause.

E380B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/15

*n3 md.wt n-t3y dd.w st n.k in dd.k st ir-hr rmt nb n p3 t3*

“The words, when they were said to you, did you say them to any man at all?”

E380C:Mythus 9/21

*nty iw ir.f t.y n hry r n3 hry.w di.f ir.y nb n p3 t3 dr.f n*

“After he made me master of the masters, he caused me to act as lord of the entire land also.”

E380D:Magical 6/31–32

*n-drt gm.k wsir hr p3y.f rms n dwfe thn ... iwddys 3s.t*

...

“When you find Osiris on his boat of papyrus and faience ..., say, ‘Isis, ....’”

An example where the temporal clause follows the main clause occurs in Setne.

<sup>15</sup> Another example is cited in Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris* (“Demotische Studien,” Vol. 7 [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1914]) p. 85, no. 273a.

<sup>16</sup> Spiegelberg quoted further examples, *Grammatik*, pars. 511–13. See also Williams, “Morphology,” par. 121.

E381:Setne 5/35

*stne iw r mn-nfr hlg.f r nȝy.f hr̄t.w n-drt gm.f st iw.w  
 ʿnh*

“Setne came to Memphis. He embraced his children when he found them alive.”

## History

*Predecessors.* In Late Egyptian the temporal was written *m/n-dr sdm.f*. When the temporal was sentence initial, it was preceded by the particle *ir*.<sup>17</sup>

*Successors.* For the forms of the Coptic temporal, with the same meaning as the Demotic, see Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*.<sup>18</sup> The negative verb *tm* was used to negate the temporal.<sup>19</sup> In Bohairic, and sometimes in Fayumic, the second past was used in place of a separate temporal form.<sup>20</sup>

# CONDITIONAL

## Positive

### Forms

The forms of the conditional auxiliary attested in these four texts are given in Table 47.<sup>21</sup> Although the spelling of the forms with pronominal subject written *iw* plus suffix pronoun<sup>22</sup> is identical with the spelling of other auxiliaries, e.g., future or circumstantial present, the total paradigm is unique. The spelling of the negative conditional auxiliary differs from that of the negative of any of the forms written similarly to the positive.<sup>23</sup> Spiegelberg did not accurately distinguish between the circumstantial present, second tense, etc.<sup>24</sup> Thus, his examples may be used, but not his terminology.

<sup>17</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 810; Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 15, (3), (a), and 16, (8). Both Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, par. 510) and Georg Steindorff (*Lehrbuch der koptischen Grammatik* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952] n. to par. 447) thought the Demotic temporal was a late development, from *r-ntt* plus *sdm.f*, rather than the descendant of the Late Egyptian temporal *m-dr sdm.f*. But the earlier Demotic examples, such as Setne, were written *n-drt*, not *nty iw* or the like. Note also the Demotic spelling of the preposition *n-drt* as *mtw* (Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 375).

<sup>18</sup> 2d ed. (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1961) par. 265.

<sup>19</sup> See Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 450; Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 27.

<sup>20</sup> See Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, pars. 264–65. The temporal use of the second past was negated by prefixing the relative converter *ete* to the negative past tense form; see Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 450.

<sup>21</sup> The negative conditional and irrealis are discussed in the following sections.

<sup>22</sup> The examples in Mythus with *iir* plus suffix pronoun will be discussed below; note that with 2 m. subject the scribe of Magical always wrote *iir* for *iw*.

<sup>23</sup> The negative conditional is *iw.f tm sdm* (see below); the negative future is *bn iw.f sdm* (see Chap. 3); the negative circumstantial present is *iw bn iw.f sdm ... in* (see Chap. 2).

<sup>24</sup> *Grammatik*, par. 494. The same is true of Georges Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire démotique du Papyrus Magique de Londres et Leyde* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936) par. 415.

Table 47. Conditional

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.		27/18	12/8 18/21	19/16
2 m.	3/14	8/6	18/14	3/18 3/29
2 f.				
3 m.	5/9	1/19	14/15	2/1
3 f.				
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.		10/8	5/4	15/13
N		5/5	5/32	6/21 7/27 V26/4 6/34

Demotic conditionals with *in-nʒ* have almost exclusively noun subjects, entirely so in the texts under intensive study here. Likewise, the conditional auxiliary with noun subject was almost exclusively written with *in-nʒ* (*ʒn-nʒw* in Mythus).<sup>25</sup>

E382B: 'Onchsheshonqy 19/5–6

*in-nʒ pʒy.k ddy šnt.k m-ir hp.k r.r.f in-nʒ ipt fy (n) mʒ*  
*r pʒy.f iry iw mhy.t hy n-im.f*

“When your enemy seeks you, don’t hide (yourself) from him. When a bird flies from one place to another, a feather will fall from it.”

E382C: Mythus 5/32–33

*ʒn-nʒw msh ʿw n ms n ʿ.wy nb ur.f mwt n tʒ hny.t nty*  
*iw tʒy.f n iw.t tʒy*

“When a crocodile grows old in any place, it is in the canal which is his city (i.e., home) that he dies.”

E382D: Magical 6/21

*in-nʒ ʒ.w n hʒt hpr ur.k nhe*

“If stubbornness (lit., greatness of heart) occurs, you should awaken.”

In the Hermopolis Legal Code all conditional clauses with noun subjects, and only those with noun subjects, were introduced with the conditional particle *in-nʒ*.

E383: HLC 3/30

*in-nʒ rmt smy r rmt dd ...*

“If a man sues a man, saying, ‘...’”

<sup>25</sup> See Janet H. Johnson, “Conditional Clauses in ‘Onchsheshonqy,” *Serapis*, Vol. 2 (1970) pp. 22–28.

Of the twelve examples of *in-nʒ* in P. Insinger, eleven have noun subjects.<sup>26</sup> The twelfth, written *in-nʒ iw.f*, is in a triplet, the other two lines of which begin *in-nʒ* plus noun.

E384:P. Insinger 17/12–14 *in-nʒ hʒt.f mr irp bw-ir.f rh swr r thy in-nʒ iw.f whʒ*  
*hʒrʒ.t bw-ir.f rh ir pʒy.f gy [n] wnm in-nʒ hʒt.f whʒ*  
*sh̄m.t bw-ir pʒy.s tʒ ph*

“If his heart desires wine, he is unable to drink to drunkenness. If he wishes food, he is unable to carry out his manner [of] eating. If his heart desires a woman, her time(?) does not arrive.”

In other triplets,<sup>27</sup> the beginning of each of the three lines is identical. Thus, *in-nʒ iw.f* in 17/13 may be a scribal error for *in-nʒ hʒt.f*,<sup>28</sup> not a violation of the rule presented here that *in-nʒ* was used only, and always, with noun subjects.<sup>29</sup>

Most of the examples of *in-nʒ* quoted by Spiegelberg and Lexa<sup>30</sup> also have a noun subject,<sup>31</sup> or an independent pronoun, which in this case is syntactically identical with a noun.

E390:P. Lonsdorfer I/3–4 *in-nʒ mtw.t iir šm n.t ... iw.t di n.y*

“If it is you who goes away ... you will give to me.”

There are only two examples of *in-nʒ* with a following suffix pronoun subject. In both cases the particle is written *in* and followed by *iw* plus the pronoun. One is in a Persian period marriage contract.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Williams, “Morphology,” par. 182.

<sup>27</sup> E.g., 15/12–14, 17/23–18/2, and 16/4–6, the last being three conditional clauses using *in-nʒ* with a noun subject.

<sup>28</sup> As suggested by George R. Hughes.

<sup>29</sup> A possible exception is found in Rylands.

E385:Rylands IX, 18/13 *iir dwʒ hpr ...*  
 “When dawn came, ....”

But this was followed by a *sdm.f* and has past tense meaning; see the discussion of the form of the apodosis, below. Note the similar Late Egyptian example in Wenamun.

E386:Wenamun 1/47 and 2/70–71 *iw dwʒ hpr ...*  
 “When morning came, ....”

But “when dawn comes,” expressing a future condition, was written in Demotic *in-nʒ dwʒ hpr*; see George R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases (SAOC, No. 28 [1952])* p. 20, par. g.

<sup>30</sup> *Grammatik*, pars. 497–98, and *Grammaire démotique*, Vol. 5 (7 vols.; Prague: By the author, 1949 [1947–51]) par. 1079, respectively. As an example of the conditional *in-nʒ* plus *sdm.f* Lexa cited an example from Rylands. But this is better understood as a question than as a conditional.

E387:Rylands IX, 10/17 *in wt(.y) s*  
 “Shall I dismiss him?”

See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 487, who also cited other examples of *in* plus *sdm.f*, to which can be added an example from ‘Onchsheshonqy.

E388:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/15 *in dd.k st*  
 “Did you say them?”

<sup>31</sup> Spiegelberg also quoted (*ibid.*, par. 497a) an example with a nominal sentence following *in-nʒ*.

E389:Rylands IX, 8/18 *my ir pʒ-di-ʒs.t wʒb n-im.w in-nʒ mtre pʒy*  
 “Let Petiese act as priest among them if it is what is proper.”

<sup>32</sup> Quoted in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 498.

E391:BM 10120, A/2 *in iw(.y) hʒʿ.t n hm.t ... ink iir di n.t*

“If I abandon you as wife ..., it is I who gives to you.”

The comparable phrase in all later marriage documents was written *iw.y hʒʿ.t*, without *in(-nʒ)*.<sup>33</sup> Pestman<sup>34</sup> cited rare examples of *in-nʒ* plus *iir.t*, the second tense with suffix pronoun subject.<sup>35</sup> In parallels of this phrase the independent pronoun precedes *iir.t*, in anticipatory emphasis.<sup>36</sup> Thus, either the use of *in-nʒ* with the second tense was not limited to noun subjects<sup>37</sup> or the examples quoted by Pestman are examples of the omission of the independent pronoun, which would have functioned as the noun following *in-nʒ*.<sup>38</sup> In either case, *in-nʒ iir.t* should be seen as a reinterpretation of the earlier form *in-nʒ* plus independent pronoun plus participle found in E390. The only other example consists of *in* plus *iw.k*, but is parallel to a conditional clause with pronominal subject written simply *iw.w*, without *in*.

E393:P. Cairo JdE 89127–30, 89137–43, E/9–12

*iw.w dd n.k ky ʿwʒh rʒ i-ir-n.w<sup>1</sup> iw.f n mtr r pʒ smt in iw.k ʒʒ pʒ ʿw pʒ hm r pʒ ʒ iw.k dit s wbʒ l ʒʒʿ.tw.f mh*

“When another ʿadd-fraction-to them<sup>1</sup> (problem) is stated to you, it will be successful according to the model. If you take the excess of the small (number) against the large (number), you shall put it opposite 1 until it completes.”<sup>39</sup>

There are examples where the clause following *in-nʒ* has the “*r* of futurity,” as if it were a future rather than a present tense clause.

E394:BM 10597/8 *in-nʒ šm r hpr*

“When harvest comes (lit., will come)”

E395:BM 10591, 10/7 *in-nʒ rmt r ir sh (n) sʿnh n shm.t*

“If a man will make a document of endowment for a woman.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>33</sup> See Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960) pl. IV. Lexa (*Grammaire*, Vol. 4, par. 617) quoted an example from P. Loeb as an example of the conditional. But if one quotes the passage more fully, it is seen that the *in* belongs with the preceding *bn*, forming a (circumstantial) negative present.

E392:P. Loeb 7/4–8

*]md.t ... r bn iw di.k mʒʿ r-hr.y n-im.w in iw.y ʿhʿ iir-hr pʒ sh wt mtw.y md irm.k*

“]a thing ... in which you are not justified against me. I will stand before the decree scribe and speak against you.”

The pronoun subject in Lexa’s only other example, P. Insinger 2/22, is restored.

<sup>34</sup> P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (“Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava,” Vol. 9 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961]) p. 65, n. 6. To Pestman’s collection add, e.g., P. Turin Suppl. 6111/13.

<sup>35</sup> See the discussion by Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, pp. 271–72.

<sup>36</sup> See *ibid.*, pl. IV, and Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 465.

<sup>37</sup> Because the whole clause containing the second tense was functioning as a noun.

<sup>38</sup> As suggested by George R. Hughes.

<sup>39</sup> The transliteration and translation are Richard A. Parker’s, *Demotic Mathematical Papyri* (“Brown Egyptological Studies,” Vol. 7 [Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1972]) p. 18.

<sup>40</sup> See also Petubastis 10/21–22. All three examples are noted by Wente, “SVM,” p. 121, n. 3.

- E396a:HLC 2/5–6 *in-nʒ pʒ i[ir sk nʒ ʒh.w] r smy r pʒ nb n nʒ ʒh.w*  
 “If the one who [farmed the land] will sue the owner  
 of the land”
- E396b:HLC 7/29 *in-nʒ rmt r šht ʿ.wy r tm di qd.w s*  
 “If a man (will) hinder a house in order not to let it be  
 built”

Examples of *in-nʒ* with a noun subject often appear in parallel with, and in contrast to, examples with the suffix pronoun subject written *iw* plus pronoun, a form resembling the future or the circumstantial present.<sup>41</sup>

- E397:BM 10593/4 *iw.y hʒʿ.t hm.t in mtw.t iir hʒʿ.t<sup>42</sup>*  
 “If I abandon you (as) wife or if it is you who abandons me”
- E398:P. Lonsdorfer I/3–4 *in-nʒ mtw.t iir šm n.t iw.t hʒʿ(.y) n hy*  
 “If it is you who goes away and if you abandon me as husband”
- E399a:HLC 3/30 *in-nʒ rmt smy r rmt dd ...*  
 “If a man sues a man, saying, ‘....’”
- E399b:HLC 3/18 *iw.f smy [r.r.f dd] ...*  
 “If he sues [him, saying,] “....””

The form with pronominal subject using the suffix pronoun preceded by *iw* is found in all Demotic texts, literary and non-literary.

- E400A:Setne 3/14 *iw.k ʿš pʒ hp mh 2*  
 “If you recite the second formula”
- E400B:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/8  
*iw.w hwy.t.k [r-]bnr n pʒ ʿ.wy (n) pʒy.k hry iiry n.f mnt*  
 “If you are thrown [o]ut of the house of your superior,  
 act as his doorkeeper!”
- E400C:Mythus 14/26 *iw.f hpr r.iw.y dd md.t n [ʿwd].t im.t irm.y r pʒ tw hry.t*  
 “If (it happens that) I am saying anything [false],  
 come with me to the mountain above!”
- E400D:Magical 2/1 *iw.f wn ir.t.f mtw.f nw r pʒ wyn*  
 “If he opens his eyes and sees the light”
- E401:P. Turin Suppl. 6077, C/22  
*iw.y st.y r tm ir n.t r-ht md.t nb.t nty hry*  
 “If I withdraw in order not to do for you according to  
 everything above”<sup>43</sup>

Magical contains only one example of *in-nʒ* with a noun subject, E382D, and two examples of *in* plus a cleft sentence.

<sup>41</sup> See above, Tables 20 and 2.

<sup>42</sup> On the reading, see Pestman, *Marriage*, p. 67; Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, p. 212, n. 452.

<sup>43</sup> For other examples, see, e.g., the ones in marriage contracts referred to above, n. 33.

E402:Magical 6/14–15 *in tm ỉry s p3 nty ỉir.k ỉr.f ỉ p3 s<sup>l</sup> r-ỉr.y dỉ n-ỉm.k r t3  
gyd.t n t3 ỉh.t kme.t*

“If not doing it is what you will do, oh wick, it is in the hand of the black cow that I (will) put you.”

In most other cases the auxiliary was written *r.ỉre*.<sup>44</sup> A comparison of Magical 6/21, E382D, with a similar passage using *r.ỉre* plus noun shows that the meaning of *r.ỉre* plus noun was identical with that of *ỉn-n3* plus noun.

E403:Magical 7/27–28 *r-ỉre 3w n h3t hpr ỉw bn-pw.f nw r p3 ntr ỉir.k st.k ỉir.k  
3p3y.f htr*

“If stubbornness (lit., greatness of heart) occurs, he not having seen the god, you should turn around and recite his compulsion.”

In addition, parallelism is found between *r.ỉre* plus noun subject and *ỉw* plus pronoun subject.

E404:Magical V5/6–8 *r-ỉre dw3 hpr mtw.k gm p3 sym ỉw.f shl<sup>l</sup>t bn ỉw.s r ỉwr  
ỉir.k gm<sup>t</sup>.f ỉw.f wtwt ỉw.s r ỉwr*

“When dawn comes, if you find the plant scorched, she will not become pregnant. If you find it green, she will become pregnant.”

In one example the auxiliary was written *r.ỉr* rather than *r.ỉre*.

E405:Magical V26/4–5 *r-ỉr t3y-hr hpr r tm dd n.k w3h ỉir.k dd p3y ke rn r-ỉr.w  
n sp 9*

“If delay occurs in order not to tell you an answer, you should say this other name to them, 9 times.”

But there is also an example in which the auxiliary with noun subject was written *ỉw*, just as with pronoun subjects.

E406:Magical 6/34–35 *ỉw 3s.t dd my 3w n.y r w<sup>c</sup> ntr ... 3m.w ỉny.w n.s*

“When Isis said, ‘Let a god be called for me ...,’ they went and they brought to her.”

Throughout Demotic the conditional auxiliary *ỉw* with 3 m. subject and the verb *hpr* “to happen” was commonly used to form the protasis of conditional clauses. The *ỉw.f hpr* corresponds to English “if (lit., if it happens that).” The conditional force of *ỉw.f hpr* might be continued by a positive or negative conjunctive.<sup>45</sup>

E407a:Magical 3/19 *ỉw hpr mtw p3y.f msdr 2 md n3nfr.f m-3s sp sn*

“If (<it> happens that) his two ears speak, it is very good.”

E407b:Magical 17/26 *ỉw.f hpr mtw.k tm t3y-w<sup>b</sup> r.r.f bw-ỉr.f hpr*

“If (it happens that) you don’t purify it, it does not happen.”

<sup>44</sup> The forms written *r.ỉre* may be attempts at phonetic rendering; see below, n. 104.

<sup>45</sup> See also the examples cited below, E517. The supposed examples of the conjunctive used as a conditional are discussed below.

More commonly, *iw.f hpr* was followed by a circumstantial clause, positive

E408A:Setne 5/25 *iw.f hpr iw.k whʒ.s*  
 “If (it happens that) you desire it.”

E408B:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/9–10  
*iw.f hpr iw pʒy.k hry hms r-hr pʒ yr m-ir thb drt.k m-  
 bʒh.f*  
 “If (it happens that) your superior is sitting by the river, don’t rinse your hands before him!”

E408C:Mythus 14/15–17 *iw.f hpr r hr in-nw.t hn pʒ yʿm mtw.[t] nw r nʒy nty hn  
 pʒ mw ih pʒ iir hpr n pʒ hf irm pʒ nʒr*  
 “If (it happens that) you can look into the sea and see those (things) which are in the water, what happened to the snake and the falcon?”

E408D:Magical 3/19 *iw.f hpr iw pʒy.f msdr n wnm pʒy nʒ-nfr.f*  
 “If (it happens that) it is his right ear, it is good.”

or negative.<sup>46</sup>

E409A:Setne 6/15 *iw.f hpr iw bn-pw.w gm ih-wr.t*  
 “If (it happens that) they have not found Ahure”

E409B:‘Onchsheshonqy 16/20  
*iw.f hpr iw mn <n->drt.k wn <n->drt.f*  
 “If (it happens that) you have nothing, he has something.”

E409D:Magical 8/15 *iw.f hpr iw bn iw.s r hpr*  
 “If (it happens that) it will not happen”

This periphrastic form *iw.f hpr* was used especially commonly before forms which did not fit into the format of the simple conditional clause, as in many of the examples cited above.<sup>47</sup>

Magical includes one example in which the conditional auxiliary was reinforced by the addition of *šʿne*.

E411:Magical 3/29–30 *nʒ sh nty iir.k ʿš iir.k šʿne wʒ.w r pʒy.w mʿ*  
 “The writings which you should recite if you (would) dismiss them to their place.”

This is the only example in Demotic of the very common Coptic conditional particle *šan*. Spiegelberg<sup>48</sup> quoted passages involving a particle, written identically with the aorist par-

<sup>46</sup> Circumstantial clauses were normally used after the verb *hpr*; see E79.

<sup>47</sup> Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, pars. 500–506) quoted examples with many other types of circumstantial clauses following *iw.f hpr*. Occasionally the second tense was used after *iw.f hpr* to emphasize a following adverbial adjunct.

E410:Petubastis 8/18–19 *iw.f hpr iir.k iy r-nʒy(?) iw-tbʒ qnqne r-im r nʒ krwʒ.w di.y sʒy.k  
 n-im.fʿn*  
 “If (it happens that) it is about fighting that you come here, come to the banks so that I can satisfy you with it also.”

But the second tense was not the form normally found in this environment, as Williams (“Verbal Forms,” p. 227) thought. The examples quoted above show this. See also the examples of *hpr.f* which Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, par. 507) translated as conditional clauses.

ticle *hr*, which he read *hn*. He interpreted the passages as examples of this conditional particle. They are all examples of the (second) aorist, not the conditional.<sup>49</sup>

E412:Mythus 5/18–19      *ir hr ndm.w hr t3y.w s.t dr.w dd p3 ʿ.wy r-ms.w st n-  
im.f*

“In their place they (everything upon earth) are all satisfied, i.e., the place in which they were born.”

E413:Petubastis 13/16–17      *ir hr di.f ʿy n.y md.t iw.f wh3.t.y wb3 t3y.f sn-thy.tt*

“While seeking me concerning his troubles, he praises me.”

This is also true of the example quoted by Spiegelberg as an example of this conditional particle.<sup>50</sup>

E414:Mythus 14/8–9      *ir hr sdr.y n.y n rwhy r t3y.y 3sw.t šww*

“My throat being dry, I sleep in the evening.”

No other examples of the particle *šʿn* in Demotic are known to the author.<sup>51</sup>

The predicate of conditional clauses had to be an infinitive rather than a qualitative or adverbial. In distinction from the circumstantial present, a durative form, the infinitive might have a defined direct object without using the preposition *n*, whether the subject was pronominal, as in E400A–B, D, and 401, or nominal, as in E382B.<sup>52</sup> This syntactic distinction between the durative circumstantial present and the non-durative conditional, and the examples with noun subjects with the “*r* of futurity” discussed above suggest that the conditional was more closely related in origin and contemporary syntax to the future than to the circumstantial present,<sup>53</sup> even though the conditional is a dependent clause and the future a main clause form.

### Meaning and Usage

Although this form is called the conditional auxiliary, it may be translated into English as either an “if”-clause

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 499.

<sup>49</sup> For further discussion of this particle and these examples, see Janet H. Johnson, “The Coptic Conditional Particles *šan* and *ene* in Demotic,” *JNES*, Vol. 32 (1973) pp. 167–69.

<sup>50</sup> *Mythus*, glossary number 603. The other two examples he quoted there are circumstantial aorist forms (E242C and 244C).

<sup>51</sup> An example which has been interpreted as the conditional particle *hn* occurs in P. Insinger. Williams (“Morphology,” par. 183) read and translated the passage as follows:

E415:P. Insinger 7/7      *n3-ʿn p3 hʿm nty irm.f ir hn siy hʿr.t hw3 mtw.f*

“The little that he has is good if he has an excessive surfeit of food.”

But the reading *hn* is arbitrary. Since all the examples which Spiegelberg so transliterated are actually *hr*, there is no evidence for a separate particle *hn*. Moreover the group so read in P. Insinger 7/7 was not written the way the scribe of P. Insinger wrote *hr*, e.g., 7/1, 2, etc., but more closely resembles his *bn* “evil,” as George R. Hughes noted. In addition, *siy* must be the verb of the clause it is in. Thus Williams’ translation is syntactically impossible and makes little sense. Proper understanding awaits the proper reading of the group which Williams read *ir hn*, but this sentence is certainly not an example of *ša(n)*.

<sup>52</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>53</sup> The tense of the conditional, indicating something which might happen in the future, is also more closely connected with the future than with the present.

- E416A:Setne 5/23–24 *iw.f hpr iw.k wh3 n ir p3 nty mr.k st irm.y iw.k r di sh  
n3y.k hr.t.w hr p3y.y sh*  
“If (it happens that) you wish to do what you desire (it) with me, you should make your children write (i.e., sign) under my document.”
- E416B:‘Onchsheshonqy 13/12  
*iw.k gm t3y.k hm.t irm p3y.s nyk t3y n.k slt r-h.t šw*  
“If you find your wife with her lover, take to yourself a bride virtuously!”
- E416C:Mythus 14/26  
*iw.f hpr r.iw.y dd md.t n [‘wd].t im.t irm.y r p3 tw hr.t*  
“If (it happens that) I am saying anything [false], come with me to the mountain above!”
- E416D:Magical 3/1  
*ir.k dd n inp dd ‘nn ir.k sn n.y iw.f dd t3 h.t ir.k dd  
n.f dd ...*  
“You should speak to Anubis, saying, ‘Will you question for me?’ If he says, ‘Immediately,’ you should say to him, ‘....’”
- or a “when”-clause,<sup>54</sup>
- E417B:‘Onchsheshonqy 22/22–23  
*in-n3 hwš hpr iw mhe hpr in-n3 mhe hpr iw htb hpr*  
“When insult occurs, fighting will occur; when fighting occurs, killing will occur.”
- E417C:Mythus 5/32–33  
*3n-n3w msh ‘w n ms n ‘.wy nb ir.f mwt n t3 hny.t nty  
iw t3y.f niw.t t3y*  
“When a crocodile grows old in any place, it is in the canal which is its city (i.e., home) that it dies.”
- E417D:Magical 3/1  
*my wnm.w my swr.w my ir.w hrw nfr iw.w w3h ir.k dd  
n inp dd ...*  
“Let them eat, drink, and make merry. When they have finished, you should speak to Anubis, saying, ‘....’”

both indicating an action or event which occurred or will occur prior in time to the action of the main verb. In E404 the conditional clause in the first sentence is best translated “when,” but the conjunctive following it is best rendered “if” in English. The conditional clause in the second sentence is also best translated “if.” Similarly, in one passage in ‘Onchsheshonqy the conditional clause is best translated “when,” but the following conjunctive is best rendered “if.”

<sup>54</sup> See Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases*, p. 20, par. g. Although “when”-clauses in English may indicate action going on over a period of time, i.e., durative, Egyptian conditional clauses correspond only to those English “when”-clauses which indicate an action at one point in time. That point in time is different from and prior to the time of the main clause, in contrast to circumstantial present tense clauses translated “when” meaning “while” or “during.”

E418:‘Onchsheshonqy 15/7 *in-nʒ pʒy.k ʿw n rmt hpr mtw nk ʿšʒ hpr n.k my ʿy nʒy.k sn.w mtw.k*

“When you have reached your prime, if you have acquired much property, let your brothers be rich(?) with you!”

It is clear from these examples that there was no formal distinction between “if” and “when” in the Egyptian. In an indirect quote, the conditional may be translated “whether.”

E419:Magical 4/22 *hr ir.f di-iw nʒy.k syw.w n.k iw.w wdʒ hr pʒy.k ʿš-shn*

“It reveals to you your stars, whether they are favorable concerning your purpose.”

Like the temporal,<sup>55</sup> the conditional clause usually preceded the main clause, as in the examples cited above. But there are exceptions.<sup>56</sup>

E420B:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/6

*hwš r-hr.y pʒ nty iw.w ir.f hr.f n pʒ lh iw.w mtr.t.f*

“‘What they will do is irksome to me,’ says the fool, if they (would) instruct him.”

E420C:Mythus 5/5

*nʒ rmt.w iw.w nw r.r.f*

“the men, when they saw it”

(See E200 for the complete passage from which this is cited.)

E420D:Magical 3/29–30 *nʒ sh nty iir.k ʿš iir.k šʿne wt.w r pʒy.w mʒʿ*

“**The writings which you should recite** if you (would) dismiss them to their place.”

Note that the last is the only example with the added particle *šʿne*. Even though with pronominal subjects the conditional, future, and circumstantial present auxiliaries are identical, the durative/non-durative distinction between the conditional and future and the circumstantial present, and the different position of clauses—conditional before main clauses, circumstantial after main clauses—often allows one to distinguish these three forms. Thus, in E421 the initial conditional clause is followed by an injunctive use of the future, with a defined direct object without the preposition *n*, which, in turn, is followed by a circumstantial present with a qualitative predicate.

E421:Magical 5/29–30

*iir.k whʒ r ir ph-ntr n pʒ hbs n-im.f n nw nb iir.k mh iir.k n pʒy snf nty hry iir.k in-nʿ.k r-hn r ʿš sh r pʒ hbs*

“When, at any time, you desire to make a ‘god’s-arrival’ of the lamp with it, you should fill your eyes with the above (mentioned) blood while you are going in to recite the spell to the lamp.”

Almost any kind of independent main clause form could serve as the apodosis of a conditional clause. The conditional normally referred to some event which would or might occur in the future. It was in the example with the apodosis in the past tense, Magical 6/34–35 (E406), that the auxiliary was written *iw* with a noun subject. Likewise it was the example from Rylands IX (E385) with a past tense apodosis which used the auxiliary *iir*

<sup>55</sup> See above.

<sup>56</sup> See also the examples with negative conditional clauses, below, E443A and C.

plus noun subject. Is one to conclude that Egyptian distinguished between conditions which happened in the past and conditions which will or might happen in the future?

On occasion, the second tense, although used mainly to stress a following adverbial adjunct, was used secondarily with conditional meaning. At least, the best English translation involves a conditional clause.

E422Ba:‘Onchsheshonqy 25/19

*ỉr šm.t ksks m-sʒ pʒy.s hy [bw-ỉr.w] nʒ-nfr ʿn sp sn*  
 “If it is about her husband that a woman gossips [they can never] fare well.”

E422Bb:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/25

*ỉr.w dỉ n.k ʿq r-tbʒ swg my ỉr n.k sbʒ.t bty.t*  
 “If for stupidity you are given rations, let education be an abomination to you.”

E422Ca:Mythus 9/10–11

*ỉr.w ỉy r ỉr rnp.t n sh wʿ.t nry.t tʒy nty r.ỉw.w r ỉr.s hr.r.s*

“When it comes to putting *rnp.t* [‘year’] into writing (lit., If it is in order to make ‘year’ in writing that they come), a vulture is what they should make for it.”

E422Cb:Mythus 7/16–17

*ỉr.w ỉy r nhsʒ.t.f ... m-dr nʒ ỉby.wt ỉr.w ʿš r.r.f n wʿ.t sʒby.t n qše hpr r qš pʒy ỉw mh̄t nwt n-ỉm.f n tʒ hʒ*

“When it comes to awakening it ... by the beekeepers (lit., If it is in order to awaken it ... by the beekeepers that they come), it is on a reed flute that they call to it because it is reed which Nut seized at the beginning.”

Some examples of the balanced construction of two second tense forms are also best translated into English as conditional clauses.<sup>57</sup>

E425:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/4 *ỉr.w dwy ỉh̄.t n sht ỉr.w ... pʒy.s nb n pʒ dmy*

“If in the field a cow is stolen, then in town its owner must [be faced(?)].”

<sup>57</sup> See also ‘Onchsheshonqy 18/7–8 (E181a and b). For further discussion, see Johnson, *Serapis*, Vol. 2 (1970) pp. 25–26. There are also occasional examples in Late Egyptian of two balanced second tenses which are best translated into English as conditional clauses.

E423:Brooklyn Magical Papyrus V/4–5

*ỉr.sn fy ʿ.w[y].snr.f ỉr.sn fʒ ʿ.wy.sn r pʒ s n h̄h n mh̄*  
 “If against him they raise their arms, it is against a man of millions of cubits that they raise their arms.”

The true conditional appears elsewhere in this same text.

E424:Brooklyn Magical Papyrus IV/8–9

*ỉr ỉw.k dít fy.sn ʿ.wy.sn [r pr-ʿʒ] ʿ w s ỉr ỉw.s[n fʒ ʿ.]wy.sn r pʒ s n h̄h [n mh̄]*

“If you have them raise their arms [against Pharaoh], it is against a man of millions [of cubits] that th[ey raise] their [ar]ms.”

These examples were called to my attention by Edward F. Wente. See also Middle Egyptian examples such as *mrr.f ỉrr.f*, discussed by H. J. Polotsky, “Ägyptische Verbalformen und ihre Vokalisation,” *Or*, Vol. 33 (1964) pp. 279–82.

The second tense of the conditional, or the second tense which is to be translated as a conditional, seems to have been used in contracts in clauses limiting liability.<sup>58</sup>

E428:P. Colon. Dem. I/14 *ỉr rmt nb (n) pʒ tʒ sht.tn n-ỉm.w (n) rn.n*  
 “If in our name any man in the world hinders you therein”<sup>59</sup>

The conditional aspect of these second tenses is secondary to the primary function of adverbial stress and is not inherent in the form itself. From such sentences where the second tense was used “correctly” to stress an adverbial, although with secondary conditional meaning, come by analogy rare examples where either the conditional auxiliary was written identically with that of the second tense, or the second tense auxiliary may have been used in conditional clauses even when there was no adverbial adjunct to be stressed.<sup>60</sup> The best translation may result from transposing the clauses.<sup>61</sup>

E429a:Mythus 18/14–15 *ỉr.k wnm.t.y bn ỉw.k sʒy ỉr.k hʒʿ.t.y r-bnr bn ỉw.k ỉr pʒy.y hqʿʒ ʿn*

“You will not be satisfied (even) if you eat me, nor will you feel hunger from me if you set me free.”

E429b:Mythus 19/20 *ỉr.y wnm.s hʒʒ.t.y nd[m]*

“My heart is gla[d] if I eat it.”

These forms are anomalies.

## History

*Predecessors.* There were two basic Late Egyptian constructions which functioned as conditional clauses. These were the origin of the two constructions found in Demotic. But in Late Egyptian the distinction by type of subject as here identified for Demotic is not found. The conditional particle *inn*,<sup>62</sup> the ancestor of Demotic *in-nʒ*, could be followed by a

<sup>58</sup> The example which Williams quoted (“Morphology,” par. 107) from P. Insinger to show that the second tense auxiliary was used as the conditional auxiliary is likewise a second tense stressing an adverbial, with only secondary conditional meaning.

E426:P. Insinger 27/1 *tm glʿ ỉr.w šnt.k ỉw wn mtr m-sʒ.k*

“Don’t deceive if there is a witness against you when you are questioned.”

The example from P. Insinger which Williams (*ibid.*) read *ỉr.k* and understood as a conditional is to be read *ỉw ỉw.k* and is a circumstantial future, although the best translation is as a conditional clause.

E427:P. Insinger 26/11 *tm ỉr wp.t ỉw.s sš ỉw ỉw.k rh ʿnh n kt*

“Don’t do work which is despised if you are able to live by another.”

The other examples quoted in “Morphology,” par. 107, and in “Verbal Forms,” p. 225, n. 42, to show the use of the second tense as a conditional are also circumstantial future forms.

<sup>59</sup> This example was noted by George R. Hughes, review of *Demotische und koptische Texte* by Erich Lüdeckens *et al.*, in *JNES*, Vol. 32 (1973) p. 246.

<sup>60</sup> For a possible example in ‘Onchsheshonqy, but with the negative verb *tm*, see E448.

<sup>61</sup> As suggested by George R. Hughes.

<sup>62</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 818; Jürgen Osing, “Die neuägyptische Partikel  ‘wenn:ob,’” *SAK*, Vol. 1 (1974) pp. 267–73; and Jaroslav Černý, “*Inn* in Late Egyptian,” *JEA*, Vol. 27 (1941) p. 111, who suggested that *inn* was composed of the conditional particle *in* and the verb *wn* “to be.”

past, present, or future form,<sup>63</sup> including negatives.<sup>64</sup> The protasis of a conditional clause in Late Egyptian could also consist of the conditional particle *ir*, followed by a *sdm.f*<sup>65</sup> for past tense or by *iw.f sdm* for present or future.<sup>66</sup> Occasionally *ir* was omitted.<sup>67</sup> The protasis normally preceded the apodosis. The predicate of the construction *iw.f sdm* used after *ir* was almost always an infinitive.<sup>68</sup>

E431:Wenamun 2/32–33      *ir iw.k dd iry iry n imn mtw.k r r p3y.f shn iw.k nh*  
 “If you say, ‘I will, I will,’ to Amun and you carry out  
 his commands, you will live.”

Thus the form is the continuative *iw.f (hr) sdm*, not the circumstantial present, the predicate of which consisted of an adverb or qualitative or *m* plus infinitive of a verb of motion and was (*hr* plus) infinitive only under unusual circumstances.<sup>69</sup> Note that Groll has distinguished syntactically between the *iw* of the circumstantial and that of the continuative.<sup>70</sup> The form after *ir* was negated with *tm*, the negation of the continuative, not *bn*, the negation of the circumstantial present.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>63</sup> See Černý, *JEA*, Vol. 27 (1941) pp. 108–9, and “LEG,” p. 36a.

<sup>64</sup> See Černý, *JEA*, Vol. 27 (1941) p. 109, number 23, for an example with the negative future. See also Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 115A, 1, for the various constructions found after *imn*.

<sup>65</sup> Edward F. Wente has noted that the conditional *ir sdm.f* was quite rare in non-literary Late Egyptian manuscripts. There are no examples in Peet, *GTR*, and there is only one example in LRL. This one example may be idiomatic.

E430:LRL 1/11      *ir iry.y hhw n bt3*  
 “If I have done millions of wrongs”

<sup>66</sup> Other constructions are possible but rare; see Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 301, 496, and 811–17; Černý, “LEG,” p. 36a.

<sup>67</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 523 and 814.

<sup>68</sup> For further examples, see *ibid.*, par. 814; Wente, “SVM,” p. 133. Examples with qualitatives or adverbial predicates are non-existent in Demotic and exceedingly rare in Late Egyptian. For Late Egyptian Edward F. Wente has noted LRL 41/16 and 68/10 and BM 10052, 3/16–17.

<sup>69</sup> See Chap. 2 on the Late Egyptian present tense, and William F. Edgerton, “On the Origin of Certain Coptic Verbal Forms,” *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) pp. 263–64.

<sup>70</sup> She further distinguished both of these from the *iw* found in the future (Sarah Israelit-Groll, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* [London: Oxford University Press for the Griffith Institute, 1970]) secs. 37–39; *idem*, “*Iw.f [hr] tm sdm* in Late Egyptian,” *JEA*, Vol. 55 [1969] p. 97); see Chap. 3 on the Late Egyptian future. It seems possible, however, that the *iw* of the continuative was identical with that of the future, the distinction between the two forms being in the different preposition used.

<sup>71</sup> What appears to be an example of a Late Egyptian negative conditional not using *tm* occurs in the XIXth Dynasty.

E432:HO 45, 3/vs.      *hr ir iw bn sw hr dit.f n.k iw.k hr in n.i p3y.f hnk*  
 “If he doesn’t give it (a goat) to you, you should bring me its  
 hide.”

The meaning “hide” was suggested by Edward F. Wente. As Klaus Baer noted, *hr ir* was followed by the present tense (see the examples quoted by Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 36, (2), (d); 38, (2), (b); 40, (2), (c); and 41, (2), (d)), so this example is not a counter example to the use of *iw.f hr tm sdm* as the negative conditional. In the Tomb Robbery papyri there occurs a circumstantial negative cleft sentence which can be translated as a negative conditional, although it is not so in form.

E434:P. Hieratic Strassburg 39/10–12<sup>72</sup>

“Let him be caught and you will hand him over to A, this friend of yours.”

*ir iw.k (hr) tm gm.tw.f ...*

“But, if you fail to find him, ....”

Moreover the conditional was a non-durative; it described an action which took place at one point in time, a time different from that of the main verb, as did the continuative in all its uses.<sup>73</sup> But the circumstantial present was a durative,<sup>74</sup> timeless in itself, and synchronous with the main verb;<sup>75</sup> it might serve as a virtual relative after indefinite antecedents. In the Persian period there are found a few examples of the continuative used as the apodosis of a conditional clause.

E433:BM 10053vs., 3/5

*iw bn m3̄.t p3̄-dd.y nb iw.y di.k(wi) tp ht*

“If all I have said is not the truth (lit., all I have said not being the truth), may I be placed on the stake.”

On the negations of the circumstantial present, continuative/conditional, and future, see above on the Late Egyptian negative present (Chap. 2) and negative future (Chap. 3); Groll, *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) pp. 92–97; *idem*, *Negative Verbal*, secs. 37 and 46; Thomas J. Logan, “*Iw.f hr tm sdm* in Late Egyptian,” *Serapis*, Vol. 2 (1970) pp. 29–35.

<sup>72</sup> See Groll, *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) p. 97; Ricardo A. Caminos, “Papyrus Berlin 10463,” *JEA*, Vol. 49 (1963) pp. 29–37 and n. to 1. 6.

<sup>73</sup> The commonest use of the continuative was to continue a preceding past narrative, in which case the action of the continuative followed that of the main verb; see the examples in Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 492ff.; Fritz Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (“Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung Veröffentlichung,” No. 6 [Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952]) pp. 244ff.; Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 51ff. See also B. H. Stricker, “Etudes de grammaire égyptienne,” *AcOr*, Vol. 16 (1937) pp. 81–84; Wenté, “SVM,” p. 127; Groll, *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) p. 89, Pattern I; Logan, *Serapis*, Vol. 2 (1970) pp. 29–35. This use of the continuative contrasts with that of the conjunctive, which was used to continue tenses in dialogue; see Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 52. The continuative could also be used as the apodosis of a Late Egyptian conditional clause.

E435:P. Berlin 10463/6

*ir tm.tw rdit š̄.d.k iw.k hr spr r h3̄ty ʿ wsir n hw.t*

“If you are not allowed to cut, you should approach Wsir, the mayor of Hu.”

See also the examples quoted by Wenté, *JNES*, Vol. 20 (1961) p. 122, n. j, to which can be added a passage from Two Brothers where *iw.f hr sdm* is the apodosis of a temporal clause.

E436:D’Orbiney 7/5–6

*ir m-dr h3̄b.k wi ... iw t3̄y.k hm.t hr dd n.i ...*

“When you sent me ..., your wife said to me, ‘....’”

These, as well as the conditional, must be the continuative because the predicate consists of *hr* plus infinitive and the apodosis indicates a time different from that of the protasis. If one did not accept the spelling with *hr* plus infinitive as indicative of the continuative, then in order to prove that the continuative was being used here one would have to find an example of such an apodosis containing the negative continuative *iw.f (hr) tm sdm*, rather than the negative circumstantial *iw bn sw hr sdm*. No example of either is known to the author. On the syntax of the *iw* used here, see the discussions of the Late Egyptian present and conditional.

<sup>74</sup> The durative/non-durative distinction between the circumstantial present and the continuative is reflected in the substitution capabilities of the two forms. An infinitive predicate of the circumstantial present could interchange with an adverbial or qualitative; that of the continuative could not. Note also that the infinitive of a verb of motion might be followed by a reflexive dative when used in the continuative but not in the circumstantial present. See Groll, *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) p. 91, par. 4.

<sup>75</sup> See Chap. 2 on the Late Egyptian present tense.

E437:P. Lonsdorfer I/3–4 *in-nʒ mtw.t iʔr šm n.t ... iw.t di n.y*

“If it is you who goes away, ... you will give to me.”<sup>76</sup>

The use of the continuative after narrative, its commonest use in Late Egyptian, had been lost before the Ptolemaic period. From then on, it was used only in positive and negative conditional clauses. But in Demotic the Late Egyptian conditional particle *iʔr* was no longer written.<sup>77</sup> In texts in which the “*r* of futurity” was commonly not written, it is thus impossible to distinguish (*iʔr*) *iw.f* (*hr*) *sdm* from *iw.f* (*r*) *sdm*.<sup>78</sup>

In Middle Egyptian the conditional was expressed by *iʔr* plus the circumstantial *sdm.f*,<sup>79</sup> which was negated with the negative verb *tm*.<sup>80</sup> What Gardiner called “virtual clauses of time” and “condition” were formed using the circumstantial *sdm.f* without the introductory particle *iʔr*.<sup>81</sup> An unmarked initial clause of time or condition contained the nominal *sdm.f*. In that case the apodosis was either another nominal *sdm.f*, balancing the first, or a circumstantial *sdm.f*.<sup>82</sup> The use of conditional clauses where English uses a “when”-clause goes all the way back to Old Egyptian.

E440:Urk. I, 130/6–7

*iʔr hʒ.f m-ʿ.k r dp.t iʔr rmt [i]qrw*

“When he goes down with you to the boat, appoint excellent people!”

*Successors*. Only P. Bodmer VI, from the fourth century, contains a form derived from the Demotic conditional particle *in-nʒ*. In that text is found the verbal prefix *annef*, used with both noun and pronoun subject, which both Černý and Kasser identified as having come from *in-nʒ* plus negative future.<sup>83</sup> Everywhere else in Coptic the conditional auxil-

<sup>76</sup> See Wente, “SVM,” p. 118, n. 2, and Groll, *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) p. 97.

<sup>77</sup> Note the similar loss of initial *iʔr* before the temporal particle *m-dr*, Demotic *n-drt*, between Late Egyptian and Demotic; see above. Note also *inn-dr* for initial *iʔr m-dr* in Meneptah’s festival song to Thoth from Heropolis (RIK IV, 29/7). The same text used *n-dr* for *m-dr* (29/1 and 11), as noted by Edward F. Wente.

<sup>78</sup> Hence the similarity in Demotic between the conditional and future, noted above, p. 244.

<sup>79</sup> The forms found after *iʔr* are identical with the forms of the circumstantial as defined by H. J. Polotsky, “Egyptian Tenses” (in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, Vol. 2 [Jerusalem, 1965] No. 5), except for the form of the verb *wn* “to be.” The circumstantial *sdm.f* form of this verb was *wn*, but after *iʔr*, *wnn* was used. See the forms in Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 150; also the examples of *iʔr wnn* collected by Hermann Grapow, “Ägyptische Jenseitswünsche im Sprüchen ungewöhnlicher Fassung aus dem Neuen Reich,” *ZAS*, Vol. 77 (1942) pp. 57–78, and the comments thereto by Alan H. Gardiner, review of *ZAS*, 77 (1941–42), in *JEA*, Vol. 32 (1946) pp. 104–5. Note also an example using the “*r* of futurity.”

E438:Kahun 36/13

*iʔr wnn.f r rdit st*

“If he will give it!”

<sup>80</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 347, 6.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pars. 212 and 216.

<sup>82</sup> This was suggested by Edward F. Wente, who cites for comparison two sentences from Deir el Bahri, quoted *ibid.*, pars. 212 and 444, respectively.

E439a:DelB 114

*hnt.k dd.tw n.k iʒw*

“When you fare upstream, praise is given to you.”

E439b:DelB 114

*hdd.k dd.tw n.k sʒ-tʒ*

“When you sail northwards, reverence is paid to you.”

See H. J. Polotsky, *Or*, Vol. 33 (1964) pp. 279–82.

<sup>83</sup> Jaroslav Černý, “Bohairic Verbal Prefix  $\Delta N N E Q$ —,” *ZAS*, Vol. 90 (1963) pp. 13–16; Rodolphe Kasser, “À propos des différentes formes du conditionnel copte,” *Le Muséon*, Vol. 76 (1963) pp. 269–70.

iliary was used. The spelling of this auxiliary varied in the different Coptic dialects. Sahidic and Subakhmimic wrote *ere*; Bohairic, *are*; Fayumic, *ale*; and Akhmimic, *a(re)*. In the first four the particle *šan* was normally included between the auxiliary and a noun subject or between the pronoun subject and the infinitival predicate. In Akhmimic and Sub-akhmimic this particle was written *ša*. Some Akhmimic examples were written *e*, rather than *a*, but included *ša*, showing that these were conditional forms.<sup>84</sup> In all cases except the Akhmimic examples with *e*, the vocalization of the conditional auxiliary was identical with that of the second present. In all major dialects the circumstantial present was written with an *e*-vowel. The vocalization of the future in Sahidic and Bohairic was *ere*; in Fayumic, *ele*; in Akhmimic, *a ... a*; and in Subakhmimic, *ere ... a*. Dialect G, one of the minor dialects, however, vocalized the circumstantial present *eph*, the second present *ere*, the conditional *ar(e)czan*, and the future *era*.<sup>85</sup> The conditional clause usually preceded the main clause.<sup>86</sup> Almost all tenses could be used in the apodosis; most commonly used were the future and imperative.<sup>87</sup> As Steindorff stated, the conditional with *šan* was a late formation, whose origin is unknown; as noted above, it is found in Demotic only in Magical. The spelling there is obviously phonetic.<sup>88</sup>

Besides using the conditional auxiliary, conditional clauses in Coptic might be formed with various introductory conditional particles, of which the commonest were *ešōpe* and *ešde*.<sup>89</sup> *Ešōpe*<sup>90</sup> might be prefixed to a clause using the conditional auxiliary, especially when the sentence also included an enclitic particle or when some word, especially a pronoun, had been moved in front of the conditional auxiliary for emphasis.<sup>91</sup> *Ešōpe* might also be used in complementary distribution with the simple conditional auxiliary in clauses which could not contain the conditional auxiliary, e.g., nominal and existence sentences or clauses with an adverbial or qualitative predicate, or when the writer wanted to specify something, such as past tense or aorist, which the conditional could not indicate.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>84</sup> See Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, par. 334. Kasser, *Le Muséon*, Vol. 76 (1963) pp. 267–70, noted examples in P. Bodmer VI of conditional clauses without *ša* and one example in Sahidic using *a*, not *e*.

<sup>85</sup> Rodolphe Kasser, “Compléments morphologiques au dictionnaire de Crum,” *BIFAO*, Vol. 64 (1966) pp. 63–66.

<sup>86</sup> Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 483.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, par. 492, and D. W. Young, “*Ešōpe* and the Conditional Conjugation,” *JNES*, Vol. 21 (1962) pp. 175–85.

<sup>88</sup> See Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 328; Edgerton, *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) pp. 266–67, n. 27; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 499; Kurt Sethe, “Bemerkungen zu W. Till’s achmimisch-koptischer Grammatik,” *ZAS*, Vol. 64 (1929) pp. 65–71; *idem*, “Das Verhältnis zwischen Demotisch und Koptisch und seine Lehren für die Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache,” *ZDMG*, Vol. 79 (1925) p. 296, n. 1. The placement of *šan* is similar to that of the negative verb *tm* and of *š* “to be able.”

<sup>89</sup> See Till, *Grammatik*, pars. 449–50.

<sup>90</sup> From *iw.s hpr* according to Kurt Sethe, “Koptische Etymologien,” *ZAS*, Vol. 38 (1900) pp. 147–48. Cf. the Demotic *iw.f hpr* discussed above and the example in Magical 3/19 (E407a) written simply *iw hpr*.

<sup>91</sup> See Young, *JNES*, Vol. 21 (1962) pp. 182–85.

<sup>92</sup> See *ibid.*, 175–82. A similar practice was noted above for Demotic.

Because of the similarity, noted above, between the Coptic conditional auxiliary and the second present auxiliary, it has been generally assumed that the two were identical.<sup>93</sup> But, as also noted above, the simple Demotic conditional with pronominal subject was written with *iw*, not *ir*. Edgerton<sup>94</sup> rejected the identification of the conditional with the second present, noting that the second present was a main clause form, the conditional a subordinate clause form. He identified the auxiliary as that of the circumstantial present. Kasser<sup>95</sup> also suggested deriving the Coptic conditional auxiliary from the circumstantial, with the addition of *šan* to differentiate the conditional from the second present. But both the circumstantial and the second present were duratives, which the conditional was not.<sup>96</sup> The Demotic conditional, as noted above, was more closely connected with the future than with either the second present or circumstantial present. The Coptic conditional should therefore be derived from the Demotic conditional, and then the contemporary Coptic vocalization explained, and should not be derived from the second tense, from which it was distinct in all earlier stages of Egyptian.<sup>97</sup>

That the vocalization of the *iw* in the conditional auxiliary developed differently from that of the *iw* in the future or circumstantial present may be explained by reconsidering the development of all four auxiliaries, including the second tense, from Late Egyptian to Coptic. Either the Late Egyptian conditional particle *ir* had been completely “lost” by Demotic, or it had changed into a vowel and was being omitted by the scribes just as the *r* of the future was often omitted by them because it too had become a vowel, appearing in Coptic as *a* or *e*.<sup>98</sup> Thus the conditional with pronominal subject was indistinguishable in writing from the circumstantial present or the future in which the preposition *r* was omitted in writing. Even if completely “lost,” the *ir* could have influenced the pronunciation of the following *iw*. Thus even in Demotic, presumably, the vocalization of the conditional auxiliary with pronominal subject was distinct from that of the circumstantial present and future, and it is this difference which is reflected in the Coptic vocalization. In those dialects in

<sup>93</sup> E.g., Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 328; Till, *Grammatik*, par. 447; *idem*, *Dialektgrammatik*, par. 334; Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 494; Williams, “Verbal Forms,” p. 225.

<sup>94</sup> *JAOS*, Vol. 55 (1935) p. 261 and n. 16.

<sup>95</sup> *Le Muséon*, Vol. 76 (1963) pp. 267–68.

<sup>96</sup> See Polotsky, “CCS,” pars. 4 and 23. On the Demotic temporal/conditional *iw.f (hr) sdm*, see Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 184, where he meant protasis, not apodosis. Note also the negation of the conditional with *tm*, while the basic tenses and their satellites were negated with *bw* or *bn*.

<sup>97</sup> Ariel Shisha-Halevy’s recent argument (“Protatic  $\epsilon\eta\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\mu}$ : A Hitherto Unnoticed Coptic Tripartite Conjugation-Form and Its Diachronic Connections,” *Or*, Vol. 43 (1974) pp. 369–81) in favor of deriving the Coptic conditional from Demotic *ir.f sdm* relies heavily on the existence of a Demotic form *ir hn*, which, as noted above (with E411–14), does not occur. The only examples of “protatic” *ir.f tm sdm* cited there from the four texts studied here are from Magical (14/4, 19/5), with 2 m. subject, where the writing *ir.k* is non-diagnostic. His other two examples are not *ir.f sdm* but *r-ir.f* (5/31) and *ire tm N* (9/31), both of which are included in Table 48. The examples of *ir.f sdm* from Magical cited as “protatic” are all 2 m.; the spelling indicates nothing. Of the two examples from Mythus, one (18/14) is discussed above, E429a. The other must be an incorrect citation; no *ir.f sdm* occurs in 18/28. The only other examples cited from these four texts are from ‘Onchsheshonqy. Of these, one (7/3) is a circumstantial future (see E290B); one (20/17) is *ir.k sdm*, not *ir.k sdm* (see E364B); and the others (19/25, 18/7–8, and 25/19) are all second tenses (see E422Ba–Bb, E181a–b, and E195).

<sup>98</sup> See Chap. 3 on the forms of the future.

which the pronunciation of the second present was still distinct from that of the future and the circumstantial present,<sup>99</sup> the pronunciation of the conditional must have been identical with, or closer to, that of the former than that of the latter, leading scribes to write the two with the same vowel. In addition, the secondary use of the second tense as a conditional clause, as noted above, might have made this late association between the conditional and second tense auxiliaries seem logical.<sup>100</sup> But the conditional must have remained distinct from all other forms. It is a linguistic principle that once two forms become totally identical, they cannot be differentiated once again. But the Coptic conditional with *šan* has been differentiated from the future, the circumstantial present, and the second present.

The particle *šan* might have been added to avoid any possible confusion between the conditional and the second present. But, in those dialects of Coptic in which all four auxiliaries were given the same vocalization, there existed the possibility of confusion between the conditional and all three others. Thus the *šan* may have been added in one of these dialects. From whichever dialect added the particle it could easily have spread to the others. From the positive form of the conditional it could also have spread to the negative. But, since the negations of all four auxiliaries were different, the particle was unnecessary there. And, in fact,<sup>101</sup> Bohairic and Fayumic did not use *šan* in the negative, while in Sahidic its omission was as common as its use. Thus, the forms with *šan* were secondary formations, as Kasser suggested,<sup>102</sup> and the negative conditional without *šan* should be regarded as the original form, not the later one. The close association noted by Kasser between the conditional and the future has also been noted here.<sup>103</sup>

The development of the conditional auxiliary outlined above can be supported by the spelling of this auxiliary in Magical. With the loss of the conditional particle *in-nʒ* previously used with noun subjects, the scribe most commonly used the form *r.ire*, which he also introduced for the second present; see Table 11. Thus the late phonetic association between the conditional and the second present had taken place and was being indicated where historical spellings were no longer used.<sup>104</sup> The only example of *š'ne* is with the 2

<sup>99</sup> Bohairic, Akhmimic, and Fayumic. The pronunciation of the future in Akhmimic with \**a* must have been a late local development.

<sup>100</sup> Those Demotic examples of the second tense auxiliary used as a conditional where no possible adverbial adjunct exists, e.g., the examples from Mythos in Table 46, discussed above, E429, and P. Insinger 11/11, 28/24, etc., would have been written after the vocalization of the conditional had become very similar to that of the second present. The scribe either occasionally confused the two or saw no need for maintaining the historical, graphic distinction between the two. The rare examples noted above of the Coptic conditional with vowelings other than that of the second present were probably the work of scribes who felt that the part of the pronunciation of the conditional auxiliary coming from *iw* was stronger than the part deriving from the remnants of Late Egyptian *ir*.

<sup>101</sup> See Polotsky, "CCS," par. 27, obs.

<sup>102</sup> But his suggestions that the original conditional was \**a* (from *in-nʒ*, as in *annef*, discussed above), which came to be pronounced differently in different dialects, and that *eršan* was a secondary formation, are contradicted by the Demotic evidence of the widespread use of *iw.f(tm) sdm* and the restriction of *in-nʒ* to nominal subjects.

<sup>103</sup> See above, p. 244.

<sup>104</sup> This innovative spelling is probably phonetic. Since *ire* before noun subjects elsewhere in Magical corresponds to Coptic *re* (see Chap. 1 on the *sdm.f*) and *r* was glossed *a* in Magical (see above, Chap. 1, n. 5), the scribe was probably indicating that the pronunciation of the conditional and the second present was *.are*.

m. subject which, throughout the text, was written *ir.k*—for the conditional, second present, future, and circumstantial present, without differentiation. This then may be evidence for the introduction of this particle in places of possible confusion, as suggested above.<sup>105</sup> It was spelled out as if to ensure recognition by an unfamiliar reader and may have been borrowed from another dialect.

In summary, the development of the conditional from Late Egyptian to Coptic shows that Late Egyptian *inn* became Demotic *in-nʒ*, used only with noun subjects, but appeared in Coptic only in P. Bodmer VI, as *annef*. At the same time, Late Egyptian *ir iw.f (hr) sdm* became Demotic *iw.f sdm*, used with pronominal subjects. This in turn developed into the Coptic conditional auxiliary, although the pronunciation of the *iw* had been modified as a result of the change of the Late Egyptian *ir* to a vowel. With the loss of *in-nʒ* the conditional auxiliary used with pronominal subjects, which by now was similar in pronunciation to that of the second present, was generalized and used with noun subjects also.

## Negative

### Forms

The negative conditional consisted of the positive form of the conditional with the negative verb *tm*; see Table 48.<sup>106</sup> The example in Mythus is broken, but can easily be restored to read *ir.f tm sdm*. The scribe of Magical often used the spelling introduced for noun subjects in the positive conditional, discussed above, but written *r-ir* plus suffix pronoun, corresponding to *r-ire* plus noun. The easiest solution to the impossible passage in Magical 9/31 is to delete the verb *di* “to give, cause” between the negative verb *tm* and the following nominalized relative form and take that relative form as the subject of the conditional clause.

E441:Magical 9/31

*ire tm <di> pʒ[y-dd].y hpr iw.y r di-qd tʒ st.t n pʒ qd n  
tʒy sewʒ šʿ-mtw pʒy-dd.y hpr*

“If what I [said] does not happen, I will make the flame circulate around this ... until what I said happens.”<sup>107</sup>

<sup>105</sup> Note also that *šʿne* was added in a conditional clause which followed, rather than preceded, its main clause, again perhaps as an additional indication to signal “conditional clause.”

<sup>106</sup> Examples of negative conditional clauses from marriage contracts are collected by Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge*, pl. IX, \*\*Fortsetzung; those from other types of contracts by Karl-Theodor Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau: Sprache und Schrift der demotischen Kaufverträge aus Ptolemaischer Zeit*, *Ägyptische Abhandlungen* Vol. 19 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1968), clause 65 in Tables 1 and 2 and clause 46 in Tables 3 and 4.

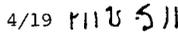
<sup>107</sup> Then *tm* would precede the noun subject, as normally in Coptic. The alternative would be to change the reading *ire* to *ir.w* and translate “If they do not cause what I [said] to occur, ....” But the other example with 3 pl. subject was written *r.ir.w*, not *ir.w*, which should be the form of a second tense clause. Thus the first interpretation seems preferable. In Petubastis *ir tm N r sdm* may also be a negative conditional clause, with the preposition *r* (unique) and with *tm* before the noun subject.

E442:Petubastis 9/24–25

*ir tm pʒ mšʿ kmy r hkr nʒy ʿʒm.w*

“If the army of Egypt will not prepare against these Asiatics”

Table 48. Negative Conditional

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.				
2 m.	5/37 	27/19 		19/5 
2 f.				
3 m.		24/11 	4/19 	17/16  5/31 
3 f.				
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.				28/8 
N				9/31 

### Meaning and Usage

This form was used to negate a conditional clause and, like the positive form of the conditional, may be translated either “when” or “if.” As with the positive, the negative conditional clause usually preceded the main clause, although exceptions do occur.<sup>108</sup>

E443A:Setne 5/37

*iw.w r htb.k iw.k tm t̄y p̄y dm̄ r p̄ m̄ n̄ int̄.f r-ir.k*

“They will kill you if you do not take this papyrus to the place from which you brought it.”

E443B:‘Onchsheshonqy 24/11

*ir̄.w dī q n mr-šn r-d̄b̄ šn iw.f tm šn iw.w š̄t̄f*

“Rations are given to the *lesonis* only in return for inspecting. If he does not inspect, they will be cut off.”

E443C:Mythus 4/18–19

*pr dd r. iw.f ww n-im.y ir̄.f tm t̄y n.t*

“Don’t say, ‘He is distant from me,’ if he does not touch(?) you!”

E443D:Magical 17/16

*iw.f tm nw m-s̄.f hr ir̄.f hty.t*

“If he does not see it, he is afraid.”

Ort-Geuthner<sup>109</sup> cites *ir̄.k tm r wn* in Magical 14/4–5 as an example of the negative future with *tm* used as the negative conditional. But the future was never negated with *tm*.<sup>110</sup> Since this sentence follows a string of imperatives of the verb *wn* “to open,” written *r-wn* (14/1ff.), it is more likely that the scribe inadvertently once again wrote the imperative form of *wn*, rather than the infinitive, than that he negated the future with *tm*.

<sup>108</sup> Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, par. 493) suggested that at least in the case of E443A the main clause preceded because it was short while the conditional clause was longer.

<sup>109</sup> *Grammaire*, par. 410.

<sup>110</sup> See Chap. 3.

E444: Magical 14/4–5 *ìr.k tm r-wn n.y h‘h ìw.y r dì ìr.k wn n.y h‘h*  
 “If you do not open to me flame(?), I will make you open to me flame(?).”

Williams<sup>111</sup> incorrectly identified examples of *ìw.f tm sdm* from P. Insinger as negative circumstantial forms. They are negative conditional clauses, the negative equivalent of the forms which he correctly identified as conditionals.

E445a:P. Insinger 4/19 *[rm]t rh ìw.f tm rh bw-ìr nʒy.f rh ph*  
 “An educated man, if he does not know, his knowledge does not avail.”

E445b:P. Insinger 28/24 *rmt rh ìr.f wy hʒt.f whʒ pʒy.f dmy*  
 “An educated man, if he is far off, his heart seeks his town.”

The examples of *ìr.f tm sdm* which Williams<sup>112</sup> and Spiegelberg<sup>113</sup> cited as negative conditional clauses are all second tenses with negated infinitive, i.e., the nexus between subject and predicate is still positive.<sup>114</sup> Any conditional meaning was secondary.

E446:Petubastis 3/14–15 *ìr.w tm sdm r hrw.y ìw.y dì tʒy.f s n qnqn*  
 “If to my plea no one listens, I will make him take them by fighting.”

E447a:Rylands IX, 1/14–15 *ìr(.y) tm mh[y.t].k dd mtw.k rmt ìw.f ‘[y n ms]*  
 “It is because you are an o[ld] man that I did not beat you.”<sup>115</sup>

E447b:Rylands IX, 21/1 *ìr(.y) tm dì tʒy.w nʒy w‘b.w n pʒ ... dd bw-ìr hl-hns dì krf.w tʒy.k md.t*  
 “Because Khelkhons does not let them deny(?) your word, I do not let these priests be taken to the ....”

The same is true of one passage in ‘Onchsheshonqy with noun subject.

E448:‘Onchsheshonqy 25/20 *ìr shm.t tm mr pʒ nk n pʒy.s hy ge hwṭ ìr-hr hʒ[t.s]*  
 “If about the property of her husband a woman does not care, another man is in her heart.”

The example from Mythus quoted above, E443C, also has an adverbial adjunct, and the conditional meaning may be secondary there, also.

When *ìw.f hpr* served as the protasis of a conditional sentence, the clause following *hpr* might contain a negative verbal form,<sup>116</sup> but the conditional part of the clause, *ìw.f hpr*, would have been negated with *tm*.

No examples of negative conditional clauses with noun subjects using *ìn-nʒ* occur in the four texts under consideration, but in other texts such clauses are also negated with *tm*.

<sup>111</sup> “Morphology,” par. 112, and “Verbal Forms,” p. 227.

<sup>112</sup> “Verbal Forms,” p. 225.

<sup>113</sup> *Grammatik*, n. to par. 494.

<sup>114</sup> See the discussion in Chap. 2 on the negation of the second tense.

<sup>115</sup> See Parker, “Durative Tenses,” p. 186, number 52.

<sup>116</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 505d, 506e, and the examples cited above, E407b and 409.

E449:P. Insinger 4/21 *in-nʒ bɪn tm rḥ bw-ir.f ʿnh n-drt ky*  
 “If an evil man does not know, he cannot live off another.”

E450:HLC 6/11 *in-nʒ pʒ nty smy tm di ʿhʿ-rd r pʒ ʿwy*  
 “If the one who sues does not give proof concerning the house”

The *tm* might also precede the noun subject.

E451:HLC 7/15 *in-nʒ tm rmt n-īm.w dd wʒḥ*  
 “If one of the men does not reply”

As with the positive, the apodosis could be almost any main clause form.

### History

*Predecessors.* The forms of the Middle and Late Egyptian negative conditionals are given in the discussion of the Middle and Late Egyptian positive conditionals, above.

*Successors.* The Coptic negative conditional was composed of the conditional auxiliary plus the negative verb *tm*,<sup>117</sup> which followed a pronominal subject but preceded a noun subject.<sup>118</sup> The conditional particle *ša(n)* was sometimes used with the negative.<sup>119</sup>

## IRREALIS

### Forms

Mythus has an example of *rhwn-nʒw* prefixed to the future expressing the irrealis or unreal conditional clause.

E452:Mythus 18/10–11 *rhwn-nʒw r.īw.k r ir ʒwʿʒ n-drt.y di.y n.k pʒ mr r-ir.k*  
 [n] nʒy.y iry.w ḥr pʒ tw  
 “If (only) you would fall into my hands, in order that I might give you the evil which you inflicted [on] my companions upon the mountain.”

Other examples of *hwn-nʒw* prefixed to a clause to form an irrealis exist in Demotic, but they are rare.<sup>120</sup>

E453:Petubastis 2/19 *hwn-nʒw iw.y m-bʒḥ pr-ʿ*  
 “If I had come before Pharaoh”

E454:P. Cairo 50072/6 *hwn-nʒw ink pʒ bʒk (n) wʿ pyt*  
 “If I were the servant of a Libyan”<sup>121</sup>

Rare examples occur where this irrealis particle was written without the *h*; in such cases the irrealis particle looks like the imperfect converter.

<sup>117</sup> Till, *Dialekt*, par. 335.

<sup>118</sup> See Ludwig Stern, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1880) par. 421.

<sup>119</sup> See Polotsky, “CCS,” par. 27, obs.; Groll, *JEA*, Vol. 55 (1969) p. 97; and discussion above on the Coptic conditional.

<sup>120</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 496.

<sup>121</sup> For Coptic parallels with *ene* plus the independent pronoun *ang*, see Stern, *Koptische Grammatik*, par. 630; Till, *Grammatik*, par. 456.

E455:Petubastis 15/15      *wn-n3w iw.y gmt.s r iy*  
 “If I were able to come(?)”<sup>122</sup>

Mythus also has an example of *hmy* followed by a circumstantial nominal sentence serving as the protasis of an irrealis.

E457:Mythus 16/26–27      *hmy r p3 msh <p3> nty r.iw.f r t3yt.y mtw.[y ir(?)]*  
*tpy[.t] nfr.t n r.f*  
 “If the crocodile were the one who would take me, [I]  
 would [make] a good taste in his mouth.”

Other examples of *hmy* in irrealis clauses are also rare.<sup>123</sup>

E459:Petubastis 7/25–8/1      *hmy wn-n3w hd nb g3 hprry p3y-wn-n3w irr p3 hl w' b*  
*šny n-im.y r.r.f di.y t3y.w s n.[f]*  
 “If (only) silver, gold, or other precious things were  
 what the young priest (had) asked from me, so that I  
 could have had them brought to him.”

‘Onchsheshonqy has 19 examples of *hmy* (10/11–11/4), all but three of which are clearly followed by a circumstantial clause. But these cannot be interpreted as examples of the irrealis because in many cases the clause containing *hmy* is the main clause; there is no apodosis. The circumstantial clause following *hmy* might be a nominal or cleft sentence,

E460:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/14  
*hmy iw p3 sn 3 p3 dmy p3 nty iw.w hn.f.n.f*  
 “Would that the elder brother of the town be the one to  
 whom it is entrusted!”

a positive or negative verbal form other than the present,

E461a:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/25  
*hmy iw hr hpr šp p3 mwt*  
 “Would that life may always succeed death!”

E461b:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/17  
*hmy iw bw-ir p3 mw ir-wš iy*  
 “Would that the floodwater never cease to come!”

E461c:‘Onchsheshonqy 11/2  
*hmy iw.y swtn drt.y r p3y.y d[dy]*  
 “Would that I might stretch out my hand against my  
 e[nemy]!”

or the circumstantial present.

<sup>122</sup> The form following *wn-n3w* must be a non-durative future since it uses the pronominal infinitive *gmt.s*; see the discussions with E51 and E280. The example from Rylands IX which Spiegelberg also quoted as a parallel (*Grammatik*, par. 496) is, however, simply an imperfect existence clause, as noted by George R. Hughes.

E456:Rylands IX, 7/9      *wn-n3w wn rmt n-im.w iw ph.f š' niw.t di.f in.w st dr.w*  
 “There were men among them who had reached Thebes. He had  
 them all brought back.”

<sup>123</sup> Note also the broken passage in P. Carlsberg II quoted by C. De Wit, “La particule démotique *hmj*,” *CdE*, Vol. 30 (1955) p. 16.

E458: P. Carlsberg II, 7/x + 2      *hmy bn-pw.y ...*  
 “If I had not ...”

E462a:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/16

*hmy iw wn mtw.y iw wn mtw p3y.y sn wnm.y p3y.y iw  
bn-pw.y dm*

“Would that I have and my brother have (plenty) that  
I might eat mine without having struggled(?)!”

E462b:‘Onchsheshonqy 11/4

*hmy iw.y ir-rh p3y.y sn wn.y h3t.y r.r.f*

“Would that I know my brother, that I might open my  
heart to him!”<sup>124</sup>

The remaining three examples consist of *hmy* plus *ir* plus a noun subject. However, these cannot be examples of the second tense, as the *ir* would suggest, since in one of the three there is no adverb which could be stressed.

E463:‘Onchsheshonqy 10/20

*hmy ir 3ty.t šp p3y.s k3*

“Would that a cow receive her bull!”

Thus, they are probably to be analyzed as circumstantial forms, like all the others which follow *hmy*, either present tense or future; they are more likely to be future than present, for, like the future, they seem to take a defined direct object without the preposition *n*.

### Meaning and Usage

As the name indicates, the irrealis was used to express an unreal condition. This is the meaning of all the examples using the irrealis particle *hwn-n3w*. The particle *hmy*, however, seems originally to have had the meaning “would that!” as seen in the examples quoted above from ‘Onchsheshonqy.<sup>125</sup> From this usage has come the use of *hmy* in clauses where, because the result would be undesirable, the best translation is “if,” as in E457.<sup>126</sup>

### History

*Predecessors.* The irrealis in Late Egyptian was expressed by *h(3)n(3)*<sup>127</sup> or *hnr*; in Middle Egyptian, *h3*, “would that.” *Hn*, as Gardiner pointed out, meant simply “if,” having lost any connotations of desire. *Hnr*, however, still retained some optative meaning.

E464:Wenamun 1/18

*h3n3 it3y iw ns sw p3y.i t3 p3 h3.y ... wnw iw.i db3.f n.k  
m p3y.i wd3*

“If it were a thief who belonged to my country ..., I  
would have repaid it to you from my treasury.”

E465:BM 10052, 4/11–12

*bw-pwy.i m33 nty nb hn m33.i wnw iw.i dd*

“I saw no one at all. If I had seen, I would tell.”<sup>128</sup>

<sup>124</sup> This must be a durative, not the future, since *ir-rh* is the qualitative form of *rh*; see above, Chap. 1 on the qualitative and Chap. 2 on the predicate of present tense clauses.

<sup>125</sup> And as noted by De Wit, *CdE*, Vol. 30 (1955) p. 18.

<sup>126</sup> As pointed out by Sir Alan H. Gardiner, “Remarques sur la particule démotique *hmy*,” *CdE*, Vol. 30 (1955) p. 292.

<sup>127</sup> Walter C. Till, “Der Irrealis im Neuägyptische,” *ZAS*, Vol. 69 (1933) pp. 112–17. A table of forms is given in Frandsen, *Outline*, p. 232.

Sometimes the *hn* was followed by *wn*

E466:Wenamun 2/29–30 *h3n3 wn <m->di.w ʿnh snb wn bn iw.w dit in.tw n3 ht.w*  
 “If they had had(?) life and health, they would not have had the goods (of Egypt) sent.”

or by the hortative particle *my*.<sup>129</sup>

E467:Anastasi I, 27/4 *h3n3 my sh3.i n.k*  
 “Would that I might speak with you!”

Thus Demotic *hmy* came from either *hn*, with a change of *n* to *m*, not unknown to Egyptian,<sup>130</sup> or *h3* plus the enclitic particle *my*.<sup>131</sup> Late Egyptian *h(3)n(3) wn* was the direct ancestor of Demotic *hwn-n3w*. Thus Demotic should have forms with *h* for the irrealis, but without *h* for the imperfect converter. As a result of the confusion between these two similar forms, however, they were often leveled, either through the spread of *h* to the imperfect, as in Mythus (see Tables 4–6) or through the loss of the *h* in the irrealis, as in E455.

*Successors.* In Coptic, the irrealis used *ene*,<sup>132</sup> from Demotic (*r*)*hwn-n3w*, although no examples of \**enefē*, as in Mythus 18/10 (E452) exist.<sup>133</sup> The apodosis might be a past tense but was usually the imperfect progressive *nefnasōtm*.<sup>134</sup> *Hamoi* “would that!” was sometimes used to introduce the irrealis.<sup>135</sup>

## SDM.F AS OBJECT OF THE VERB DʿI “TO CAUSE”

### Forms

The verb *dī* “to cause” is very frequently followed by a subjunctive *sdm.f*.<sup>136</sup> The *dī* itself could be either the infinitive, in which case the combination *dī* plus *sdm.f* forms what is here called the causative infinitive, or a conjugated *sdm.f*. The causative infinitive is discussed in the next section.

<sup>128</sup> See Peet, *GTR* I, 161, n. 29. Further examples are found in Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 690.

<sup>129</sup> See *ibid.*, pars. 689 and 820.

<sup>130</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Mythus*, glossary number 499.

<sup>131</sup> On which, see Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 218, and note the example of *h3* plus *my* in the inscription of Djeddjehutyefankh quoted by Gardiner, *CdE*, Vol. 30 (1955) p. 289.

<sup>132</sup> Till, *Grammatik*, par. 456; Dwight W. Young, “Unfulfilled conditions in Shenoute’s Dialect,” *JAOS*, Vol. 89 (1969) pp. 399–407.

<sup>133</sup> The initial *r* in Mythus 18/10 *rhwn-n3w* is not the “circumstantial” *e*, but, in combination with the *h*, a phonetic approximation of the *e* of *ene*. See Johnson, *JNES*, Vol. 32 (1973) p. 169.

<sup>134</sup> Or *nef* before an adverbial predicate, *ne* before a nominal predicate; the Demotic imperfect future *wn-n3w iw.fr sdm* did not exist in Coptic. See also Young, *JAOS*, Vol. 89 (1969) pp. 399–402.

<sup>135</sup> See Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, par. 491; Till, *Grammatik*, par. 456, end.

<sup>136</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 113. For the form of the *sdm.f*, see above, Chap. 1.

## Meaning and Usage

This *sdm.f*, with any following adverbials, formed a subordinate clause serving as object of the verb *dī*.<sup>137</sup>

- E470A:Setne 5/20 *dī.f ṛr.w n.s w<sup>c</sup> sh n s<sup>c</sup>nh*  
 “He caused that a document of endowment be made for her.”
- E470B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/11–12  
*dī.y ṛr.w t.k n wr syn dī.y dī.w n.k nty nb nty mtw p<sup>3</sup> wr syn dr.w*  
 “I caused that you be made the chief physician. I caused you to be given everything belonging to the chief physician.”
- E470C:Mythus 9/21 *dī.f ṛr.y nb n p<sup>3</sup> t<sup>3</sup> dr.f <sup>c</sup>n*  
 “He caused me to act as lord of the entire land also.”
- E470D:Magical 11/25–26 *hr dī.f dī-hpr n.k ḥs.t ʿt iwṭ.w m-šs sp sn*  
 “It normally creates for you very great praise among them.”

The *sdm.f* after *dī* could not be negated. Rather, the entire construction was negated by negating the clause in which *dī* functioned as the predicate.<sup>138</sup>

## History

*Predecessors.* All earlier stages of Egyptian made ample use of subjunctive *sdm.f* constructions serving as the object of the verb (*r*)*dī*.<sup>139</sup>

*Successors.* The conjugated *sdm.f* is very restricted in Coptic;<sup>140</sup> the only descendant of *dī* plus *sdm.f* is the causative infinitive, discussed below.

<sup>137</sup> An infinitive could be used as the object of *dī* if there was no need to indicate the subject of the subordinate clause.

- E468:Magical 19/16 *my dī.y ḥwy.t.w r-hry*  
 “Let me cause them to be thrown up (i.e., vomit them).”

The use of an infinitive as the object of another verb is not confined to the verb *dī*.

- E469A:Setne 3/12 *iw.k wh<sup>3</sup> ʿš sh*  
 “you wish to recite a writing”
- E469B:‘Onchsheshonqy 5/19 *n<sup>3</sup> md.wt nty iw.f rh mtr p<sup>3</sup>y.f šr n-īm.w*  
 “the words with which he will be able to instruct his son”
- E469C:Mythus 2/13 *in r.iw.n r rh hpr r n<sup>3</sup>y hpr*  
 “Will we be able to exist while these exist?”
- E469D:Magical 21/21 *nty-r rh wnm p<sup>3</sup> sym*  
 “which was able to eat the vegetable(?)”

(For the form of the participle in the last example, see the discussion with E317.) The infinitive is always used after the negative verb *tm*.

<sup>138</sup> As already in Middle Egyptian. See Polotsky, *Or*, Vol. 33 (1964) p. 271, n. 1.

<sup>139</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 287ff.; Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 15 (1); Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 70 and 452; Elmar Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Vol. I (“Analecta Orientalia,” Vol. 34 [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1955]) pars. 480ff.

<sup>140</sup> Till, *Grammatik*, pars. 281ff., gives the only suffix conjugation forms which have survived in Coptic.

## CAUSATIVE INFINITIVE

## Forms

The infinitive of the verb *dī* “to cause” followed by the subjunctive *sdm.f*, serving as object of *dī*, forms what is here called the causative infinitive. Periphrastic forms, using the *sdm.f* of *īr* and a following infinitive, also occur.<sup>141</sup> All the forms are given in Table 49. This construction can be formed freely, with the *sdm.f* of any verb following *dī*. The *dī* and the *sdm.f* are separate lexical items. There are a small number of causative verbs compounded of *dī* and the non-causative infinitive, which form one lexical item. Such causative verbs are here called compound verbs.<sup>142</sup> Sometimes, for example, when serving as the object of a conjugated *sdm.f* of *dī*, the compound verbs are easily recognized.

E471C:Mythus 16/20 *dī pʒ mʿy dī-ḥʿ pʒ wnš 2*<sup>143</sup>

“The lion made the two jackals stand (i.e., he overtook them).”

E471D:Magical 11/25–26 *ḥr dī.f dī-ḥpr n.k ḥs.t ʿʒ.t iwṭ.w m-šs sp sn*

“It normally creates for you very great praise among them.”

Another environment in which the compound verbs are readily identified is in a durative tense, where the object of the infinitive follows the preposition *n* (*n-īm*).

E473:Magical 6/15–16 *īir.y dī-mḥ n-īm.k ḥn tʒ gyd.t n tʒ iḥ.t šm.t*

“In the hand of the cow I burn you.”

In other cases it is impossible to determine whether a given *dī* plus *sdm.f* is a compound verb *dī-sdm* with following subject or object or is a causative infinitive *dī* plus subjunctive *sdm.f*.<sup>144</sup> In such cases the existence of a separate lexical item *dī-sdm* is not here assumed and the forms are included in Table 49 as examples of the causative infinitive. With the periphrastic causative infinitive *dī īr.f sdm*, no confusion exists.

The scribe of Magical occasionally failed to write the periphrastic verb *īr*. For example, Magical 21/9–10 is impossible as it stands. The simple causative infinitive would have been written \**dī mr šm.t ḥwṭ* “to cause that a woman love a man.” But the subject, *šm.t*, cannot precede the verb, *mr*, unless the periphrastic conjugation is being used. Thus the scribe must have omitted *īre*<sup>145</sup> before the noun subject.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>141</sup> Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 187, noted that the periphrastic form was not used with simple 2- and 3-radical verbs until the late Roman period, but there are examples of it in P. Insinger (Williams, “Morphology,” par. 94). Examples of the causative infinitive are quoted in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, pars. 113–15 and 187; Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire*, par. 144

<sup>142</sup> To distinguish them from old causatives with an *s*-prefix. See above, Chap. 2, n. 50.

<sup>143</sup> Contrast this example using the compound verb *dī-ḥʿ* with an example, also from Mythus, where *ḥʿ* alone was the object of the verb *dī*.

E472:Mythus 18/27–28 *dī.f ḥʿ pʒ šm n pne īir-ḥr pʒ mʿy*

“He had the small mouse stand before the lion.”

<sup>144</sup> Not even the existence or non-existence of a given compound infinitive in Coptic is proof that a particular form is a compound verb, since ones which are to be found in Coptic could have been not yet formed in Demotic while some which occurred in Demotic could have been lost before Coptic.

<sup>145</sup> Which occurs in similar passages elsewhere in Magical.

Table 49. Causative Infinitive

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	5/4	3/22	8/16	5/19 19/13
2 m.	4/37	17/20	20/28 18/16-17	1/26 14/5
2 f.			5/12	
3 m.	3/22	12/22	15/18	7/16 2/1
3 f.			9/1	15/30
1 pl.	4/12		16/24	
2 pl.				
3 pl.	5/5	5/8	7/21	18/31 2/9
N	3/1	5/9	19/22-23 4/10 11/6	6/14 3/31

E475:Magical 21/10

*r di <ire> šm.t mr ḥwt*

“in order to cause a woman to love a man”

The verb *wn* “to open” was normally transitive, especially as used by the scribe of Magical.

E476:Magical 27/16

*mtw.k di ir.f wn ir.t.f*

“and you should have him open his eyes”

Thus although Magical 1/18 can be translated as it stands,

E477:Magical 1/18

*mtw.k di wn ir.t.f n p3y [lw]*

“and you should make the y[outh]’s eyes open”

it seems preferable to insert *ir.f* between *di* and *wn*, in which case the clause means “and you should have the boy open his eyes.”<sup>147</sup> In V5/4–5 the scribe of Magical wrote the periphrastic *ir* but then forgot to write the infinitive *ir* “to do” after the subject.

E478:Magical V5/4–5

*ir.k di ire t3 šm.t <ir> t3y.s m3*

“You should have the woman urinate.”

This interpretation seems certain not only because of the spelling *ire*, which is that of the periphrastic form before a noun subject, but also because the idiom *ir m3.t* appears elsewhere in Magical.

E479:Magical 21/22

*p3 ir ir t3y.s m3.t*

“the one who urinated”

E474:Magical 25/31

*ir.k wh3 r di ire šm.t mr ḥwt*

“If you wish to make a woman love a man”

<sup>146</sup> See Griffith, *Magical I* 136, n. to 10.

<sup>147</sup> It is possible that this example and the similar one in 1/11 contain the idiom *di-wn ir.t* “to instruct,” rather than the literal “to open the eyes.” Column 1 is too broken to be certain. But note that in both examples the conjunctive *mtw.k di* at the beginning of the clause has been corrected by a gloss to the optative *ma*.



## History

*Predecessors.* Both Middle and Late Egyptian used (*r*)*dī* plus the subjunctive *sdm.f* meaning “to cause ....”<sup>152</sup>

*Successors.* The causative infinitive<sup>153</sup> in Coptic retained its original causative meaning when it followed another conjugation. When not following another conjugation, however, the form lost its causative meaning and was used whenever the writer or speaker wanted to express the subject of an infinitive.<sup>154</sup>

## FINALIS

## Forms

The finalis consisted of a *sdm.f* of the verb *dī* “to cause” with 1 s. subject and a following *sdm.f* or periphrastic *īr.f sdm*.<sup>155</sup>

## Meaning and Usage

The finalis followed an imperative and indicated what the result of carrying out the imperative would be.

E487: ‘Onchsheshonqy 17/26

*ḥm bʒ.t dī.y ʿy tʒy.k šfʿ.t n ḥʒt rmt nb*

“Be modest and your reputation will increase in the hearts of all men.”<sup>156</sup>

E488:Louvre 2414, 1/12

*mts pʒy.k šr dī.y īr pʒ tʒ mr.f*

“Educate your son and the land will love him.”

Examples of the non-periphrastic construction *dī.y sdm.f* occur in the four texts being studied, but in these the literal meaning “I will cause ...” is intended.

E489A:Setne 3/12

*īmī n.y dī.y tʒy.w t.k r pʒ mʒʿ nty īw pʒy dīmʿ n-īm.f*

“Come to me that I may have you taken to the place where this papyrus is.”

E489C:Mythus 14/26–27

*īm.t īrm.y r pʒ tw ḥr.t dī.y īn-nw.t r.r.w*

“Come with me to the mountain above so that you may (lit., so that I may make you) see them.”<sup>157</sup>

<sup>152</sup> See Gardiner, *Grammar*, par. 70, forms in par. 452, 1; Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 287ff.

<sup>153</sup> For forms, see Till, *Grammatik*, par. 335.

<sup>154</sup> On the use of the causative infinitive with durative tenses, see above, n. 149, and Chap. 2, n. 51.

<sup>155</sup> As originally suggested by H. J. Polotsky, *Etudes de syntaxe copte* (Cairo: La Société d’Archéologie Copte, 1944) part 1.

<sup>156</sup> ‘Onchsheshonqy 25/16 may be another example, but it is too broken to be certain.

<sup>157</sup> Polotsky (*Etudes*, par. 7) quoted Mythus 17/29 as an example of the non-periphrastic finalis, but this analysis depends on the restoration of a 2 m. subject for the verb ‘l “to consume(?)”

E490:Mythus 17/29

*ḥʒʿ t.y r-bnr dī.y ʿ[l.k] pʒ qb n tʒy.k ḥrʒ.t*

“Let me loose and I will let [you] con[sume] (?) double (the quantity) of your food.”

These are, by form, ancestral to the finalis, but the personal causative meaning has not yet given way to an impersonal indication of result.

### History

*Predecessors.* Result clauses in the earlier stages of the Egyptian language could be written in several diverse ways, none of which was the direct ancestor of the Demotic and Coptic finalis. When a form such as *di.i sdm.f* was used in the earlier stages, it still meant literally “I cause him to hear.”<sup>158</sup>

*Successors.* The Coptic finalis, also called the future conjunctive, derived from the periphrastic form of the Demotic finalis, as Polotsky suggested.<sup>159</sup> But in Coptic the finalis might follow a question as well as an imperative.<sup>160</sup> It formed a result clause. Lefort<sup>161</sup> claimed that the finalis was a Grecism, but Polotsky rebutted this.<sup>162</sup> The Coptic forms with *n* were secondary formations formed as a result of confusion between the finalis and the conjunctive.<sup>163</sup>

## PURPOSE CLAUSES

### Forms

Demotic often used either a *sdm.f* or preposition *r* plus infinitive to indicate a purpose clause.

### Meaning and Usage

The *sdm.f* was used when the subject of the clause was to be indicated,

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The spacing in 17/29 would allow this restoration, but it is more likely that only the *l* and the determinative of the verb are missing; see the spelling in 17/27. If only ‘[*l*] “to fetch” is to be read, it is probably the infinitive after a *sdm.f* used as a purpose clause (on which see below) and can be translated “Let me loose so that I may cause the fe[atching] of double (the quantity) of your food.”

<sup>158</sup> Mordechai Gilula, “A Middle Egyptian Example for the Coptic *tarefsōtm*,” *JNES*, Vol. 34 (1975) pp. 135–36, has identified one Late Egyptian and one possible Middle Egyptian example which he interprets as “finalis” clauses.

<sup>159</sup> *Etudes*, par. 7. This derivation also accounts for the lack of a 1 s. form of the finalis in “classical” Coptic.

<sup>160</sup> See Till, *Grammatik*, par. 311; Steindorff, *Lehrbuch*, pars. 352ff.

<sup>161</sup> L. Th. Lefort, “À propos de syntaxe copte,” *Le Muséon*, Vol. 60 (1947) pp. 11 and 17.

<sup>162</sup> “Modes grecs en copte?” in *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (“Second Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute” [Boston, 1950]) pp. 87–90.

<sup>163</sup> See Polotsky, *Etudes*, par. 5. Aksel Volten (“The Late Egyptian Conjunctive,” in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky* [Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1964] p. 78, n. 5) analyzed Mythus 20/8–9 as an example of the conjunctive without *n*, as in Akhmimic. It is probably simply an example of the form ancestral to the finalis, but one in which the personal causative meaning is intended.

E491:Mythus 20/8–9

*imi r-hry di.y di-swr.k k[wk] di.y di-wnm.k kwk n bny.t*

“Come down that I may make you drink *k[uk]*, that I may make you eat date *kuk*.”

- E492B:‘Onchsheshonqy 4/10–12  
*my in.w n.y w<sup>c</sup> gšt irm w<sup>c</sup> dm<sup>c</sup> ... sh.y n.f w<sup>c</sup>.t mtr.t di.y  
 t<sup>3</sup>y.w st n.f n iwn r mtr.t.f n-*im.s**
- “Let me be brought a palette and a papyrus ... in order that I might write an instruction for him and in order that I might have it taken to him in Heliopolis in order to instruct him with it.”<sup>164</sup>
- E492C:Mythus 18/4–5  
*im š<sup>c</sup>.t.y n.k w<sup>c</sup> ht ir.y s n.k r-ht.k n s<sup>3</sup>y r bn iw.k mwt r  
 nhh*
- “Come that I might cut you a tree, that I may make it for you for your body as an amulet, in order that you will never die.”<sup>165</sup>
- E492D:Magical 6/34  
*my š.w n.y r w<sup>c</sup> ntr hb.y s iw n<sup>3</sup>-šq.f r n<sup>3</sup> md.wt nty iw.f  
 r šm n-*im.s**
- “Let a god be called for me in order that I may send him, he being serious<sup>166</sup> concerning the things about which he will go.”
- r* plus the infinitive when it was unnecessary to indicate the subject.
- E494A:Setne 3/10  
*šm n<sup>3</sup>nfrk<sup>3</sup>pth hn hw.t-ntr r wšte*
- “Naneferkaptah went into the temple to worship.”
- E494B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/21–22  
*in wnm.k p<sup>3</sup>y.y ‘q sdm.k t<sup>3</sup>y.y bin.t iw bn-pw.k iy r di  
 gm.y s dd st sdny r-ir.k r htb.t.k*
- “Did you eat my rations and did you hear evil against me without coming to let me know, ‘They are conspiring against you to kill you.’”
- E494C:Mythus 2/32  
*šm t<sup>3</sup> imy.t r bnr r wh<sup>3</sup> hr<sup>3</sup>.[t]*
- “The cat went out to look for food.”
- E494D:Magical 3/16  
*p<sup>3</sup> š nty ir.k š.w (sic!) r-hry hn d<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>.f n h<sup>3</sup>t r dn.t.f n  
 n<sup>3</sup>y.f msdr.w*
- “**The spell** which you should recite down into his head first in order to test him in his ears.”
- A negative purpose clause was often written *r* plus the infinitive of the negative verb *tm* plus an infinitive.
- E495A:Setne 3/22  
*[ir.y ‘.wy] drt.y irm n<sup>3</sup>nfrk<sup>3</sup>pth r tm di šm.f r qb<sup>t</sup>*
- “[I did my] utmost with Naneferkaptah in order not to let him go to Coptos.”
- E495C:Mythus 1/5  
*]r tm ir n.y*
- “]in order not to do for me”

<sup>164</sup> The periphrastic form *ir.f sdm* could also be used as a purpose clause.

E493:‘Onchsheshonqy 6/3  
*šms rmt rh ir.f šms.t.k*

“Serve a wise man in order that he may serve you!”

<sup>165</sup> Note that *r* plus the negative future here indicates a purpose clause, parallel to the two *sdm.f* forms.

<sup>166</sup> For the meaning of *šq*, see above, Chap. 2, n. 248.

E495D:Magical V26/4–5 *r-ir t3y-hr hpr tm dd n.k w3h*  
 “If delay occurs in order not to tell you an answer”

### History

*Predecessors.* Purpose clauses in earlier stages of Egyptian were identical with those in Demotic.<sup>167</sup>

*Successors.* Since Coptic no longer had conjugated *sdm.f* forms, only the construction *r* plus infinitive survived into Coptic.<sup>168</sup>

## CONJUNCTIVE

### Forms

The forms of the conjunctive auxiliary *mtw* are given in Table 50. The 3 pl. form in Magical written *mtw.w* originally contained a short vertical stroke between *mtw* and the suffix pronoun *w*; this short stroke takes the place of the tall stroke found elsewhere in the paradigm.<sup>169</sup> In Magical 14/5 *mtw<.y>* was glossed *nta*. Magical also contains some examples of the conjunctive written with *n*, rather than *mtw*.

E496a:Magical 2/9 *ir.k r di ir.w ir n p3y.y hb n.st di mš' t3y.y(?) wp.t*  
 “You should have them do my thing and they should cause my work to go well.”

E496b:Magical 20/25–26 *iw.y r b3k.k r t3 plege n s3 nswt wr tp inp p3y.y šr dd*  
*ir.k r mh.s n-ir.k di n3-nfr.s*  
 “I will use you on the wound of the king’s son, the eldest and first, Anubis, my son, in order that you will fill it and make it well.”

This usage is certain<sup>170</sup> and presumably reflects the Coptic conjunctive *nfsōtm*.

<sup>167</sup> Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 294ff. and 424–25; Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 15, (2) and 16, (3), and n. 7; Gardiner, *Grammar*, pars. 454, 3, and 304, 3; Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Vol. I, pars. 478ff. and 714.

<sup>168</sup> Till, *Grammatik*, par. 338.

<sup>169</sup> This same short vertical stroke is also found in the negative perfect and the terminative with 3 pl. subject; see above, Tables 42 and 45. The scribe occasionally forgot the stroke, e.g., in 18/20. Spiegelberg quoted forms in *Grammatik*, par. 140.

<sup>170</sup> Williams thought that *ir.k wnm* in V33/3 was “clearly a Second Present in an interrogative sentence” (“Verbal Forms,” p. 223). It is, however, better interpreted as a conjunctive with *n*,

E497:Magical V33/3 *hr.w hr imi n-ir.k wnm*  
 “They said, ‘Horus, come and eat!’”

although it could be the interrogative particle *in*, written *n*, followed by the circumstantial present, not the second tense (see E83), i.e., “They said, ‘Horus, come! Are you eating?’”

Table 50. Conjunctive

	Setne	'Onchsheshonqy	Mythus	Magical
1 s.	4/17	1/17	2/29	7/2
2 m.	3/15	7/8	5/31	4/7
			18/4	4/7
				20/26
				20/27
2 f.			13/17	
3 m.	4/38	17/24	4/9	5/30
3 f.				13/19
1 pl.				
2 pl.				
3 pl.				1/23
				2/9
N	4/12	14/9		6/10

### Meaning and Usage

The conjunctive formed a dependent clause which continued a preceding form, agreeing with it in tense. Many sentence and clause conjugations could be continued by the conjunctive.<sup>171</sup> The usages of the negative are the same as those of the positive. The main clause forms after which the conjunctive is found are the aorist,

E498C:Mythus 14/15–17 *iw.f hpr r hr in-nw.t hn p3 y'm mtw.[t] nw r n3y nty hn p3 mw ih p3 ir hpr n p3 hf irm p3 n3r*

“If (it happens that) you can look into the sea and see those (things) which are in the water, what happened to the snake and the falcon?”

E498D:Magical 3/32 *hr phre.f n t3 wnw.t n rn.s mtw p3 wyn hpr*

“It enchants in the above-mentioned moment and the light appears.”

the negative aorist,

E499:Setne 4/12

*m-ir di ir.n hrr bw-ir pr-3 sdm n3 md.wt ir hpr n-im.n mtw h3t.f the r-tb3.t.s*

“Don't let's delay lest Pharaoh hear the things which happened to us and his heart become sad on account of it.”

<sup>171</sup> For all the uses of the conjunctive identified by Spiegelberg, see *Grammatik*, pars. 141–53.

the future,

E500A:Setne 4/17–18 *in iw.y rh šm r qbṯ mtw.y ḥms n-im.w*  
 “Will I be able to go to Coptos and dwell there?”

E500B:‘Onchsheshonqy 3/3–5  
*iw.k wd (n)-drt p3-rᶜ irm n3 ntr.w nty irm.f mtw ny.t wr  
 mw.t t3 ntr.t ʿ3.t di n3 ḥ3s.wt n p3 t3 dr.f hr-[rd].ṯ pr-ʿ3  
 dr.w*  
 “You will be saved by Pre and the gods who are with  
 him, and Nyṯ the great, the mother, the great goddess,  
 will place all foreign lands of the entire earth under  
 the [fe]et of Pharaoh.”

E500C:Mythus 18/4 *r.iw.y r rh ir n.k wᶜ s3y mtw.k tm mwt ʿn sp sn*  
 “I will be able to make for you an amulet and you will  
 never die.”

E500D:Magical 11/11–12 *iw p-rᶜ r šht ḥ3ṯ.w mtw.f knm irt.w*  
 “Pre will impede their hearts and blind their eyes.”

including the injunctive future,

E501:Magical 3/6–7 *ir.k fy.ṯ.w ir.k wᶜb n wš n dh.w r nty nb n p3 t3 mtw.k  
 smnt.w n p3y.w ky rwn-n3w iw.w smnt n-im.f ʿn*  
 “You should carry them, you being pure, without  
 touching them to anything of the land and you should  
 put them again in their manner in which they were  
 established.”

a second tense with future meaning,

E502:Mythus 11/18–22 *tw.y m-qd ṯrp r.iw.f rd.ṯ r n3y.f m3ḥy.[w] ʿ3y.w n tqm  
 tw.t ḥᶜ r n3y.t yb.w m-qd t3 nry.t ḥn ḥᶜ3.t t3y.y hr.t ir.t  
 sm r-hr.y n wᶜ qᶜḥ n ḥ3ṯ.t mtw.t ir 3why r-hr.y t3 m3ᶜ.t  
 t3y in.t ṯ.y r p3 t3 m-s3 mwt r p3 wn m-s3 ḥb*  
 “I am like a grown goose whose great feathers have  
 come out. You are standing on(?) your claws like the  
 vulture in a corpse. My lady, with a touch of your  
 heart you (will) bless me and you (will) protect me. It  
 is the truth. May you bring me to the earth after death,  
 to the light after grief!”

the negative perfect,

E503:Magical 11/21 *ys ys tkr tkr iw bw-ir-tw.y ddt.w mtw.y whm ddt.w*  
 “Hurry, hurry, quickly, quickly, before I have said  
 them and repeated saying them!”

and the imperative, both positive

E504A:Setne 5/6–7 *imṯ mtw.k md irm.y*  
 “Come and speak with me!”

E504B:‘Onchsheshonqy 17/23–24

*my sbʒ pʒy.k šr r sh r skʒ r hm r gp r-tbʒ w<sup>c</sup>.t rnp.t st  
h<sup>c</sup>py mtw.f gm pʒ hw nʒy-ir.f*

“Educate your son to write, plow, fowl, and trap against a year of the withholding of the Nile so that he may realize the profit of what he did.”<sup>172</sup>

E504D:Magical 7/10–11

*wnh.k r pʒy lw nty hr pʒy.y hn n pʒ hrw mtw.f dd n.y  
wʒh n md.t mʒ<sup>c</sup>.t n wš n md.t n <sup>c</sup>de*

“Reveal yourself to this youth who is carrying my vessel today so that he may tell me an answer in truth without falsehood!” (see n. 172)

and negative. In some cases the conjunctive clause continues the negative sense of the vetitive.

E505:‘Onchsheshonqy 7/8

*m-ir qpe mtw.k di gm.w t.k*

“Don’t hide and (then) let yourself be found!”

In other cases, the negative does not carry through and the conjunctive is best translated as a result clause or as defining the limits of the negation in the main clause, according to Sauneron.<sup>173</sup>

E506a:‘Onchsheshonqy 19/15

*m-ir hm hʒt iw.k mr mtw.k tbt pʒ mwt*

“Don’t be discouraged when you are sick, with the result that you pray for death!”

E506b:‘Onchsheshonqy 11/8

*m-ir htb hf mtw.k hʒ<sup>c</sup> st.t.f*

“It is useless to kill a snake and leave its tail.”<sup>174</sup>

There is an example in ‘Onchsheshonqy of the conjunctive after a particle, a usage common in Coptic.<sup>175</sup>

E508:‘Onchsheshonqy 1/19

*rw mtw pʒ ntr di st [n hʒt.f(?)] r ir n.y pʒ nty mtr.w*

“Perhaps God will put it [in his heart(?)] to do for me what is proper.”

It might also occur after the optative

E509:Mythus 5/31–32

*qsis.w t.k mtw.k htp r pʒy.k hn*

“May you be buried and rest in your sarcophagus!”

<sup>172</sup> When the subject of the conjunctive differs from the subject of the preceding clause, the conjunctive clause is often best translated as a result clause. On whether the conjunctive can form a purpose clause or a result clause, in Late Egyptian, see Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 82, vs. Groll, *Negative Verbal*, p. 168.

<sup>173</sup> S. Sauneron, “Quelques emplois particuliers du conjonctif,” *BIFAO*, Vol. 61 (1962) pp. 59–67. He cites examples especially from Amenemope, P. Insinger, and ‘Onchsheshonqy.

<sup>174</sup> Lit., “Don’t kill a snake and leave its tail.”

<sup>175</sup> Till, *Grammatik*, pars. 324 and 366. The examples cited in Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 431, 10, all have a circumstantial form after *rw*.

E507A:Setne 6/14

*rw iw gm<sup>c</sup> pʒ iir pʒ hmšs 5 r-ir.k*

“Perhaps cheating is what the ... did to you.”

E507C:Mythus 5/35

*rw r bw-ir.f hnm r pʒ sty n sym qrf*

“Perhaps he doesn’t smell the odor of evil vegetables.”

or after *my sdm.f* with causative meaning.

E510A:Setne 6/4–5 *my hn.w s ir-hr.k mtw.k šp w<sup>c</sup>.t hyyt.t mtw.k šm r qbt  
mtw.k inṯ.w r bw-nṣy*

“Let them command it to you and you accept a labor and go to Coptos and bring them here!”

E510D:Magical 29/7–8 *my iw n.y pṣ ntr nty iw pṣ wṣḥ-shn n-drt.f mtw.f dd n.y  
wṣḥ r md.t nb.t nty iw.y šn hr.r.w dy n pṣ hrw*

“Let the god in whose hand is the command come to me and tell me an answer to everything about which I am asking here today.”

The clause conjugations after which the conjunctive is attested are the terminative,

E511:Magical 18/25–26 *ir.k ddt.f n sp 9 š<sup>c</sup>-mtw pṣ wyn <sup>c</sup>w mtw inp iy r-hn*  
“You should say it 9 times until the light is great and Anubis comes in.”

the conditional,<sup>176</sup>

E516B:‘Onchsheshonqy 15/21

*iw.w hb.k m-sṣ š<sup>c</sup> mtw.k gm sw m-ir in[t.f]*  
“If you are sent for chaff and find wheat, don’t bring [it]!”

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<sup>176</sup> Williams’ example (“Morphology,” par. 118*b*) of the conjunctive after the circumstantial present is actually after the conditional.

E512:P. Insinger 21/20 *wn <sup>c</sup>w n ḥṣṯ (n) bin m-qd tṣ sty.t iw.s pr mtw.s ḥm*  
“The stubbornness (lit., greatness of heart, which Williams translated “patience”) of an evil man is like the fire when it flares up and goes out.”

Spiegelberg incompletely quoted what he considered an example of the conjunctive serving as the protasis of a conditional clause (*Grammatik*, par. 495; likewise Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire*, par. 416). The conjunctive is actually continuing a preceding conditional clause.

E513:Magical 2/15 *ir.k di ir.f wn ir.t.f mtw pṣ wyn r<sup>c</sup>ny mtw.f dd inp iy r-hn ir.k <sup>c</sup>š  
ḥṣṯ.f*  
“If you have him open his eyes and the light is beautiful and he says, “Anubis is coming in,” you should recite before him.”

For a discussion of the peculiarities of the verb here read *r<sup>c</sup>ny*, see Griffith, *Magical* I 28, n. to 1. 15. The *r* may be the “*r* of futurity,” which may also be found in Setne.

E514:Setne 5/14 *iw.f r <sup>c</sup>n.y m-šs*  
“It will please me greatly(?)”

If so, see Jaroslav Černý, “On the Origin of the Egyptian Conjunctive,” *JEA*, Vol. 35 (1949) p. 27, for examples of the conjunctive with *r*, and J. D. Ray, “The Form *mtw.f r sdm* in Later Egyptian,” *JEA*, Vol. 59 (1973) pp. 156–58. Is *y* phonetic as suggested by Griffith?

Williams (“Morphology,” par. 120) quoted an example of the conjunctive from P. Insinger which might have conditional meaning, but, as he said, this example is highly doubtful.

E515:P. Insinger 21/22 *wn <sup>c</sup>w n ḥṣṯ n bin mtw pṣy.f ḥry hb.f mtw pṣ ir hb.f šm m-sṣ.f*  
“There is stubbornness (see E512) to an evil man if(?) his superior sends him (on an errand) and then the one who sent him goes after him.”

The conjunctive could be used in, or as, the protasis of oaths in Late Egyptian. See Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 81, 2, and n. 3.

- E516C:Mythus 2/28–30 *[in-nʒ] tʒ ʔmy.[t] šm r-bnr r ʔn hrʒ.t n nʒy.s hrʔ.w mtw.y kʕ [my] r nʒy.s dʒw.w r.ʔw.w r ʔr tʒy.y hrʒ.t ʔrm nʒy.y hrʔ.w*  
 “[If] the cat goes out to bring food for her children and I ha[rm] her children, they will serve as food for me and my children.”
- E516D:Magical 2/1 *ʔw.f wn ʔr.ʔf mtw.f nw r pʒ wyn ʔr.k di ʔr.f ʕš*  
 “If he opens his eyes and sees the light, you should have him recite.”
- the conditional using *ʔw.f hpr* “If (it happens that),”
- E517A:Setne 4/18 *ʔw.f hpr ʔw šm.y r mn-nfr tʒ wnw.t mtw pr-ʕʒ šnʔ.y r nʒy.f hm-hl.w*  
 “If (it happened that) I went to Memphis at once and Pharaoh asked me about his children”
- E517D:Magical 2/3 *ʔw.f hpr mtw.f wn ʔr.ʔf mtw.f tm nw r pʒ wyn ʔr.k di ʔr.f htm ʔr.ʔf*  
 “If (it happens that) he opens his eyes and does not see the light, you should have him close his eyes.”
- the negative conditional,
- E518:Magical 19/5–6 *ʔr.k tm šte n tʒy.k mtw.t mtw.k ʕl n pʒy.k dʒk ʔw.y tʒyʔ.k r-hry r pʒ hft-h n wsʔr*  
 “If you do not extract your venom and remove your saliva, I shall take you up to the dromos of Osiris.”
- the irrealis,
- E519:Mythus 16/26–27 *hmy.r pʒ msh ʕpʒ> nty r.ʔw.f r tʒyʔ.y mtw.[y ʔr(?)]*  
*tpy[.t] nfr.t n r.f*  
 “If the crocodile were the one who would take me, [I] would [make] a good taste in his mouth.”
- a subjunctive *sdm.f* with the verb *di* “to cause,”<sup>177</sup>
- E521:Magical 3/31 *ʔr.k whʒ r di ʔre nʒ ntr.w ʔy n.k r-hn mtw pʒ hn phr n tkr*  
 “If you wish to make the gods come in to you and the vessel enchant quickly”
- and purpose clauses consisting of *r* plus an infinitive,
- E522:Mythus 18/29–30 *ʔr.y ʔy r ʔr n.k tʒy.s šb.t n pʒ hrw mtw.y nhm.ʔ.k n-drt tʒy.k sn-thy.ʔt*  
 “In order to repay you for it today and save you from your misfortune I am coming.”<sup>178</sup>

<sup>177</sup> The example quoted by Spiegelberg (*Grammatik*, par. 145c) as an example of the conjunctive after the infinitive actually follows the prospective *sdm.f* after *di*, not the infinitive.

E520:Rylands IX, 3/7–8

*pʒ hp r-ʔr.w n.w di šp.w ... mtw.w hʒʕ.w*

“The punishment which was done to them was making them receive ... and letting them go.”

<sup>178</sup> Another possible example of the conjunctive after *r* plus the infinitive occurs in ‘Onchsheshonqy.

the particle *dd* plus the future,

E524:Magical 20/25–26 *iw.y r b3k.k r t3 plege n s3 nswt wr tp inp p3y.y šr dd  
ir.k r mh.s n-ir.k di n3-nfr.s*

“I will use you on the wound of the king’s son, the eldest and first, Anubis, my son, in order that you fill it and make it well.”

or a subjunctive *sdm.f*.

E525A:Setne 3/15 *my dd.w n.y w<sup>c</sup>.t md.t nfr.t ... di.y ir.w s n.k mtw.k hb.y  
r p3 m3<sup>c</sup>*

“Let them tell me a good thing ... in order that I may have it done for you and that you may send me to the place.” (see n. 172)

E525D:Magical 6/34 *my š.w n.y r w<sup>c</sup> ntr hb.y s iw n3-šq.f r n3 md.wt nty iw.f  
r šm n-im.s mtw.f mnqe s*

“Let a god be called for me in order that I may send him, he being serious<sup>179</sup> concerning the things about which he will go, and in order that he complete them.”

There are also examples of *dd* plus the conjunctive with purpose meaning.

E526:Mythus 14/3–4 *hr phr.y t3 p.t dd mtw.y sdm r n3y nty hns*

“I can enchant heaven in order to hear those things which are in it.”

The only example of the conjunctive after the past tense is one from Mythus with the particle *dd* plus the conjunctive indicating purpose.

E527:Mythus 7/10–11 *hpr nty nb nty ir hr3.t n p3 f dd mtw.f swr.w mtw.f  
wnm.w*

“Everything which makes food for the fly came into being in order that he drink them and in order that he eat them.”

The conjunctive never continued a narrative form.<sup>180</sup> The use of the conjunctive after the present tense is very rare.

E528:Mythus 19/20–21 *ir.y wnm.s h3t.y nd[m ir.y swr.s] h3t.y thb mtw.y kšp r  
p3y.y t3*

“If I eat it, my heart is gla[d. If I drink it,] my heart gets drunk(?) and I see my homeland.”

The conjunctive here follows a present tense clause with gnomic meaning, which is usually expressed by an aorist, with which the conjunctive occurs quite commonly. The examples from ‘Onchsheshonqy which appear to consist of the present tense followed by a conjunctive may rather be present tense relative forms; see below. However, an example in Louvre 2414 uses the negative verb *tm* and must therefore be a conjunctive.

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E523:‘Onchsheshonqy 1/17–18 *p3 nty mtr.w n h3t.y r šm r mn-[nfr] mtw.y h<sup>c</sup> irm hr-s3-3s.t s3 r<sup>c</sup>-  
ms*

“What I would like to do is to go to Mem[phis] and to stay with Harsiese, the son of Ramose.”

<sup>179</sup> For the translation of *šq*, see Chap. 2, n. 248.

<sup>180</sup> As Spiegelberg noted, *Grammatik*, n. to par. 147.

E529:Louvre 2414, 1/2 *pꜣ nty ꜥn-smy nk m-bꜣḥ pꜣ ntr mtw.f tm di.s iir.f di n.f s hr pꜣy.f ḥnšꜥ*  
 “The one who reports a thing before god and does not give it, it is upon his shame that he gives it to him.”

There is also an example, in Setne, where the conjunctive seems to be continuing an infinitive serving as the object of a preposition.

E530:Setne 4/38 *ḥpr.f iw mn mtw stne wp.t n pꜣ tꜣ m-sꜣ prḥ pꜣ ḏmꜥ mtw.f ꜥš n-im.f iir-ḥr rmt nb*  
 “It happened that Setne had no job in the world except unrolling the book and reading (or, ‘so that he might read’) from it before everyone.”

In Magical the conjunctive often did not continue any preceding form but rather began the instructions for a spell. As already noted,<sup>181</sup> the most common forms in the spells are the injunctive future, aorist, and imperative. Thus, the independent conjunctive is probably best translated as an injunctive future.<sup>182</sup>

E532a:Magical 5/3 *wꜥ ph-ntr iw.f ḏnt mtw.k šm r wꜥ.t ry.t n kke iw.s wꜥb iw hr.s wn r pr-rsy mtw.k di-wꜥb.s n mw*  
 “A tested god’s arrival. You should go to a clean dark room whose door (lit., face) opens to the south and you should clean it with water.”

E532b:Magical 13/24–25 *iir.k whꜣ r di-ḥpr paeiše hr rmt mtw.s tm lꜥk.s wꜥ.t [h]antous [irm wꜥ.t(?)] hafle[la] mtw.k psy.t.w hr ... mtw.k ḏqm pꜣ rmt n-im.w*  
 “If you wish to create *paeiše* (a skin disease) on a man, so that it does not heal, a [h]antous-lizard [and a(?)] hafle[la]-lizard, you should cook them with ... and you should wash the man with them.”

With a change of subject the independent conjunctive is also best translated as a result clause (see n. 172).

<sup>181</sup> See the discussion following E289.

<sup>182</sup> On the independent use of the conjunctive, see Charles F. Nims, “Notes on University of Michigan Demotic Papyri from Philadelphia,” *JEA*, Vol. 24 (1938) pp. 77–78, and Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, n. to par. 153. Spiegelberg would understand this “elliptical” use as the continuation of an understood *ḥpr* “it happened.” That the conjunctive is not an independent, sentence conjugation is indicated by its incompatibility with the converters (*iw*, *nty* (*iw*), *wn-nꜣw*, and *iir*). But neither is it a clause conjugation if the latter is defined as adverbial. See Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 51. Ort-Geuthner, *Grammaire*, pars. 186ff., identified as independent usages many dependent examples of the conjunctive, e.g., with *iw.f ḥpr* in the conditional. The only true independent uses of the conjunctive are what he calls *propositions principales*. In some cases he misidentified the main clause form preceding the conjunctive. E.g., the conjunctive in E531 follows the future relative, not the nominal sentence.

E531:Magical 6/20–21 *iw.f ḥpr iw ph-ntr pꜣy nꜣy nꜣ nty iir.k ꜥš.w wꜥ.t.w r pꜣ ḥbs mtw.k sdr n.k n wš n sꜥe*  
 “If (it happens that) it is a god’s arrival, these only are what you should recite to the lamp, and you should lie down without speaking.”

E533:Magical 3/20–21 *pḥr.t n pḥr p³ hn n gtg mtw n³ ntr.w iy r-ḥn mtw.w dd  
n.k w³ḥ n md.t m³ˁ.t*

“**Prescription** for enchanting the vessel quickly, so that the gods come in and say to you an answer truthfully.”

The rare examples of the conjunctive which appear to follow a past or present tense clause are better understood as independent uses of the conjunctive.

E534a:Magical 9/11–12 *r-ir.y ir.f ḥ[r p³ ḥqr] n p³ t p³ ³yb n p³ mw mtw.k nḥt  
mtw.k di wd³.y*

“Because of [hunger] for bread and thirst for water I did it. You should save me and make me sound.”

E534b:Magical 5/33

*tw.y tbḥ n-im.k mtw.k wnḥ.k r-ir.y dy n p³y grḥ*

“I beseech you. You should reveal yourself to me here tonight.”

The use of an independent conjunctive after the present tense with the verb *tbḥ* “to beseech” is common in the *Family Archive from Siut*.

E535a:BM 10591, 2/8–9 *tw.y tbḥ n-im.s mtw.tn di in.w p³ rmt rn.f*

“I beseech it. You should have the above-named man brought.”

E535b:BM 10591, 4/6

*tw.y tbḥ n-im.s mtw.tn di wy ḥrtw-ḥnḥ ta p³-di-wpw³w.t  
nty ḥry r-ḥr.y n p³ smy*

“I beseech it. You should make Kherti-ankh, the daughter of Padiwepwaut, who is (mentioned) above, relinquish the suit against me (lit., be far from me in the suit).”

E535c:BM 10591, 5/9–10

*tw.y tbḥ n-im.s mtw.tn tm di hn s tw.f-ḥpy ... n nk iw.s  
p³-di-itm*

“I beseech it. You should not let Tefhapy ... have access to property which belongs to Padiitum.”

Two examples, BM 10599/13–14, identical with E535c, and BM 10600/15–16, have a dot of ink between the present tense clause *tw.y tbḥ n-im.s* “I beseech it” and the following conjunctive.

E536:BM 10600/15–16 *tw.y tbḥ n-im.s · mtw.k di ḥ³ˁ p³ rmt rn.f n³y.y ³ḥw ir-  
ḥr.y*

“I beseech it: You should make the above-named man hand over my fields to me.”

This dot corresponds to a dash, colon, or quotes in English and is proof that the scribe did not understand the conjunctive as continuing the present tense, but was using the conjunctive independently, with injunctive meaning. The example which Spiegelberg identified in Mythus as an example of the independent use of the conjunctive is probably an example of the second tense.<sup>183</sup>

E537:Mythus 9/19–20

*mtw.k ˁq r tne mtw.k šm r tne ḥ³t.y*

“Where did you enter? Where did you go before me?”

<sup>183</sup> See E201a.

What Spiegelberg considered the use of the conjunctive as a relative is better understood as a variant spelling of the relative form itself, either present or future tense.<sup>184</sup>

E539:‘Onchsheshonqy 8/14 *pʒ nty tbḥ mtw.w dī n.f*

“the one who begs and to whom is given”<sup>185</sup>

But this relative form is occasionally found after indefinite nouns.

E540:‘Onchsheshonqy 15/24

*m-īr ḥpr īrm rmt īw nʒ-šʿt ḥʒt.f mtw.f dd wʿ.t wnw.t n  
šʿt n ḥʒt tʒ nty mtw.y*

“Don’t associate with a man lacking in heart who says,  
‘One moment of heartlessness is what I have.’”<sup>186</sup>

In negative conjunctive clauses the negative verb *tm* followed a pronoun subject, as in E500C, 517D, and 529, but preceded a noun subject.

E543:P. Insinger 7/8

*nʒ-ʿn ḥqʒ n pʒ nty īw īw.f rh sīy mtw tm btw ph.f*

“Hunger is good for him who can satisfy it, so that  
harm does not befall him.”

Note that the group *mtw* which is found in the terminative after *šʿ* is in no way related to the conjunctive.<sup>187</sup>

## History

*Predecessors.* In Late Egyptian the conjunctive was usually written *mtw* plus subject plus infinitival predicate,<sup>188</sup> although there exist XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasty examples

<sup>184</sup> See Tables 3 and 22, although there are no other examples in ‘Onchsheshonqy where the relative particle is written *mtw* rather than *nty īw*, as it quite commonly is in Mythus; see Table 3. An example with the “*r* of futurity” is found in Berlin 3108.

E538:P. Berlin 3108/5–6

*pʒ nk w mtw.f r hwš n-īm.w*

“the thing which will be missing from them”

See also George R. Hughes, “The Cruel Father: A Demotic Papyrus in the Library of G. Michaelides,” in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson September 12, 1969* (SAOC, No. 35 [1969]) p. 50, n. to 1. 10, and Sir Herbert Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934) p. 106, glossary, no. 150, *mte* “written in error” for *nite*.

<sup>185</sup> Or could this be an example of the independent use of the conjunctive after *tbḥ* “to beseech”? If so, the translation would be “The one who begs, may it be given to him.”

<sup>186</sup> The reading and translation of this line are due to George R. Hughes. Spiegelberg quoted other examples after indefinite antecedents (*Grammatik*, par. 151). Coptic examples are given in the note to par. 151. But note the negative example with *tm*, E529, and those in P. Insinger.

E541a:P. Insinger 27/10

*tm dī šm. drt.k ḥn wp.t nb.t mtw.k tm sy n-īm.w*

“Don’t put your hand to any work by which you are not satisfied!”

E541b:P. Insinger 9/17

*wn pʒ nty rh sbʒ.t mtw.f tm rh ʿnh n-īm.w*

“He exists who knows instruction and who does not know how to live thereby.”

The “conjunctive” noted by Williams (“Morphology,” par. 118a) may also be a relative.

E542:P. Insinger 9/19

*pʒ ntr pʒ nty dī pʒ ḥʒt mtw.f dī pʒ šry mtw.f dī tʒ ʒmy.t nfr.t*

“God is the one who gives the mind, who gives the son, and who gives good character.”

This confusion was probably due to the similarity of pronunciation.

<sup>187</sup> As Spiegelberg, *Grammatik*, par. 148g. On the terminative, see above.

<sup>188</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 575ff.

written  $hn^c nty N sdm$  and  $hn^c ntf sdm$ .<sup>189</sup> Gardiner derived these from Middle Egyptian  $hn^c sdm in N$  and  $hn^c sdm ntf$ .<sup>190</sup> Mattha,<sup>191</sup> however, rejected the derivation, suggesting that the Late Egyptian conjunctive derived from  $hn^c ntt iw.f hr sdm$ , thinking in this way to account for the preposition  $hr$  which was occasionally written. Černý,<sup>192</sup> in turn, rejected Mattha's derivation, citing an example of  $hn^c tn inn$ , which has no trace of the  $ntt$ . Černý would have expected  $*hn^c nttn inn$ , with at least the  $n$  of  $ntt$ . Černý thus reaffirmed Gardiner's original suggestion, arguing that a scribe aware of the practice of omitting  $hr$  in the written form of the present tense in Late Egyptian<sup>193</sup> who had forgotten, or never been aware of, the historical origin of the conjunctive, could easily have added  $hr$  by analogy with the present tense. Volten<sup>194</sup> then suggested deriving the conjunctive  $mtw.f sdm$  from  $hn^c$  plus the  $sdm.t.f$  of the verb  $ir$ , written phonetically  $ntf$ , assuming that the historical origin of this form was not recognized by the scribe. The resultant  $hn^c ntf sdm$  then became  $mtw.f sdm$ , as in Gardiner's development.<sup>195</sup> But no examples occur of the construction  $hn^c irt.f sdm$ , i.e., the historical rather than the phonetic spelling.

In Late Egyptian the conjunctive was especially common after futures, imperatives, and optatives, and in orders, oaths, etc.<sup>196</sup> It could also be used independently to express a wish or command.<sup>197</sup> The Late Egyptian conjunctive was only rarely used after a past tense.<sup>198</sup> Wenté would explain certain Late Egyptian examples of the conjunctive after

<sup>189</sup> See the examples in P. Berlin 10463 (Ricardo A. Caminos, "Papyrus Berlin 10463," *JEA*, Vol. 49 [1963] pp. 29–37), which dates from the early XVIIIth Dynasty; also note the references cited by Caminos.

<sup>190</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, "An Egyptian Split Infinitive and the Origin of the Coptic Conjunctive Tense," *JEA*, Vol. 14 (1928) pp. 86–96. A possible example occurs in P. Berlin 10025, as noted by David P. Silverman, "Interrogative Constructions with  $jn$  and  $jn-jw$  in Spoken and Written Old and Middle Egyptian," (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1975) pp. 77–78, E23, and n. 1, p. 78.

E544:P. Berlin 10025/3–4

$hn^c wnn in nb^c w s hr rdit h3b.t(w) š'wt [r] ndnd irt n.f hm-k3 im$   
 "and then my lord 1 p h caused the documents to be sent [in order to] confer about what the  $k3$ -priest there shall do for him"

<sup>191</sup> Girgis Mattha, "The Egyptian Conjunctive," *BIFAO*, Vol. 45 (1947) pp. 43–55.

<sup>192</sup> *JEA*, Vol. 35 (1949) pp. 25–30.

<sup>193</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, par. 477.

<sup>194</sup> *Studies in Honour of Polotsky*, pp. 69–80.

<sup>195</sup> Volten would carefully differentiate this "true conjunctive" from what he called the "pseudo-conjunctive" derived from the narrative  $sdm.t.f$ .

<sup>196</sup> See Erman, *Grammatik*, pars. 579ff.; Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, pp. 264ff.; Edward F. Wenté, "The Late Egyptian Conjunctive as Past Continuative," *JNES*, Vol. 21 (1962) pp. 304–11; Groll, *Negative Verbal*, sec. 52; and Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 66ff.

<sup>197</sup> Examples are given in Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, p. 273. Miriam Lichtheim ("Notes on the Late-Egyptian Conjunctive," in *Studies in Honour of Polotsky*, pp. 3–4) felt that all Hintze's examples (*Stil und Sprache*, p. 271) of the independent use of the conjunctive as the apodosis of a conditional clause were ambiguous, although she accepted the usage. Her conditions for the independent use of the conjunctive were a change of tense and of subject. She cited examples showing the separation of the independently-used conjunctive from the imperative or future it had once continued, until eventually the need for the preceding verb was no longer felt. See also Frandsen, *Outline*, pars. 83–84.

<sup>198</sup> See Hintze, *Stil und Sprache*, p. 264. Lichtheim (*Studies in Honour of Polotsky*, pp. 1–8), however, claimed it was more common after narrative and past tenses than Hintze had allowed and suggested that such usage might derive from popular speech. Examples are cited in Frandsen, *Outline*, par. 80.

narrative tenses as indicating past custom.<sup>199</sup> Groll noted that the difference between the conjunctive and the continuative in Late Egyptian was that the former was used in dialogue while the latter was used in narrative.<sup>200</sup>

*Successors.* The Coptic conjunctive<sup>201</sup> was especially common following the imperative, optative, aorist, progressive, and infinitive. It was only rarely used to continue the past tense. Till attributed the subjunctive meaning of the conjunctive in many of its uses to the association between the 1 s. conjunctive and the finalis. Independent examples of the conjunctive meant “should” or “would,” as in Late Egyptian and Demotic. The negative verb *tm* was placed after pronominal subjects but before nominal ones, as in Demotic.<sup>202</sup>

## CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, this study was based primarily on four specific texts; thus individual paradigms may not be complete. However, basic patterns have been discussed, models presented, and references given to related material. Thus, all basic aspects of the Demotic verbal system except semantics have been covered, and all intelligible passages in the four texts chosen for intensive analysis have been accounted for. The following table, Table 51, summarizes the results presented in this monograph, including the Demotic forms, their meaning, and the historical development of these forms from Late Egyptian into Coptic, including the spread of the periphrastic constructions.

This spread of periphrastic constructions is a major argument against Sethe's<sup>203</sup> and Stricker's<sup>204</sup> sharp dichotomy between Late Egyptian and Demotic, on the one hand, and Coptic, on the other, based on a list of differences enumerated by Sethe.<sup>205</sup> Seen as Sethe and Stricker saw it, Demotic became a linguistic dead end which could safely be ignored by Egyptologists. Stricker did note differences between Late Egyptian and Demotic,<sup>206</sup> which he attributed to the fact that “ontwikkelingen, die in het Nieuw-egyptisch nog aan het doorwerken waren, hebben hier [Demotic] veelal hun beslag ge-kregen. ... Het Demotisch is, om Sethe's woorden te gebruiken, niet meer dan een ‘Fortentwickelung des

<sup>199</sup> *JNES*, Vol. 21 (1962) pp. 304–11. But see Frandsen, *Outline*, pp. 126–27.

<sup>200</sup> *Negative Verbal*, sec. 52. On the continuative, see the discussion of the Late Egyptian conditional, above.

<sup>201</sup> See Till, *Dialektgrammatik*, pars. 267–68.

<sup>202</sup> See E543.

<sup>203</sup> *ZDMG*, Vol. 79 (1925) pp. 290–99. One of his arguments to show the break between Demotic and Coptic was that the *sdm.f* was common throughout Demotic whereas the infinitive was used in Coptic. He admitted that it usually followed the corresponding *sdm.f* of the verb *ir* “to do” (p. 292, 4a). The gradual spread of the periphrastic construction during the Demotic period would seem to be evidence of continuity between Demotic and Coptic, rather than a break between the two. Sethe admitted the development from Demotic periphrastic to Coptic equivalents for some forms (e.g., *marefsōtm*), but denied that this would account for all the Coptic forms (p. 300).

<sup>204</sup> “De Indeeling der Egyptische Taalgeschiedenis,” *OMRO*, Vol. 25 (1945) pp. 39–50.

<sup>205</sup> *ZDMG*, Vol. 79 (1925) pp. 291–97.

<sup>206</sup> *OMRO*, Vol. 25 (1945) pp. 45–46. Differences were also noted by William F. Edgerton, “The Relation of Demotic to Earlier and Later Forms of Egyptian,” (unpublished), including the introduction of the form *wʒh.f sdm*. As a result of Parker's study (“Durative Tenses”) the application of the durative direct object rule in Demotic can also be added to the list of differences.

Neuägyptischen.”<sup>207</sup> But he then claimed, like Sethe, that the differences between Demotic and Coptic were so much greater that they indicated a sharp break between the two.<sup>208</sup> However, many of these differences were simply innovations which must have developed gradually in the spoken language. There was certainly a lag between their development in the spoken language and their appearance in the written language, in Demotic as throughout Egyptian history. Thus by the Roman period much Demotic was probably archaic. But some of the innovations did make their way into the written language.<sup>209</sup> With the adoption of a radical new script for Coptic, there was no need to preserve archaic forms, and there certainly was a break. But, as the present study of the verbal system has shown, the changes were already beginning to appear, followed general rules, and were no greater than the changes between Late Egyptian and Demotic. Thus, Stricker’s analysis could be applied with equal validity to the relationship between Demotic and Coptic, and Demotic should therefore be seen as part of the main line of development of the Egyptian language and not relegated to a secondary position.

From this study it can also be concluded that the Demotic verbal system, with its large number of distinct forms, was very precise in rendering tense and mood; modern scholars must be careful to make their translations as precise as the original. Individual scribes may show peculiar quirks, in orthography or grammar, and many of these have been noted in the course of this study.<sup>210</sup> But this must not be allowed to blur the very careful and distinct differentiations found consistently throughout Demotic.

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<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>208</sup> Sethe’s arguments were based at least in part on his contrast between Late Egyptian *iw.f (hr) sdm*, Demotic *sdm.f*, and Coptic *afsōtm*, deriving the last from the first (*ZDMG*, Vol. 79 [1925] pp. 292, 4a, and 298). Stricker (*OMRO*, Vol. 25 [1945] p. 45, 7) accepted this development, noting it as one of the differences between Late Egyptian and Demotic. But the narrative form for transitive verbs was *sdm.f* in both Late Egyptian and Demotic, while the Coptic form *afsōtm* derived from the periphrastic form *ir.f sdm* (see the discussion of the Coptic past tense). Thus there is a straight line of development in this form. The big change comes between Late Egyptian, which used the continuative after initial narrative forms, and Demotic and Coptic, which had no continuative and simply used strings of narrative forms.

<sup>209</sup> E.g., the spelling of the imperfect converter *wn-nʿw iw*, rather than *wn-nʿw*, in certain environments; the finalis; the progressive; and past tense relative forms using *nt*.

<sup>210</sup> Williams (“Verbal Forms,” p. 224) claimed that “the orthographic habits of the scribe of Mag., for instance, are very erratic and confused.” However, the forms presented and discussed in this work indicate that the orthographic habits of the scribe of Magical are not as erratic and confused as he thought. Of the four texts under consideration, the one with the least predictable orthography and grammar seems to be Mythus. For example, Mythus has an indicative *sdm.f* of the verb “to come”; circumstantial present tense forms written *iw.y* and *iw.w* rather than *r.iw.y* and *r.iw.w*; present tense forms written *r.iw* rather than *iw*; examples of the conditional with pronominal subject written *iir* rather than *iw*; *iir* rather than *iw* in the imperfect; and several defined direct objects in durative forms not preceded by the preposition *n*. It might be possible to straighten out some of the problems in Mythus by a thorough study of the Greek version of the story. This would at least show what the Greek translator thought the Egyptian said. If the Greek scribe was working from a manuscript superior to the Demotic version which has been preserved, much could be gained from a detailed comparison of the two texts. But the Greek text itself appears to be full of confusion and problems, or so one gathers from the comments of Stephanie West (“The Greek Version of the Legend of Tefnut,” *JEA*, Vol. 55 [1969] pp. 161–83) and others who had worked on the manuscript earlier, and to whom she refers. Nevertheless, careful comparison of the two versions might solve some of the problems seen in Mythus.

Table 51. The Historical Development of the Egyptian Verbal System

<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Late Egyptian</i>	<i>Demotic</i>	<i>Coptic</i>
Present	tw.y (hr) sdm	tw.y sdm	tisōtm
Circumstantial Present	iw.y rdi.k	iw.y sdm	efsōtm
Relative Present	nty iw.y sdm	nty iw.y sdm	etisōtm
Second Present	iir.f sdm	iir.f sdm	efsōtm
Negative Present	bn tw.y (hr) sdm (iwnʒ)	bn tw.y sdm in	(n)tisōtm an
Circumstantial Negative Present	iw bn tw.y (hr) sdm (iwnʒ)	iw bn tw.y sdm in	entisōtm an
Progressive	tw.y m nʹy r sdm	tw.y nʒ sdm	tinasōtm
Aorist	hr sdm.f	hr sdm.f (hr ir.f sdm)	šafsōtm
Negative Aorist	bw ir.f sdm	bw ir.f sdm	mefsōtm
Future	iw.f r sdm	iw.f (r) sdm	efesōtm
Negative Future	bn iw.f (r) sdm	bn iw.f sdm	nnefsōtm
Past	sdm.f	sdm.f (ir.f sdm)	afsōtm
Second Past	iir.f sdm	iir.f sdm	ntafsōtm
Negative Past	bw.pw.f sdm	bn.pw.f sdm	mpefsōtm
Perfect	sdm.f	wʒh.f sdm	afsōtm (early, hafsōtm)
Negative Perfect	bw.irt.f sdm	bw.irt.f sdm	mpatfsōtm
Optative	imi sdm.f	(my) sdm.f (my ir.f sdm)	marefsōtm
Negative Optative	m-dyt sdm.f	m-ir di sdm.f (m-ir di ir.f sdm)	mprtrefsōtm
Terminative	šʹ iirt.f sdm	šʹ (m)tw.f sdm	ša(n)tfsōtm
Temporal	m-dr sdm.f	n-dr sdm.f	nterefsōtm
Conditional	ir iw.f hr sdm	iw.f sdm	efšansōtm
Negative Conditional	ir iw.f hr tm sdm	iw.f tm sdm	eftmsōtm
Irrealis	h(ʒ)n(ʒ) wn	hwn-nʒw	ene
Causative Infinitive	di sdm.f	di sdm.f (di ir.f sdm)	trefsōtm
Finalis		di.y sdm.f (di.y ir.f sdm)	tarefsōtm
Conjunctive	mtw.f sdm	mtw.f sdm	nfsōtm

# APPENDIX

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
Abydos Catalogue 1326	142	63, n. 154	Spiegelberg, <i>Grammatik</i> , par. 139.
Anastasi I, 27/4	467	173	Gardiner, <i>Literary Texts of the New Kingdom</i> , Part 1, "Egyptian Hieratic Texts," Series 1.
Anastasi V, 22/3–4	108	52, n. 95	Gardiner, <i>Late Egyptian Miscellanies</i> .
Apocryphon Johannis 68/3–4	355a	137	Malinine, Puech, Quispel, Till, and Kasser, <i>Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha: Codex Jung F. I<sup>r</sup>–F. VIII<sup>v</sup></i> (p. 1–16).
Apocryphon Johannis 69/12–14	355b	137	<i>Ibid.</i>
O. Berlin 10627/9–10	109	53	Guilmot, <i>CdE</i> , Vol. 40 (1965) pp. 235–48.
P. Berlin 3108/5–6	538	190, n. 184	Spiegelberg, <i>Demotische Papyrus aus den königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> .
P. Berlin 10025/3–4	544	191, n. 190	Scharff, <i>ZAS</i> , Vol. 59 (1924) pl. 4.
P. Berlin 10463/6	435	162, n. 73	Camino, <i>JEA</i> , Vol. 49 (1963) pp. 29–37.
P. Bodmer VI, 7/15–17	354	137	Kasser, <i>Papyrus Bodmer VI</i> .
Bologna 1094, 1/2	250	93	Gardiner, <i>Late Egyptian Miscellanies</i> .
BM 2724/9	352a	136	W. E. Crum, <i>JEA</i> , Vol. 13 (1927) pp. 19–20.
BM 2724/24	352b	136	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10052, 4/11–12	465	172	Peet, <i>GTR</i> .
BM 10052, 5/22	205	79	Peet, <i>GTR</i> .
BM 10052, 8/12	103	52, n. 93	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10053 vs., 3/5	433	162, n. 71	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10053 vs., 4/22	106	52, n. 93	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10120, A/2	391	152	Spiegelberg, <i>Grammatik</i> , par. 498.
BM 10591, 2/8–9	535a	189	Thompson, <i>A Family Archive from Siut</i> .
BM 10591, 4/6	535b	189	<i>Ibid.</i>

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
BM 10591, 5/9–10	535c	189	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10591, 10/7	395	152	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10593/4	397	153	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10597/8	394	152	<i>Ibid.</i>
BM 10600/15–16	536	189	<i>Ibid.</i>
Brooklyn Magical Papyrus IV/8–9	424	159, n. 57	Sauneron, <i>Le Papyrus Magique Illustré de Brooklyn</i> [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156].
Brooklyn Magical Papyrus V/4–5	423	159, n. 57	<i>Ibid.</i>
O. Brussels E6311 rt./4–6	372	154, n. 8	Allam, <i>Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri</i> .
P. Cairo 30605/23	118	57	Spiegelberg, <i>Grammatik</i> , par. 475.
P. Cairo 50048/19–20	378	147	Spiegelberg, <i>Demotischen Inschriften und Papyri (Fortsetzung)</i> .
P. Cairo 50072/6	454	170	<i>Ibid.</i>
Cairo JdE 49623/4–5	151	66, n. 161	Gunn, <i>ASAE</i> , Vol. 25 (1925) pp. 242–55.
Cairo JdE 89127–30, 89137–43, E/9–12	393	152	Parker, <i>Demotic Mathematical Papyri</i> .
P. Carlsberg II, 7/x + 2	458	171, n. 123	DeWit, <i>CdE</i> , Vol. 30 (1955) p. 16.
Canopus B41	110	54, n. 116	Spiegelberg, <i>Der demotische text der priester-dekrete von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)</i> .
Canopus B49	124	59, n. 128	<i>Ibid.</i>
P. Colon. Dem. I/14	194	75, n. 197	Hughes, <i>JNES</i> , Vol. 32 (1973) pp. 242–47.
P. Colon. Dem. I/14	428	160	<i>Ibid.</i>
P. Colon. Dem. I/15	165	69	<i>Ibid.</i>
DelB 114	439a	163, n. 82	Gardiner, <i>Grammar</i> , par. 212.
DelB 114	439b	163, n. 82	<i>Ibid.</i> , par. 444, 1.
O. DeIM 127, vs./3–4	101	52, n. 93	Černý, <i>Catalogue des Ostraca Hiératiques non-Littéraires de Deir el Médineh</i> , Vol. 2.

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
O. DelM 328, rt./4–5	107	52, n. 93	<i>Ibid.</i> , Vol. 4.
Demotic Chronicle 4/1	379	148	Spiegelberg, <i>Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris.</i>
De Resurrectione 45/23–28	350b	136	Malinine, Puech, Quispel, and Till, <i>De Resurrectione (Epistula ad Rheginum): Codex Jung F. XII<sup>r</sup>-F. XXV<sup>v</sup></i> (pp. 43–50).
De Resurrectione 46/14–19	350a	135	<i>Ibid.</i>
Doomed Prince 4/7–8	100	52, n. 93	Gardiner, <i>Late-Egyptian Stories.</i>
D'Orbiney 7/5–6	436	162, n. 73	<i>Ibid.</i>
Ebers 59/9	253	94	Gardiner, <i>Grammar</i> , par. 239.
Ebers 101/7	257	94	Gardiner, <i>Grammar</i> , par. 431.
Gospel of John 6/22	353a	136	Husselman, <i>The Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic (P. Mich. Inv. 3521).</i>
Gospel of John 6/41	353c	136	<i>Ibid.</i>
Gospel of John 6/65–66	353b	136	<i>Ibid.</i>
Gospel of John 9/28	353d	137	<i>Ibid.</i>
Gospel of John 9/34–35	353e	137	<i>Ibid.</i>
HLC 2/5–6	396a	153	Mattha, <i>The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West</i> , ed. by George R. Hughes.
3/18	399b	153	
3/30	383	150	
3/30	399a	153	
6/11	450	170	
7/15	451	170	
7/29	396b	153	
8/28–29	163	68	
8/32	377a	147	
9/7–8	377b	147	
HO 45, 3/vs.	432	161, n. 71	Černý and Gardiner, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> , Vol. 1.
P. Insinger 4/19	133	61	Lexa, <i>Papyrus Insinger: Les enseignements moraux d'un scribe égyptien du premier siècle après J.-C.</i>
4/19	445a	169	
4/21	449	170	
7/3	337	130	

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
P. Insinger 7/7	415	156, n. 51	
7/8	543	190	
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9/17	541b	190, n. 186	
9/19	542	190, n. 186	
13/23	119	57, n. 126	
17/12–14	384	151	
21/20	512	185, n. 176	
21/22	515	185, n. 176	
22/7	486	177	
24/3	248	93, n. 15	
26/11	427	160, n. 58	
27/1	426	160, n. 58	
27/10	541a	190, n. 186	
28/24	445b	169	
30/1	222a	85, n. 252	
32/19	90	49, n. 70	
35/12	135	61, n. 133	
P. Kahun 8/27	255	94	Gardiner, <i>Grammar</i> , par. 431.
36/13	438	163, n. 79	<i>Ibid.</i> , par. 332.
II Khaemwast 4/28–29	343	131, n. 161	Spiegelberg, <i>Grammatik</i> , par. 194, 4.
LRL 1/11	430	161, n. 65	Černý, <i>Late Ramesside Letters</i> .
11/6	69a	43, n. 50	
31/11–12	105	52, n. 93	
35/15	152	66	
47/10–11	104	52, n. 93	
47/16–48/1	69b	43, n. 50	
Leiden I 384	319	121, n. 116	Johnson, <i>OMRO</i> , Vol. 56 (1975).
vs., I*/2–3			
I*/3	316	119	
I*/10–11	27	32, n. 27	
IV/26	235	89	
P. Loeb 7/4–8	392	152, n. 33	Spiegelberg, <i>Die Demotischen Papyri Loeb</i> .
P. Lonsdorfer I/3	193	75	Junker, <i>Papyrus Lonsdorfer I: Ein Ehepakt aus der Zeit des Nektanebos</i> .
I/3–4	390	151	
	398	153	

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
P. Lonsdorger I/3–4	437	163	
Louvre 2414, 1/2	529	188	Volten, <i>Studi in Memoria di I. Rosellini</i> .
1/12	488	178	
1/13	125b	59, n. 128	
2/4–5	374B	146	
2/11	261	96, n. 28	
2/12	125a	59, n. 128	
3/5	285	104, n. 54	
3/7–8	4	24, n. 3	
Magical 1/18	477	176	Griffith and Thompson, <i>Magical</i> .
2/1	400D	153	
	516D	186	
2/3	517D	186	
2/7–8	273	100, n. 41	
2/9	496a	181	
2/13	218	85, n. 250	
2/14	280b	102	
2/15	482	177	
2/15	513	185, n. 176	
2/17	50D	39	
	324D	123	
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	289	106	
2/21	326D	124	
2/22	281	102	
2/26	361	141	
3/1	189	74	
	416D	157	
	417D	157	
3/2	318D	121	
3/5	239a	91	
3/6–7	37D	37	
	501	183	
3/11	358	139	
3/11–13	288D	106	
3/15	239b	91	
3/16	494D	180	
3/17	365D	142	
3/18–19	240a	91	
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	408D	155	

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
Magical 3/19–20	214D	84	
3/20–21	533	189	
3/21–22	483	177	
3/29–30	411	155	
	420D	158	
3/31	521	186	
3/32	498D	182	
4/1	244D	92	
4/1–2	332D	129	
4/8	49D	39	
4/21–22	241	91	
4/22	419	158	
5/3	80D	46	
5/3	532a	188	
5/7–8	331D	128	
5/12	32D	35	
5/13–14	348D	134	
5/25	238D	91	
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5/28–29	247D	93	
5/29–30	421	158	
5/33	534b	189	
6/4	123D	59	
6/5	78D	46	
6/6–7	55D	40	
6/9	276a	101	
	294D	107	
6/11	298D	108	
	357	139	
6/14	170D	70	
	178D	72	
6/14–15	402	154	
6/15–16	160	67, n. 167	
	473	175	
6/17	24D	32	
6/20–21	531	188, n. 182	
6/21	382D	150	
6/22–23	175D	71	
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6/31–32	31D	34	

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
Magical 6/31–32	380D	148	
6/34	215D	84	
	492D	180	
	525D	187	
6/34–35	406	154	
6/37	272	100, n. 41	
6/37–7/2	300	109	
7/10–11	504D	184	
7/13–14	217D	85	
7/17	46D	38	
7/18–19	374D	146	
7/27–28	403	154	
8/2	12	29	
8/13–14	146	65	
8/15	308D	114	
	409D	155	
8/16–18	16b	30	
9/4	260	96, n. 26	
9/4–5	39	36, n. 36	
9/7	15	30	
9/9	34D	35	
9/10	17	30, n. 20	
	86D	48	
9/11–12	534a	189	
9/16	167D	69	
9/20	299D	108	
9/22	367	142	
9/31	441	167	
9/33	16a	30	
	42Da	37	
10/26–27	26	32	
11/3	364D	141	
11/5–6	97	50	
11/10–11	92D	49	
11/11	271	100, n. 40	
11/11–12	500D	183	
11/21	503	183	
11/21–26	240b	91	
11/25–26	470D	174	
	471D	175	
11/26	122D	58	

<i>Text, Column, and Line</i>	<i>Example Number</i>	<i>Page Number</i>	<i>Source of Citation</i>
Magical 12/8–9	192D	75	
12/27	43D	37	
13/8–9	336a	130	
13/17	232	89	
13/24–25	532b	188	
13/28	366	142	
14/1	325D	123	
14/4–5	444	169	
14/5	480D	177	
14/12	98	50	
14/16	127D	59	
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14/28	11	29	
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15/18–20	45D	38	
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			431.
Rhind 22	254	94	<i>Ibid.</i> , par. 239.
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5/22	28Aa	32	
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P. Hieratic Strassburg	153b	66	Wente, “SVM,” p. 38.
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