

# Late Egyptian

Late Egyptian<sup>1</sup> is the distinct idiom of the non-literary texts of the 20th and 21st dynasty. Closest resemblance is with such texts from the 19th dynasty. Less similar is the language in which the *Late Egyptian Stories* are composed — with the exception of the *Report of Wenamûn* which is written in pure Late Egyptian. Still more distant than the idiom of the *Stories* is that of other literary texts, like the school texts (the *Miscellanies*), the love songs, and some of the royal inscriptions, in particular of the 20th dynasty (Ramesses III, etc.).

The inscriptions of Amenophis IV Akhnaten (such as the border stelae) display very significantly Late Egyptian features, though in a different spelling. Late Egyptian syntactic characteristics can be found in earlier inscriptions of the 18th dynasty, and some — like the definite article already in traces of Proto Middle Egyptian of the Old Kingdom. There is, however, not a direct and straight line of development that leads to Late Egyptian proper. Rather is it the result of a parallel development of idioms, till then non-literary, though with constant mutual contacts and exchange.

For the writing of Late Egyptian — which is hieratic, according to the nature of the texts written in this idiom — two different standards, or systems, are used variantly. Words of the traditional Egyptian literary lexicon are spelt traditionally, though in a way that may appear somewhat sluggish — with many additional 𓀀's, 𓀁's, and 𓀂's, particularly in the end of words, whereas expected final 𓀂's and other graphemes may be wanting. The other standard is a phonetic spelling, called *syllabic orthography*, or *group writing*. As may be expected, it is mainly used for words that were not written till then, be it that they are loans from another language (mostly Semitic Canaanite of Palestine and Syria), or that they are confined to an idiom that was not produced in writing till then.

The coexistence of these two standards makes the traditional transcription of Late Egyptian very unsatisfactory. The only resort out of this — apart from refraining from transcribing — seems to be to distinguish these two standards in the transcription, and this will be attempted in the following — which is an innovation in Late Egyptian studies. The traditional spellings are rendered in italics, as usual. Certain sound changes will be taken account of, so in using *d* and *t*, respectively, for ancient *ḏ* and *ṯ*, respectively, that have become de-palatalised, and

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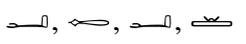
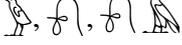
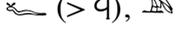
<sup>1</sup> “Late Egyptian” is the English term for an idiom that is called “New Egyptian” in other languages, such as German and French.

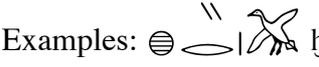
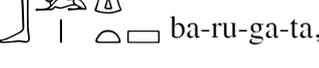
consequently merged with *d* and *t*, in the late OK. The syllabic script, however, will be rendered in a Roman font. Vowels will not be indicated. E.g.,

	n mn ktj 70
mn < <i>jn(-jw?) nn-wn</i> ; Coptic ⲈⲚ(Ⲉ) ⲙⲎ̄-.	
	n br jm
br: cf. Greek βάρης.	
	<i>jw-w m hbr</i>
hbr: cf. Heb. הֶבֶר <i>hēber</i> ‘guild’ < * <i>hābr-</i> .	
	ʾrm wrktr
ʾrm: ? — Coptic Ⲕ ⲚⲈⲙ-. — wrktr: Can. * <i>barkata-ʾili</i> ‘present/blessing of god’ ?	

“Syllabic” spelling:

W. SCHENKEL, in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 114–122; J. E. HOCH, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, 506.

ʾa			
ya		yi	
ʿa		ʿi	
wa		wi	
ba		bi	
pa		pi	
fa		fi	
Etc. ...			

Examples:  *harpa*, the town of Aleppo (Arab. Ḥalab);  *ʿiduna*, Hebr. צִידוֹן *šīdōn*, Greek Σιδών, the town of Sidon;  *markabata*, Can. \**markabat(a)*, Hebr. מַרְכָּבָה *markābāh*, ‘chariot’;  *maryana*, ‘*maryannu* warrior, knight’;  *ga-ča*, Akk. *gaššu*, Arab. *qašš*, Greek γύψος, ‘gypsum, plaster’;  *ba-ru-ga-ta*, ‘beryl’; Akk. *barraqtu*, Hebr. בָּרְקֶת *bārēqet* < \**baráqt-*,

Sanskrit *marakata*, Greek Σμάραγδος (cf. Sem. \*b-r-q ‘to flash, shine’), ‘emerald’;  | | | |  
 anlu-na, Hebr. אֵלֶן \**allōn* \**allān*-, Akk. *alanu* ‘oak tree’.

## A. The Noun

There are two genders, or noun classes: masculine and feminine; and two numbers: singular and plural, with rudiments of the dual, as a third number. With the substantive, the adjective and the numerals up to 10, gender and number distinction is effected by the respective endings, which are, however, impaired by the general phonetic development since the late Old Kingdom.

	Singular	Plural	†Dual
masculine	—	— <i>w</i>	— <i>wj</i>
feminine	— <i>t</i>	—( <i>w</i> ) <i>t</i>	— <i>tj</i>

The remnant dual forms are used as the plural forms of words for body parts that exist in pairs: *ˁwj* “arms”, *rdwjꜣn* “our feet” (*i.e.*, our pairs of feet).

With humans beings, the natural gender corresponds to the grammatical gender without any exceptions; *i.e.*, all words for female beings are feminine, all words for male beings are masculine.<sup>2</sup> Expressions of situations, abstracts, etc. (the “neuter” category) are realised in the masculine form, in contradistinction to Middle Egyptian, which has here the feminine: cf. LEgn. *pꜣ-(i.)-ddꜣf* (masculine) with MEgn. *ddt.nꜣf*, “what he said” (feminine).

## 1 The Substantive (Common Noun)

### 1.1 MORPHOLOGY

Masculine substantives have no ending in the singular, feminine substantives have *-t*. In the plural, the endings are *-w* and *-wt*, respectively.

This, however, seems to have been the state of affairs until the mid-Old Kingdom only. After that, several changes appear to have happened on the phonetic level. On the one hand,

<sup>2</sup> This is not so, *e.g.*, in German (*das Weib*, *die Geisel*, etc.), and in Arabic (*al-ḥalīfatu* “the successor”, *al-‘aḡūzu* “the old woman”).

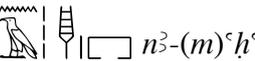
syllable-final *t* became a glottal stop. On the other, the stressed syllables were the only ones that preserved the quality of their vowel, whereas the other vowels ended up in something like a shwa or disappeared at all (phonemic zero). By Ramesside times, the feminine ending, vowel plus *t*, had become indistinguishable from any other unstressed vowel plus [?], and scribes did not anymore take much care to render it in writing. Similarly, the masculine and feminine plural endings, *w* and *wt*, respectively, must have lost much of their phonetic peculiarity and are, in consequence, not always distinguished in writing, neither one from the other, nor from the respective singular forms.

Examples:  *šrj* “son, boy”;  *šrjt* “daughter, girl”. In particular, the feminine ending is absent when the noun is rendered in group writing [which is basically a phonetic system]; e.g.,  *r' = rjt* “side”. On the other hand, the spelling of masculine nouns may display a final *t*; e.g.,  *dmj* “town, settlement”.

In general, the feminine singular ending *t* survives as such before a suffix pronoun. In this case it is rendered phonetically (*i.e.*, in group writing), *viz.* by  or  *t*:

 *sb<sup>3</sup>(y)t=f* “its doorway” P. Lansing 12, 2;  *psdt=f* “its Ennead” (*LRL* 44, 10);  *nhbt-w* “their neck” pBM 10 052, 14, 18 (*GTR*).

Nouns (in particular, collective and abstract nouns) that are obviously singular may show the mark of the plural, as in  *n jst* “head of team” (*LRL* 1,1 (*bis*));  *p<sup>3</sup>y-j-shr* “my state” (*LRL* 2,8);  *t<sup>3</sup>-mdt* “the matter” (*LRL* 6,5).

On the other hand, the plural mark may be absent in the spelling of nouns that are clearly plural:  *n<sup>3</sup>-(m)hwt* “the tombs” P. BM 10054, rt. 2, 8;  *n<sup>3</sup>-db<sup>3</sup>wt* “the coffins” P. BM 10054, rt. 2, 10.

Many plural forms of masculine substantives and adjectives display an ending *-y(w)*. This is new as compared to Middle Egyptian, except for the imperfective participles; cf., in Late Egyptian, plural forms like  *rhyw* “knowing men”;  *sdmyw*

“servants” (*i.e.*, those who listen). The intrusion of [j] may be triggered by the presence of 𓂏, a phoneme that became mute before the New Kingdom: 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *whꜥꜣyw* “letters”; 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *hkꜥꜣyw* “magic spells”; 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *kꜥꜣyw* “high ones”; in particular, 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *ꜥꜣyw* “great ones” (> -ωΟΥ<sup>3</sup> and -οι<sup>4</sup>). Another condition for the intrusion of [j] seems to have been the ending 𓂏. If the plural ending is added to 𓂏 this will yield 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏: 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *nhꜥꜣyw* “Nubians”; 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *jsꜣyw* “tombs”; 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *jrꜣyw* “those belonging (to...)” (> ΕΡΗΥ “each other”); nisba adjectives derived from words ending in -t: 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *hꜥꜣtyw* “enemies”; 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *jmntyw* “westerners”; 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *drtyw* “ancesters”. Nevertheless, a phonetic condition for the intrusion of y cannot be ascertained in all cases.

Semitic feminine nouns loaned by Egyptian are a case apart. In Canaanite, the feminine ending *\*(a)t-* was obviously still pronounced like this in the second millennium (in Hebrew: *āḥ*). When such words entered Egyptian, the ending became an integral part of the word. Usually they were also used as feminines in Egyptian, though one may have doubts whether the Semitic feminine ending was felt as such by the speakers of Egyptian. 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *mrkbt* “chariot” (Canaanite *\*markabat-*, cf. Hebrew *merkābāḥ*); 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *ꜥꜣrt* “wagon” (Canaanite *\*ꜥagalat-*, cf. Hebrew *ꜥagālāḥ*); 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 *ꜥꜣspt* “quiver” (Canaanite *\*ꜥatpāt-*, cf. Hebrew *ꜥišpāḥ*).

## 1.2 DEFINITENESS.

A noun phrase may be definite, or indefinite. Otherwise, it may be in the absolute state (which has a notional affinity with the indefinite state).

<sup>3</sup> In ΕΙΕΡΩΟΥ “rivers” < *jrꜣw(w) ꜥꜣyw* “big rivers”; ΠΡΩΟΥ “kings”.

<sup>4</sup> A ΠΡΑ(Ε)Ι “kings”; B CḲΟΥΓΙ “(great) scribe” < *shꜥꜣw(w) ꜥꜣyw*; 2ΛΛΟ(Ε)Ι “old men” > *hry(w) ꜥꜣyw*.

Definite noun phrases are those built upon the definite article, the demonstrative pronoun (or article), or the possessive pronoun (or article); furthermore, they may be formed by a bare noun expanded by *nb* “every”, or by the suffix pronoun.

*p³-rmt* “the man”, *p³y-rmt* “this man”, *p³y-f-rmt* “his man”, *rmt nb* “every man”, *sn-f* “his brother”.

Indefinite noun phrases are those built upon the indefinite article, or they may be formed by a bare noun expanded by *nb* “any” (homonymous with *nb* “every”).

*w<sup>c</sup>-rmt* “a man”, *rmt nb* “any man” (homonymous with *rmt nb* “every man”).

The state of a noun conditions several syntactic features.

- Definite noun phrases may be expanded by adjectival clauses (*i.e.*, relative clauses; *e.g.*, *p³-rmt nty jm* “the man who is there”) whereas indefinite phrases can only be expanded by clauses of circumstance (*e.g.*, *w<sup>c</sup>-rmt jw-f jm* “a man who is there”); by the way: proper nouns can be expanded by clauses of circumstance (*e.g.*, NN. *jw-f jm* “NN., who is there”), or by substantivised relative clauses used in apposition (*e.g.*, NN. *p³-nty jm* “NN., who is there”).
- Indefinite phrases cannot be subjects in the present tense system, unless embedded in a *wn* construction (definite, *p³-rmt hr sdm*, but indefinite, *wn w<sup>c</sup>-rmt hr sdm*); etc. This is not true, though, of the perfect forms with statives, such as *sw šm* “he went”: we may expect a *w<sup>c</sup>-rmt šm* “a man went”.

Definite noun phrases are used for things and persons already mentioned, or known generally, or known to the speaker. Indefinite noun phrases are used for designating things and persons to which this does not apply.

### The bare noun:

The bare noun, without any of the combinations mentioned above, is the form of the noun in the absolute state. A noun is found in the absolute state (as a bare noun) when used as a predicate, or as a rheme, with partitive meaning, in indications of time, and in idiomatic expressions.

1) Predicative expressions of qualification or categorization, viz.

- the non-definite predicate in nominal sentences (*hsbd šnw-s* “her hair is lapis lazuli”; *jtrw ʕ t³y-f-st sdr* “its sleeping place is a big river”;
- a rhematised subject in a nominal sentence<sup>5</sup> (*jw p³y-f-pr hftj n p³-dmj* “since his house is (like) an enemy for the (whole) settlement”); also if the use of the subject as rheme is

<sup>5</sup> In the nominal sentence, the natural sequence of elements is *predicate – subject*. However, the subject may be rhematized for particular notional or stylistic effects, which yields a sequence *theme – rheme*.

grammaticalised (i.e., in the case of a pronominal theme of the 1st/2nd person]: *ntk j3w šš* “you are a silly old man”;

- nouns that are governed by the *m* of predication; in particular, when indicating a professional role ((i.)*wn m hry-pdt* “who was (then) a troop captain”), family relation (*wn-zj m hmt m-dj w<sup>c</sup>-mnjw jhw* “I was the wife of a cowherd” (lit. “I was as wife with a cowherd”).

## 2) Partitive expressions,

- indefinite quantities, such as *jw-zf (hr) djt n-zj ʿkw hnkt* “and he gave me bread and beer” (*du pain, de la bière*); or kind, type, or form (*jh m 3tp* “what kind of load?”);

- subject and object expressions in negative sentences, unless of definite meaning.

S u b j e c t: *mn m-dj-zj rmt* “I have not got any people” (cf. *wn m-dj-zj w<sup>c</sup>-rmt* “I have got a man”); o b j e c t: *b-py-n sdm nkt* “we haven’t heard anything”; *m dy br m-dj-zf r p3-t3 n Kmt* “don’t let a boat of his own (go) to Egypt”.

## 3) Indications of time

*hrw* “(on) the day” (but *p3-hrw* “this day”, *m p3-hrw* “today”); *dw3, dw3yt* “(in) the morning”; *dw3* “morrow”, “tomorrow”; *grh* “(in) the night” (but *p3-grh* “tonight”); etc.

## 4) In idiomatic expressions, viz.

- in adverbial expressions with an abstract noun expanding the preposition *m*, such as *m m3<sup>c</sup>t* “in truth”, “truly”; *m ʿd3* “in falsehood”, “wrongly”;

- in attributive specifications built upon the genitival *n*, such as *hnww n nbw hd hsmn* “vessels of gold, silver, and bronze”, *p3-hnw n wdh* “the offering vessel”, *wšbt n mwt* “capital charge”;

- when expanding a verb, hereby forming a new lexeme;

*sdm hryw* “to hear someone speaking” (lit. “to hear a voice”)

*sdm mdt* “to have command of (a language)” (lit. “to hear a speech”)

*dj ht m* “to kindle, to ignite” (lit. “to put fire into”)

5) Furthermore, the form of the bare noun is found in titles preceding proper names (thus perhaps becoming part of the proper noun phrase). Certain old titles, like *ḫty* “vizier”, are usually found without an article, even when not used individually, i.e. with a proper name.

## 2 The Article

### 2.1 THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

The definite article is a deictic pronominal element that is, by its very nature, necessarily associated with a noun; in other words: it is inevitably expanded by a substantive or its equivalent.

*Masculine singular*

 p<sup>3</sup>-

Variant spelling in hieroglyphic writing:



*Feminine singular*

 t<sup>3</sup>-

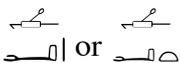
*Plural (communis)*

 n<sup>3</sup>-

In texts of dynasty XIX, also  n<sup>3</sup>-n-.

### 2.2 THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

The indefinite article of the singular originates in a contraction of the number *w<sup>c</sup>*, fem. *w<sup>c</sup>t*, “one”, and the particle of the indirect genitive, *n*. Being an article, it is by nature proclitic. In this way it was reduced to a form *w<sup>c</sup>-* that is invariable for gender (whereas the numeral “one”, being used in the prosodic absolute state, has preserved gender distinction even in Coptic). The plural form originates in the construct state (*i.e.*, the article form) of *nhj* *n*, which – if used with the plural of a substantive – means “some”. *nhj* is basically an indefinite pronoun, “some”, “several”.

*Singular* indiscriminately  w<sup>c</sup>(-n)- “a”

In texts of dynasty XIX, also *w<sup>c</sup>-n-*.

*Plural*  *nhj-n-* “some”

The spelling of *nhj-n-* is partly phonetic (*i.e.*, in group writing) and might therefore be transcribed as *nhy-n-*. Cf. the Coptic derivative  $\eta\epsilon\text{N-}$ .

## 3 The Adjective

Basically, adjectives are either used as predicates or as attributes. The adjective used as predicate is devoid of all endings, whereas the attributively used adjective is in full concord with the noun which it expands, sharing with it the respective gender and number morphemes. In Late Egyptian, though, these endings are even less carefully written than those of the substantive.

Word order: the attributive adjective always follows its noun.

noun – adjective (attribute, in concord)

The adjective may also be used independently, i.e. not expanding a noun. In respect to morphology the substantivised adjective resembles the attributively used adjective. Gender and number depend on that of the signified entity.

The predicative adjective is used in the pattern of the adjectival sentence, or sentence with adjectival predicate,

adjective (predicate) – noun (subject).

One of the characteristics of this is the use of the dependent pronoun as subject (*nfr sw* construction).

### The adjective *nb*

*Nb* “every” can be used attributively only. It can not be substantivised; “everyone” is expressed by *w<sup>c</sup> nb*, lit. “every one”. *nb* can expand substantives (*jpwt nbt* “every mission”; *t<sup>c</sup>k nbt* “all your body parts”), but also the nuclear element of relative constructions that do not have an antecedent (*p<sup>3</sup>-nty nb, p<sup>3</sup>- + participle + nb, p<sup>3</sup>- + relative form + nb*, “every one who...”, etc.).

Word order: *nb* is positioned between the substantive and any other adjective: *mdt nbt nfrt* “every good matter”.

## 4 Noun Syntax: Apposition and Genitive

There are two ways in which a noun (or noun phase) can be qualified by another noun (or noun phase): either by a noun in apposition, or by a genitival expansion. This is true of substantives. Proper names can not be qualified by a direct genitive, see below.

### 4.1 APPOSITIONS

*Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntrw* “Amen-ra‘, king of the gods” (a classical expression, hence without articles); *Jnpw p<sup>3</sup>-sn ʕ<sup>3</sup> n Bt* “Anûp, Bata’s elder brother”; *Bdr p<sup>3</sup>y<sup>3</sup>-f-wr* “Badir, its prince”.

### 4.2 THE DIRECT GENITIVE

The genitival phrase is usually definite, although also indefinite phrases occur. In the definite genitival phrase, both the first and the second noun use to be overtly definite: either both nouns expand a definite article, or the second noun expands a demonstrative or a possessive article instead, or is expanded by a suffix pronoun; also proper names may be found in the second position.

*t<sup>3</sup>-st n<sup>3</sup>-rhtjw n Pr-ʕ<sup>3</sup>* “the place of the washermen of Pharaoh”; *t<sup>3</sup>-hrrt p<sup>3</sup>-ʕ<sup>3</sup>* “the flower of the pine”; *t<sup>3</sup>-jnt p<sup>3</sup>-ʕ<sup>3</sup>* “the Valley of the Pine”; *t<sup>3</sup>-st t<sup>3</sup>-šnwt n Pr-ʕ<sup>3</sup>* “the administration of the granary of Pharaoh”; *n<sup>3</sup>-bdt Hr* “Hori’s grain”; *t<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>st Gbtj* “the desert of Coptos”.

In a definite direct genitive phrase, the first noun has no article if it is a word for a body part, like *drt* “hand”; *ʕ* “hand”; *jb* “heart”; *h<sup>3</sup>tj* “heart”; *knj* “bosom, embrace”; also the first elements of traditional titles and other Classical residues are never found with an article.

*m drt šmsw A.* “in the hand of messenger A.” (for the use of the title *šmsw* without article, see above, 2.1, *bare noun*, no. 5); *m drt Dhwtj* “in the hand of Thoth”; *knj mwt-f* “the embrace (lit. bosom) of his mother”; *dw<sup>3</sup>w hr ʕwj p<sup>3</sup>-ntr* “tomorrow is in God’s hands”; *m-dj sh<sup>3</sup> pr-hd* “from the scribe of the treasury”.

The second noun has no article when it expresses a qualification, like a material, or a provenance, etc. *t<sup>3</sup>y<sup>3</sup>-f-jst hr* “his Syrian crew” (lit., “his crew of Syria”); *n<sup>3</sup>-wh<sup>c</sup>w ʕpdw* “the fowlers” (lit., “the bird fishers”); *n<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>w(t) hmt ʕyw* “the big copper mines” (note that the attributive adjective *ʕyw* expands the genitival phrase as a whole, rather than one of its elements); *p<sup>3</sup>y<sup>3</sup>-f-psš ʕht* “his share of field”.

An indefinite phrase can be found in *stj sgnn* “a scent of ointment”.

### 4.3 THE INDIRECT GENITIVE

The marker of the genitive is invariably *n*. Whereas writings like  and  do occur they do not necessarily follow on a feminine or plural noun, respectively, as is the rule in Classical Egyptian. Basically, both the first and the second noun is overtly definite, i.e. they expand a definite, demonstrative or possessive article, or is expanded by definite *nb*; the second noun may also be a proper noun.

*t³-mdt n n³-šw* “the matter of the donkeys”; *t³-mdt n n³-hnw n w(š)d* “the matter of the vessels of smaragdus”; *š³c m p³-tš n p³-Rc r t³-šd n (5) p³-tš* “beginning from the district of Pre down to the well of the district” *LRL* 11,4–5 (NB. *p³-Rc* is a proper name, of which the article *p³-* is part); *t³j-šrjt n Hnsw-ms* “this daughter of Khensmose”;

The first noun has no article if it is indefinite: *jr jr-zj hḥ n bt³* “if I did millions of wrongs”; if it is a title that precedes a noun: *sh³ Dhwtj-ms n p³-hr š špsj* “the scribe Dhutmosə of the great, noble necropolis”.

## 5 The Demonstrative Pronoun

Masculine singular		<i>p³y, p³y-</i>
Feminine singular		<i>t³y, t³y-</i>
Plural (communis)		<i>n³y, n³y-</i>

The demonstrative pronoun is but rarely used as a pronoun (*this one*), without any expansion. In this case, an alternative form *p³w, t³w, n³w* can be found. Most often, though, the demonstrative pronoun is used as an article, i.e. it is expanded by a noun.

(1) P. Mayer A, 10, 22–3 (= *KRI* VI, 823, 12–13).



*jw b-py p³y šm jw-zf m šrj*

“But this one did not go as he is (still) a child.”

(2) P. Salt 124, 2, 1 (= *KRI* IV, 410, 12–13).



*sh<sup>3</sup> (r) p<sup>3</sup>w p<sup>3</sup>y<sup>z</sup>f-šrj pt r-h<sup>3</sup>t<sup>z</sup>f r t<sup>3</sup>-st n n<sup>3</sup>-jryw-<sup>z</sup>*

“Denunciation as to this: his son has run in before him unto the post of the gate-keepers.”

(3) P. BM 10 054 v° 1, 6 (= KRI VI, 490, 9–10).

*m hsbt 13 n pr-<sup>z</sup> .w.s. 4 rnpt r t<sup>3</sup>y*

“In regnal year 13 of Pharaoh, four years ago” (lit., four years to this)

This very demonstrative pronoun is also used as a personal pronoun of the third person in nominal sentences of types *N p<sup>3</sup>y* and *p<sup>3</sup>-N p<sup>3</sup>y*, “he is a/the ...”, or “it is a/the ...”.

(4) *Prince* 4, 8–9 (= *LES* 2, 5).

*jw<sup>z</sup>f (hr) dd n<sup>z</sup>f tsm p<sup>3</sup>y*

“He told him: ‘It is a dog!’”

NB. In some standing phrases, the old paradigm *pn*, *tn*, *nn* can be found: *hrw pn* “(on) that day” (not to be confounded with *p<sup>3</sup>-hrw* “today”), and *st tn* “this realm”.

## 6 The Personal pronoun

### 6.1 THE SUFFIX PRONOUN

If attached to a verb, the suffix pronoun serves as subject of a verbal sentence (in the so-called suffix conjugation, especially the *sdm<sup>z</sup>f* construction): *sdm<sup>z</sup>f* “he heard”. It is also used with auxiliary verbs that serve for tense formation (*jr(y)<sup>z</sup>f*, *jr.t<sup>z</sup>f*; *p(y)<sup>z</sup>f*; *wnn<sup>z</sup>f*, *wn<sup>z</sup>f*, *wn.jn<sup>z</sup>f* [*sdm.jn<sup>z</sup>f* construction]; *h<sup>z</sup>n<sup>z</sup>f* [originally a *sdm.n<sup>z</sup>f* construction]).

If attached to a noun, it serves as possessive pronoun in respect to inalienable possession (body parts, etc.: *rdwy<sup>z</sup>f* “his legs”). The determinating element *p<sup>3</sup>y=/*t<sup>3</sup>y=/*n<sup>3</sup>y<sup>z</sup>*, expanded by the suffix pronoun, serves as the possessive pronoun in the case of alienable possession (*p<sup>3</sup>y<sup>z</sup>f-pr* “his house”).<sup>8</sup>**

<sup>6</sup> O. Kairo 25 530, 1 (= KRI V, 542, 10), zitiert § 13.4.11, Bsp. 1).

<sup>7</sup> P. Turin 1880, 1, 5 (= RAD 53, 3), zitiert § 13.4.1.2, Bsp. 5.

<sup>8</sup> There are a few obvious instances of suffix pronouns expanding article plus noun, see Wente *LRL* 47 note *f* (on *LRL* 28, 6):

The base *tw* expanded by the suffix pronoun of the 1st and 2nd persons forms the subject pronoun for the adverbial sentence (*twzj dy* “I am here”), or the new object pronoun (*hwjzj twzk* “I will protect you”), which begins to compete in this function with the dependent pronoun.

## 6.2 THE DEPENDENT PRONOUN

The dependent pronoun is used for the object of the verb, except with the infinitive. In this function, it is increasingly in competition with the new object pronoun which is emerging in Late Egyptian. Furthermore, the dependent pronoun is used as subject of an adjectival predicate (in the *nfr sw* construction).

## 6.3 THE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN

The absolute pronoun is the quotation form of the pronoun, and it serves as a nominal predicate (in the nominal sentence): *jnk pw* “it is I”. Furthermore, the pronouns of the first and second persons serve as subject in the nominal sentence (properly, grammaticalised use of the subject as rheme, and, consequently, of the predicate as theme): *jnk rmt n Kmt* “I am an Egyptian”. In this function it bears no stress and is therefore devoid of a distinct vowel, as is shown by Coptic spelling.

The absolute pronoun is used for frontal extraposition, this being in Egyptian a way of expressing a stressed (i.e. topicalised) personal pronoun: *ntk m-r-<sup>c</sup> i.jrzw wh<sup>3</sup>zk m-dj nm m-r-<sup>c</sup>* “and with whom are they to seek you, in addition?”. Furthermore, the absolute pronoun is used for backward extraposition; in this case it is preceded by the clitic *gr*: *ntk jh p<sup>3</sup>-(i.)jnzk nzj gr jnk* “What have you brought for me?”. The absolute pronoun can also follow on another pronoun in a reinforcing function: *jwzj hms jnk hn<sup>c</sup> ...* “whereas I myself dwelled with ...”.

After dynasty XX, the absolute pronoun, or a pronoun of the same appearance, is used in predicate function for expressing belonging or possession, rather than identity: *ntf p<sup>3</sup>-ym* “the sea belongs to him”. A pronominal subject appears in the form of a dependent pronoun: *ntk sw* “it belongs to you” (the *nfr sw* construction). Before dynasty XX, the old absolute pronoun was used in this function, as described in the following.

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*p<sup>3</sup>-wb<sup>3</sup>zj* the open court of mine LRL 28, 6; *p<sup>3</sup>-przf* the house of his O. DM 303, 8; *p<sup>3</sup>-<sup>3</sup>zw* the greatness of them P. Adopt. rto. 18 (*JEA* 26, 1940, pl. VI); *p<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>c</sup>wzn* Simpson, P. Reisner II, XA, 3. Questionable: Kadesh Poem § 275 *n<sup>3</sup>-mtrzj r<sup>c</sup>h<sup>3</sup>* (Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscr.*, p. 13: the witnesses to me as regards the fighting; aliter Wente, *JNES* 22, 1963, 206–207).

Predicative, #jnk sw# (N<sub>def.</sub> nty jnk sw; N<sub>indef.</sub> jw jnk sw)

(6) P. Turin 1882 rto. 2, 3f. (JEA 41, 1955, VIII).



*wn mdt jw jnk sw m dwn r-dd ...*

“there is a word that is constantly mine, namely...”

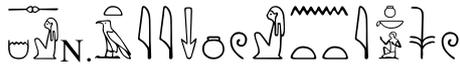
(7) O. IFAO 869 (BIFAO 72, 60 + pl. XX: no. 68).



*jr p<sup>3</sup>-m<sup>3</sup>wd nty m t<sup>3</sup>-k<sup>3</sup>r jw jnk sw*

« Quant à la palanche qui est dans la chapelle, elle m'appartient »

(8) Möller, Eheverträge, 10.



*st-hmt N. t<sup>3</sup>y-snt nti<sup>sic</sup> jnk sw*

“the woman N., this sister of mine” (lit. which is mine).

(9) P. Straßburg Nr. 39 vso. 11–12 (ZÄS 53, Tf. XX–XXI) .

*N. p<sup>3</sup>y-hnm nty ntk sw*

“N., this friend of yours” (definite noun phrase)

(10) P. Straßburg Nr. 39 rto. 8–9 (ZÄS 53, Tf. XX–XXI).

*jm hnj šmsw jw ntk sw m-s<sup>3</sup>f*

“make a retainer of yours follow him” (indefinite noun phrase)

(11) LES 71, 12 (Wen 2, 46).

*w<sup>c</sup>-wdpw jw ntf sw*

“a butler of his” (indefinite noun phrase)

#### 6.4 THE POSSESSIVE ABSOLUTE PRONOUN

The old absolute pronoun follows a noun in apposition as an expression of the possessor. In contradistinction to the possessive pronoun (when used as possessive article) it does not render the noun phrase definite. It is either used when the phrase is in the absolute state (*rmt jnk* “(is) a man of mine”), or is meant to be indefinite (*w<sup>c</sup>-rmt jnk* “a man of mine”), or if a noun is already definite by virtue of a demonstrative article (*p<sup>3</sup>y-rmt jnk* “this man of mine”)

or the definite *nb* “every” (*rmt nb jnk* “every man of mine”, “each of my men”). Exceptionally it is found with a noun with the definite article (*n<sup>3</sup>-wd<sup>3</sup>w knw swt* “the many amulets of his”). The old absolute pronoun has not preserved the distinct feminine forms, rather it uses the masculine forms as *communis*. For the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> persons plural, a different Middle Egyptian construction appears to be used (*n<sup>3</sup>-tn-jmy*).

Until dynasty XX, the old absolute pronoun is also used as a nominal predicate (afterwards, the absolute pronoun is found in this use; note that the 1st persons singular and plural are shared by both paradigms: *jnk, jnn*): *jnk sw m ht swt p<sup>3</sup>-hbny* “it belongs to me, namely (the the thins of) wood; the ebony belongs to him” CG #43. In respect to its syntax it behaves like a predicative adjective, as a pronominal subject appears in the form of an independent pronoun: *jnk sw* “it belongs to me” (*nfr sw* construction).

Predicative, #twt sw#

(12) KRI II 93 (Qadesh poem § 308)



*jr p<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup> n Kmt p<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>3</sup> n Ht<sup>3</sup> twt st*

“The land of Egypt and the land of Khatti, they are yours”.

## 6.5 OVERVIEW OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN

## Part I: The absolute pronouns

Predicate	Subject of nominal predicate	“belongs to me”	“...of mine”
Absolute pronoun	Absolute pronoun / demonstr. pronoun	Absolute pronoun / possessive absolute pronoun	possessive absolute pronoun
<i>jnk</i> — (ΔΗΟΚ)	<i>jnk</i> — (ΔΗΓ̄-)	<i>jnk sw/st/N</i>	— <i>jnk</i>
<i>ntk</i> — (Ν̄ΤΟΚ)	<i>ntk</i> — (Ν̄ΤΚ̄-)	<i>ntk sw/st/N</i> <i>twt sw/st/N</i>	— <i>twt</i>
<i>ntt</i> — (Ν̄ΤΟ)	<i>ntt</i> — (Ν̄ΤΕ-)	<i>ntt sw/st/N</i> <i>twt sw/st/N</i>	— <i>twt</i>
<i>ntf</i> — (Ν̄ΤΟϜ)	— <i>p̄y</i> (ΠΕ)	<i>ntf sw/st/N</i> <i>swt sw/st/N</i>	— <i>swt</i>
<i>nts</i> — (Ν̄ΤΟϚ)	— <i>t̄y</i> (ΤΕ)	<i>nts sw/st/N</i> <i>swt sw/st/N</i>	— <i>swt</i>
<i>jnn</i> — (ΔΗΟΗ)	<i>jnn</i> — (ΔΗ-)	<i>jnn sw/st/N</i>	— <i>jnn</i>
<i>nttn</i> — (Ν̄ΤΩΤ̄Η)	<i>nttn</i> — (Ν̄ΤΕΤ̄Η-)	<i>nttn sw/st/N</i> <i>n̄tn-jmy sw/st/N</i>	— <i>n̄tn-jmy</i>
<i>ntw</i> († <i>ntsn</i> ) — (Ν̄ΤΩΟΥ)	— <i>n̄y</i> (ΗΕ)	<i>ntw sw/st/N</i> <i>n̄sn-jmy sw/st/N</i>	— <i>n̄sn-jmy</i>
Corresponding constructions with a substantive (N) in the place of the pronoun			
N — (— N)	— N, N —	— <i>n-sw/st N</i>	— <i>n N</i>

## Part II: The dependent and suffix pronouns

Subject of adj. predicate Object of verb	Object of verb	Subject of adverbial predicate	Suffix pronoun <sup>9</sup>	Possession alienable
Dependent pronoun	New pronoun	New pronoun	Suffix pronoun	Possessive pronoun / possessive article
— <i>wj</i>	— <i>tw̄j</i>	<i>tw̄j</i> — (†-)	— <i>j</i>	<i>p/t/n̄ȳj(-)</i> (ΠΩ̄Ι/ΤΩ̄Ι/ΗΟῩΙ <sup>10</sup> )
— <i>tw</i>	— <i>tw̄k</i>	<i>tw̄k</i> — (Κ-)	— <i>k</i>	<i>p/t/n̄ȳk(-)</i> (ΠΩΚ/ΤΩΚ/ΗΟΥΚ)
— <i>tw</i>	— <i>tw̄t</i>	<i>tw̄t</i> — (ΤΕ-)	— <i>t</i>	<i>p/t/n̄ȳt(-)</i> (ΠΩ/ΤΩ/ΗΟΥ)
— <i>sw</i>	— <i>sw</i>	<i>sw</i> — (≠ Ϝ-)	— <i>f</i>	<i>p/t/n̄ȳf(-)</i> (etc.)
— <i>sw</i>	— <i>sw</i>	<i>sw</i> — (Ϛ-)	— <i>s</i>	<i>p/t/n̄ȳs(-)</i>
— <i>n</i>	— <i>tw̄n</i>	<i>tw̄n</i> — (Τ̄Η-)	— <i>n</i>	<i>p/t/n̄ȳn(-)</i>
— <i>tn</i>	— <i>tw̄tn</i>	<i>tw̄tn</i> — (ΤΕΤ̄Η-)	— <i>tn</i>	<i>p/t/n̄ȳtn(-)</i>
— <i>st</i> († <i>sn</i> )	— <i>st</i>	<i>st</i> — (ϚΕ-)	— <i>w</i> (†— <i>sn</i> )	<i>p/t/n̄ȳw(-)</i> († <i>p/t/n̄ȳsn(-)</i> )
Corresponding constructions with a substantive (N) in the place of the pronoun				
— <i>N</i>	— <i>N</i>	<i>N</i> —	— <i>N</i> (— <i>n N</i> )	<i>p/t/n̄ȳ(-n)-N</i> (ΠΔ/ΤΔ/ΗΔ)

<sup>9</sup> Four uses: (1) subject of verb (“suffix conjugation”); (2) object, with infinitives; (3) complement of prepositions; (4) inalienable possession.

<sup>10</sup> As possessive article: ΠΔ-/ΤΔ-/ΗΔ-, ΠΕΚ-/ΤΕΚ-/ΗΕΚ-.

### Synopsis of the possessive constructions

1. Inalienable possession, the pronoun rendering the noun phrase definite:  
 noun + suffix pronoun *sn=f* “his brother”
2. Alienable possession, the pronoun rendering the noun phrase definite:  
 possessive pronoun (article) + noun *p³y=f-pr* “his house”
3. Pronoun not rendering the noun phrase definite:  
 noun + possessive absolute pronoun  
*(w<sup>c</sup>-/p³y-)pr swt* “a house of his” / “this house of his”
4. Predicative expression of possession:  
 (possessive) absolute pronoun + noun *ntf / swt p³-pr* “the house belongs to him”

### Possessive expressions combined with *nb* “all” :

*p³y=k-gbj nb* “any damage/debt of yours”

*p³y=j-jnk nb* “all my (?) belongings”

*p³y=tn-stp nb* “any selection among you”

*p³-sw<sup>t</sup> nb* “all his property”

*jh<sup>t</sup> nb jnk* “all that is mine”

*hr m-dj h³ty=k m-s³ rmt nb twt* “don’t be concerned about anyone of your men”

*m wpwt nb twt* “any mission of yours”

*shn nb swt* “any business of his”

## 7 The Numbers

### 7.1 CARDINAL NUMBERS

*Note.* The following table is of theoretical impact only. Apart from 1, numbers are always rendered in cipher, rather than phonetically.

		LEgn., masc.	Coptic <i>S</i> , masc.	LEgn., fem.	Coptic <i>S</i> , fem.
1		<i>w</i> <sup>c</sup>	ΟΥΑ	<i>w</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>t</i>	ΟΥΕΙ
2		<i>snwj</i>	ϸΝΔΥ	<i>sntj</i>	ϸΝΤΕ
3		<i>hmtw</i>	ϰΟΜḤΤ	<i>hmtt</i>	ϰΟΜΤΕ
4		<i>fdw</i>	ϨΤΟΟΥ	<i>fdt</i>	ϨΤΟ(Ε)
5		<i>djw</i>	†ΟΥ	<i>djt</i>	†(Ε)
6		<i>sjsw</i>	ϸΟΟΥ	<i>sjst</i>	ϸΟ(Ε)
7		<i>sfhw</i>	ϸΔϰḤ	<i>sfht</i>	ϸΔϰΕ
8		<i>hmnw</i>	ϰΜΟΥΝ	<i>hmnt</i>	ϰΜΟΥΝΕ
9		<i>psdw</i>	†Ιϸ, †ΙΤ	<i>psdt</i>	†ΙΤΕ
10	∩	<i>mdw</i>	ΜΗΤ	<i>mdt</i>	ΜΗΤΕ

		LEgn.	Coptic		LEgn.	Coptic
				100	ϩ	<i>š(n)t</i> ϰΕ
20	∩∩	<i>dwtj</i> ?	ϨΟΥΩΤ	200	ϩϩ	<i>š(n)tj</i> ϰΗΤ
30	∩∩∩	<i>m</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>b</i> <sup>3</sup>	ΜΔΔΒ	300	ϩϩϩ	<i>hmtt š(n)t</i> ϰΟΜΤΕ ḤϰΕ
40	∩∩∩, ∩∩	<i>hmj</i>	ϩΜΕ	400	ϩϩϩϩ	<i>fdt š(n)t</i> ϰΤΟΕ ḤϰΕ
50	∩∩∩∩ ∩∩	<i>dyw</i>	ΤΔΙΟΥ	500	ϩϩϩ ϩϩ	<i>djt š(n)t</i> ΤΙΕ ḤϰΕ
60	∩∩∩∩ ∩∩∩∩	<i>sjsyw</i> <sup>*)</sup>	ϸΕ	1000	ϩ ϩ ϩ	<i>h</i> <sup>3</sup> ϰΟ
70	∩∩∩∩∩ ∩∩∩∩	<i>sfhyw</i>	ϰϨΕ	10000	ϩ ϩ ϩ ϩ	<i>db</i> <sup>c</sup> ΤΒΔ
80	∩∩∩∩∩ ∩∩∩∩	<i>hmnjw</i>	ϩΜΕΝΕ	100000	ϩ ϩ ϩ ϩ ϩ	<i>hfn</i>
90	∩∩∩∩∩ ∩∩∩∩	<i>psdyw</i>	ΠḤΤΔΙΟΥ	1000000	ϩ ϩ ϩ ϩ ϩ ϩ	<i>hh</i>

Morphological concord of numbers 1 to 10 is theoretical, as the spelling is not reliable. However, Coptic shows that concord must have still existed, though in vocalisation only. Number 1 is nuclear, i.e., it precedes the item counted, whereas number 2 usually follows it.

Numbers 3 to 9 are nuclear, the item counted is usually annexed as a direct genitive; similarly the numbers from 10 onward, though it is usually the indirect genitive that is used.

- 1: *jwzj (hr) t3y w<sup>c</sup>-dbn n hd* “I stole one *deben* of silver”.
- 2: *ktj mdjt sntj* “two more statements (of evidence)”.

Number 1 is singular, number 2 is dual, all higher numbers, and number phrases, are singular in concord. According to the Coptic evidence, it must be assumed that the expression of the items counted is in the singular form. The number phrase (up to 100) has the gender of the item counted.

- p3y-6 rmt* “these six men”. Mayer A 1.19 (KRI VI, 805).
- t3y3j 3 n hrd* “my three daughters” RAD 48, 12).
- p3-20 n hbs* “the twenty lamps”. Turin Necropolis Journal 1, 1 (RAD 64, 2).

*p3-100 n dbn n sntr* “the one-hundred *deben* of incense”.

However, number phrases from 200 to 900 are feminine (in Coptic: masculine).

- t3-365 (hmtt-snt sjsyw djw) n ntr* “the 365 gods” (in Coptic: ΠΩΘΗΝΤ ΝΩΕ (ΜΝ) ΣΕΤΟΥ ΝΝΟΥΤΕ).

Although the numbers are singular, the whole phrase of number plus noun is plural.

- p3y-3 dpw 3yw* “these three big blocks”; the attributive adjective is clearly in the plural form.

In indications of measure or weight, in counts, etc., the figures follow upon the item counted, as is usual in Middle Egyptian writing: *dbn 3* “*deben* 3”; *s 300* “300 men”; *mh 30* “30 cubits”; *rnpt 4* “four years”.

## 7.2 ORDINAL NUMBERS

“First” is *tpy*, or *h3wty*. All other ordinal numbers are formed by the noun (i.)*mh*, feminine (i.)*mht* (originally a substantivised participle, “he who makes full”).

- ktj st mht 2 t3y* “another place (= tomb), that is a second one”. *jwzj (m) mh-4 hmt* “I being the fourth wife”.

*mḥ* is also expanded by numeral phrases with the inverted word order: *mḥ* plus {noun—number}.

 *mḥ hrw 3 n mty* “third day of examination” .

 *mḥ mdt sntj* “a second matter”.

The ancient formation, cardinal number plus *-nw*, fem. *-n.t*, is classical style.

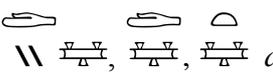
 *ḥm-ntr sn-nw n jmn-rḥ nswt ntrw*  
“Second Prophet of Amen-Ra’ king of the gods”. **B. The Adverb**

## 1 The Adverb Proper

### 1.1 SIMPLE ADVERBS

The simple adverbs of the old stock are very few in number:

 *jm* “there” (ḤMΔΥ).

 *dj* “here” (TΔI), “there” (TH); probably a dialectal variant of ʕ, idem.

 *tnw* “where ?” (TΩN; originally *tnw*).

Other simple adverbs are probably petrified stative forms, 3rd person masc. sing. in impersonal use (\*“it having come back”, etc.).

 *n* “again”, “back”, “already”, “yet” (cf. *nn* “to return; to turn back”).

 *k<sup>3</sup>* “correctly”, “exactly” (cf. *k<sup>3</sup>* “to be accurate; to make accurate”).

 *w<sup>3</sup>w* “far away”; “long time past” (cf. *w<sup>3</sup>j* “to be far”).

 *3s* “quickly” (cf. *3s* “to hurry”).

 *drj* “strictly, strenuously” (cf. *drj* “to be firm”): *shrw-zf nb drj* “really all of his plans” P. Anast. V, 10, 4.

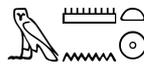
Whereas the adverbs mentioned are used as complements of verbs and as adverbial predicates, the following is found after predicative adjectives.

 *wsj* “very” (\**wsr.w* “it being mighty” ? or rather from ADJECTIVE-*wj* *sw*, *-wj sj* ?):

*ndm wsj p<sup>3</sup>y-k-šm.t r w<sup>3</sup>st* “So very pleasant is your march to Thebes” P. Anast. II, 5, 2–3.

## 1.2 COMPOSITE ADVERBS

Many adverbs are composed of preposition plus noun.

 *m-mnt* “daily” (ἡΜΗΝΕ); *mnt* seems to be attested in this phrase only.

 *m p<sup>3</sup>-hrw* “today” (ἡΠΟΟΥ).

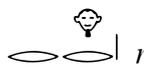
 *(m) dw<sup>3</sup>* “early”.

 *m grh* “at night”.

 *m rwh<sup>3</sup>* “in the evening”.

 *(m) t<sup>3</sup>-wnwt* “immediately” (ἡΤΕΥΝΟΥ).

 *r-š<sup>3</sup>-nhh* “forever” (ΩΔ ΕΝΕΖ).

 *r-hry* “up” (ΕΖΡΑΕΙ, Β ΕΖΡΗΙ).

 *r-hry* “down” (ΕΖΡΑΕΙ, Β ΕΔΡΗΙ).

 *r-hnw* “in”, “into” (ΕΖΟΥΝ).

 *m-hnw* “inside”, “in the interior” (ἡΖΟΥΝ).

 *r-bl* “out” (ΕΒΟΛ).

 *m-dwn (2X)* “constantly” (ἡΤΟΟΥΝ).

 *m-šs (2X)* “very”.

 *'m-mjtt* and  *r-mjtt* “likewise”.

 *mj-n<sup>3</sup>* “like this”.

 *r-jkr* “very (much)”.

The absolute use of nouns is much more rarely found;  *r<sup>c</sup> nb* “every day”, e.g., is seemingly a classicism. In other cases it is not clear whether the noun is used absolutely, or the preposition (*m, r*) is just omitted in writing.

The following are of adverbial appearance, though they are neither used to complement a verb, nor as adverbial predicates. Their function corresponds to that of paratactic conjunctions of modern languages.

  | *m-r-<sup>c</sup>* “too”, “also”: *jn jnk b<sup>3</sup>k n p<sup>3</sup>-jrj wd<sup>3</sup>k m-r-<sup>c</sup>* “Am I also (in the position of) a servant to the one who has sent you?” LES 68, 7–8 (Wen. 2,13).

  |  *m r-pw* “or”: *nfr m-r-pw bjn* “either good or bad” P. DM 4, rt. 8f.

   |  *bn jw<sup>3</sup>j (r) dj.t sk<sup>3</sup>z<sup>3</sup>k gr* “I will not let you plough again” P. Berlin 8523, 6.

## 2 The Prepositions

### 2.1 SIMPLE PREPOSITIONS

Several prepositions show a particular form when being expanded by a suffix pronoun, in particular, by a plural form. When being expanded by a noun, prepositions are proclitic, i.e. they do not bear any stress, and are consequently of reduced phonetical substance. When joined to a pronoun, however, it is the preposition that bears the stress.

Pre-nominal form <i>r</i> <i>r p<sup>3</sup>y<sup>3</sup>f-sn</i> “to his brother” (ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲛⲥ-Ⲙ-Ⲙ)	Pre-pronominal form <i>jr<sup>3</sup></i> <i>jr<sup>3</sup>tn</i> “to you” (ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲛⲧⲛ)
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 *m*; pre-pron.     *jm<sup>3</sup>*, “in”, etc. (ⲛ-, ⲛⲙⲐⲟⲛ).

  *r*; with singular pronoun , with plural pronoun  | *r<sup>3</sup>* (i.e., *jr<sup>3</sup>*) “to”, etc. (ⲉ-, ⲉⲡⲐⲟⲛ, but ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲛⲧⲛ).

 *n*, in pre-pronominal use the same, “for”, etc. (ⲛ-, ⲛⲁⲛ).

 | *hr*; with singular pronoun the same, with plural pronoun often  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | 

  *hr*, in pre-pronominal use more or less the same, “under” (ⲓⲁ-, ⲓⲁⲡⲐⲟⲛ, but ⲓⲁⲡⲣⲱⲛⲧⲛ).

Another inherited preposition is *hft* “corresponding”. *mj* “like” is mostly replaced by *mj-ḳd* (on which see below); *hn<sup>c</sup>* is restricted to coordination of phrases, “and”, otherwise the following is used in its stead.

There is a newly formed simple preposition,  *ʾrm* “with” (𓂏𓂏-; *B nεε-; N𓂏𓂏-; from r rm(n) “to the side of”?*).

## 2.2 COMPOUND PREPOSITIONS

Typically consisting of preposition plus noun, partly infinitives. Highly increased in number, as compared with Middle Egyptian.<sup>11</sup>

*m-b<sup>3</sup>h* “in front of” (= Coptic 𓂏𓂏-).

*m-s<sup>3</sup>* (Coptic 𓂏𓂏-, 𓂏𓂏-) “behind”, “after”.

*hr-s<sup>3</sup>* “after” (of time).

*n-h<sup>3</sup>* “behind” (*h<sup>3</sup>* “occiput”)

*m-dj* “at” (cf. Coptic 𓂏𓂏-, 𓂏𓂏-; continues ancient *m-<sup>c</sup>*).

*r-gs* “beside” “near”.

(*hr-*)<sup>c</sup>*wj* “in the charge of”

*r-h<sup>3</sup>w* “in the time of” (*h<sup>3</sup>w* “period”).

(*m-*)*hr-jb* “in the midst of”.

*m-hnw* “inside” “amongst” (= Coptic 𓂏𓂏-).

(*r-*)*hny(-r)* “into” (Coptic 𓂏𓂏-).

*r-mjtt-n* “as” “according to” .

*hr-h<sup>3</sup>t-n* “before”, “in front of” (= Coptic 𓂏𓂏-...; *h<sup>3</sup>t* “front side”).

*r-h<sup>3</sup>t* “before” (Coptic 𓂏𓂏-).

*mj-ḳd* “like” (*ḳd* “nature, form”).

*m-ḏrt* “in the hand of” (Coptic 𓂏𓂏-, 𓂏𓂏-; *ḏrt* “hand”).

*hr-ḏrt* “in the charge of” (Coptic 𓂏𓂏-, 𓂏𓂏-).

*hr-d<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>-n* “on top of” (= Coptic 𓂏𓂏-, 𓂏𓂏-; *d<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>* “head”).

*hr-phwy(-n)* “behind”, “at the back of” (Coptic 𓂏𓂏-; *phwj* “end, back”).

*hr-st-r-n* “because”, “on account of” (*st-r* “utterance; authority”).

*nfryt-r* “as far as”, “until” (*nfryt* “limit”).)

<sup>11</sup> Enumeration mostly after Černý & Groll, 112–125.

*wpw(-hr)* “except for” (*wpj* “to separate”).

(*r-)*š<sup>3</sup>(-*r*) “until”, “as far as” (Coptic ωλ-, ωλρΟϛ; š<sup>3</sup> “to begin”).

(*r-)*š<sup>3</sup>(-*m*) “from”, “since”.

*r-jwd* “between”, “as an obligation upon” (Coptic ΟΥΤΕ-, ΟΥΤΩϛ; *jwd* “to lie between”).

*r-db<sup>3</sup>* “in exchange for” (= Coptic ΕΤΒΕ, ΕΤΒΗΗΤϛ) (*db<sup>3</sup>* “to replace”).

*wj<sup>3</sup>.tw(?)* “except for” (*wj<sup>3</sup>* ‘to reject’).

(*r-)*k<sup>3</sup>*r(-n)* “beside”, “near” (*krj* “to come near”; or stative *krj.w* “to be close”).

*n-βby* “through desire of”, “in order to” (*βbj* “to wish, covet”).

*m-h<sup>3</sup>w-hr* “more than” (cf. Coptic ἄρῶ ΟΥΟ Ε-; *h<sup>3</sup>w* “increase”).

### 3 Adverb Syntax

#### 3.1 ADVERBIAL COMPLEMENT.

Adverbials typically complement a verb.

*jh-dd=tn n jmn* “Please say **to Amūn**”

*jw=w (hr) gm(.t)-j m mtr n db<sup>3</sup>*  
“and they found me **in the vicinity of Edfu**”

Temporal complements are typically fronted (topicalised; introduced by *jr*).

*sn-nw jw=w (hr) jj.t n-j* “and then, in the evening of the second day, they came to me”

#### 3.2 ADVERBIAL SENTENCE.

Adverbials that are basically of locative nature may be predicative (sentence with adverbial predicate — the PRESENT).

*sw tnw* “where is he ?”

*sw m sšr* “It is in order”.