A Linguistic Analysis of the Sinuhe Romance

Leon Picon

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A Linguistic Analysis of the Sinuhe Romance

Abstract
In view of the strides which have been made in the past few decades in the field of comparative linguistics, and particularly in the early Near Eastern Languages, the time has come to re-evaluate the existing theories on linguistic relationships. The monumental works of past scholars have carried the study of these languages to their logical conclusions considering the material on hand.

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A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE SINUHE ROMANCE

by

Leon Picon

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning
Philadelphia

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INTRODUCTION

In view of the strides which have been made in the past few decades in the field of comparative linguistics, and particularly in the early Near Eastern languages, the time has come to re-evaluate the existing theories on linguistic relationships. The monumental works of past scholars have carried the study of these languages to their logical conclusions considering the material on hand.

The recent inroads into comparative linguistics and philology, however, have served to indicate that the fields are by no means exhausted. Excellent as the great works in the individual languages have been, there remains nevertheless a fertile field to be investigated through other avenues. The standard linguistic studies have for the most part been limited by restriction to a single language. As concerns Hebrew, for example, past scholars have in part narrowed their horizons by firm concentration on the corpus of Hebrew writings. To some extent, it is true, relationships have been drawn from time to time between Hebrew and Arabic, and more recently, the significant relationships with other Semitic languages have been noted. The effect of Semitic comparisons upon our understanding of each of these languages has been
substantial; even here, however, the scope of our understanding of the nature and structure of the Semitic group may still be expanded.

As Professor C. H. Gordon has very correctly pointed out, new contributions in the Hebrew field of linguistics must perforce come from evidence in outside but related languages. The basic Hebrew evidence has been reworked for generations, and the field is now intrinsically barren. On the other hand, work has just begun in the investigation of Egypto-Semitic relationships, and the results have been startling.

There still remain a number of unsolved problems before our understanding of Hebrew grammar can be complete. These problems must be subjected to various analytical approaches for their solution, and Egyptian as well as other non-Semitic languages may well contain the answers. In fact, the present study has produced new evidence of the contribution still to be made to Semitic linguistics by Egyptian analysis. New relationships have come to light through such study, and they serve to further our comprehension of these problems.

With the recent progress made in conjunction with the Nostratic theory, further light will undoubtedly be shed on hitherto misinterpreted facets of language. Undoubtedly the advances into Hieroglyphic Hittite which are soon to be made.

pending the complete decipherment of the Karatepe bilinguals, will open new avenues of approach. The impact of this progress upon the entire field of ancient studies is still to be felt. It is incumbent upon the scholar constantly to re-evaluate his subject to reflect the new evidence.

The present study has been undertaken in an attempt to approach Egyptian in the vein of the foregoing principles. It has been deemed preferable to confine the scope of such an approach to a specific period in the history of the Egyptian language. Accordingly, the Sinuhe Romance was selected as a starting point for the re-evaluation of our theories. This procedure may be followed for other texts and for other periods. Each investigation will doubtless supply new and further evidence to supplement and complement our understanding. Such investigations not only enhance our knowledge of Egyptian through the light of the Semitic languages, but also conversely improve our comprehension of Semitic phenomena through the light of Egyptian.

Among the rewarding results of the Egypto-Semitic approach to understanding both groups of languages is the explanation of the appearance of א before a predicate in an otherwise nominal sentence. Consider, for example:

"And the Lord will be thy confidence." (Prov. 3.26)
"Happy is he for whom the God of Jacob is help." (Ps. 146:5)

These otherwise obscure passages are at once clarified by the application of Hamito-Semitic linguistic parallels, for we have here the Hebrew counterparts of the Egyptian "m of equivalence or predication." This subject is discussed in full in §122g and §122, Rem. 1.

The explanation of the interrogative particle ʿ₂ and its Nostratic implications could only be found by exploitation of Egypto-Semitic parallels. Only by such treatment can the true explanation of the force of the waw copulative and waw consecutive be found. So also, the Semitic evidence has served to correct or fortify existing theories regarding the nature of Egyptian grammar and syntax.

In addition to the rewarding results along Egypto-Semitic lines that such an investigation may produce, there are also new facts to be found in Egyptian alone through the analysis of a single, if lengthy, text. The division of the Egyptian language into three periods (old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, and

1 see §131, Rem. 1.
2 see §§85-91; 159.
Late Egyptian) has the intrinsic fault of considering as entities periods that are fundamentally too long. It is undoubtedly true that some of the current theories of Egyptian linguistics have become clouded by the attempt of scholars to formulate blanket rules for a dynamic language. Forces which influenced the language at the early stages of each period may not have existed at the later stages. A series of linguistic analyses of single texts may well clarify some of the problems which have been encountered in the overall approach.

In the preparation of this analysis, the writer made use of the excellent texts of the Simuhe Romance as presented in Blackman, A. M. "Middle Egyptian Stories," Part I, pp. 1-41, in Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca II, Brussels, 1932.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


c. common gender

cf. compare

Ex., Exx. example, examples.

f. feminine


LeF. LeFebvre, G., Grammaire de l'Egyptien Classique. Cairo, 1940.

lit. literally

masc. masculine

M. E. Middle Egyptian

N. E. New Egyptian

O. E. Old Egyptian

pl. plural

Rem. remark

Sin. B. C.


sing. singular


CHAPTER I
ORTHOGRAPHY

Generalities

§1. Before discussing the Egyptian language as it is revealed in the texts of the Sinuhe Romance, consideration should be given to the orthographic characteristics of these documents. At the outset, it should be noted that in treating these documents we are concerned with a number of editions, all of which show some variation in orthography, due in part to the individual differences and habits of the scribes, and in part to the progress and development of the Egyptian language. It is emphasized that in ancient times our modern concept of a "true copy" did not exist, and accordingly, paraphrasing is the norm in recording. Nevertheless, despite these forces, the several Recensions of the Sinuhe Romance show a remarkable unity and conformity. They represent in toto an example of Middle Egyptian language and style which may serve as a basis for the linguistic analysis of the period.

In general, the pattern of orthography underlying all of the editions is typified by simplicity of spelling when compared with the more complicated spellings of the later stages of the language. The Sinuhe Romance editions were recorded
during a stage of the language in which the consonantal structure of words was beginning to weaken. In conflict with the Egyptian affinity for preserving historical spellings, there is in evidence a degree of disintegration of consonants, resulting in peculiarities of spelling. This study will concern itself chiefly with the peculiarities in these texts and the deviations from the norm of Middle Egyptian.

§ 2. In the attempt to preserve the historical characteristics of their spelling, the Egyptians of this period continued to write the feminine $-t$ (cf. § 40, below), although the evidence points toward its disappearance in pronunciation by this stage of the language. Coptic shows the complete loss of this ending in feminine nouns by the termination of these words in a vowel, e.g. $\text{cim}_e$, from $\text{hmt}$, "Woman." That this ending had already disappeared in pronunciation by the time of the Sinuhe Recensions is evidenced by the orthography $\text{h}\text{m}\text{t}$ (Sin. C. 6), which is explained in full in § 40, Rem. 1.

The loss in pronunciation of the feminine $-t$ is also in evidence from the orthography $\text{h}\text{y}(t)$ "tribe" in Sin. B. 86, while it is preserved in the same Recension as $\text{h}\text{y}(t)$ "his tribe" (Sin. B. 94).

Rem. 1. The two renditions of $\text{h}\text{y}(t)$ cited above show clearly the disappearance of the feminine consonantal ending in the absolute form of the noun.
the re-entrance of the -t in the second citation is occasioned by the fact that the consonant was pronounced in this form of the word. This phenomenon is precisely like the Hebrew 'נִנְעָלַת "blessing" וַיְנַעֲלוּ "my blessing" in which an original t which was lost in the absolute forms was preserved in the bound forms of the word.

§3. Similarly, a general weakening of other consonants, which had its inception at an earlier stage of the language, marks the physiognomy of certain words. Particularly to be noted are postvocalic -r, -ן, and -י.

Exx. (1) "There is not another being before him;"

כְּלָה הַגּוֹיָה комис נב 'ס(ר)ת פְּרָת "the Lord of Wisdom is he." (Sin. B. 48).

(2) מִשְׁתָּר לִשְׁתָּר נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד נְמוֹד

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In the above cases, postvocalic -r had sufficiently weakened in the words s rt and mtr for the word to be written.

1. i.e. "who surpasses him."
2. cf. §139, below.
3. cf. §155, below.
without this consonant.

The loss of postvocalic $\sim r$ is further evident in the orthography of the preposition $\sim hr$, which at this period had undoubtedly been pronounced $hi$ like coptic $\sim i$. When followed by a suffix pronoun, or in compound words such as $\sim hr-ib$ (cf. this compound in §128, ex. 3, the resulting shift in syllabification caused the $r$ to be retained. Cf. Coptic $\sim pa$.

On the other hand, the pronunciation of the period led to the false insertion of $\sim r$ in the R Manuscript where an original $\sim i$ has been restored in historical writing along with $r$. Ex.: $\sim ntf d\sim i$ (r) "It is he who subdues, etc." (Sin. R. 74). Here $r$ has been written due to resemblance in pronunciation to the words originally terminated in $r$. The verb actually is $d\sim i$.

§4. The loss of $\sim i$ in the pronunciation of this period accounts for the metathesis of this consonant with $\sim i$ in the orthography found in the B Manuscript for the verb $\sim i si$ "to recognize".

Ex.: $\sim s\sim i$ ($= s\sim i$) $n wi M\sim tn$ "A Beduin recognized me."

(Sin. B. 25-26).

1. The color of the vowel, but not its quantity, may be questionable at this stage.
A similar confusion of \(3\) and \(\bar{i}\), probably attributable to the weakening of \(i\), is found in the C Manuscript.

Ex.: \(\text{p\text{'t} 3\text{m}'w}\) "The people were in mourning." (Sin. C. 3).

The R Recension parallel reads:

\(\text{p\text{'t} m\text{'}l 3\text{m}'w}\) "The people were in mourning." (Sin. R. 10).

5. Occasionally the disappearance of \(\text{\overline{\text{j}}}\) is manifested in another fashion. In order to maintain the identities of the vowels separated by \(\text{\overline{\text{j}}}\) when the latter occurred as medial radical, use is made of the hieroglyph \(\text{\overline{\text{k}}}\), where the \(\text{\overline{\text{j}}}\) had originally been written.

Ex.: \(\text{\overline{\text{k}}\text{\overline{\text{k}}\text{\overline{\text{k}}}}\) (a place name) (Sin. B. 14; so also in R. 40).

The original appears in the C and G parallels as \(\text{\overline{\text{j}}\text{\overline{\text{j}}\text{\overline{\text{j}}}}\) kw. The use of \(\text{\overline{\text{k}}}\) for such purposes is very limited in Middle Egyptian; by New Egyptian, however, such employment is quite common.

The weak semi-vocalic third and fourth radicals (i or w) of the verbs 3ae and 4ae infirmae (cf. § 71) are never written. When such a radical does appear, a reason for its appearance is to be anticipated. Thus in the orthography

1. For the pseudo-verbal construction with or without prepositions, see §§ 147-149.
(Sin. B. 78), we do not have the final consonant of a 3ae inf. verb, but rather a 4ae inf. verb. The 4 is actually the second radical and the verb should be read min(ı)1.

46. Not attributable to confusion of consonants is the interesting orthography ḫpš(ı) "he cooked" (Sin. R. 51)2. We may have here evidence of dialectic variations seeping into the script, for Coptic shows nııc as the Sahidic and Akhmimic forms of this verb, and ııc as the Bohairic.

Rem. 1. Dialectic influences upon Egyptian orthography remains a virtually untouched field. Some of the hitherto unexplained phenomena of the language may be caused by such influences.

§7. Consonantal weakening is also found among other consonants at this stage of the language. Among these are:

| t > t; d > d. |

Exx.: (l) 4 ıst, a particle used both as enclitic and proclitic (see examples in §§ 129, a and 130, b) stems from earlier 4 ıst.

2. Quoted in full in § 50, c, below.
(2) "Canal" occurs in the first line of four of the Recensions (G, C, OB³, OB³t), while the R version preserves the historical orthography cd.

§8. The dual sign " has a consonantal function in these texts. It may be used to represent the semi-consonant y (derived from 44) and usually present in duals.

Exx.: h²wy "evening" (Sin. C. 7).

Sometimes duplication of the final consonant is used in conjunction with the dual sign to produce the same effect, e.g., rsy "entirely" (cf. § 113,a), whereas either or would suffice.

§9. The medial m of rmt had already disappeared from the orthography, although the fact that it was pronounced even in the latest stages of the language is evident from the Coptic pwme. The third radical t must have passed to t by this time (cf. § 7, above) and possibly this secondary t had also disappeared, approaching the Coptic pronunciation.

§10. There developed in the Egyptian orthography a practice of transposing the governing noun and the noun governed
of the genitival construction for the purpose of giving honorific precedence to a king or god. In pronunciation, however, the normal word order was retained.

Exx.: (1) \[\text{rj-nsw} \] "companion of the king."

(Sin. R. 2).

(2) \[\text{b}'k n \text{ipt-nsw} \] "servant of the king's harem." (Sin. R. 3).

(3) \[\text{s}3-\text{nsw} \] "prince (lit., "son of the king.") (Sin. C. 11).

In proper names, particularly royal names, where the name of a god was a usual component, such honorific transposition is regular.

Exx.: (1) \[\text{S.htp.}\text{ib.R} \] "Sehetep-ibre." 

(Sin. R. 6).

(2) \[\text{S.nWsrt} \] "Senuseret." 

(Sin. R. 12).

Accordingly, it is difficult to reconcile such renderings as Tuthmosis, Amenhotep, Rameses, et al. As a matter of fact, the Tell-el-Amarna letters lead us to believe that some of these traditional renderings are inaccurate. We find that both the prenomen and the nomen of Tuthmosis III are given in one letter.

1. See \(\S\S\) 37 ff.
and the nomen is transliterated as Ammatiwus for .

Our transliterations, undoubtedly, should be consistent with the Egyptian custom, and the name in question should be transliterated Ms-Dhwty. Contemporary evidence such as the Tell-el-Amarna letters is certainly more reliable than the renderings of the Greek historians of almost a millenium later.

Ranke has shown that the living tradition in reading the hieroglyphic names had broken down by the time of Manetho (and possibly earlier) so that the earlier names were misunderstood by the Egyptians themselves.

It is emphasized, however, that in some cases, according to the meaning of the name, there may not have been any transpositions. Most Egyptian names are sentences; where the sentence which comprises the name is a nominal (non-verbal) sentence, such as in the name Amenemhat, transposition has not occurred; where the sentence is verbal, transposition has occurred, such as in the name Ammatiwus, Ms-Dhwty.

§ 11. Honorific transposition during the period of the Sinuhe Romance Recensions was also applicable to patronymics. But for the use of the egg-determinative  Of (H-5), which occasionally

appears in the paternal name, it would be impossible to determine which name referred to the father and which to the son.

Ex.: <그림> mw Nnši "Nenshi (the son of) Amu." (Sin. B. 30; similarly B-142-143, cited in §135, below).
CHAPTER II

THE PRONOUNS

§12. Generalities. Like the Semitic languages, Egyptian possessed personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns, but unlike these languages it contained no pronominal form to express the relative. The marked similarity between the Egyptian and the Semitic pronominal forms indicates that these were among the most primitive elements of these languages. Although abundant variations in orthography are found within a given period, or even within a given text, the pronouns nevertheless manifest a remarkable stability in most of their forms, which maintained their identities and characteristics from earliest historical times to the later stages of Coptic.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§13. Three separate classifications of personal pronouns are to be noted, namely:

(a) The suffix pronouns (§§ 14 - 19)
(b) The dependent pronouns (§§ 21 - 26)
(c) The independent pronouns (§§ 27 - 30)

1. The relative, where expressed by a separate form, is morphologically adjectival; for its treatment, see §144 below. The fact that the Semitic languages themselves do not employ the same relative indicates that these words are later innovations for each of the languages. Cf. Arabic 'alladi; Hebrew 'ser; Accadian 'sa.
§ 14. The suffix pronouns are so termed because they never appear independently, but are invariably affixed postpositively to a verb, noun, preposition, or other preceding word. This postpositive formation is not only found abundantly and regularly in the hamite-Semitic languages, but it also has vestiges in certain languages of the Indo-European group. The suffix pronoun forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.c.  יִי</td>
<td>1.c. יִנ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. יֵק</td>
<td>2.c. יֵט</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. יֵת</td>
<td>3.c. יֵס</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. יֵס</td>
<td>3.f. יֵס</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rem. 1. There is a strong possibility that יִי as a suffix pronoun is vocalic, or at least semi-vocalic as a vowel lengthener. It is frequently omitted where the context demands the first person suffix; the frequency of this omission and the corresponding infrequency of omission of the other suffix pronouns lends further credence to this hypothesis. As a vowel-lengthener, יִי corresponds directly to the Hebrew יִי.

Rem. 2. A clue to the early vocalization of the 2. f. sing. and 2. c. pl. suffixes is probably revealed by the appearance of the "\(\acute{\varepsilon}\) (\(\acute{t}\))-sound" consonant, where the Semitic languages uniformly have a "k-sound," for the second person suffixes. The "\(\acute{\varepsilon}\)-sound" is frequently produced by the palatalization of original "k" by a front vowel "i" or "e".1 A vowel of the "i-class" is precisely what we should expect from the Smitic parallels. The failure of 2. m. sing. "k" to pass into "\(\acute{\varepsilon}\)" strongly indicates the early presence of a succeeding back vowel "a, o, or u". This evidence is supported in part by the fact that Semitic has -ka for this form.

Rem. 3. Rarely, the 3. f. sing. suffix appears as \(\acute{\varepsilon}\)st, possibly due to the existence of a vowel following \(\acute{\varepsilon}\), at least in the early stages of M. E., and possibly earlier.2 It is difficult to accept the view expressed by Gardiner3 that "the exception to the rule \(\sqrt{\varepsilon}\) that the pronoun object of an infinitive is the suffix \(\sqrt{\varepsilon}\) is the

1. Compare Italian "cinque," from Latin "quinque"; also Albanian "ceshtje" (Latin: "quaestie"); \(\acute{\varepsilon}\)\(\ddot{\alpha}\)\(\ddot{\varepsilon}\)\(\acute{\varepsilon}\)\(\ddot{\varepsilon}\) (Beduin Arabic) for \(\acute{\varepsilon}\)\(\ddot{\varepsilon}\)\(\ddot{\varepsilon}\)\(\acute{\varepsilon}\)\(\ddot{\varepsilon}\)\(\ddot{\varepsilon}\).
2. For the other evidences of \(\acute{\varepsilon}\) as a vowel carrier, see §\(\xi\) 2; 40, Rem. 1. in N. E. is quite common as the suffix 3. f. sing.
pronoun ə st, since ə st can be shown to be an alternative orthography for ə st. This claim is borne out by the unmistakable suffix usage in

The dual suffixes, which existed earlier, do not appear in these texts.

Uses of the suffix pronouns.

5. It should be noted that a basic genitival concept underlies the grammatical functions of the suffix pronouns.

The uses of the suffix pronouns are:

6. (a) Genitive after a noun.

Exx.: (1) ə st ə nd ə 3 13 5 1 ə nd "my bow" (Sin. B. 127)
(2) ə st nd ə 4 13 5 1 ə nd "his name" (Sin. B. 81)

The suffix pronoun agrees in gender and number with the noun it represents, and not the noun it governs.

1. For st and its uses, see below § 21 ff. The nominal character of the infinitive is too strong to allow a dependent pronoun object.
2. See also § 40, Rem. 1.
Exx.: (1) "It was a good land.... great (was) its honey (i.e., it was full of honey)" (Sin. B. 82-83). Note that the 3. m. sing. agrees with "land" (m.) and not "honey" (f.)

(2) "his children" (Sin. B. 78)

The use of the plural suffix -sn in the example, given in §14, Rem. 3., above, referring to a singular antecedent (city) is an example of the synecdoche common in Egyptian poetry. Here the city is used for the people thereof. In contradistinction to this rule of agreement, when the noun governed is dual, the pronoun also ordinarily shows a dual ending.

Ex.: "his (two) arms" (Sin. B. 63)

Rem. 1. During other stages of the language, this agreement of suffix with its dual antecedent also applied (a) when the noun was dual in form, but sin. in meaning, and (b) when the noun was sing. in form and dual in meaning. In the texts of the Sinuhe Romance, the dual agreement is restricted to nouns which are dual both in meaning and in form. Cf., for example:

(1) "The god ascended to his horizon" (Sin. C.2)
§ 17. (b) After prepositions.

Exx.: (1) $\text{He is moreover a god}$ nn sn-nwy.f "without equal (lit. there is not his second)." (Sin. B. 47)

(2) After prepositions.

Exx.: (1) $\text{together with him}$

(Sin. B. 28)

(2) n.i "to me" (Sin. B. 31). This is the ordinary method of expressing the dative.

§ 18. (c) Subject of the finite verb.

Exx.: (1) $\text{He said to me.}$

(Sin. B. 31)

(2) $\text{He loved.}$

(Sin. B. 107)

§ 19. (d) Object of the infinitive.

In view of the nominal character\(^2\) of the infinitive, the suffix pronoun, with its genitival force, and not the dependent pronoun, is employed as the complement of an infinitive.\(^3\)

Ex.: k3w hr ith.k "The bulls are dragging you."

1. For the origins of this tense in the dative, see §81.
2. See §103, below.
3. Cf. §14, Rem. 3, above; the nominal complement of the infinitive is invariably in the genitive.
4. For the construction hr / the infinitive in the "pseudo-verbal" sentence, see §§147 ff.
§ 20. Egyptian does not distinguish separate and distinct pronominal forms to express the reflexive, both the suffixes and the dependent pronouns being employed in special ways to express the reflexive. The usual constructions are:

(a) The suffix pronoun as ethical dative, reiterating the person of the subject.

Exx.: (1) "Surely his son has entered the palace, itt n.f itt n.f itt n.f itt n.f to take for himself his father's inheritance." (Sin. B. 47)
(2) m(i) n.1 stp.i n.1
"He allowed me to choose for myself."
(Sin. B. 79)

Rem. 1. Direct Semitic parallels are to be found to this construction. Cf. Ju. 3.16: יִתְנָה תִּקְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְנָה יִתְn.1 stp.1 n.1
"(But), the great god, who is like Re, bestows skill on him who serves himself."
(Sin. B. 216-217)
Rem. 11 $\textit{he}$, used in this connection, was undoubtedly felt to be an inseparable element, requiring completion with a suffix pronoun. As Gardiner points out, this pattern is always preceded by some preposition. This requirement, certainly true in M. E., began to disappear in N. E., and, in Coptic times, was no longer deemed to be necessary. On the other hand, the aspect of inseparability endured throughout; Coptic $\textit{sw}$ never occurs without the suffix. It is therefore suggested that a suffix must be expressed in example (2) above, and accordingly, I have transliterated "$\textit{h}^\circ \textit{w}$", which is undoubtedly an appearance of the 3.c.pl. suffix which appears in Coptic as $\textit{or}^\circ$.

Both the $\textit{u}$ and $\textit{sn}$ are Egypto-Semitic elements; we should, as here, expect to find $\textit{u}$ throughout Egyptian, and not restricted to Coptic. The Semitic third person suffix $\textit{u}$ is evident in the verbal system of Hebrew (cf. $\textit{înunu}$) and in the masculine plural $\textit{-u(na)}$ with regular nouns in Arabic.

1. The R. MS has the suffix $\textit{sn}$, but it is not necessary to supply this suffix to the B. MS, as explained in Rem. 1, above.
2. Cf. the ex. in §14, Rem. 2, above.
(c) The dependent pronoun used as object of a finite verb, tantamount to being reflexive.

Ex.: ἐγὼ δοκιμάσα λίβαντα ἑαυτόν "I had placed myself between two bushes." (Sin. R. 28)

§ 21. The dependent pronouns, though not so closely bound to a single word as the suffixes, are nevertheless dependent grammatically upon a preceding word. Only rarely does a dependent pronoun stand at the head of a sentence or clause. The forms are:

**Singular**

1. c. wi
2. m. ἔν tw (earlier ἔν tw)
2. f. ἐν tn (earlier ἐν tn)
3. m. ἦ sw
3. f. ἔ sy

(Also st ἔ and ἔ)  

**Plural**

1. c. n
2. c. tn
3. c. ἠ sn

**Rem. 1.** Semitic vocalization is again suggested by the 3. m. sing. and 3. f. sing. ἦ sw and ἔ sy, corresponding to the respective identical vowels in Hebrew and Arabic.

**Rem. 2.** ἔ st developed, in addition to its basic feminine meaning, a neuter meaning that is frequently found in generalities and abstractions.

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1. The examples of this rare phenomenon are too few to provide a satisfactory explanation; there are no examples in the Sinuhe Romance; see Gard. Gramm. § 148, Add. (p. 424).
2. See below § 26, ex. (2).
Rem. 3. Investigation should be made of the common origins of these pronouns and the suffix pronouns. In most cases there are hints that even those which vary morphologically from the suffixes may vary for vocalic or stress reasons.

§ 22. Uses of the dependent pronouns. The basic uses of the dependent pronouns are:

(a) Subject of a non-verbal sentence with adverbial predicate, provided some particle exists at the head of the sentence upon which the pronoun may depend.

Exx.: (1) mi k a n wdi wi nhum² "Verily, I am like a stray bull (in another herd)" (Sin. B. 118)
(2) mi k a n wdi wi mk³ "Behold, thou art here." (Sin. B. 77)

§ 23. (b) Subject of the sentence with the pseudo-verbal construction, provided there is some preceding particle upon which the pronoun may depend.

Exx.: (1) si 1st wi ⁵ "And, lo, I had been standing (nearby)" (Sin. R. 24)

1. See §§ 143-146.
2. See § 129, c.
3. See § 129, b.
4. See § 147.
he had been sent (to subdue the foreign lands.)" (Sin. R. 13-14)

§24. (c) As subject of the non-verbal sentence with adjectival predicate;¹ in these constructions the adjectival predicate invariably precedes the subject.

Ex.: \( \text{ti sw h3b(w)} \) "You are happy with me." (Sin. B. 31)

Rem. 1. The construction of dependent pronoun plus non-verbal sentence with adjectival predicate is limited to the 2. pers. sing. \( \text{t} h \) tw and 3. pers. sing. \( n \) st.² In view of this limitation, it is questionable that we are actually dealing with the dependent pronouns in this case. It should be borne in mind that the distinction in Egyptian between non-verbal sentences with adverbial predicate, on the one hand, and non-verbal sentences with nominal or adjectival predicates, on the other hand, was a great one, even if not always consciously so. Therefore, we should treat with suspicion exceptions to the norm, for in most cases, a logical explanation, even if not immediately discernable, will eventually be found. In this case,

1. This classification is questionable; cf. §142, below.
despite the fact that both $\omega_t$ tw and $\rho_s$ st have the functions of dependent pronouns, both are "exceptional" pronouns; as we shall see (§31, below), $\omega_t$ tw, which developed from the dependent pronouns, or at least one of their proto-forms, assumed special uses by virtue of this tangential development. A parallel development affected $\rho_s$ st. It is altogether possible that in these cases, we are not dealing with personal pronouns at all, but rather with impersonal or indefinite pronouns.

§25. (d) Subject of a finite verb in a verbal sentence, only when preceded by a particle and fortified by the resumption of the subject through the use of the suffix or indefinite pronoun.

Ex.: $\delta \gamma \varepsilon \varphi \varphi \eta \tau \iota \sigma \mu \omega \hbar \mu \tau \iota$ ti sw $\eta \mu \mu$ f. "Indeed, when he had returned, (etc.)" (Sin. R. 15)

Rem. 1. For an explanation of the use of the dependent pronoun with particles, see §118, Rem. 2.

§26. (e) (Most frequently) as direct object of the finite verb, but not of the infinitive. 1

Exx.: (1) $\omega \mu \theta \tau \mu \rho \varepsilon \theta \varphi \varepsilon \theta$ gm. n $\omega \mu \nu \mu \pi \tau \mu \nu \varphi \mu \tau \iota \hbar \iota$ "The messengers found him on the way." (Sin. R. 19)

1. See above §114, Rem. 3.
(2) \[ \text{dr.n.f s(y)Ir dr.s} \]

"He subdued it (i.e., the land) entirely."

(Sin. B. 110-111)

(3) \[ \text{m-\text{h}r.t hrdw.f} \]

"He placed me before his children"

(Sin. B. 78)

(4) Reflexively, as described in §20, c, above.

\[ \text{§27. The independent pronouns require no word upon which} \]

to depend, but are used absolutely. They are closely connected in

form to \[ \text{\text{hi, a primitive, Egypto-Semitic particle expressing} \} \]

agent, which in turn is related to the datival \[ \text{n}. \] To this

particle were added the primitive basic pronouns to form the absolute

pronouns, which equate directly to the emphatic subjectival construc-

tion \[ \text{nominal subject}. \]

\[ \text{Rem. 1. Despite the marked similarity between the Indo-} \]

European absolute pronouns and their Egypto-Semitic counterparts, it may be argued that the similarity derives from

the primitive pronouns, and that the absolute forms are

post-Nostratic. The absence of "n" in the pronouns of the

Indo-European group, either in expressed or assimilated

form, points strongly toward a post-Nostratic development,

and a subsequent separate Egypto-Semitic development. In

\[ \text{1. See §21, above.} \]
the Pyramid Texts (cf. Gard. Gramm. § 64) vestiges are found of a still earlier type of independent pronoun.

§ 28. The forms of the independent pronoun are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.c. ~ (var. ~, ~, ~)</td>
<td>1.c. ~ (var. ~)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.m. ~</td>
<td>2.c. ~ (var. ~)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.f. ~</td>
<td>(var. ~)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.m. ~</td>
<td>3.c. ~ (var. ~)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.f. ~</td>
<td>(var. ~)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 29. The uses of the independent pronouns are:

(a) Subject of the non-verbal sentence with nominal predicate

Exx.: (1) ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ nk smsw smw(w) nb.f "I was an attendant who followed his master." (Sin. R. 2-3)

(2) ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ nk tr smtr "Really, I am not a confederate of his." (Sin. B. 114)

§ 30. (b) Subject of the non-verbal sentence with adjectival predicate

1. No examples of the 1.c.pl. independent pronoun are available until much later texts.
2. Cf. § 14, Rem. 2, above.
4. For this particle, see § 130, c.
5. Cf. § 24, above; see also §§ 140 ff.
Ex.: ᵀTwig. ntf dश(w) ḍूswt "It was he who subdued the foreign lands, (while his father remained in his palace)." (Sin. B. 50). Note that dश(w) is a participle (verbal adjective), here used as a virtual relative clause.¹

Rem. 1. The use of the independent pronoun in the Sinuhe Romance is not very common, preference being given to the construction with पव.² However, as the above examples show, use was made of the independent pronoun, when emphasis of the subject or the sentence was desired. This stress is usually best rendered by the English expletive (French: c'est).

§31. The indefinite pronoun पव. The indefinite pronoun is used in two ways:

(a) To express an active concept without reference to a specific person or thing as the subject; viz., French man, German man.

Ex.: ᵀ Twig. ḍू swt म पव म ḍू "One does not stand in his presence." (Sin. B. 55-56)

(b) To express the passive. This use of the indefinite pronoun will be discussed more fully in the discussion of the verbal forms.

1. See §154 ff.
2. See §139.
Rem. 1. The form ḫw presents some interesting features which call for more or less detailed discussion. In origin, this is undoubtedly the 2.m.sing. dependent pronoun or its prototype (cf. §24, Rem. 1.). That the 2nd pers. pronoun should develop into an indefinite pronoun should produce no surprise, for this phenomenon is functionally Nostratic. In fact, although there are examples to be found of the indefinite use of the 1st and 3rd 1 person pronouns, the most common way of expressing the indefinite is by use of the 2nd person. Before the development of an indefinite form, use is made of personal pronouns in both the Indo-European and the Egypto-Semitic languages. It should be noted, however, that although the use of the personal pronouns to express the indefinite pronoun is a Nostratic phenomenon, the development of separate indefinite form to convey this concept is a relatively modern device. No separate indefinite pronoun is to be found in the Semitic languages; and in the Indo-European group, where an indefinite exists, it is expressed in a different way in each language. Note, e.g., French: on, German: man, Spanish: se (dica)(reflexive), Russian: мно́го(people), etc.

Thus we find two separate developments of the indefinite: (1) Nostratic, the use of the personal pronoun, particularly the 2nd pers., which carries through in most languages of these groups, even to modern times, and (2) post-Nostratic, the evolution of a word or grammatical form into the specialized function of the indefinite.

Rem. 2. That the indefinite pronoun is the element which underlies the Egyptian passive is clearly shown by the employment of the suffix pronoun after the form with ע"א תָּו. Ex.: מְסַטְּרָה ms.tw.f "He was born." (Sin. R. 93) Note that this form was considered a full-fledged passive, and not an indefinite with pronominal object (one gave birth to him). Were the latter the actual concept in the minds of the Egyptians, we should expect the dependent pronoun עַנְּו sw, where ענ f occurs.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

§32. In view of the close morphological and syntactical relationship between the demonstrative pronouns and the demonstrative adjectives, it is more practical to treat these elements as an
entity. Accordingly, the discussion of the demonstrative pronouns will be found in Chapter IV (§§66-68).

**INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS**

§33. Egyptian is rich in interrogative pronouns (more so than the Semitic languages). The interrogative pronouns may be substituted syntactically for any of the nouns or personal pronouns in their non-absolute uses. The interrogative pronouns which are found in the Sinuhe Romance are:

§34. (1) 

(a) As object of a preposition.

Ex.1. \( \text{w} \text{n} \text{i} \text{r} \text{f} \text{t} \text{3} \text{p} \text{f} \) \( \text{m} \text{3} \text{m} \) "Then what will this land be like (lit., this land will be like what.)" (Sin. B. 43). Note the affinity of this expression to "how".

Ex.2. \( \text{i} \text{r} \text{t} \text{w} \text{n} \text{m} \text{3} \text{m} \) "Why is this done (to a servant):" (Sin. B. 202).

(b) In any case in which a pronoun may be employed. No examples of the other uses are to be found in the Sinuhe Romance.

1. See §126,b.
Rem. 1. It may be conjectured that the Egypto-Semitic interrogative element, "m", made no distinction between "who" and "what". This conjecture is supported by the diverse and independent evolutions of this distinction in the Semitic languages. Compare, e.g., Hebrew בְּ and Arabic ما. If a variation in vocalization expressed this distinction in Egyptian, there is no external evidence indicating such a difference. On the contrary, the evidence is strongly against any theory that the Egyptian interrogative contained the two Semitic forms. Coptic makes no distinction; if the difference had ever been felt in Egyptian, one would expect the development of some oppositional forms even if by Coptic times the two pronouns had fallen together. It is therefore unnecessary to assume a hypothetical "ground form" *mant (see GKC §37b) to explain the difference between the Hebrew and Arabic forms, simply because of the single common element, "m". As shown above the "m" is a basic Hamite–Semitic interrogative element. The variance between the Hebrew and Arabic forms is an independent and tangential development.

1. On the possible derivation of this "m", see also §56, Rem. 1.
§ 35. (2) .ptr variant  pty "who, what,"
a pronoun formed from the union of the pronoun
pw and the particle tr. This
pronoun is used in much the same way as :  

(a) As a subject:

ptr wrt r

"What is more
important than burying my corpse in the
land in which I was born." (Sin. B. 159)

(b) As an object:

ptr rtw

"What have you done (that this) should
be done to you?" (Sin. B. 183; similarly
Sin. B. 261, quoted in §104, ex. 3.)

§ 36. (3) sy is found in the Sinuhe Romance only
in combination with another interrogative

Ex.:  ph.n.k

"Why (lit., on account of what) have
you arrived at these (places)?" (Sin. OB 35)

1. See § 3, above.
2. See § 139.
3. See § 130, c.
4. See ZAS. 57, 6.
5. See § 154, ex. 3.
CHAPTER III

THE NOUN

Generalities

§ 37. In the treatment of the Egyptian noun, attention will be given to four aspects of the noun:

(a) Gender (§§ 38-42)
(b) Number (§§ 43-44)
(c) Syntax (§§ 45-54)
(d) Virtual, or derived, nouns (§§ 55-59)

It will be noted throughout this exposition that in all of its aspects the noun shows marked Hamito-Semitic features. Thanks to the Egyptian affinity for archaic orthography, these features are even more apparent in Egyptian than in the Semitic languages; accordingly, Egyptian can serve as substantiation or, in some cases, refutation of the current theories concerning the Semitic noun.

As will be seen in §§ 55-59, the Egyptians were fond of nominalizing verbs, adjectives, adverbial phrases, and entire sentences. This practice was particularly true in O. E. and M. E., and it is prevalent in the Sinuhe Romance. Although the practice
continued on into Coptic, actual nouns in many cases replaced the virtual nouns in the later stages of the language.

In effect, monological nouns are readily recognized through morphological and syntactical features; on the other hand, the polylogical virtual nouns are recognized only by means of their syntactic function in a sentence or expression. In the absence of a knowledge of the Egyptian vocalization, the analysis of the polylogical nominal constructions is at times a matter of individual interpretation, resulting in a variety of interpretations on the part of scholars and a subsequent variety of translations.

**Gender**

§ 28. Like the Semitic languages, Egyptian distinguished only two genders, masculine and feminine; the neuter concept, where expressed, is represented in O. E. and in the Sinuhe Romance mainly by the feminine.

§ 29. The masculine nouns show no particular consonantal or semi-vocalic ending. However, masculine nouns, nominalized adjectives and phrases which refer to male persons frequently are complemented by a masculine determinative.

Exx.: (1) ḫ₂₂₁₂₁ nḥt "a champion" (Sin. B. 109) from the verbal adjective ḫ₂₂₁₂₁ nḥt, "to be strong."
(2) \( \frac{\text{šms}}{\text{šms}} \) "an attendant" (Sin. R. 2)

from the participial form of the verb šms, "to follow."

§40. The feminine nouns, as a general rule, show an ending \( \Delta t \), which regularly precedes the determinative.

Exx.:
(1) \( \frac{\text{sít}}{\text{sít}} \) "daughter" (Sin. B. 79)
(2) \( \frac{\text{pdt}}{\text{pdt}} \) "bow" (Sin. B. 105)

Rem. 1. As far back as O. E., and certainly by the time of the Sinuhe Romance, the feminine ending \( \Delta t \) had disappeared in pronunciation; nevertheless, in line with the Egyptian preference for archaic orthography, \( \Delta t \) continued to be written. There is evidence that during this period \( \Delta t \) became a vowel carrier similar to the Hebrew final \( \nunack \) and the Arabic \( \nunack \). Among the evidence is the interesting orthography \( \text{\textla\textmd} \) (Sin. C. 6) for \( \text{\textla\textmd} \) (as elsewhere) dm\( ^{3} \), "city." The Coptic \( \text{\textmd} \) reveals the reason for this intrusive \( \Delta t \), which might be explained in either of two ways: (a) in pronunciation the word resembled a feminine noun, hence the insertion of a \( \Delta \) in scribal error; or, more plausibly, (b) the \( \Delta \) is written to indicate a final vowel. The latter

1. Cf. §2, above.
explanation seems preferable because there is no evidence of a feminine adjective modifying at any time. Consider, however, the possible vocalization of this masculine noun during the period of the C Recension. We might suppose the vocalization to have been approximately diima at this time. After the loss of the final semi-vocalic i, the final vowel retained its color until a later weakening to the Coptic form; to indicate the presence of this vowel, the scribe of the C Ms. wrote the Ω as an orthographic representation of the final vowel. The orthography Ω for the suffix pronoun P (example cited in § 14, Rem. 3, above) may similarly be explained.

Rem. 2. As in Hebrew and Arabic, Egyptian preserved the feminine at in the direct genitive (status constructus), (cf. § 48, a, below). Since the -t existed in the primitive language, and it is preserved in the genitive in Coptic (e.g., H, "belly" (from Α, with suffixes Η), it is reasonable to assume that in this construction the -t was preserved in all stages of the language.
§41. The following classes of nouns are regarded grammatically as feminine, whether or not they express the feminine ending:

(a) Collectives are considered feminine singular, despite the appearance of the plural determinative in some collective nouns. The gender and number are substantiated by adjective and suffix agreements.

Exx.: (1) "He brought back living captives ....

\[\text{mumt nbt nn drw.s "and all the cattle without limit."} \]
(Sin. R. 16)

(2) \[\text{m33.f g3t "he sees a throng." (Sin. B. 59)}\]

(3) \[\text{rat}^1 \text{ appears constantly in Egyptian as a feminine singular, although it is in structure a masculine form. See, e.g., Sin. B. 33.} \]

(b) Names of countries, regardless of ending, are grammatically feminine.

Exx.: (1) \[\text{Kmt "Egypt." (Sin. B. 26, 32, et passim.)} \]

1. See 9, above.
(2)  (R)tmw šrt "Upper Retenu." (Sin. B. 31.)

§42. Some words, like סק ht, נר hpr, et al., have one meaning as masculines and another meaning as feminines.

Exx.: (a) סק ht as a feminine is "thing" in the concrete sense; as a masculine, it has the meaning of "thing" in the abstract sense. נר משת עב "It is like something great to relate it." (Sin. B. 215)

(b) נר hpr as a feminine has the meaning of "event or occurrence," as in:

סק נר משת "(lit.) Is it that there has been an occurrence at the Capital?" i.e., "Has something happened at the Capital?" (Sin. B. 35-36; also B. 37) As a masculine, hpr signifies "a living being, a person," as in:

ם נר "There is not another person before him." (Sin. B. 48)

1. Cf. Ex. in LeFebvre, G., Grammaire de l'Egyptien classique, Cairo, 1940, §383; also Gard. Gramm. §92.
Rem. 1. The development of specialized meanings for each gender in the same root is not unique in Egyptian. In Hebrew there are many examples of a parallel phenomenon; cf. ɟɟɟ "side," ɟɟɟ "border," ɟɟɟ "man," ɟɟɟ "earth," et al.

 NUMBER

343. Egyptian, like the Semitic languages, distinguished three numbers: singular, dual, and plural. The singular shows no ending; the plural is characterized by "w"; the dual, by "y." In orthography, all of these endings precede the determinative, where one exists; in the case of the feminine, the plural "w" precedes the feminine ending "-t," but the dual "y" follows the feminine ending; in the masculine, the dual "y" is used in conjunction with the plural "w" to form a masculine dual ending "-wy."

Exx.: Masc. sing. ɟɟɟ tsm, "hound."
Masc. dual ɟɟɟ cwy, "arms." (Sin. B. 65)
Masc. plural ɟɟɟ tsw, "hounds." (Sin. B. 223)
Fem. sing. ɟɟɟ hst, "land." (Sin. B. 28)
Fem. dual ɟɟɟ bty "two bushes" (Sin. R. 28)
Fem. plural ɟɟɟ hswt, "lands." (Sin. B. 72)

Rem. 1. The feminine plural ending immediately calls to mind the Hebrew ɟɟɟ. The primitive Egypto-Semitic

1. See Rem. 2, below.
masc. pl. ending "w" has survivals in Hebrew, particularly in names (cf. נַשְׁנָה and נְקָה).

Rem. 2. It is highly probable that the feminine plural ending was pronounced -st, just as in Hebrew. The evidence in favor of this hypothesis may be outlined by listing the various orthographic and phonetic facts that persist throughout in the Egyptian language concerning the feminine plural ending and the vowel ô. These facts are:

1. The consonant (or semi-vowel) "w" is never written in the feminine plural, except as noted below.

2. In New Egyptian, and even as early as the Sinuhe Romance, the vowel û is frequently represented by the semi-vocalic "w".

3. In Coptic orthography, we note that after the consonants m and n, ô becomes û. There is evidence that this vowel shift existed also in the period of the Sinuhe Romance Recensions.¹

4. ô is not expressed orthographically in any grammatical form.

¹. On this evidence as concerns the Verb, see § 72, below.
In view of the above axioms, it is interesting to note that in the feminine plural orthographies, when the final radical of the feminine noun is \( n \), the hieroglyph \( \text{ mw} \) frequently precedes the feminine \( \circ \).  

**Exx.**:

\[ \text{ Exx.: } \begin{array}{c}
\text{tjwnt} \ (\text{Sin. B. 209}) \\
\text{wmwnt} \ (\text{Br. Rh. 23, 8; bis})
\end{array} \]

In other words, the vocalization of the feminine plural is expressed in orthography when \( \circ \), under influence of a preceding \( n \), has become \( \overset{0}{{\circ}} \) in pronunciation. In the feminine nouns whose final radical was a consonant other than \( n \), \( \circ \) retained its color and hence is unexpressed in orthography.

**Rem. 3.** It is probable that Egyptian in its early stages, and certainly in its later stages possessed broken plurals to some extent. Coptic reveals an intricately developed system of plurals formed by internal vocalic changes. The parallel system in Arabic would lead one to believe that primitive Egypto-Semitic formed its plurals by similar vocalic variation.

**Rem. 4.** Although duals tend to disappear in the Indo-European group, their presence in a few languages, e.g., Greek, indicates a possibility of Nostratic features in this number. In fact, it is interesting to note that the
characteristic "y" of the dual forms is to be found as characteristic of the oblique cases in Greek. Compare, e.g., πολίτης, λόγος, τομάς etc., with the oblique cases of the dual in Arabic, e.g., \( \mu \)λκτις, \( \mu \)άματις, etc., and the Hebrew \( \mathfrak{m} \)דננ\( \mathfrak{g} \), etc.

44. Abstracts are generally treated as masculine plurals.

Exx.: (1) \( \mathfrak{m} \)דננ\( \mathfrak{g} \) s\( \mathfrak{m} \)m(w) "state of affairs,"

(Sin. B. 18)

(2) \( \mathfrak{m} \)דננ\( \mathfrak{g} \) h\( \mathfrak{m} \)s(w) "lassitude" (Sin. B. 19)

(3) \( \mathfrak{m} \)דננ\( \mathfrak{g} \) h\( \mathfrak{m} \)n.f "his fighting" (Sin. B. 62)

SYNTAX OF THE NOUN

45. The main uses of the noun are:

(a) As subject of a verb

(b) As direct object of a transitive verb

(c) As genitive after a noun or adjective

(d) As indirect object

(e) As adverbial noun (either introduced by a preposition or used absolutely)

(f) As a vocative

(g) Absolutely, as an appositive, parenthetical expression, or title.
Since Egyptian has left no currently known traces of having possessed case endings, any description of the syntactic functions of the Egyptian noun must be based to a large extent upon word-order. In any language which lacks case endings, a fairly rigid word order must be maintained in order to preserve clarity, and as will be seen in Chapter VII, rigid word-order was basic to the Egyptian idiom. In dealing with this subject, it is convenient to make use of Latin grammatical terminology, even if such use is not strictly scientific.

§ 46. The noun as subject

(a) The nominal subject of a verbal sentence normally follows directly after the verb and precedes the nominal direct object and nominal indirect object.

Ex.: \( \texttt{tnt ntr r \#yty.f} \)

"The god ascended to his horizon." (Sin. C. 2)

(b) When the direct object is pronominal, the nominal subject follows such direct object.

Exx.: (1) \( \texttt{m n w} \texttt{b\#st n b\#st} \)

"Land gave me to land." (Sin. B. 28-29)

1. However, see § 48, Remark 1.
2. The use of the subject in a non-verbal sentence, due to the more complex structure of such sentences, will be treated in more detail in Chapter VII.
Rem. 1. The apparent exceptions in (b), above, to the basic rule expounded in (a) are not in reality exceptions. Actually no true variation from the norm exists in this word order. It is evident from these constructions that the Egyptian dependent pronoun was in effect a bound form just as much as the suffixes. Like the Semitic object pronouns, the Egyptian pronominal accusative must have been felt as an integral part of the verbal form.

Our transliterations should perhaps show that an expression like $\text{rdi. n.₁ sw }$"I gave him (to someone)" is as much a single and inseparable word as its Semitic counterparts, e.g., Hebrew $\text{יִלְּךָּהוּלָא}$.

§ 47. The noun as direct object

(a) The nominal direct object follows the subject of a verbal sentence, and it ordinarily precedes the nominal indirect object.

Ex.: $\text{ rd.₁ mw n lb₁(1) }$ "I gave water to the thirsty." (Sin. B. 96)
(b) However, if the indirect object is pronominal, the nominal direct object follows the indirect object.

Ex.: rdi, n.f n.1 mw "He gave me water." (Sin. B. 27)

§ 48. The noun as genitive

Whereas the subject, direct object, and indirect object of a sentence represent the relationship between a substantive and a verb or verbal form, the genitive represents the relationship between a substantive and another substantive or substantival form. Two methods of expressing this relationship are employed in the Hamito-Semitic languages:

(a) The direct genitive (status constructus), in which the genitival relationship is expressed by the juxtaposition of the two substantives, the genitival substantive following the word which governs it.

Exx.: (1) sbr ntr "a plan of god." (Sin. B. 43)

(2) t3w Sttyw "the lands of the Asiatics." (Sin. OB² 2)
(b) The **indirect genitive**, in which the genitival substantive is linked to the word which governs it by means of the **genitival adjective** $n(y)$.

Exx.: 
(1) $\text{תוב} \text{ם} \text{ש} \text{ה} \text{נ} \text{י} \text{ת} \text{י} \text{ת} \text{ד} \text{ה} \text{י} \text{ו} \text{י} \text{נ}$ tr n $\text{י} \text{ת} \text{י} \text{ת} \text{ד} \text{ה} \text{י} \text{ו} \text{י} \text{נ}$ "eventide, (lit., time of evening)." (Sin. R. 20).
(2) $\text{י} \text{נ} \text{י} \text{ת} \text{י} \text{ת} \text{ד} \text{ה} \text{י} \text{ו} \text{י} \text{נ} \text{מ} \text{ר}$ in n $\text{מ} \text{ר}$ "the island of Kemwer." (Sin. B. 21)

There is no apparent difference in meaning between these two constructions.

**Rem. 1.** The Hebrew parallels of the indirect genitive are found in such expressions as $\text{י} \text{ת} \text{י} \text{ת} \text{ד} \text{ה} \text{י} \text{ו} \text{י} \text{נ}$ (Throughout Psalms); $\text{י} \text{ת} \text{י} \text{ת} \text{ד} \text{ה} \text{י} \text{ו} \text{י} \text{נ}$ (I. S. 1416), etc.

**Rem. 2.** Before discussing the uses of the genitive, some pertinent remarks might be made concerning the genitive concept in its origins. Linguistically, it may be demonstrated, any relationship between two substantival forms is a genitival-adjectival relationship in one or another of its aspects. It will be readily recognized that the genitive in its applications serves only two fundamental purposes (if these two are indeed distinct):

1. The one obvious exception is apposition, which produces no contradiction of this argument, because apposition is by nature parenthetical, and accordingly has no true syntactic relationship to the parts of a sentence.
possessive and adjectival. Analysis of the possessive aspect reveals that this aspect is also, in effect, basically adjectival; in the phrase "John's book," the genitive "John's" is just as descriptive as any adjective that might be substituted. This genitival-adjectival relationship is felt throughout language and forms a basis pattern in linguistics. Accordingly, we should anticipate close Nostratic relations between adjectival forms and genitival forms. As will be shown, these relations are not merely conjectural, but in actuality, show numerous interrelations that transcend the barriers of linguistic families. Since there are positional variations (such as in Persian and Albanian) in these related constructions, it is likely that the adjectival-genitival relationship is a manifestation of an old Nostratic feature rather than an occurrence in Nostratic. Throughout this discussion it should be borne in mind that analogical tendencies are found not only in the primitive stages of a language, but that they are also inherent factors in the living language. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find one form develop into a complexity of expression, or to find numerous tangential developments from a single form.
Hypothetically, we might conjecture that in the early stages of development, when there were insufficient adjectives to express the concepts required in thought communication, recourse was had to the use of a noun. Since genitive is that form which expresses the relationship between substantives, and since the genitive by nature is descriptive or qualitative, adjectives constructed on genitival forms resulted. Among the clearer manifestations of this practice are the adjectives known as *nisbe* adjectives; that these forms are built upon the genitive form of the original noun becomes evident when the *nisbe* adjectives are listed along with the genitives of the original noun. The prevalence of the termination "y" in this category of adjectives strongly suggests Nostratic features. Consider, e.g., such Arabic adjectives as "monthly" from "month," "scientific" from "science;" the fact that the Arabic genitive is terminated in "i" is not mere coincidence. An interesting construction occurs in Albanian, which might be worth some attention at this point. The construction referred to concerns the use of the particle "i,\text{"}
which is employed in introducing adjectives and in linking a genitive to its governing noun. Some significance may be attached to the fact that this particle is restricted to these two uses; it is certainly not coincidence that the genitival particle in this Indo-European language should be "i."

Exx.: (1) mal i zi "Black Mountain (i.e., Montenegro)"
     (2) mal i gurit "a mountain of rock."

The same particle used identically also occurs in Persian, e.g., kūh i buzurg "the great mountain," and kūh i nūr "the mountain of light." Thus we see a Nostratic development

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1. Although it is not the purpose of this study to become concerned with the Far Eastern languages, the similarity of Chinese and Japanese usage to this relationship might be interjected. The Chinese genitive particle 的 and the Japanese genitival postposition の likewise are used to form adjectives from nouns. Note, for example, Chinese 科学 "scientific" from "science" and Japanese 假説 "hypothetical" from "hypothesis." Still more interesting and more important to our analysis is the conversion of an adverbial phrase, or in effect, any expression into an epithet by the use of the genitival particle or postposition. In Japanese, the sentence "I came from home" would be rendered 来が家から来ました。"watakushi ga (I) uchi kara (from home) kimashita (came)." The phrase "uchi kara (from home)," depending as it does upon the verb is an adverbial phrase. To convert this expression into an epithet, the postposition の (genitival) is added to the expression, with a resulting adjectival phrase "uchi kara no." Thus the sentence "A letter from home came" would be rendered "Uchi kara no tegami ga kimashita." 家からの手書が来ました。
which closely identifies the use of the genitive with the use of the adjective, both parts of speech being associated with "y."

Up to this point, it has been the purpose of this exposition to point out the use made of the genitive to express a fundamentally adjectival or epithet concept as concerns the direct genitive of single words. This practice, however, is limited neither to single words nor the direct genitive. In the example quoted in §22, a, above, we find \text{\text{"a stray bull," in which the indirect genitive is employed as an epithet. Similarly, we can find examples of entire sentences linked by the genitival n to a substantival form as epithet.}

\text{Exx.: (1) } \text{\text{\text{"w3h.k ŋpssw n dd.sn n.k "you set down the riches which they gave to you." Sin. B. 187)}}

\text{(2) } \text{\text{\text{\text{"I know the names of the 42 gods\text{"}}}}}

\text{\text{\text{\text{"n wanyw ln\text{\text{.k "who are with you." (deB. 116.5)}}}}}

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it might be argued that it is the genitival aspect, rather

1. See also §117, ex. 3.
than the verbal form, which produces the relative clause. In other words, wnyw ḫn is considered as a poly-logical noun, and this substantivized sentence is converted to an epithet by use of the genitive.

In view of the highly developed direct genitive in Hebrew, where use is frequently made of -_normal_text_ , e.g., ḫn, ḫn, etc., it is also possible that -normal_text_ , expressing the relative, is merely an analogical development of the genitive to express an epithet.

This is a possible explanation of such examples as ḫn (I Chr 26:28), which might be rendered literally "all of (what) Samuel had dedicated."

§ 49. The uses of the genitive

As stated above (§ 48, Rem. 2), in the broadest sense, there are two basic uses of the genitive: possessive and descriptive. More definitive and specific subdivision of the genitival usages, however, is possible. In terms of this more specific subdivision, the main uses of the genitive are:

(a) Possession

Exx.: (1) ḫn ḫn t-r- ḫn t "the mouth of the road"

(Sin. B. 11)
Partitive genitive

Ex.:
"He allowed me to choose ....

m stpw n wnt bn<fn from the
choicest of what he had (lit., the choicest of
that which was with him)." (Sin. B. 80)

To express source or origin

Exx.:
(1) nht n (R)-tnw
"a champion of Retenu." (Sin. B. 109)

(2) rmh Kmt "people of
Egypt." (Sin. B. 33-34)

Genitive of specification, after an adjective

Ex.

mnh wdt-mdw "excellent of plans, beneficent of
commandment." (Sin. B. 48-49)

Rem. 1. For a discussion of the transposition of

genitives for honorific reasons, see §10, above.

§ 50. The noun as indirect object (dative)

The indirect object is formed by means of the

preposition n,² "to, for;" as a noun, it follows the expressed

1. Both the R and OB² parallels show what may be vestiges of an
earlier genitival ending Κ or Κ.
2. See §123, below.
nominal or pronominal direct object; as a pronoun, it precedes the nominal direct object, but follows the pronominal direct object. The main uses of the dative are:

(a) Dative of "entity to which"

Exx.: (1) rdî.n nî hîst n
hîst "Land gave me to land." (Sin. B. 28-29)
(2) Âi.n dd.n.f n.î "then he said to me." (Sin. B. 34)
(3) mît n wî
wî "a copy of the order which was brought to the servant." (Sin. B. 178)

(b) Dative of possession

Examples of the nominal dative of possession are not found in the Sinuhe Romance; however, examples of the pronominal dative of possession are available:

wr n.f îrp rîsm, 
"it has more wine than water (lit., greater to it is wine than water)." (Sin. B. 82)

(c) Ethical dative

Exx.: (1) p<î>s.f n.î ḫt, ḫt, ḫt "He cooked some milk for me." (Sin. R. 51)

2. See § 124, d, below.
3. See § 6, above.
Every heart burned for me."  
(Sin. B. 131-132)

Other examples of the ethical dative used reflexively, i.e., when the dative and the subject are identical, are cited in §20, a, above.

§51. The noun used adverbially

The noun may be used with or without a preposition to express an adverbial phrase. 1

Exx.:

(1) "A god...."  
(Sin. B. 44-45)

(2) ph.n. sn

sw tr n ḫtyw, "They reached him at eventide."  
(Sin. C. 3)

The uses with various prepositions will be treated separately under each preposition in Chapter VI, below.

§52. The noun as vocative

The vocative in Egyptian may be placed at the head of

1. Dates using the regnal year normally are placed at the head of the sentence.
the sentence, at the end, or (more rarely) in the middle. Only one occurrence of the vocative is found in the Sinuhe Romance.

\[ \text{ntrw} \text{ nb ù wrt tn htp.k rdl.k w/ r hnw, "Lord God, who has ordered this flight, be propitious and place me in the Palace." (Sin. B. 156-157).} \]

§ 53. There are no titles in the Sinuhe Romance to illustrate this absolute nominal function.

§ 54. The noun used in apposition.

Generally, two appositive nouns are adjacent to each other, though apposition may also be expressed after an interval of intervening words.

Exx.: (1) \[ \text{Snh.t, "the servant of the Palace, Sinuhe."} \]

(Sin. B. 204)

(2) \[ \text{S.n.Wsrt, "his eldest son in command, the good god Senuseret." (Sin. R. 12-13)} \]

(3) \[ \text{"The god ascended to his horizon, the King} \]

1. It is not necessary to emend the text to read "ntr" as LeFebvre suggests (LeF. §158); the abstract plural, particularly in this word, like in Hebrew, is grammatically singular, and concord is unnecessary.
Virtual, or derived, nouns

§ 55. As indicated in § 37, above, nominalization of other parts of speech, including entire phrases and sentences, was basic to the Egyptian idiom. This nominalization is manifested in two ways: by morphological changes by means of suffixes, and by syntactical usage, in which the part of speech or sentence is nominal only by virtue of its function.

§ 56. By means of prefixes, nouns are formed from:

(a) The preformative \( \text{m} \) plus a verb.

This Egypto-Semitic preformative of uncertain origin developed its functions early in the primitive language. Many nouns, whose first radical is "m", were originally thus constructed. Such words as \( \text{mdw} \), "word" (Sin. B. 49) (from \( \text{wd} \), speak, command) and \( \text{m\£} \), "army" (Sin. R. 22) (from \( \text{\£} \), "to cut, slaughter") go back too far for definitive proof of formation. Clearer examples are found in the nouns constructed on tri-literal roots like \( \text{\£\£\£} \).

mḥnt "ferry" (From hmr, "to row"). The analogy of such words as mḥnt to the ubiquitous Semitic nouns of the ḥmr types is inescapable. Such Hebrew nouns as 𐤇𐤆𐤃𐤋, 𐤇𐤆𐤃𐤋, etc. are formed from the same preformative as governs the Egyptian construction. The connection drawn between the Hebrew preformative 𐤇𐤆 and the interrogatives 𐤇𐤆 and 𐤇𐤆 (cf. GKC 85,e) is at least partially correct. It is even more probable that these particles both stem from a single primitive Egypto-Semitic word.

(b) kbw "place" plus and adjective, yielding an abstract noun.

Ex.: 𐤇𐤆𐤃𐤋 nip tm.f ir bw-nfr "He will not fail to do good." (Sin. B. 74-75)

§ 57. Through the use of generic determinatives such as 𐤇𐤆𐤃𐤋, 𐤇𐤆𐤃𐤋, 𐤇𐤆𐤃𐤋, etc., various parts of speech are nominalized. Frequently the sense of this determinative is "one who has ___.

Exx.: (1) 𐤇𐤆𐤃𐤋 nip tnm ṭṭ "I set back upon the road him who had strayed." (Sin. B. 96-97)
(2) s喜剧 pw msyt ḫn̄-f "It is he who multiplies those who are born in his time." (Sin. B. 69)

(3) (r) di.n.f sן. (Sin. B. 81) "He is not one who attacks and flees."

Rem. 1. The third example is an interesting one since it contains a nominalized sentence within a nominalized sentence. Analyzing the constituent parts we find that mן acts like a negative verb whose subject is the rest of the sentence. That subject consists of two parts: a nominalized verb (pםו.n) and a petrified idiomatic phrase ( (r)di.n.f sן). The generic determinative nominalizes both of these components to form a compound subject. Hence each of the components is a nominalized form, and both together are a nominalized entity used as subject of the verb.

§58. Various stereotyped idiomatic phrases and sentences, like (r)di.n.f sן(cited in §57, ex.3) are found used as nouns.

Exx.: (1) dd-n.ן swt

m ḫw-ms "I said it to him as an untruth."

(Sin. B. 37)

1. For a further analysis of this sentence, see §139, ex. 4.
2. Lit., "He is not one who attacks and gives his back."
3. For other evidence of the verbal characteristics of mן, see §95, Rem. 1.
(2) "The people were" (m tp-hr-məst) in mourning (lit., in 'heads-upon-the-lap')" (Sin. C. 2)

(3) "His eldest son" m ḫry-īry "in command (lit., in 'being-over-it')" (Sin. R. 13)

§59. In the category of virtual nouns belongs the entire subject of noun clauses. These are treated in detail in Chapter VII below.

CHAPTER IV

THE ADJECTIVE

60. Generalities. In the Egypto-Semitic languages, the number of pure adjectives, or purely adjectival forms, is relatively small. Except for the demonstratives and a few special adjectives, the Egypto-Semitic adjective is either nominally, verbally, or prepositionally derived. The adjectives derived from verbs are in general those adjectives which express a quality; corresponding to each of these is a qualitative verb, which may be inflected in the various conjugations, and which may be used as a predicate or epithet. The nominally derived and prepositionally derived adjectives constitute the category of niṣba adjectives (See also §48, Rem. 2). These groups will be treated separately.
Adjectives of quality

§61. The adjectives of quality probably originated in the participial form of the verb. In the Egypto-Semitic languages, the words denoting quality are expressed primarily as fully inflected verbs. Thus, 𓊇𓊕 nfr (Sin. R. 13), which expresses the meaning of "the good god," originally developed from the concept "the god (being) good." These adjectives may be used either as epithets (attributively) or as predicates.

(a) As epithet, the adjective of quality follows the noun which it qualifies and agrees with it in number and gender.

Exx.: (1) 𓊇𓊕 ntr nfr "the good god" (Sin. R. 13)
(2) s3t.f wrt "his eldest daughter" (Sin. B. 79)
(3) rnpwt 𓊇𓊕 𓊙 "many years" (Sin. B. 92)

§62. When suffixes, demonstratives, and certain special adjectives are used in conjunction with the adjectives of quality, the qualitative adjective follows these elements.

Exx.: (1) nfr pf mnḥ "that excellent god." (Sin. B. 44)
(2) ınd.k pw šps

"this noble nose of yours." (Sin. B. 237)

(3) sšt.f wrt "his eldest daughter." (quoted in §61, Ex. 3, above)

§63. (b) As predicate the adjective of quality is

invariable with regard to number and gender,

and it generally precedes the noun it qualifies.

Ex.: ��nq šwš št.f "great was its

(the land's) honey." (Sin. B. 82-83)

Rem. 1. It remains a moot question whether the adjective

of quality as predicate is really an adjective or whether

it is in effect a form of the verb. The word order (i.e.,

preceding the noun) is typical of the verbal word order.

Further, the wide latitude given to the inflection of these

words, adds evidence to the argument that these words are

basically to be considered as verbs. In the Book of the

Dead, for example, we find rich verbal inflection given

to these words. Note, e.g., such expressions as งงงงง

šw.š wš-b.kwš "I am pure." (deB. p. 117,

8-9), illustrating the use of the "old perfective" in this

qualitative word.
§64. The nisbe adjectives are formed by means of an ending "y" which is built upon numerous nouns and prepositions. These adjectives are used only as epithets, and they agree in number and gender with the nouns they qualify.

Exx.: (1) [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbol] [Symbo
considered as a noun (sometimes as adverb), and never as an adjective. The following substantive, in accordance with §48, above, should be considered related to the preceding as a genitive.

Rem. 2. Like other adjectives, the nisbe adjectives may be nominalized.

Exx.: (1) \textit{ntyt} "a south-bound (boat)." (Sin. E. 6)

(2) \textit{nwtyw} "messengers." (Sin. R. 19), a nominalized form of the adjective \textit{nwty} "pertaining to a message," from \textit{nwty} "message."

§65. Into the category of nisbe adjectives falls the genitival adjective \textit{n(y)}, which is declined as follows:

\begin{tabular}{cccc}
&Masc. & Sing. & Plural & Dual \\
Masc. & n & nw & nwy \\
Fem. & nt & nt & nty \\
Ex.: & smrw nw stp-s & "courtiers of the palace." (Sin. R. 17)
\end{tabular}

Rem. 1. It is from this nisbe form that the relative adjective developed; it is the basic element in the formation of the indirect genitive (cf. §48, b); it is

1. For practical reasons, it has been the policy of Egyptologists to transliterate the genitival adjective without the nisbe determinant "\textit{y}," and this practice has been followed here.

2. See §155.
also used to form adjectival phrases from nouns and other parts of speech (cf. §48, Rem. 1).

**Demonstratives**

§66. The four types of demonstratives are composed of two elements: (a) a gender and number determinant which is constant in all four types, and (b) a particle which specifies the meaning of each type. The four types of demonstratives may be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Masc.</th>
<th>Fem.</th>
<th>Plural (common)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>pw</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>pn</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>-f</td>
<td>pf</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>-z</td>
<td>pZ</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rem. 1. Older forms existed for the plurals, distinguishing between the genders. These consisted of prefixes 4ά, 4ώ 3p- and 3pτ-, which represented masculine and feminine plurals respectively and which were compounded with the variables, n, w, and f. By the time of the Sinuhe
Romance Recensions, however, these were entirely replaced by the plurals in n- listed above. The forms in lp- were true demonstrative adjectives; the forms in n-, on the other hand, are fundamentally pronouns, and as such are linked to the following substantive by means of the genitive n. (Cf. § 68.)

Rem. 2. It is probable that the demonstratives in -n (type II) stem from a primitive Egypto-Semitic "ground-form" *han, which later gave rise to the Hebrew definite article. Such a ground-form would explain the insertion of a dageš in the first radical of the following substantive in Hebrew, and seems more reasonable than the creation of a hypothetical form *hal for which no evidence exists in any of the Semitic languages. On the other hand there is substantial evidence of an early demonstrative *han. This form, in fact, exists in dialectical North Arabic inscriptions. In Hebrew there are vestiges of such a demonstrative in the interjection בְּנָה; Arabic has preserved the demonstrative as the adverb لُه "here, at this place." The Arabic definite article may have had its origins either in this demonstrative, or, more probably, in an entirely different demonstrative, possibly the
proto-Semitic form of nḥx. It should be noted that when the Egyptians developed a definite article, it was from the demonstratives in -£ (type IV). The fact that the definite article in all these languages is different points to an independent development, and accordingly there is no justifiable reason for attempting to derive a common explanation for both the Hebrew and the Arabic articles.

§67. The singulars of the demonstratives are regularly employed as grammatical adjectives. The demonstratives in -w and -n both have the meaning of "this;" however, early in M. E. qew began to be preferred as a pronoun, and it is predominantly thus used to introduce certain types of non-verbal sentences. The demonstratives in -n are the usual forms for "this" in M. E., while the demonstratives in -f are the usual forms for "that." The demonstratives in -£ signify a weaker demonstrative than those in -w or -n and by N. E. had developed into the definite article.

As adjectives, the forms in -w and -n follow the nouns they qualify; the forms in -f may precede or follow; the forms in

1. An oppositional demonstrative later developed as qš4-q pwv, a kind of nisbe to retain the adjectival force of this group.
2. See §139, below.
always precede the noun. ¹

Exx.:  
1.  "This excellent god." (Sin. C. 5)
2.  "This land." (Sin. B. 42)
3.  "That land." (Sin. B. 43)
4.  "This noble nose of yours." (Sin. B. 237)

The Demonstratives Used as Pronouns

§68. The employment of the singular demonstratives as pronouns is limited in the Sinuhe Recensions to pñw, whose uses will be discussed in detail in Chapter VII (§139). On the other hand, the plural forms in n- are by nature pronominal, and as such require the genitival n when used as adjectives.

Exx.:  
1.  "Why have you come here? (lit., why is it that you have approached these (places))?" (Sin. B. 34-35)
2.  "This is the taste of death." (Sin. B. 23)

¹ For the word order, when used in conjunction with other adjectives, see §62, above.
2.  Cf. §§ 34, 36.
Special Adjectives

§69. A limited number of words in Egyptian are pure adjectives; these consist of such words as nb "all," ky "other," which are neither adjectives of quality (i.e., derived from verbs) nor nisbe adjectives (i.e., derived from nouns and prepositions). Such adjectives present no particular problems. While nb follows the noun it qualifies, ky precedes its noun.

Exx.: (1) 𓊝𓊕𓊛 𓊝𓊖 nb ḫpr ḫr-h3t-f "There is not another person before him." (Sin. R. 72)

(2) Cf. §91, ex. 1, below.

(3) 𓊝𓊛𓊝𓊖 mnmnt nbt "all the cattle."

(Sin. B. 84-85)
CHAPTER V
THE VERB

§70. Generalities. Egyptian, like the Semitic languages, possessed a highly developed verbal system with numerous inflections and conjugations. In the absence of a knowledge of the vocalization of the verbal system, it is impossible to differentiate between all the varying conjugations that must have existed. At best we are limited to distinctions indicated by variations in orthography, by variations in context, and by certain vestiges in Coptic. In addition, some inferences may be drawn from the analogy to the Semitic languages, on one hand, and from the developments in Coptic, on the other.

While some aspects of the Egyptian verb are very closely related to the Semitic verb, others are distinct. Many of these similarities and distinctions will be pointed out as they are encountered in the present treatment. In general, it may be said that whereas the Semitic languages reveal a more highly developed inflection of the verbal stem, Egyptian possessed a more intricate system of auxiliary verbs and modifying particles. In both groups of languages the root, or consonantal structure of the verb, is the

\[1\] As will be shown below (§§88-91), however, the Semitic languages do reveal vestiges of more auxiliary verbs than has been heretofore traditionally recognized.
critical element determining the basic idea which is being expressed. In the Semitic languages the verbal inflection is primarily expressed by variation in vocalization (although some formatives are likewise involved). In Egyptian, if any inferences may be drawn from Coptic, the vocalization is comparatively fossilized.

§71. I. Classification of the Verbs

Based upon the number of consonants (radicals) which constitute the root, Egyptian verbs are classified as follows:

2 lit. consisting of 2 radicals.

2ae gem. " " 2 " , the second of which is doubled.

2 lit. " " 3 "

3ae inf. " " 3 " , the third of which is weak.

3ae gem. " " 3 " , the third of which is doubled.

4 lit. " " 4 "

4ae inf. " " 4 " , the fourth of which is weak.

5 lit. " " 5 "

Exx.: (2 lit.)  מַעֲשֶׂהָ מֶן "remain;" שֵׁם "say;" etc.
(2ae gem.) מַעֲשֶׂהָ מֶן "exist;" מִשְׁמֶרֶשׁ מְכַשׁ "see."
(3 lit.) שָׁמָּה "hear;" בָּרְכֵּה בָּרְכֵּה "become."
(3ae inf.) מָלַא "come forth" מְרֵא מְרֵא "love."
(3ae gem.) 𓊁 𓊁 sḥḥb "make cool."

(4 lit.) 𓊁 𓊁 wṣtn "stride."

(4ae inf.) 𓊁 𓊁 hms(ỉ) "sit;" 𓊁 𓊁 mỉn(ỉ)

"join"

(5 lit.) 𓊁 𓊁 nggs "overflow."

**Gemination**

§72. As Gardiner points out in some detail (Gard. Gramm. §269, ff.), gemination developed, at least originally, from vowel shifts which were employed to distinguish the different verbal aspects. Thus, in a geminating verb like 𓊁 wmn, we may suppose that the orthography 𓊁 wmn or 𓊁 wmn.f indicates the presence of vowel between the two n's. Using Gardiner's very plausible suggested vocalization, we might conjecture that the form 𓊁 wmn.f was pronounced something like *wḥmānaf, during the early stages of the language. As a corollary, we may suppose that no vowel existed in the form written 𓊁 wmn.f. Thus, the vocalizations *wen(n)af or *wan(n)ef might be conjectured. Accordingly, in the absence of a vowel separating the syllables, the two n's fell together into the non-geminated form 𓊁 wmn.f.

Evidence supporting this hypothesis, and perhaps hinting coincidentally at the color of the vowel of one of the relative

1. Most 3ae gem. verbs, like this one, are in reality causatives in s-, derived from verbs 2ae gem.
2. The ỉ which is written here is undoubtedly the second and not the fourth radical, so placed for orthographic reasons. Cf. §6, _ad fin._
forms is found in an interesting orthography in the Sinuhe Romance.

"Whatever was trapped was given to me ...." Ω Ω

хиу-рі імв таси "besides that which my hounds brought." (Sin. B. 90-91)

In this quotation, the imperfective relative form of the anomalous geminating verb Ω inf\(^{1}\) shows not only the reason for gemination (a long vowel between the n's), but also probably the color of the vowel. As demonstrated above (§43, Rem. 2), o following the consonants m and n, becomes û, the latter frequently expressed in the orthography of this and later periods by ꖣ w, or, in combination with n, by ꖣ mw. In the imperfective relative forms, as also in other forms of the Egyptian verb, gemination occurs where possible. Accordingly, it is shown here. The orthography expressed in this citation points to some such vocalization as ꖣену, the û being derived from an original o in an open accented syllable following the consonant n. The final u, occasionally indicated by w in the orthography of the imperfective relative form, begins to disappear in the Sinuhe redactions, and more noticeably in N. E.; by Coptic times, it was completely lost.

1. See §§115, ff.
2. See §128.4.
In other geminating forms, such as wmn.f, the vowel was probably some other vowel than ə, for an ə would have become ʰ after n and we should expect the hieroglyph 𓊪 to appear in this spelling.

Rem. 1. Such hypotheses, of course, presuppose that the geminating verbs were triconsonantal, and that the non-geminated forms, such as wmn.f, were a later development, brought about by assimilation due to the absence of a vowel between the syllables. The Semitic studies which have shown that triconsonantalism is not original does not necessarily conflict with these hypotheses. On the contrary, they may help in the reconstruction of inflectional development. The secondary leveling which took place in converting biconsonantals to triconsonantals may logically have antedated the vocalic structure of these words.

§73. Weak verbs are those verbs whose final radical is one of the weak or semi-vocalic consonants, i.e., /lists or ʰ. In this category belong the classifications of the 3ae inf. and 4ae inf. verbs listed above (§71). Characteristic of these verbs are the feminine infinitive and gemination in certain aspects of the verb.
Rem. 1. The geminating characteristics of the weak verbs constitute an Egypto-Semitic feature, which should be thoroughly investigated by comparative linguists. The results of a thorough analysis of gemination in the Semitic languages as well as Egyptian should be fruitful, and would undoubtedly explain some of the still unanswered problems in the Egyptian verb, and possibly shed some definitive light on the vocalization of Egyptian.

Certain features of the geminating verb might be mentioned here, in passing. As suggested in §72, rem. 1., above, the current, and probably valid, hypothesis on the effect of vocalization upon gemination seems to indicate a development from originally triconsonantal roots. On the other hand, it is also possible that the gemination found in the weak verbs results from compensation for the loss of the weak final consonant. In certain aspects, accordingly, we might conjecture that forms like אָניָו נָּיַר developed to support important vowels upon the disappearance of the weak final consonants.

The marked similarity between the Hebrew יָי verbs and the Hebrew נָי verbs (originally יָ or נָי) is indicative of a parallel, if not identical, development.
in both languages. Note, for example, \textit{רעהydro-q} and \textit{תָּפָר}; \textit{אָנוֹוֶש} and \textit{אָנוֹשׁ}; \textit{יִנְּסֶה} and \textit{יִנְּסֶה} (cf. GKC §77e).

With forms such as these for a basis, the common origins of the geminating and weak verbs, examined exhaustively, should prove a profitable study.

§74. Although the verbal classifications manifest Egypto-Semitic characteristics, the Egyptian conjugations and tenses show little morphological relationship to the Semitic languages.\footnote{In addition to the old perfective, there are other similarities which will be pointed out as they are encountered; among these are the auxiliary verb (§§88-91), and the causative preformative \textit{s}— which as elsewhere corresponds to Hebrew \textit{תָּפָר}.}

While parallels may be drawn between the Egyptian old perfective (§96, ff) and the Semitic perfect on a morphological basis, there is no evidence that an Egyptian counterpart of the Semitic imperfect ever existed. Certainly in the Sinuhe Romance Recensions, there is no single orthographic manifestation of such a form.

II. The Suffix Conjugation

§75. The suffix conjugation, so called because its pronominal subject is the suffix pronoun (cf.§§ 14, 18), is peculiar to Egyptian, and, according to current theories, was of relatively late origin. The suffix pronoun, used as subject of the verb, in accordance with the rule expressed in §14, above, is inseparable from the verbal stem. When the subject is nominal, on the other hand, the subject may be separated from the verbal stem in accordance with forms such as these for a basis, the common origins of the geminating and weak verbs, examined exhaustively, should prove a profitable study.
with the rules of word order outlined in §§46-50, above. The suffix pronouns used in the formation of the suffix conjugation regularly follow any determinatives which accompany the basic verb.

It has been the custom of Egyptologists to use the verb $\text{sdm} $ "hear" as a paradigm, and accordingly, the various verbal forms are illustrated by means of this verb and termed "the sdm.f form," "the sdm.m.f form," etc. This practice is adhered to in the present study.

§76. Paradigm of the form sdm.f

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. c. $\text{sdm.f}$</td>
<td>1. c. $\text{sdm.n}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. m. $\text{sdm.k}$</td>
<td>2. c. $\text{sdm.tn}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. f. $\text{sdm.t}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. m. $\text{sdm.f}$</td>
<td>3. c. $\text{sdm.sn}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. f. $\text{sdm.s}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

indefinite $\text{sdm.tw} $ (cf. 31, Rem. 1.)

§77. The sdm.f form in actuality is comprised of two separate aspects: the perfective and imperfective, which will be treated in some detail below (§§ 78-80).

Undoubtedly a variation in vocalization similar to that described in §72, above, differentiated these two aspects; in the strong (immutable) verbs, however, these distinctions are lost to
us in the absence of a knowledge of the Egyptian vocalization. In
the weak and geminating verbs (mutable), on the other hand, we can
discern a distinction in the orthography. In these geminating
verbs, the perfective is represented by the non-geminated form,
while the imperfective is represented by the geminated form.

Exx.: (1) \[\text{\textit{tkm.f}} \] "He girds on shield (and crushes the
enemy)." (Sin. B. 61). Imperfective sdm.f
of the 3ae inf. verb \textit{t33.}.

(2) \[\text{\textit{wnn irl t pf}} \] m1 m1 "What then will that land be like?"
(Sin. B. 43). Imperfective sdm.f (with
nominal subject) of the 2ae gem. verb \textit{wnn}.

(3) "Return to Egypt," \[\text{\textit{m3.k hnw hpr.n.k im.f}} \] "so that you
may see the Palace where you were born."
(Sin. B. 188). Perfective sdm.f form of the
2ae gem. verb \textit{m33}.

(4) \[\text{\textit{tr n h3w(y)}} \] "I departed (made a departing) at
eventide." (Sin. B. 19-20). Perfective sdm.f
of the 3ae inf. verb \textit{irl}.

1. Cf. §34, above.
§78. The perfective adm.f

The only notable characteristic of the perfective adm.f, from the point of view of orthographic morphology, is the absence of gemination in the geminating verbs. In the strong immutable verbs, there is nothing but context to distinguish the imperfective from the perfective. In meaning, the perfective denotes a completed action with regard to the particular time (present, past, or future) under reference. In main clauses, accordingly, it may be used to express:

(a) The present;

Exx.: (1) ḫ?=.*  ṣ:mm ḫ.(f) ːst l  im.f r nt.-sn "She (the city) rejoices in him more than in their gods."
(Sin. B. 66-67).

(2) ⲧ ⲧ ⲧ ⲧ ⲧ pr(i) C"(His) arm goes forth."
(Sin. B. 52).

(b) The past;

Exx.: (1)  ːt rf( ṭl)i l g.t ṭrs(i)-r²  n.² ḫttt "He cooked some milk for me."
(Sin. R. 51)

(2)  ːm t ndnd.f ḫn.i "He consulted with me." (Sin. B. 113)

1. Cf. §14, Rem. 3.
2. See §6.
(3) Cf. also §76, ex. 4.

(c) The future;

In the Sinuhe Romance no examples are found of this usage.

Rem. 1. In the period during which the Sinuhe Recensions were written, the perfective $dm$-$f$ shows very limited employment. As noted above, the future usage, even with particles (cf. Gard. Gramm. §§450-5), is for all practical purposes non-existent. Although the perfective $dm$-$f$ is found in past usage, as quoted above, the usual form for past narration in this period consists of employment of the $dm$-$n$-$f$ form or auxiliary verbs. It will be noted throughout this study that tense distinctions are certainly more vividly and consciously expressed in Egyptian than in Hebrew or Arabic, if the present theories regarding the latter languages are accepted. It is necessary, however, to retain in this discussion an awareness of the Semitic distinctions between completed actions (perfective) and incompletely, recurrent, or habitual actions (imperfective). Similar distinctions of aspect certainly existed in O. E., and traces of this distinction prevail in the Sinuhe Romance and throughout M. E.
Nevertheless, in addition to these aspects, true "time-tenses" also developed, and by Coptic times a fairly elaborate system of tenses evolved with co-existent limitative and aspect tenses.

Thus, the perfective sdm.f is gradually replaced by the imperfective sdm.f or compound forms to express the future, by the sdm.n.f or compound forms to express the past. In main clauses, it is generally retained to express a simple occurrence in the present, without reference to repeated or habitual action or duration.

§79. In subordinate clauses, the perfective sdm.f expresses relative present or future time when compared to the verb of the main clause.

Exx.: (1) \[\text{h3.f R-pdyw "He used to be seen (imperfective) attacking (lit., as he attacked) the Asiatics."} \]
\[(\text{Sin. B. 52-53})\]

(2) \[\text{hrw "I set out when it was day." (Sin. B. 10)} \]

In both these examples the time of the verb of the subordinate clause is coincident with the time of the verb of the main clause.
The Imperfective

The morphological characteristic of the imperfective is the expression of gemination in the geminating verbs. In main clauses, it denotes habitual, repetitive or continuous action, regardless of time. In subordinate clauses it usually reflects the time of the main verb.

(a) Present

Exx.: (1)

n hkr, iw.ı dı.ı tı gaı.ı "When laggards falter from hunger, I give bread to my neighbor." (Sin. B. 151)

(2) Cf. §77, ex. 1, above.

(b) Past

Ex.: dd.tw hıst n hıst "Land was given to land." (Sin. B. 182)

(c) Future

Exx.: (1) wmn frf tı pf

mı m "What then will this land be like?"

(Sin. B. 43)

(2) wmn.k hını.ı "You will be with me." (Sin. B. 77)

1. Cf. §57, above.
2. Cf. §16, Rem. 1.
3. Cf. §89, ex. 2, below.
Rem. 1. As noted in the final paragraph of §78, the imperfective sd.m.f gradually became the usual form for expressing the future. This tendency, which shows close affinity to the development of the Hebrew imperfective, is recognizable in the Sinuhe Romance. Although the period of the Sinuhe Recensions is a transitional period as far as the verb is concerned, the patterns adopted for verbal usage show definite strains of development. The influx of auxiliary forms is very noticeable, as is the displacement of the perfective sd.m.f in past meaning by the sd.m.n.f.

§81. The sd.m.n.f form

Scholars are agreed that the sd.m.n.f form developed from the participle and the dative of possession (§50, b). Just as "a book (is) to me" is equivalent to "I have a book," so also "heard (is) to me" is equivalent to "I have heard." By definition, therefore, the sd.m.n.f is primarily a verb of past connotation. It is employed in main clauses for simple past narration, and in subordinate clauses to convey relative past time.

Exx.: (1) \( \text{sic} \) 1 sd.m.n.f brw-nm n mmnt "I heard the lowing of the cattle." (Sin. B. 24-25)

1. For the goat instead of \( \text{sic} \), see Blackman, op. cit., p. 14a, n. 1a.
The Passive form

In the Sinuhe Romance redactions two distinct passive forms are discernible: the passive $\text{sd}_m.f$ and the $\text{sd}_m.tw.f$. The former is distinguished from the active $\text{sd}_m.f$ only through context. Only two examples are found in these texts.

Exx.: (1) $\text{1st h} \hat{\text{b}} \text{r msw-nsw}^2$ "Then the King's children were sent for." (Sin. R. 22)$^3$

(2) $\text{iw grg.tw (r)di}$ n.i "Whatever was trapped was given to me." (Sin. B. 89-90). In this sentence (r)di is a passive form of the $\text{sd}_m.f$ type whose subject, the nominal sentence $\text{iw grg.tw}$, precedes its verb for emphasis (cf. §§ 134-136)

1. Cf. § 51, ex. 2.
2. See § 49, Rem. 1.
§83. The \textit{sdm.tw.f} form, which in origin derived from the indefinite pronoun (cf. §31, above), is the more common passive form in these texts. Frequently, the \textit{w} is dropped in the orthography, resulting in a form \textit{sdm.t(w).f}, which should not be confused with the \textit{sdm.f} form (see §105, Rem. 1., below).

When the full form is written, the \textit{tw} is written after the determinative; when the short form \textit{.t} is written, it is placed before the determinative.

Exx.: (1) \textit{ms.t(w).f} "he was born."

(Sin. B. 69; similarly \textit{ms.m.t(w).f}, quoted in §158, ex. 2, below)

(2) \textit{ms.tw.f} "he was born."

(Sin. R. 93)

§84. These passives are used in exactly the same manner as their active counterparts; \textit{sdm.tw.f} corresponding to \textit{sdm.f} in each of its aspects, \textit{sdm.m.tw.f} corresponding to \textit{sdm.m.f} in its uses.

Exx.: (1) \textit{ms.t(w).f} "he was born."

(Sin. B. 233-234)

(2) \textit{n sdm.tw rn.f} "My name was not heard."

(Sin. B. 41; similarly Sin. B. 89-90, cited in §151, ex. 3, below)
(3) \textit{r hwt Styw "He was made to fight the Asiatics."} (Sin. B. 72)

\textbf{Rem. 1.} That the \textit{sdm.tw.f} is a true passive seems to be supported by the use of the suffix pronoun as grammatical subject of this construction. Although, as suggested in §31, \textit{Rem. 1,} above, the passive is derived from the indefinite pronoun, which in turn is probably derived from the 2 pers. sing. pronoun, the resulting construction could not have been felt as an active verb. If \textit{tw} were felt as subject (albeit semantic subject) of the verbal form, the dependent pronoun would be expected where the suffix pronoun actually occurs.

It is interesting to note, however, that, unlike the Semitic languages, Egyptian possessed no internal passive form. In Coptic, there is no evidence of a passive construction, use being made of the 3. pers. plur. pronoun for such purposes.

\textbf{II The Compound Forms of the Suffix Conjugation}

\textbf{85.} Egyptian possesses a relatively rich system of auxiliary verbs and compound verbal forms when compared to the Semitic languages. The three principle auxiliaries are the copula
The verb expressing existence \( \text{wnn} \), and the verb "stand" \( \text{hl} \). Before discussing the use of these verbs as auxiliaries, some general comments should be made on the independent uses of the verbs \( \text{lw} \) and \( \text{wnn} \).

66. The copula \( \text{lw} \) is, as will be demonstrated in the succeeding sections, a primitive Egypto-Semitic element. Although no grammatical variations are manifested in the orthography, there being no separate \( \text{dmnft} \), infinitival or geminating forms, there is nevertheless evidence of tense or aspect in this verb. Used independently, \( \text{lw} \) serves to emphasize mildly some assertion or description; it is not used to indicate existence.

Exx.: (1) "The body of the god united with his creator;" \( \text{the Residence was in silence.} \) (Sin. R. 8)

(2) \( \text{Whatever was trapped was given to me} \) (Sin. B. 89-90)

(3) "I did not know (what) brought me to this land;" \( \text{it was like a plan of God.} \) (Sin. B. 42-43)

1. As will be seen in the succeeding sections, this assertion is defensible, despite the prevalent theories to the contrary; cf. LeF. §310.
(4) "It was he who subdued the foreign lands"

\[ \text{\textit{It.f \ w-nhw q.h.f "(while)\textsuperscript{1} his father was in his Palace." (Sin. B. 50)} } \]

\[ \text{\textit{\section{87. The geminating verb \texttt{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}wnn is employed to express existence. Unlike \texttt{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}iw, it manifests the full attributes of the Egyptian verb, its geminated form representing the imperfective; its non-geminated form representing the perfective.}}}}} } \]

\[ \text{\textbf{Exx.:} (1) \texttt{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}hrw "I set out, (when) it was day (i.e., at daybreak)." (Sin. B. 10). (Perfective)}} } \]

\[ \text{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}wun.k \ m\textsuperscript{c.i} "You will be (i.e., remain) with me." (Sin. B. 77). (Imperfective)}} } \]

\[ \text{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}wnn \ m\textsuperscript{r.f t" \ m\textsuperscript{f m"What then will that land be like?" (Sin. B. 43). (Imperfective)}} } \]

\[ \text{\textit{\section{88. \texttt{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}iw as auxiliary verb}}}}} } \]

The copula \texttt{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}iw, in addition to its independent use (cf. \textit{\textsuperscript{2}86, above) is also used as an auxiliary to form compound tenses. It is in these constructions that we find a clue to the}}}}} } \]

1. For the relationship between this use of \texttt{\textit{\textsuperscript{2}iw and the Hebrew circumstantial clause introduced by waw copulative, see \textit{\textsuperscript{2}159, below.}}}}} }
assertion that verbal aspect, though not evident orthographically, exists in this element.

Characteristic of the Egypto-Semitic languages in constructing compound tenses is the practice of using one tense or aspect in the auxiliary and the opposite tense or aspect in the second component. Thus, if the auxiliary is perfective, the basic verb is imperfective; if the auxiliary is imperfective, the basic verb is perfective. Arabic affords the clearest examples:

Exx.: (1) َكَانَ يَكُتُّبُ kâna yaktûbu "he was writing."
(2) َيَلُوْنَ كَتَبَ yakûnu kataba "He will have written."

It should be noted that the auxiliary, rather than the second component, determines the resulting tense or aspect of the compound verb. It is evident also that the principle of forming compound tenses by the juxtaposition of perfects and imperfects, similar to the Arabic usage outlined above, existed also in Egyptian.

In view of the immutability of the copula ِ۸, it is impossible to demonstrate this principle in this verb. Fortunately, however, the geminating verb َةَلًوْنَةَ كَتَبَ frequently replaces the copula as an auxiliary. An illuminating example is found in Urk. IV. 1900, 11:
shall be a petitioner."

In this example, the presence of a geminating verb in both components of the compound tense affords the most reliable evidence of the principles under consideration. The auxiliary wnn (imperfective) forms a compound tense with the non-geminated (perfective) form wn, the resulting aspect being the same as the auxiliary, i.e., imperfective.

§92. Thus we may conclude that in the compound forms of the suffix conjugation constructed with ıw, there is implicit in the auxiliary a tense which is the antithesis of the second component. Frequently, a ıw.f sdm.f form will appear (cf. ex. 2, below), without disrupting this sequence of tenses.

Exx.: (1) ıw ŋır(t)w n.i ıg-indentation ırtt m

\[ \text{Ex. 1: } \text{"One made much milk for me at every feast."} \] (Sin. B. 91-92). The perfective aspect of the 3ae. inf. verb ŋır’, in accordance with the principles outlined above, indicates that the aspect of the auxiliary is imperfective. This is precisely the aspect we should anticipate to express

1. See §6.
the repetitive or habitual concept required with "at every feast." An alternative could have been employed for this Egyptian sentence, using the simple imperfective sdm.f: etc. irr.t(w)n.f etc., with no significant difference in meaning.

(2) n hkr, lw.i di.i tw n gsy.f "When laggards falter from hunger, I give bread to my neighbor." (Sin. B. 151-152). Here, the tense and aspect of the verb of the subordinate clause (s33) reflects the tense and aspect of the verb in the main clause (lw.i di.i), in accordance with the rule stated in 890, above, q.v. The imperfective s33 reflects, accordingly, the imperfective lw.i, whose compounding component is perfective (888).

§90. Examples of lw sdm.n.f are not found in the Sinuhe redactions; accordingly, the following are quoted from the Book of the Dead, where the examples of past custom (imperfective) are
thus rendered:

Ex.: 11 n hkr

11

n rdi.n.i t

n hkr "I used to give bread to the hungry."

(deB. p. 119, 2, et passim.)

s2-h

The foregoing principles (§§88-89) are likewise applied in forming the compound tenses of the geminating verb of existence 88 wnn. Most frequently the compound is expressed by 3w wnn with imperfective meaning.

Ex.: 4J~ 1w wnn

1w wnn ky r.f "Is there another warrior

to fight against him?" (Sin. B. 133-134;
similarly Sin. B. 120-121).

Rem. 1. At this point an analogy may be drawn between the uses of the auxiliary 4s 1w and its alternates 88 wnn and 4p 1w wnn, on one hand, and the Hebrew waw consecutive and waw copulative, on the other. 3

As indicated above (§86), 1w is a primitive Egypto-Semitic element not only etymologically but also functionally. Paralleling the independent uses of 4s 1w (cf. the examples quoted in §86), the Hebrew waw copulative (cf. GKC. §154 n.1) expresses emphasis of some assertion or description.

1. See §131.
2. Cf. §57, above.
3. Professor C. H. Gordon has pointed out that this relationship was noticed in 1946 by Dr. G. D. Young in one of the former's classes.
Exx.: (1) "Ehud was dead" (Ju. 4-1)
corresponds to the usage of מִתָּם in §86, ex. 3. Similarly, also: Gen. 19-1, Ps. 28-3, et. al.

(2) "Their faces were turned back" (Gen. 9-23), like the examples in §86, above, with adverbial predicate.

The waw consecutive likewise manifests the same characteristics as the Egyptian auxiliary מִתָּמ. In Gen. 28-8 מִתָּמ "When Esau saw, etc., " exemplifies the principle expressed above in which the second component (here imperfective) is combined with an auxiliary (perfective) to form a compound narrative tense (perfective).

From the description of the Egypto-Semitic auxiliary (§§88-91), it will be evident that the waw consecutive is not a conjunction at all, but rather an auxiliary element of verbal origin, which at some point possessed verbal aspect or tense. The aspect or tense contained in this מִתָּמ, just as in Egyptian and Arabic, is both the antithesis of the tense of the second component and the determining factor in the tense of the resulting compound verb. It is emphasized that there is no coordinating force implicit in this element, and contrary to the
statements in GKC §111, f-h, it implies no necessary connection with any preceding narrative. Both in Egyptian and in Hebrew, narratives may be introduced by the element under discussion. It is unnecessary, unscientific, and illogical to assume connections with mythical preceding books, chapters, or verses, on the basis of the resemblance of this auxiliary to the coordinating conjunction.

On the basis of this description it will be seen that an expression like contains no coordinating conjunction, and functionally it corresponds directly to the Egyptian 3w wn (§91). This form, without any connection to any previous statement, may be used as a compound narrative tense, and may, accordingly, introduce any narrative.

Exx.: I Sam. 1-1: etc. (also, Ezek, 1-1, Ezra 1-1, et al.). These are compound narrative tenses; they are not connected with any preceding books.

It is suggested that the foregoing explanation of the origin of the waw consecutive will coincidentally explain the appearance of the dagesh in the first radical of the imperfective with waw consecutive (cf. GKC §49 f).

1. See the opening passage in the "Story of the Two Brothers."
The traditionally accepted explanation that the dages is caused by the "close connection of this waw with the following consonant," is arbitrary and unconvincing. Certainly a more probable explanation of the appearance of a dages in these cases is assimilation of a consonant. Such a consonant may well be the $n$ of or .

Thus, we find that comparing the Hebrew waw consecutive with the Egyptian auxiliaries explains at once:

1. The apparent conversion of tenses in the Hebrew verbal structure;
2. The origin of waw conversive as distinct from the coordinating conjunction; and
3. The reason for the dages in these forms.

§ 92. The auxiliary

In various stages of Egyptian, this auxiliary underwent a more or less complete development. In the Sinuhe texts, however, its employment is limited to the form $h\cdot n$ $sdn$. The existence of such a form does not disturb our theory of the antithetic character of the compound tenses (cf. § 88, above). On the contrary, it shows that compounds of like tenses or aspects are in reality compound verbs as opposed to compound tenses. $h\cdot n$ $sdn$, accordingly, is derived from an expression "he rose and said," similar to the English colloquialism "he up and said."

1. GKC, loc. cit.
From the grammatical point of view, therefore, چی is not strictly an auxiliary verb. It is best rendered as "then."

Exx.: (1) چی n rd.f n.1 mw

"Then he gave me some water." (Sin. B. 26-27)

(2) چی n dd.n.f n.1 "Then he said to me." (Sin. B. 34; R. 67)

IV Negation of the Suffix Conjugation

§ 93. The construction چی n sd.m.f signifies a perfective aspect, either in the past or present, never in the future. Accordingly, it frequently is used to negate expressions which in the affirmative are rendered by the sd.m.n.f.

Exx.: (1) چی n k.l.(1)

spr r hw pn "I did not expect to approach this capital." (Sin. B. 6-7)

(2) چی n dd.l čh r-a; nm "I did not expect to live after these things." (Sin. R. 31; see also B. 41, et. al.)

(3) چی n rh.n.tw hrpt hr.s "It is not known what will happen because of it." (Sin. B. 37; also B. 42, 114 et. al.).
§94. The construction \( \text{nn sdm.f} \) regularly relates to a future occurrence.

Exx.: (1) \( \text{nn sdm.(f)} \) "He will not be afraid." (Sin. B. 279)

(2) \( \text{mn di.t(w).k m ëm n sr} \) "You will not be placed in a sheep's skin." (Sin. B. 197-198: 3 parallel occurrences)

(3) \( \text{He will surely do good (lit., he will not fail to do good).} \)  
   (Sin. B. 74)

§95. The construction \( \text{nn sdm.n.f} \) most commonly relates to present time, occasionally to past time, never (in the Sinuhe texts) to future.

Exx.: (1) \( \text{rdi.n.f s3.f} \) "He is one who returns (to the fray); he does not give his back (i.e., retreat)." (Sin. B. 58; similarly B. 56, 59, et passim).

(2) \( \text{n s3.n.f} \) "He did not linger." (Sin. B. 64-65)

Rem. 1. Although scholars have written at rather great length on the peculiarities of the negative words
n and mn, the resemblance of this element to a geminating verb has hitherto gone unnoticed. It is possible that these forms are in reality vestiges of a lae gem. verb which acts as the negation of the copula Iw. Gradually replaced by other negative verbs, became limited to an impersonal use meaning "it is not (that...)."

If we develop this theory along the lines of the concepts which have been emphasized in §§85-91, we shall see that there is a notable uniformity in the Egyptian verbal structure that will explain the "strange way" in which the meaning of the verb is specialized.

That gemination regularly expresses the imperfective is already well established (cf.§§ 72, 80, above). Accordingly, if our hypothesis that is a geminated impersonal verb is correct, we should expect this form to appear in sentences conveying the idea of futurity. As previously shown (§94, above) this is precisely the way in which this form is used. In the non-geminated form n, on the other hand, we should expect assertions in perfective aspect, similar to the perfective uses of Iw. The antithetical sequence of tenses

emphasized in §88, above, however, is not pertinent in these sentences, because we are not dealing with compound tenses, but rather with an impersonal negative used like an expletive. The succeeding finite verb in actuality forms a subordinate clause. Thus n sdm.f might be rendered "it is not that he hears (i.e., he does not hear)," or "it was not that he hears (i.e., he did not hear)." Similarly n sdm.n.f might be rendered "it is not that he heard (i.e., he did not hear)," or "it was not that he heard (i.e., he did not hear)."

Further, nn sdm.f is equivalent to "it will not be that he hears (i.e., he will not hear)," or "it will not be that he heard (i.e., he will not have heard, or simply, he will not hear)."

In short, the tense of these negative sentences is best determined by the geminating aspects of the negative verb; the shades of meaning implied by the tenses are best recognized by rendering nn as an impersonal negative expletive.

Rem. 2. The negation of the suffix conjugation brings to bear some of the most compelling evidence for the existence of tense in the Egypto-Semitic verbal systems.
A reexamination of the preceding sections indicates a strong alignment of present and perfect tense meanings for the perfective, on one hand, and of future tense meanings for the imperfective, on the other. This alignment has already been emphasized by Gordon as concerns Ugaritic. The Hebrew and Arabic systems require reinvestigation. It is certain, however, that such tense meanings underlie the basic character of the Egypto-Semitic verbal system.

V. The Old Perfective or Pseudoparticiple

§96. The old perfective form of the verb (also called pseudoparticiple) is the only other basic Egypto-Semitic remnant in the finite verbal conjugations. The pronominal affirmatives used in this form correspond directly to the Semitic forms. There is present, however, in the Egyptian forms an which is not present in the Semitic forms and which has eluded conclusive explanation. It is here suggested that, since the old perfective is essentially a qualitative form equivalent to "he is in the state of having (heard, said, etc.)", we may be confronted with

2. "Other" is used here, because as demonstrated in §§85-91, the copula iw is also Egypto-Semitic; so also is the preformative causative element.
the same original element found in the adjectives and genitives, which is discussed in detail in §48, Rem. 2; §64, above.

§97. Paradigm of the old perfective

Sing.

1. c. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdm.kwi (cf. Accad. (a)ku)
2. c. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdm.ti (cf. Accad. ta, fem. ti)
3. m. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdmw
3. f. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdm.ti (cf. Accad. t)

Plur.

1. c. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdm.wyn (cf. Accad. na, nu)
2. c. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdm.twty (cf. Accad. tunu)
3. m. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdmw (cf. Accad. u)
3. f. $\text{ם} \text{ן} \text{ר} \text{ץ}$ sdm.twty

Rem. 1. The Hebrew and Arabic forms in t, where Egyptian and Accadian have k, in the l. c. sing. may show a development analogous to the shift $k > c > t$, which took place in the 2. f. sing. suffix pronoun (cf. §14, Rem. 2, above).

Another possible explanation of this shift may be a secondary leveling development of analogy of the first person to the second person. Such leveling occurs also in Ethiopic, where k represents both persons.
§98. Meaning of the old perfective

Scholars are agreed that in early stages of Egyptian the old perfective was a narrative tense which in meaning, if not in form, had both active and passive implication. It corresponds most closely to the Accadian permansive in that it generally, though not always, denotes a stative aspect, condition, or quality. It expresses the state which exists as a result of some action, and accordingly, evolves into a passive concept where transitive verbs are concerned.1 The force of the old perfective may be illustrated by the English "the door is open" as well as "the door is opened." In the first citation "open" is a stative aspect (similar to the basic use of the old perfective) resulting from the action of opening. In the second case, "opened" may be equivalent to "open" in some contexts, and in other contexts resemble a passive. The marked affinity of this form to the adjectival idea is evident also in the English phrases as expressing a quality, albeit temporary, of the subject. (Cf. §96, above).

Rem. 1. In some languages, where two verbs "to be" exist (e.g., Spanish and Japanese), the true passive is expressed by one of these; the stative is expressed by the other.

1. This passive concept as concerns the transitive verbs parallels the Accadian permansive precisely.
Exx.: Spanish:

(1) La puerta estaba abierta. "The door was open." (stative)

(2) La puerta fue abierta. "The door was opened (by someone)." (passive)

Japanese:

(1) 扉が開いてある
to ga oite aru "The door is open." (stative)

(2) 扉が開いてある
to ga oite i ru "The door is opened." (passive)

§99. Vestiges of the active-transitive use of the old perfective are still found in the Sinuhe texts. Such employment, however, is limited in M. E. to the first person and to such words as ḫu dd "say" and ḫu rẖ "know."

Exx.: (1) ḫu dd.k(w) ḫu dd.k(w)i "I said." (Sin. B. 114; cf. also B. 45).

(2) With ḫu in the "Book of the Dead":

Ḫu ṭ[w] rẖ.kwī ṭ[w]k ṭ[w] "I know your name." (deB. p. 116, 4-5; also p. 118, 3).

§100. More generally as passive of transitive verbs:

Exx.: (1) ḫu ṭ[w] rẖ.kwī ṭ[w]ms.kwī ṭ[w]ms.kwī ṭ[w]ms.f "the land in which I was born."

(Sin. B. 159)
It is probable that in early times Hebrew also had a type of permansive in the Qal; for the evidence on this probability, see GKC §52 e; §53 u. If these forms are in actuality passives of the Qal, we may conjecture that a difference in vocalization probably distinguished the active (stative) uses of the old perfective from the passive uses. If the above are true, there is possibly some explanation for the development of an oppositional passive form in Hebrew, on one hand (niph'cal), and an oppositional active form (the suffix conjugation) in Egyptian, on the other. There may be sufficient evidence to develop a conclusive pattern. It is not within the scope of this study to do so at this time.

VI The Infinitive

§101. The Egyptian infinitive has many features in common with the infinitive of the Semitic languages. Among these are gender in the forms of certain words; the use of the infinitive to

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1. For the use of the old perfective in the pseudo-verbal construction, see §§147-149, below.
express the functions of the gerund; the use of the infinitive as a narrative form.

The Egyptian infinitive shows no ending for the masculine; the feminine infinitives have an ending $\omega$ -t. The feminine infinitives are found in the following verbal classifications:

1. Causatives of the 2 lit.
2. Verbs 3ae inf.
3. Certain of the anomalous verbs

In the causatives of the 3ae inf. and in the 4ae inf. verbs, both masculine and feminine forms are found.

Rem. 1. The terminology "masculine and feminine infinitives" is more convenient than scientific, for the ending $\omega$ -t does not actually express gender. In N. E., when the definite article $\text{God}$ transported (cf. § 67) came into full use, the masculine article was uniformly used with the infinitives of either "gender." The ending $\omega$ -t in the infinitive is probably here, as elsewhere (cf. §§ 14, Rem. 3; 40, Rem. 2), simply a vowel carrier, corresponding to the Hebrew $\digamma$ and Arabic $\gamma$. Another interesting facet of this assertion rests upon other evidence showing that $-t$ was not originally a gender indicator. Thus in

1. However, see § 105, Rem. 1.
the numerals from 3 to 10, we find the apparent inversion of gender: נְנֵה רְבָּעָה "four girls," versus הָרְבָּעָה רְבָּעָה "four boys." In Hebrew and Arabic, however, there is gender agreement by adjectives; accordingly this agreement should be regarded as a later analogical development in these two languages.

§102. Uses of the infinitive

In considering the uses of the infinitive, we shall be concerned with the infinitive as:

1. Verbal noun
2. Narrative form
3. Complementary infinitive
4. The infinitive following certain prepositions

§103. The infinitive as verbal noun

As a noun, the infinitive may be employed in the various uses of the noun (cf. §§45-54). In these uses, the infinitive serves the functions of both the infinitive and the gerund, which are distinguished in form in the I. E. languages.

Exx.: (1) אֶת סֶֽפֶר מַעֲרֵדָה אֵלֶּה יָרְדָּה הָרַבְּעָה אֵלֶּה יָרְדָּה הָרַבְּעָה

This is the work of the fourth (lit., It is the inclination of the heart when he sees me)

In doing
his mission.)" (Sin. B. 116-117). Here rkt is a verbal noun used as nominal predicate in a non-verbal sentence.

(2) ḫēn U (R)tnw ỉīt (lit., (at) the coming of the-land-of-Retenu-dawned)" (Sin. B. 129). In this case the infinitive ḫīt is used as an adverbial noun (cf.§51), modified by the phrase ḫēn t3 (R)tnw.

(3) ḫō sē t3 hōw smēt3 (lit., the day of rejoining the earth)." (Sin. B. 192-193). Here, sm3 is the direct genitive.

Uses of the infinitive as direct object are found in the citations under the complementary infinitive (§105); uses of the infinitive as object of prepositions are found in §106.

§104. The infinitive as a narrative form

In the Egypto-Semitic languages the use of the infinitive as a narrative form of the verb is not infrequent. Examples of this usage in Hebrew are abundant in the later books.

1. Thus written, according to Blackwell, op. cit., p. 27, l. 3, for ḫēn.
Exx.: (1) etc., יִזְכַּרְתְּ שֶׁ- (Hag. 1-6)
(2) etc., יִזְכַּרְתְּ שֶׁ- (Jer. 32.44)

Also Is. 37.19, Neh. 9.8, 13, et al. ¹

So also, in the Egyptian of the Sinuhe texts, the infinitive is found as a substitute for the finite verb with nominal² or no subject.

Exx.: (1)

לִיָּרַגְתֶּךָ נַרְט רֶחֶם נִסְנָפ מַרְפֶּה "Thus the god did in order to forgive him in whom he had felt resentment." (Sin. B. 147-148)

(2)

סְמַט בִּי "(I) placed myself between two bushes." (Sin. B. 4-5)

(3)

נְדַת נַפְּלָה לַעֲבֹד אֶל נְב. 1 "What saith my lord to me?" (Sin. B. 261)

This practice spread also to include forms with pronominal subject. In the Sinuhe texts, this usage is quite frequent.

Exx.: (1)

1. Cf. GKC §113 y, ff.
2. Cf. the examples quoted in Gard. Gramm. § 306.2.
rdit.f wjm ḥkt(3) why "He made me a tribal chieftain." (Sin. B. 86)

(2) ḫr.t šmt "I made a departure, i.e., I departed." (Sin. B. 5-6)

(3) rdit.f wjm ḥšt ḫrdw.f "He placed me before his children" (Sin. B. 107-108)

(4) ḥš.t ḫtš 1st.3 lb.3 "I lifted up my heart." (Sin. B. 23)

Rem. 1. It is suggested that this narrative usage of the infinitive stems from the gerundial function of the infinitive, and approximates in meaning, though not in form, the Latin ablative absolute. Accordingly, the sense conveyed by this construction is "His having made me a tribal chieftain, he .... (Ex. 1, above)," "My having made a departure, I .... (Ex. 2, above)," etc.

In view of this development, it is probable that the so-called "šmt.f" form (see Gard. Gramm. §§ 401-409) is nothing more than the infinitive used as a narrative form. The principle objection that might be raised to

1. Blackman, op. cit., p. 23, l. 11, has inserted "sic" between QQ and I, calling attention to the absence of a t in this position. It is the present writer's feeling that this orthography is produced by the conditions referred to in §§ 14, Rem. 3; 40, Rem. 1, above. Since the a has become lost in pronunciation as an ending, the nisbe (cf. 64) adjective built upon this word appears in this form. In other words, whyt > why > whyy > why.
this hypothesis concerns the appearance of the feminine infinitive in the strong verbs, e.g., 𓊫𓊫𓊦𓊦𓊨 sỉkt.(1) (Sin. B. 23-24). That the Egypto-Semitic infinitive is not limited in its feminine form to the weak verbs is apparent from Hebrew, e.g., 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦, 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦, etc. Further, since grammatical form is so dependent upon the vowel structure in these languages, it seems logical to assume that analogical forms would develop in the verbal systems representing the same vocalic pattern in all classes of verbs possible.

§ 106. The complementary infinitive

Among the uses of the infinitive as a verbal noun, is the use as direct object of certain verbs, as complementary infinitive. In Egyptian certain verbs meaning "order," "desire," "fear," "plan," "expect," etc., may be followed directly by the infinitive. Others (cf. § 107, below) require the use of a preposition between the finite verb and the succeeding infinitive. Examples of the complementary infinitive are:

Exx.: (1) 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦 k3.n.f

हढ़क ममुन(t).i "He planned to take my cattle."
(Sin. B. 112)

(2) 𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦𓊦 𓊦𓊦 fisn.f
§3. He reports when he is ordered to appear. (Sin. B. 51)

(3) n.f hpr ~ t(w) n.f. "I did not expect to live after him." (Sin. B. 7)

§107. The infinitive following certain prepositions.

In a sense these constructions represent the employment of the infinitive (verbal noun) as indirect object and object of a preposition (adverbial). The designation of the specific preposition for conveying shades of meaning has certain nostratic features which will be noted in passing. Although numerous prepositions are employed in this construction, the most important are r "to, for," and hr "upon."

§108. Following the preposition r, the infinitive frequently expresses purpose, result, or other aspects of futurity with regard to the time of the main verb.

Exx.: (1) "I reached the Prince's wall," r hr iry3 r hsf Sttyw

which had been made in order to oppose the Asiatics." (Sin. B. 16-17; similarly, B. 72-73)

1. Cf. § 83, above.
2. Cf. § 128, ex. 5.
3. See § 112, d, below.
§109. Following the preposition "ḥr, the infinitive frequently expresses a circumstance concomitant with the time of the main verb.

Exx.: (1) "I went about my encampment rejoicing (lit., upon rejoicing)." (Sin. B. 201)

(2) "Ten men departed" "upon my arriving at the Palace." (Sin. B. 249; sim. B. 239). (See also example cited in §125, d.)

(3) "copy of the order which was brought to this servant upon his being brought to Egypt." (Sin. B. 178)

Rem. 1. If, as suggested in §105, Rem. 1, the sdmt.f
forms are in effect feminine infinitives of "immutable" verbs with pronominal subject, all the examples cited in Gard. Gramm. § 407 fall into the construction now being considered.

Rem. 2. The specialization of meanings and concepts derived from the use of different prepositions with the infinitive shows certain Nostratic features. Just as Egyptian employs ḫr to denote a datival reference (cf. § 124, b, below) as well as to introduce purpose in the infinitive, so also do other languages of Nostratic origin contain prepositions with this dual function; e.g.:

French: (a) J'achèterai ce livre pour lui.
(b) Je suis venu pour étudier.

Similarly, the concomitant aspect expressed by ḫr "upon" with the infinitive finds parallels in the Indo-European languages. The second example quoted in § 109, above, illustrates this formation both in Egyptian and English.

Rem. 3. For the use of ḫr plus infinitive in the pseudo-verbal construction see §§ 147 ff, below.

1. The term "immutable" is applied to the group of strong verbs which show no gemination or consonantal change of root as distinguishing between the perfective and imperfective forms.
§ 110. Following other prepositions, the infinitive has further specialized meanings. These will be listed under each preposition in Chapter VI.

VII The Participle

§ 111. The participle, as an adjectival form of the verb, manifests the attributes of both the verb and the adjective. As a verb it may take an object and serve in the various functions of the verb; at the same time it possesses the features of an adjective, qualifying a noun, pronoun, or sentence, and agreeing with these substantives in number and gender.

§ 112. Morphology of the Participle

Four participles are distinguished in Egyptian:

(1) Imperfective active
(2) Imperfective passive
(3) Perfective active
(4) Perfective passive

(a) The imperfective active participle shows no ending in the masc. sing.; it has an ending 广泛应用 for the masc. plural and automation for the feminine sing. and plural; thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Where gemination is possible, it is regularly employed.¹

(b) The imperfective passive participle has an ending חלק in the masc. sing. and plural; it has an ending ṭ-t for the feminine sing. and plural. Gemination² is expressed where possible.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>sḏm(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>sḏm(w)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The perfective active participle is distinguishable from the imperfective active participle only in the geminating verbs by the lack of gemination.

(d) The perfective passive participle shows an ending ṭy in the verbs 3as inf. and the anomalous verbs to which is added חלק w for the masc. plural and ṭ-t to the fem. sing. and plural.³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sing.</td>
<td>ḫy ḫy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plur.</td>
<td>ḫy ḫy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹. Cf. §113, ex. 4.
². For the meaning of "gemination" as applied to Egyptian grammar, see §72.
³. See LeF. §§429-446; cf. also §108, ex. 1, above.
§ 113. Syntax of the participle

The Egyptian participle enjoys wider employment than can be expressed idiomatically in English by use of the participial phrase. In this sense, the Egyptian participle is like the German participle which may be used in complex sentence structures with wide latitude. Due to the idiomatic limitations of the English participle, it is frequently necessary to paraphrase the Egyptian construction in translating. Under these circumstances, the English translation will frequently require a relative clause to express the Egyptian participial phrase. It should be borne in mind, however, that from the point of view of Egyptian syntax, we are dealing with participles and not relative clauses, despite the resulting translation.

Exx.: (1) ntr pf mnḥ wawnwnd.f ḫt ḫswt "That excellent god who is feared throughout the lands (lit., his fear being throughout the lands.)" (Sin. B. 44-45)

(2) ḫrt ydd ḫnt r bnw ḫb.f "A messenger, who used to go north and south to (and from) the capital, stopped before me (lit., going north and south, etc.)"

(Sin. B. 94-95; similarly, B. 245)
It is he who multiplies those who are born in his time (lit., he (is one who) multiplies the born ones with him)." (Sin. B. 69). Note that the perfect passive participle maintains the present - perfect time aspects of the perfective noted in §95, above.

Men and women pass by, rejoicing in him.

§114. The adjectival form

The adjectival form acts like a future active participle, for it always has future meaning. In structure, it is formed by the addition of *-ty* to the root of the verb resulting in a stem to which is added the following endings:

- **masc. sing.**: ky
- **fem. sing.**: sy
- **c. plur.**: sn

These endings agree in number and gender with the noun qualified by the participle. Only one example occurs in the Sinuhe texts.

Ex.: 

"He will not fail to do good"
to a country that will be loyal to him (lit., a country being upon his water)." (Sin. B. 74-75)

VIII. The Relative Form

§115. Peculiar to Egyptian is a verbal system used to form relative clauses in which the subject is different from the antecedent of the clause. To the root of the verb is added a feminine $\text{-t}$, if the antecedent is feminine; $\text{\textw}$ occasionally is added to the root when the antecedent is masculine. The resulting relative stem is conjugated like the $\text{sdm.f}$ and $\text{sdm.n.f}$ forms in their various uses.

Exx.: (1) $\text{\textnfr} \text{\textirrt.n.sn}$ "(It was) good that they did (for me)." (Sin. B. 28)

(2) "Whatever was trapped was given to me.... $\text{\texthwr-r}\text{\textiwn} \text{\texttasw.1}$ "besides that which my hounds brought." (Sin. B. 90-91). For a discussion of the possible vocalization of this form, see §72, above.

(3) $\text{\textnmt} \text{\textitn}$ "You have curbed that which the sun has put on." (Sin. B. 203; similarly, B. 144-145, cited in §116, below)

1. See §117, ex. 4, below.
Rem. 1. It should be noted that an unexpressed and otherwise undefined antecedent is considered feminine; cf. exx. 1 and 3, above; also ex. 1, §116, below. On the other hand the expressed indefinite antecedent (ex. 2) is considered to be masculine.

§116. A resumptive pronoun is frequently expressed in the relative clause. This is particularly true in relative clauses in which a preposition governs the relative (cf. exx. 2 and 3, below).

Exx.: (1) kbt.n.f irt st r.i ir.n.i st r.f "I did (it) to him what he had planned to do (it) to me." (Sin. B. L44-145)

(2) h3st nbt rwt.n.i r.s "every land from which I departed (lit., every land which I departed from it)"
(Sin. B. 101)

(3) hr irt1 ntr r htp n ts.n.f im.f "Thus did the god in order to forgive him in whom he had felt resentment." (Sin. B. L47-148)

§117. Occasionally, when the relative clause is locative, a resumptive adverb is used in place of the adverbial prepositional

1. For the infinitive as a narrative form see §94, above.
phrase with resumptive pronoun.

Ex.:

\[ \text{smwn.k r rdt m\textsubscript{5}.i bw wrw \textsubscript{lb.1} Im} \]

"Surely you will allow me to see the place where my heart resides." (Sin. B. 157-158)

The Egyptian idiom would permit wrw \textsubscript{lb.1} Im.f without any change in meaning or force.
CHAPTER VI
The Particles

A. The Adverb

§118. Very few words are specifically original adverbs; most words that are used adverbially are originally nouns, prepositions, or adjectives. Among the words that might be classified as original adverbs, the following appear in the Sinuhe texts:

(a) 

entirely," with negatives, "not at all."

Ex.: sin.n.f rsy "There was no time at all for him to delay." (Sin. G. 11)

(b) min "today."

Ex.: 1w min ib.f ic "Today his heart is appeased." (Sin. B. 149; similarly, B. 189).

min has a tendency toward being used enclitically.

(c) "here."

Ex.: mk-tw "Behold you are here." (Sin. B. 77)

§119. A number of monological adverbs are derived from

1. See §8, above.
prepositions; others are derived from adjectival (or verbal) stems; still others are actually nouns used adverbially (cf. §51, above).

Exx.: (1) तन्द्रे । "the place where my heart resides (lit., the place that my heart resides there.)" (Sin. B. 158, cited in §117, above; similarly, Sin. B. 84, cited in §126, a, below).

(2) नृप पन ह्र कु म "This god addressed me in a friendly fashion." (Sin. B. 253-254). The participle of the verb कुम "to give pleasure."

(3) हृत्र प्रय "from start to finish. (lit., "its front to its rear."
(Sin. B. 311)

§120. Adverbial phrases are formed by the combination of a preposition and a noun, a preposition and adjective, and a preposition and an adverb. (cf. §122,c.) These combinations will be treated in the succeeding sections under each of the prepositions.

1. Cf. §19, above.
2. Lit., "pleased-ly."
so employed. Frequently such prepositions are omitted resulting in the absolute use of these expressions in adverbial accusatives. (cf. § 51, above.)

B. The Preposition

§ 121. The Egyptian prepositions may be divided into two main categories: simple prepositions and compound prepositions; both of these groups contain Egypto-Semitic elements.

The Simple Prepositions and Their Uses

§ 122. The main simple prepositions found in the Sinuhe texts are: m generally conveys the meanings of "in, from, with, by means of." When used with the suffixes, it is usually preceded by a prothetic ı.

Ex.: "he had felt resentment in him." (Sin. B. 148, cited in full in §116, above.)

The principal uses of m are:

(a) Place in which or at which

Exx.: (1) m c.d.n.sht "I spent the day in the marshlands ?) (Sin. B. 9-10; similarly, B. 185, et passim)

(2) wn hprt m hnw "Has something happened at the

1. Exact meaning not known; lit., "field-canal."
capital?" (Sin. B. 35-36; cited in 42, above)

(b) Rarely, instead of r, after verbs of motion with
the meaning of "at, into;"

Ex.: [diagram] sm.n.1 m w Snfrw

"I arrived at the island of Seneferu." (Sin. B. 9)

(c) Temporally

Exx.: (1) m mn "on today." (Sin. B. 186;

cf. §118, b, above)

(2) [diagram] m st s.s s

"at the time of revolution" (Sin. B. 57-58)

(d) Of instrument or means

"I killed the people therein," [diagram] m hpš.1 m pdt.1

m nmHX.1 m Sfrw.1 Wfrw "by means of my arm, my bow,
my campaign, and my excellent plans." (Sin. B. 105-106;
similarly B. 52, cited in §139, ex. 2, below; also,
B. 256). Note that in a series of prepositional
phrases, the preposition is repeated in each case and
there is no coordinating conjunction used.

(e) Of states or manner

Exx.: (1) [diagram] iw hn w m agr; 1bw m gmrw "The capital was in

silence; hearts were in mourning." (Sin. R. 8-9)
(2) snyt m tp-hr-mšt "the courtiers were in mourning (lit., in (the state of) heads-upon-the-lap)" (Sin. R. 10)

(f) Of concomitance (like š-n m; see below §126)

Exx.: (1) "The king of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibre ascended to heaven,"

Exx.: (2) "I went with the Army." (Sin. Ob 3.38)

(g) Of equivalence or predication

Exx.: (1) .AutoSize(81,670,272,679)  i.w.f m nsw "He is the King (lit., as King)." (Sin. B. 68)

Exx.: (2) "He allowed me to spend many years"

Exx.: (3) AutoSize(81,737,272,746)  rd.f w m ḫk "He made me a prince." (Sin. B. 86)

(h) Partitively or of separation

Exx.: AutoSize(81,795,272,804)  rd.f n.f stpl "He allowed me to choose for myself from his land" (Sin. B. 79)
(1) With the infinitive (cf. §§ 107-110, above) to express the gerund as means

Exx.: (1) \[\text{nf}^c.n.\text{i} \] \[\text{m nftf}^\text{t} \text{"I removed myself by leaping up."} \]
(Sin. R. 27)

(2) \[\text{irt.}^\text{i} \]
\[\text{m hntyt} \text{"I departed by going southward."} \]
(Sin. B. 5-6)

Rem. 1. It seems likely that the Semitic languages developed two distinct prepositions (\(\text{nf}^c\) and \(\text{irt.}\)) from a single Hamito-Semitic preposition \(\text{m}\); or alternatively, two primitive prepositions \(\text{m}\) and \(\text{b}\) fell together in Egyptian. This hypothesis is based upon consideration of the parallel usage of Egyptian \(\text{m}\) as illustrated above, on the one hand, and the two Semitic prepositions, on the other hand. Of the two hypotheses advanced above, the evidence is in favor of the latter, viz., that primitive Egyptian-Semitic \(\text{m}\) and \(\text{b}\) fell together in Egyptian. In Ugaritic, on the other hand, the resulting preposition was \(\text{b}\); in this language the meanings of Hebrew \(\text{nf}^c\) and \(\text{irt.}\) are represented by \(\text{b}\) exclusively. Interesting support for this conjecture is presented by Gordon,\(^2\) who has noted

1. Cf. § 105, ex. 2, above.
vestiges of primitive **b in Hebrew where ** would ordinarily be expected. The fact that ** in Arabic and ** in South Arabic express the same concepts points toward a secondary leveling of two separate primitive prepositions. In other Semitic languages ** is the preposition to express the partitive concept or separation, while ** is reserved for the other uses of the Egyptian preposition. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find in Hebrew the employment of the preposition ** as the counterpart of the Egyptian "m of equivalence or predication" (cf. §122, g).

Exx.: (1) ** ** ** ** ** (Job 23.13).
(2) ** ** ** ** ** ** ** (Ex. 6.3).

§123. ** n is primarily used to express:
(a) The dative (cf. §50, above, with examples) after certain verbs of giving, saying, sending, commanding, etc.

Exx.: (1) ** ** ** dd.f n.1 "He said to me"
(Sin. B. 31, et passim)
(2) ** ** ** ** rdif.n.f n.1 mw "he gave me water." (Sin. B. 27)

1. Dr. Lawrence N. Manross has pointed out examples of m used in Arabic in this expression.
2. Other Hebrew examples of this phenomenon are cited in the Introduction to this study, q.v.
(b) After certain verbs of motion, signifying "to (a person)," as contrasted with \( \rightarrow r \) "to (a thing or place)."

Ex.: \[
\begin{align*}
\text{šm.n.1 \( \rightarrow \) n w.}\text{f} & \quad \text{I went with him to his tribesmen.} \quad \text{(Sin. B. 27-28)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(c) Temporally, usually with distributive force

Ex.: \[
\begin{align*}
\text{sp 3 sp 4 n hrw} & \quad \text{three or four times a day.} \quad \text{(Sin. B. 298)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(d) Possession; discussed in full in §128.

§124. \( \rightarrow r \) has the general connotation of "towards;" its basic uses are:

(a) To, toward a place (in contradistinction to the use of \( \rightarrow n \) in §123, b, above).

Exx.: (1) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{sb.n \( \rightarrow \) t3-}\text{Tshm} & \quad \text{His Majesty sent an army to Libya.} \quad \text{(Sin. R. 11-12)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(2) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{hr.n.1 r \( \rightarrow \) km} & \quad \text{I returned to Kedem.} \quad \text{(Sin. B. 29)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(3) \[
\begin{align*}
\text{hr.n.1 r dmf Ngw} & \quad \text{I reached the town of Negu.} \quad \text{(Sin. R. 37)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(b) As dative; although there are no occurrences of this usage in the Sinuhe texts, it is nevertheless frequent
throughout Egyptian, particularly in the petrified expression $\text{in} \, \text{f} \, (\text{subject}) \, \text{f} \, \text{r} \, (\text{person})$

Ex.: $\text{in} \, \text{sn} \, \text{r.f} \, (\text{said}) \, \text{by} \, \text{them} \, \text{to} \, \text{me}.$

(deB. p. 120, 1.2; ib., 1.3, et passim. 1)

(c) Temporally, with the force of "time at which, time during which."

Ex.: $\text{ph.n.sn sw r tr n w'wy} \, \text{"They reached him at eventide."} \, \text{(Sin. B. 20)}$

(d) Of comparison

Ex.: (1) $\text{wr n.f}^2 \, \text{irp} \, \text{r mw}$

"It had more wine than water (lit., great to it was wine more than water.)" (Sin. B. 82)

(2) $\text{h.c.s}^3 \, \text{im.f} \, \text{r ntr.sn} \, \text{"she (the city) rejoiced in him more than (in) their god."}$

(Sin. B. 66-67) cf. also §20, ex. 2)

(e) Of separation

Ex.: $\text{fr.n.1 r Kpn} \, \text{"I departed from Byblos."} \, \text{(Sin. B. 29)}$

(f) Of opposition

Ex.: "Does there exist a strong man" 07 $\text{h}.$, r.f "who would fight against him?" (Sin. B.

---

1. See also Gard. Gramm. §163.2.
2. Cf. §50, b.
3. See §14, Rem. 3.
With the finite verb to express purpose

Ex.: "I removed myself by leaping up" - ע(children)

ר הָמַה יָכַד "so that I might find a hiding place." (Sin. B. 2-4)

With the infinitive; this subject has been treated fully in §§107-110.

Rem. 1. As in the case of מ (cf. §122, Rem. 1), it is not clear whether Egypto-Semitic מ andiran fell together in Hebrew as מ or, alternatively, whether Egyptian developed oppositional forms from a single Egypto-Semitic preposition. It is nevertheless clear that both Egyptian מ andiran are represented by Hebrew מ. Corresponding to the possessive use of מ are such constructions in Hebrew as מ יי (Psalms, passim), מ ל (I Sam. 16.18), etc. Similarly the dative, direction toward, and temporal uses of both Egyptian prepositions are uniformly represented by מ in Hebrew.

§125. מ has an original meaning of "upon" and corresponds in use but not etymologically to Hebrew מ. Its uses in the Sinuhe texts are:

(a) Of place, "on, upon"
Exx.: (1) φ, > ἡρ μιστ "on the lap."
(Sin. C. 2, quoted in §122, e, ex. 2)

(2) ἦν.κῳδ ἡρ ἢω κεωρ "I stopped on the isle of Keros." (Sin. R. 46)

(3) γα.ν.σω ἰπτυκ ἡρ ὧτ "The messengers found him upon the road." (Sin. R. 19)

(4) So also for "in (a place)" instead of ἰο.τ του ἠμ "In a place"
πι.το.το: "A Beduin recognized me"


Exx.: (1) φυ.ν.κο ἡρ μιστ pw "Why have you come here? (lit., Because of what have you reached these (places)?)" (Sin. B. 34-35)

(2) πρ.ν.τω ἡπρωτ ἡρ. "One does not know (i.e., it is not known) what will happen because of it."
(Sin. B. 37)

(c) With the infinitive concomitantly; for examples, see §98, above.

1. The B. Recension has — γρ in place of φ, ἡρ.
2. See §20, rem. 1.
(d) With the finite verb to express a causal clause

Ex.: "He is angry"  ח"שׁ "because he sees me carrying out your orders." (Sin. B. 116-117). This sentence is an excellent example of the distinction between הָר plus infinitive and הָר plus finite verb.

(e) Idiomatically in semi-adverbial force with certain verbs

Ex.: צָאתְּנָה לְעָלְתִּי רָעָה swif הָיָה "The men and women pass by."

(Sin. B. 69; sim., Sin. R 39)

Rem. 1. Parallel to the Egyptian usage of הָר to express cause is the use of בְּי in Hebrew.

Ex.: "Streams of water have not run down my eyes" חָרַמֵל "because they have not obeyed thy law." (Ps. 119:136)

§126. Other simple prepositions used in the Sinuhe texts are:

(a) חָרַמֵל "together with," the usual preposition for expressing concomitance.

Exx.: (1) בַּלַּק "חָרַמֵל שָׁמָּוֶל "The Falcon (i.e.,

1. Cf. §124, ex. 1.
the Prince) flew (back) with his retinue."
(Sin. R. 21-22; similarly, Sin. B. 33-34,
cited in §155, ex. 1, below.)

(2)  ייתכן(dd.n.f q3.f l3n~)
"He said that he would fight with me."
(Sin. B. 111). Cf. §124, f.

(3) From the meaning of "together with,"
\(l3n\) came to be used as the equivalent of a
coordinating conjunction.

Ex.: 4 skeptical ... m 3w shr l3n bd.t
"There was wheat and emmer there." (Sin. B. 84)

(b) 47 mi expresses "likeness" and conformity

Exx.: (1) 4 skeptical ... m shr ntr "It was
like a plan of God." (Sin. B. 43; sim.,
Sin. B. 44-45, cited in §51, above)
(2) With the infinitive, equivalent to "like
(plus gerund)"

\[\text{m}3\text{sw Idh} y m ~3gw "It was like experiencing
a dream, like a man from the Delta seeing
himself at Elephantine." (Sin. B. 224-226)\]
(c) hr, with primary meaning of "under," is used in various idiomatic expressions and metaphors.

Exx.: (1) hr sh n whyt.f "by the counsel of his tribe."
(Sin. B. 113; similarly, B. 182)

(2) ssn pn nty wi hr.f "This condition which I was in (lit., "under"). (Sin. B. 173-174)

(d) hft, originally "face to face" is used with d in the sense of "to converse with."

Exx.: (1) dd.n.f hft.f "Then he said to me." (Sin. R. 67)

(2) dd in.sn hft hm.f "said by them to his Majesty." (Sin. B. 266-267)

§127. Interesting is the preposition imyw "between." This word probably had its origin in the feminine dual of the nisbe adjective derived from the preposition m.

Ex.: rdit.i wi imyw b3ty "I placed myself between two bushes." (Sin. R. 28; similarly, B. 249)

§128. The Compound Prepositions

Under this classification are those expressions which are composed of a simple preposition and another word used idiomatically to convey a shade of meaning which is not conveyed by the preposition alone. In view of the comprehensive and well organized list of these compounds in *Gard. Gramm.* (§§178-181), there is no point at this time in relisting these prepositions. Our purpose will be served by citing some representative examples of the compound prepositions as they appear in the Sinuhe texts.

Exx.: (1) $\text{\textbf{m\textbf{n\textbf{k}\textbf{y\textbf{h\textbf{p\textbf{r}}}}}^{1}} \text{hr-}h^{3}t.f$  
"There is not another person before him."  
(Sin. B. 48)

(2) "Crouching in the bushes," $\text{\textbf{m\textbf{m-snd}} m\textbf{3}} \text{wr\textbf{y\textbf{w}}}$  
"lest\textsuperscript{2} the guards see (me)." (Sin. B. 18-19).

Note: Just as the simple prepositions are used as subordinating conjunctions when followed by a clause, so also the compound prepositions may be so employed.

(3) $\text{\textbf{hr-}ib ky} \text{\textbf{idr}}$ "Verily, I am like a stray bull

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1. Cf. §42, 2, above.
2. Lit., "in fear that."
3. For this reading, see *Gard. Gramm.* p. 563; cf. §48, Rem. 2, ad fin.
in the midst of another herd." (Sin. B. 117-118).

(4) "Whatever was trapped was given to me...."

\[ \text{hrw-r} \]

Inw₁ tsmwy₁ "besides that which my hounds brought." (Sin. B. 90-91). Note: The compound preposition hrw-r is interesting as an illustration of a non-parallel development in two languages of common origin. As previously illustrated (§125, above) \( \text{hrw-r} \) corresponds functionally, but not etymologically, to Hebrew \( \text{'y} \). Possibly the concept of "besides, in addition to" was connected with the concept of "upon" in the primitive Egypto-Semitic original, for we find in Hebrew: (Gen. 31.50)

\[ \text{And if you take (other) wives in addition to my daughters.} \]

In Egyptian, however, although the concept of addition is inherent in hr, the Egyptian idiom requires reinforcement by an additional preposition r (like English "in addition to") where the simple preposition \( \text{'y} \) suffices in Hebrew.

1. Cf. §72.
"I did not expect to live after him." (Sin. B. 7)

"The children of the King" wnw m-ḥt.f "who were in his company."

(Sin. R. 23)

The Proclitic and Enclitic Particles

§129. The principle proclitic particles found in the Sinuhe Romance Recensions are:

(a) lst2 (from earlier ḫt- lst) serves to introduce a new phase into a continuing narrative. It is best rendered "now, then" in the non-temporal meanings of these words.

Exx.: (1) ḫt b r msw-nsw "Then the King's children were sent for." (Sin. R. 22)

(2) lst Ḥf. ḫt "Then I stood up," or "And, lo, I had been standing (nearby)." (Sin. R. 24)

More frequently, lst is accompanied without change in meaning by the enclitic particle rf.

Exx.: (1) ḫt sb.n

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1. Cf. §106, ex. 3.
2. See also its use as enclitic in §130, b, below.
'hm.f mrk "Now, His Majesty had sent an army
(to Timehi)." (Sin. R. 11)

(2) \[\text{ 第五回}\] "Then the
Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower
Egypt, Kheperkaure, spoke." (Sin. B. 173)

(3) \[\text{ 第五回}\] "Now they had brought their
menats, their aba-sceptres, and their
sistrums." (Sin. B. 268-269)

(b) mk has the force of "behold, lo."

Exx.: (1) mk tw "Behold,
you are here. (Sin. B. 77)

(2) mk wi m-b3k-h "Behold, I am in your presence."
    (Sin. B. 264)

(c) nhmn; "truly, verily, surely"

Exx.: (1) nhmn sz.f kg r qh "Surely his son has entered the Palace."
    (Sin. B. 46). The plural sign used with the
    particle is probably vocalic. The R-Recension's
    version of this passage does not have the
    plural sign; cf. Sin. R. 70.
Verily, I am like a stray bull." (Sin. B. 117-118)\(^1\)

Rem. 1. These particles possess Semitic features which are particularly to be noted in Ugaritic. The analogy of the Egyptian \(mk\) and the Ugaritic \(mk\) (in such Ugaritic expressions as \(mk.b\)šb\(^\circ\)\(ānt\) "behold, in seven years") has been pointed out by Professor Gordon.\(^2\) Undoubtedly, the Ugaritic particle \(hm\) is likewise of Hamito-Semitic origin. The Ugaritic example \(hm.\)\(āt\)\(ām.\)\(tān\) "and behold the two women cry out"\(^3\) parallels the Egyptian usage of both \(hm\) and its derivative \(n\)\(hm\)\(n\). The shorter particle does not occur in the Sinuhe texts, though it is common throughout Egyptian.

Rem. 2. The use of the dependent pronouns following the particles in various connections has been noted in §§22, 23 and 25, above. It is evident from a preliminary analysis that while the pronominal subject of a finite verb is generally the suffix pronoun or the independent pronoun, there exist cases in which the dependent pronoun may be so employed. When the dependent

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1. Cf. § 48, Rem. 2; 117.
3. Ibid., loc. cit.
pronoun is so used, there is invariably some preceding particle on which the dependent pronoun may hang. In view of the fact that the primary function of the dependent pronoun is its use as direct object, we may conjecture that there is some underlying and explicable factor which renders possible a nominative assignment to this pronoun. Possibly the most plausible explanation lies in the nature of the basic proclitic particles. An examination of the particles ClearColor1st and mk (§129, a and b, above) in their uses in other texts reveals that the final consonant in each appears in various forms resembling the second person (singular and plural) of verbs. Thus, for example, we may find forms such as sk, 'e'm:n, etc. These forms may well be imperatives of some primitive verbs whose original meaning is lost to us. In the case of mk and its related forms, we are undoubtedly dealing with the imperative of the verb "look." The dependent pronouns following these imperatives would then be explicable as objects of these verbs. Applying these principles to the two examples in §129, b, we should render the translations literally as "Behold (thou)
thee (who art) here," and "Behold (thou) me (who am) in your presence." Undoubtedly at some later stage of the language, as other particles of non-verbal derivation evolved, the use of the dependent pronouns in this position was developed analogously along the lines of this pattern.

§130. The principle enclitic particles found in the Sinuhe texts are:

(a) ~ rf and related words serve to emphasize some phase of the sentence in which it is used. In appearance these particles resemble the preposition r with suffixes. In the Sinuhe texts, the particle occurs only with the first and third person suffixes; the latter had already become petrified to the status of an independent word showing no agreement in person with the words emphasized. The particle appears occasionally with prothetic ~ as ~ irf.

Exx.: (1) ~ ~ dd.k(w)I rf n.f "Then I said to him." (Sin. B. 45-46)

(2) ~ ~ wmn irf tr pf m "What then will that land be like?"

(Sin. B. 43)

1. Cf. §113.
As soon as dawn came (lit., when the land brightened very early)." (Sin. B. 248; also B. 252, cited in §149, ex. 2, below)

(b) 𓊳 is, which is undoubtedly connected with the proclitic particle 𓊳 (cf. §129, a), is also used enclitically in the Sinuhe texts.

Ex.: 𓌰𓊳mination 𓊳 in "Today indeed you have begun to age." (Sin. B. 189-190); similarly, Sin. B. 232, cited in §138, ex. 1, below)

(c) 𓍛  tr denoted surprise, wonder, or mild interrogation.

Ex.: 𓊳mination 𓊳 in "Really, I am not a confederate of his." (Sin. B. 114)

§131. The interrogative particle 𓊳 in

Sentences may be rendered interrogative in Egyptian by use of the particle 𓊳 (most commonly in the Sinuhe texts in combination with 𓊳 in), which is placed at the head of the sentence.

Exx.: (1) 𓊳mination 𓊳 in "Has any thing happened at the
Palace? (lit., Is it that there has been an occurrence at the Palace?)" (Sin. B. 35-36)

(2) in iwm ntr hm, etc. "Is it that God does not know, etc."

(Sin. B. 126)

(3) nght "Does there exist another strong one?"

(Sin. B. 133-134; similarly, Sin. B. 120-121)

(4) rf ntt.f htp "Will he indeed be forgiving today?"\(^1\) (Sin. B. 162-163)

Rem. 1. This interrogative particle is not only of Egypto-Semitic origin, but it is actually of Nostratic development. It occurs in Aramaic commonly; once in I Sam. 21,9 in the sentence:

"Have you a spear or sword?" (lit., is it that there is under your hand a spear or sword?). The Masoritic punctuation is undoubtedly correct, and it should not be emended to for we are concerned here with an interrogative particle and not, as frequently interpreted, the

\(^1\) Lit., "Is it indeed today that he will be forgiving?"
negative. It is also not necessary to declare this text "undoubtedly corrupt" (cf. GKC p. 473, n. 3) or to supply an additional interrogative (cf. Wellhausen) in the form of the expression ως να ἀληθινόν.

As in other languages, a strong connection existed also in Egyptian between the interrogative sentence and the conditional. Although no example of this employment is found in the Sinuhe texts, it does occur elsewhere (cf. exx. cited in Lef. § 677). In Greek, this particle likewise has the double function of interrogative and conditional.

Exx.: (1) οὐκ ἦν ἤρεισθ' ἀμαθώς καὶ ἐπικεφαλής

"Do you not think that he would even have hastened thither?" (Demosthenes 27, 56) (interrogative)

(2) ἔλθεν ἦν εἰ ἐκέλευσαν "He would have come, if I had commanded him." (cf. Goodwin, W. W., Greek Grammar, § 1304., p. 278) (conditional).

In the conditional usage, the particle has come down to Shakespearean English:

Ex.: "An thou dalliest...."

CHAPTER VII

The Sentence

Generalities.

§ 132. In considering the structure of the Egyptian sentence and its constituent parts, it is necessary to distinguish two basic types of sentences: the verbal and non-verbal. The verbal sentence is one whose expressed predicate is a finite verb or an infinitive used as a finite verb.

Rem. 1. The structural and syntactic distinction between these types of sentences also underlies the composition of the sentences in the Semitic languages. Nuances in emphasis as well as in meaning determine the selection of the type of sentence to be used in both families of languages.

§ 133. As previously stated (§ 45, above) Egyptian word-order was rather rigidly fixed, and deviations from the norm invariably imply distinctions in stress or meaning. In the verbal sentence, the predicate regularly precedes its subject; variations from this rule are always purposeful. In the non-verbal sentence the predicate follows its subject with certain notable exceptions which will be treated below.
The Verbal Sentence

The normal word order of the verbal sentence is:

1. Verb
2. Subject
3. Direct object
4. Indirect object
5. Other adverbial phrases

There are variations in the position of the subject, direct and indirect object, depending upon whether these substantives are nominal or pronominal. These variations are discussed in detail in §§45-54 above.

Emphasis is achieved in the verbal sentence by giving precedence to the part of speech to be emphasized. In the normal sentence, the verb, holding the first position, receives the emphasis. Occasionally, the subject will precede the verb when a shift of stress is intended. In such cases, a resumptive pronoun is used with the following finite verb.

Exx.: (1) bik qn.f حن smsw.f "The Falcon (i.e., the Prince) flew (back) with his retinue."
(Sin. R. 21-22)

(2) ïbt 3s.n.f w(f) "An attack (lit., "a
falling") of thirst overtook me."

(Sin. B. 21-22; so also with the sdm.tw.f form in the word ḫnm.t(w).f (Sin. B. 234, cited in §158, ex. 2, below)

Ex: 

§136. The direct object may likewise receive emphasis by being placed in the first position.

Ex: 

"They sent courtiers of the palace to the west (lit., to the western side)." (Sin. R. 17-18)

Rem. 1. Such sentences as this pose a variety of interpretations. Smrw might be considered the subject of a passive sdm.f, to be rendered "The courtiers, they were sent, etc." or, considering this sentence to be of the category described in §135, above, one might render the sentence "The courtiers sent (someone) to, etc."

1. Cf. §49, Rem. 2, above.
2. Cf. §55.
3. Cf. §64.
4. Cf. §§82-83.
Finally, as here interpreted, samw may be considered the
direct object with positional emphasis, the verb being
considered an active sdm.f with the 3rd pers. pl. suffix
used as an indefinite pronoun (cf. § 31, Rem. 1).

There is in fact some doubt that a passive sdm.f
actually existed in Egyptian, and without a knowledge
of the vocalization, there can be no definitive proof
for its existence or non-existence.

§ 137. According to the definition formulated in § 132,
above, the non-verbal sentence is one whose expressed predicate
is other than a finite verb or infinitive used as a finite verb.
In this type of sentence, the predicate may be a substantive or
substantival clause, an adjective or adjectival phrase, an adverb
or adverbial phrase.

§ 138. The non-verbal sentence with substantival predi-
cate normally equates two substantives, either nouns or pronouns.
In these constructions, the copula is never expressed, juxta-
position serving to form the equation. When the subject is a
pronoun, it is the independent pronoun.

Exx.: (1) ntk is² hbs

\*\*\* tn "Thou (Re) art indeed the dress of
this horizon." (Sin. B. 232-233; similarly,
following the negative ² n in B. 230).

1. Cf. § 29 and additional examples cited there.
2. See § 130, b, above.
(2) So also might be treated the sentence
with pronominal subject and noun-clause
predicate. 

"(It is) he who subdued the foreign lands.
(lit., he is one who subdued the foreign
lands.)" (Sin. B. 50)

When the subject is a demonstrative pronoun, it is preceded by its
nominal predicate.

Ex.: dpt m(w)t nn 1 ntr pw grt mn

(This (lit., these) is the taste of death. (Sin. B. 23)

§139. Particularly in the poetic sections of the Sinuhe
texts, the demonstrative pronoun aḥ pw is used in place of the
independent 3rd pers. sing. pronoun in the non-verbal sentence.

In the poetic eulogy to Senuseret (Sin. B. 47-73), the construction
with aḥ is frequent.

Exx.: (1) ntr pw grt nn sn-nwy.f. "He is moreover a god without
equal (lit., there is not his second)."

(Sin. B. 47). This construction parallels
the usage in the final example of §138, above,
in which the predicate is a noun.

(2) ngt pw grt

"He is moreover a champion, accomplishing by means of his arm."
(Sin. B. 51-52). Here, a substantivized adjective is used as predicate. So also, with following genitive of specification (cf. §49, d) in the following example.

(3) "He is stout of heart when he sees a throng." (Sin. B. 58-59). Such sentences are not to be interpreted as non-verbal sentences with adjectival predicate, for "wmt µb" is here a nominalized phrase "He is one who is stout of heart." Such nominalization may encompass entire sentences; e.g.:

(4) "It is he who multiplies those who are born in his time (lit., He (is one who)) multiplies the born ones with him.)" (Sin. B. 69). Similarly, "He is one who enlarges the borders." (Sin. B. 71).

1. Cf. §113, ex. 3, above.
2. Cf. §122, d, above.
3. Cf. §41, ex. 2.
4. For other nominalized adjectival phrases, see §141, below.
Note that the position of pw is flexible. It may follow the entire predicate, or it may interrupt the predicate noun clause, separating verb from object. So also pw may separate a noun from its adjective or adjective-verb, e.g.:

\[ \text{\textit{It was a good land.}} \]  

(Sin. B. 81)

(5) \[ \text{\textit{The Lord of Wisdom is he.}} \]  

(Sin. B. 48)

Rem. 1. The absence of the "m of predication" (cf. §122, g and §122, Rem. 1) in the foregoing sentences will be noted. The significance of this Egyptian-Semitic element is still being investigated. Gardiner (cf. Gard. Gramm. §38, obs, and in his "preface to the Second Edition," p. viii) credits Cerny's observation that the m of predication is never used in describing a permanent "property" or quality, but rather only when the equation refers to an "accident" or temporary quality. In four of the foregoing citations, Cerny's theory would hold; example (1), however, is questionable. In the quotations in §122, g,, all of the equations refer to such non-permanent qualities.

1. See §14., above.
The same pattern is applicable to the Hebrew employment of this Egypto-Semitic element.

§140. The non-verbal sentence with adjectival predicate is quite rare in the Sinuhe texts. In general its structure resembles that of the non-verbal sentence with nominal predicate, and accordingly, it is frequently indistinguishable from the latter. Example 3 of the preceding section should not be considered as a non-verbal sentence with adjectival predicate; it is probably more accurate in view of the presence of the adjective phrase as a substantive. The undisputed examples of this construction are those whose predicate is a simple adjective and whose subject is a noun.

Exx.: (1) ḫm ṛ h t l n h wr n.f frp r1 mw
       "Greater to it was wine than water." i.e.,
       "it had more wine than water." (Sin. B. 82)

       (2) ẖm ṛ h t l n h  ṛ 3 bît.f. "Great was its honey." (Sin. B. 82-83)

§141. The distinction becomes insignificant in such sentences as:

       (1) ḫm ṛ h t l n h wr m n lnk ẖw ẖw l m h
       "I am not conceited (lit., high of back)."
       (Sin. B. 230)

1. Cf. §124, d.
In these examples, the predicates might with equal justification be considered noun clauses, viz., "I am not one whose back is high," and "I am one whose servants are many," as their literal translations indicate. At any rate, the distinction between nouns and adjectives in Egyptian — just as in the Semitic languages — is not very great.

§142. In view of the strong verbal character of the adjective1 it is probable that many apparent non-verbal sentences with adjectival predicate are in fact verbal sentences. Despite Gardner's categorization of adjective plus dependent pronoun as a classification of this sentence structure (cf. Gard. Gramm. §137), all of his examples are subject to other interpretations. The example from the Sinuhe texts, 𓊂𓊂𓊂𓊂𓊂 nfr tw 𓊂𓊂 (Sin. B. 31) might as easily be considered the adjective verb with indefinite pronoun 𓊂 tw. Such a sentence, therefore, would be verbal. (Cf. §24, Rem. 1; §31, Rem. 1). This sentence might reasonably be "one is happy with me."

§143. The non-verbal sentence with adverbial predicate appears either with or without the copula 𓊂 tw (cf. §85-87).

In the absence of the copula, the independent pronoun may be used as subject; such occurrences are, however, rare.

Exx.: (1) นิหรม นิหร m ยติ "It (my heart) is not in my body." (Sin. B. 255; similarly, B. 39, B. 185)

§144. If the subject is nominal in the sentence without copula, such subject normally heads the sentence.

Exx.: (1) นิหรม นิหร m ยติ "The courtiers were in mourning (lit., in (the state of) heads-upon-the-lap.)" (Sin. R. 10; similarly, R. 11)

(2) นิหรม นิหร m ยติ "Fields were in it." (Sin. B. 306)

§145. With the copula, the pronominal subject is the suffix pronoun; these elements precede the predicate. This construction is frequent in expressing subordinate clauses of one type or another as well as independent clauses and sentences.

Exx.: (1) นิหรม นิหร m ยติ "I was at the approach to the road."

(Sin. B. 2)

(2) นิหรม นิหร m ยติ "I was at the approach to the road."

1. Cf. §122, e; §58.
"(Since)¹ he is King." (Sin. B. 68). Note here the use of the m of predication (or equivalence) so prevalent in Egyptian and present in the Semitic languages (cf. § 122, g;§122, Rem. 1).

§146. When a proclitic particle introduces the non-verbal sentence, it replaces ḫw, and the pronominal subject of such sentences is the dependent pronoun (cf.§§ 22, 24, 129, Rem. 2).

Exx.: (1) mk tw ḫw "Behold you are here." (Sin. B. 77)
(2) nḫmn ḫw mk tw "Indeed, I am like a bull." (Sin. B. 118)

The Pseudo-Verbal Construction

§147. An examination of the examples cited in §§134–146 will show a further characteristic distinction between the verbal and non-verbal sentences. Whereas the verbal sentences describe an action, event, or occurrence, the non-verbal sentences describe a state of affairs, existence, or quality. There exists in the Sinuhe texts a further type of sentence, which expresses this meaning of the verbal sentence, but resembles in form the non-verbal sentence with adverbial predicate. This construction is composed

¹. Cf. §159, ex. 2.
of two closely allied structures:

(a) Subject (noun or pronoun) followed by ḥr (or m) with the infinitive

(b) Subject (noun or pronoun) followed by the old perfective (cf. §§96-100, above).

It will be noted that the constructions with ḥr plus infinitive in general portray the course or duration of an action, the active aspects of the verbal idea. On the other hand, the constructions with the old perfective describe the state which exists as a result of an action, the passive aspects of the verbal idea.

The pseudo-verbal construction is found both with and without the auxiliary. Without the auxiliary, the subject is normally nominal, the pronominal subject occurring only when some particle precedes it.

Exx.: (1) 1bw m gw "Hearts were mourning." (Sin. R. 9; similarly, R. 10, cited in §15, above)

(2) ṭ3yw ḥr "Men murmured." (Sin. B. 132)

(3) mn(w) m nhbt.f "My arrow rested in his throat." (Sin. B. 138-139; similarly, sn(w) in Sin. B. 214-215, cited in §152, ex. 1)

(4) "Every Asiatic cried out." (Sin. B. 141)
"Lo, I was standing." (Sin. R. 24)

The great Double Doors were closed." (Sin. R. 9). Note that ḫmtw, as written here, is the 3rd masc. pl. old perfective (cf. §96, above); hence the ending in Ɪ-w.

§149. Frequently these constructions are combined with the auxiliaries both in main and subordinate clauses.

Exx.: (1) ṣḏm.n.f ḫw.f ḫr ṣḏt "I heard his voice, as he was speaking." (Sin. B. 1-2)

(2) ṣḏm.n.f ḫw. f ḫr ṣḏt "Now, I was stretched out on my belly." (Sin. B. 252-253)

M eyebrow "My statue will be covered with gold." (Sin. B. 307-308)

Noun Clauses

§150. The Egyptian affinity for nominalizing words, phrases, and sentences has previously been noted (cf. §§ 57-59,

1. For the reconstruction, see Blackman, op. cit., p. 4, 1. 1.
2. Cf. §130, above.
above). It is upon this feature of nominalization that certain Egyptian forms and constructions depend, and its complete understanding is necessary for adequate comprehension of Egyptian idiom.

§ 151. The noun clauses, clauses which function as nouns, may be used in the position of any other noun. Clauses which serve as the subject or object of a verb are accordingly noun clauses.

Exx.: (1) \(\text{dd.n.1} \)  
\[ \text{dpt m(w)t nn} \]  "I said, 'This is the taste of death.'" (Sin. B. 23; similarly, B. 31, R. 59, B. 57)

(2) \(\text{jmt.n.1} \)  
\[ \text{bpr b3yt} \]  "I thought (that) there would be a fight." (Sin. B. 7)

(3) \(\text{n.1} \)  
\[ \text{inw grg.tw (r)di} \]  "Whatever was trapped was given to me." (Sin. B. 89-90)

(4) \(\text{h\textsuperscript{c}-ngr \ 3by m \ 3r sw} \)  "The body of the god united with (him who) made him." (Sin. R. 8). Note

2. Cf. § 139.
3. Cf. §§ 83-84, above.
4. Cf. § 82, above.
that šr sw forms a noun clause with unexpressed subject (relative form), the clause serving as object of the preposition l m.

(5) 

Po s s i . f m ḫ m n stp-s3 wnt b3k ı n l m 1 nd(w) 2 dd st 3He perceived in the majesty of the palace that this servant was afraid to say it." (Sin. B. 214-215).

Literally, "He perceived in the majesty of the palace the-being-of-this-servant-was afraid, etc." wnt is not necessarily a conjunction as usually interpreted, but rather the gerund (infinitival) of the verb wān. The presence of a t in the infinitive of a verb 2ae gem. need not disturb us, as explained in §104, Rem. 1.

§152. Introducing the noun clause, the conjunction ntt may be used.

Ex.: 

... mk ln.t(w) n.k wk pn n

nsw r rdît ry.k ntt dbn.k ḫ swt. "Behold there

1. The adverb 𓊙 im is here used with the force of a virtual demonstrative adjective.
2. Cf. §148, above.
3. Cf. §14, Rem. 3.
is brought to you this order of the King to inform you that you have encircled the country."

(Sin. B. 181)

§153. Idiomatic clauses used as virtual nouns are described in §§ 46-48, above.

Adjectival Clauses

§154. The adjective or relative clauses which function as adjectives, may appear with or without an introductory word. Whether or not an introductory word is used, Egyptian reinforces the relative clause, when the subject of the clause is different from the antecedent, through the use of a resumptive pronoun, which repeats the antecedent in pronominal form. Relative clauses without introductory word (virtual relative clauses)¹ which occur in the Sinuhe texts are:

Exx.: (1) \[w\ddot{3}.n.\dot{i} m ws\dot{t} nn \dddot{h}w\ddot{w}.s\] "I crossed over by means of a barge which did not have a rudder (lit., a barge, its rudder was not)."

(Sin. B. 13). Note the resumptive pronoun \(\dddot{p}\), used in the possessive.

(2) \[ntr \text{ pf mnh wnnw snd.f jt}\]

¹. In this connection, see also §§ 115-117, above.
"That excellent god whose fear is throughout the lands (lit., the fear of him is throughout, etc.)." (Sin. B. 44-45; similarly B. 47)

(3) wrt r cqšt h3t. l m t3 ms. kwI lk.f "What is more important than burying my corpse in the land in which I was born (lit., the land, I was born in it.)?" (Sin. B. 159-160)

§155. Introducing the relative clauses, the relative adjective may be employed. This adjective seems to be a nisbe² form derived from the genitival n (cf. §§ 48, 55, Rem. 1).

Unlike the usage of the Semitic languages, in which a pronoun is employed in these constructions, Egyptian expresses the relative as an adjective.

Exx.: (1) ntw yr3 nḫt.(r). n3 w t nṯt. ntyw ỉm ḫn.l.f "People of Egypt who were there with him bore testimony to me."

(Sin. B. 33-34)

(2) sǎm pn nty

1. Cf. §35.
2. See §64, above.
3. Cf. §14, above.
As demonstrated above (§156, Rem. 2) the genitival

n is used in various contexts and constructions to express
adjectival relationships. In addition to the use of the relative
adjective to form relative clauses, Egyptian may represent the
same construction by — n alone.

Ex.: \( \text{w²p.k} \)

\( \text{ṣpssw n dd.sn n.k} \) "You set down the riches
which they gave to you." (Sin. B. 187)

Rem. 1. Although, as stated in §12, above, there is
no necessary connection between the Semitic relative
pronouns and the Egyptian relative adjective, there is
evidence of Semitic parallels to the relative construction
with the genitival preposition — n (§156).

Ex.: \( \text{ךלנשנכ לילע תמא ול יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה ה תמא יכ איה H} \)

"I am sought of those who did not ask; I am
found for those who did not seek me." (Is. 65,1)

Adverbial Clauses

§157. Like the noun clauses (§§151-153) and the adjective
clauses (§§154-156), adverbial clauses may appear with or without
introductory words or conjunctions. These clauses may be classified

1. See §126, c.
according to meaning into such groupings as temporal, conditional, purpose, result, etc. In the Sinuhe Romance texts use is made of the auxiliary 𓊳 to introduce certain adverbial clauses. Adverbial clauses may follow or precede the main clause.

§158. Without introductory conjunction, the nature of the clause must be determined by context.

Exx.:

1. Lit., "(when) the land had brightened."
§152. Adverbial clauses of various types may be introduced by the copula 43 lm. Analogies have been drawn elsewhere in this study (§§ 86; 91, Rem. 1), and further remarks will be made directly, concerning the close relationship between the Egyptian copula 43 lm and the Hebrew waw in various usages. In the Sinuhe texts liberal use is made of 43 lm in circumstantial clauses, precisely like the use of the Hebrew waw copulative. The English translation of these clauses will vary with the interpretation of the context, for generally no conjunction introduces these clauses.

Exx.: (1) 1. Since the present study is largely restricted to the language of the Sinuhe Romance, the treatment of the Egypto-Semitic parallels of this interesting element can by no means be exhaustive. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence in the corpus of the Sinuhe Recensions to show conclusive relationships. It is the intention of the writer at some future date to examine the development of the copula through the various stages of Egyptian and to evaluate the evidence in terms of approach from the Semitic languages.

Exx.: (1) 43 l mf dm(w) h3swt, lm it.f m-lnw "It was he who subdued the foreign lands, (while) his father was in his Palace." (Sin. B. 50)

(2) ... sw3l
Men and women pass by, rejoicing in him, (since) he is King." (Sin. B. 69; similarly, Sin. B. 69)

The Hebrew parallels of this construction might be noted at this juncture as further evidence of the Hamito-Semitic origin of the waw consecutive and waw copulative.

Exx.: (1) לְאִוִּים אֶזְרִיתָה יַקִּבְסֵךְ אָנֵיהֶם לָעָמָר

"They (the angels) went to Sodom, (while) Abraham was still standing, etc." (Gen. 18, 22; similarly, Gen. 19, 1.)

(2) דֹּבְרֵי נְתִים בַּמְּוָא-רַגִּיזָם אֶלָּא בַּלָּבָט

"...words of peace with their neighbors, while evil is in their hearts." (Ps. 28, 3)

Rem. 1. Further investigation of the character of the waw consecutive and waw copulative and the connections with the Egyptian ḫr ḫw and ḥn ḫw is called for.

For such investigation, exhaustive study should be made of the various stages of both languages. From the evidence with which this study is concerned it seems likely that the auxiliary ḥn ḫw is most closely related to the element which determines the waw consecutive, while ḫw is most closely related to the waw copulative. The

1. See §312, a; 113.
appearance of the dageš in the waw consecutive with the imperfective construction substantially supports this contention. It is also probable that at a later stage of the language, Egyptian developed a coordinating conjunction from 4\3\w which parallels the conjunctive use of the Hebrew waw. In Coptic we find such a conjunction in the word 3\w, which Spiegelberg in his Koptisches Worterbuch, following the N. E. etymology of W. Max Müller, attributes to 4\3\w. It is here suggested that 3\w may more logically be derived from 4\3\w.

§160. Various prepositions serving as subordinating conjunctions are used to introduce adverbial clauses. Some of these have been discussed under the prepositions (see e.g., §§124, g; 125, d). The various prepositions produce diversified shades of meaning.

Exx.: (1) 4\1\fr wnn 1b.f r

<95 "If it is his desire to fight, (then let him tell me, etc.)" (Sin. B. 125).

4\ir, which is undoubtedly connected with the preposition 4\r, serves to introduce conditional clauses. There may also be a Hamito-Semitic connection between this

1. Spiegelberg, op. cit., p. 11.
conjunction and Hebrew ḫw which sometimes is used to introduce the conditional.

(2) ḫw hr.f dr ms.t(w).f "He has been doing it (lit., he has been upon it), since he was born." (Sin. B. 69)

(3) ḥnaissance q r ṭ-lb pw hr m33-f w1 "He is angry because he sees me." (Sin. B. 116-117).

1. Cf. 114, d.
# APPENDIX I

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