

Late Egyptian

Taught by Foy Scalf

Notes by Minh-Tâm Trinh

3/5/2024

1. Introduction to Late Egyptian and How to Study It

- Foy insists: Compare his sign list against Gardiner's
- resources:
 - Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, Vols. 1 & 2, Ed. 2
 - Černý–Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, Ed. 4
 - Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, Ed. 2
 - Neveu, *The Language of Ramesses*
- three dimensions: language, script, register
- texts:
 - Contendings of Horus and Seth
 - Tale of the Doomed Prince
 - Tale of the Two Brothers
 - Quarrel of Apophis and Seneferu
 - Tale of Wenamun
 - [Late Egyptian letters]
- Late Egyptian tends toward more analytic features
- “group writing” = syllabic writing

iw=f m s3 w[∘] n s 3
iw=f hr šmī.t hr t3 mī.t

- * As for him, [he] was behind one of an old[er] man.
- * As for him, [he] was walking upon the earth [of] the road.

And he was behind an older man.
And he walked on the road.

- red dots on papyrus called “verse points”, but actually the marks of the proofreading scribe doing his job
- the letter 3 evolved from the mark used by Greek scholars to indicate “smooth breathing”, while the letter [∘] evolved from that used to indicate “rough breathing”
- w often occurs at the end of words other than plural nouns: conjectured to indicate the vowel quality
- sometimes, group writing with the transliteration *nr* actually indicates a sound like /*n*/ not present in the Memphite prestige dialect
- in Late Egyptian,
 - h* often interchanged with *h* and *š*
 - k* often interchanged with *k* and *g* (“develarization”: velar to uvular)
 - interchange of *t*, *t*, *d*, *d*

- will parenthesize implied feminine endings when unwritten besides being unspoken

t3 sri.(t)

the daughter

- warning: some masculine nouns are written with a feminine *t*, due to group writing, as in the written ending of *p3 dmi*
- another possibility: written reduplication of *t* due to group writing, as in *dr.t=k*
- assorted examples:

p3 ntr ʕ3

t3 in.t ʕ3.t

n3 sr.w ʕy.w

md.wt bin.w(t)

the great god

the great valley

the elder officials

(some) evil words

- for next week:

do readings from Late Egyptian grammars, study descriptions of grammatical constructions


memorize signs and vocabulary

finish week 1 exercises

start looking at week 2

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2. The Late Egyptian First Present and Circumstantial Conversion

- warning: in LE, unlike in ME, the genitival adjective usually does not decline! except in, e.g., honorifics and formal titles
- 
- note how *irm* is spelled *irym*: however we don't know for sure what the *y* actually represented (a vowel?)
- Galen points out an example that requires context to disambiguate

p3 hr ʕ3 sps

the great, noble necropolis

NOT

* the great necropolis of the noble

- apposition:

nʕ wh3.w n Imn-Rʕ ny-sw.t ntr.w

the edicts of Amun-Re, king of the gods

- Mary: *h3r* would be Khar-, which sounds like Šur- as in Syria! Rachel: More accurately, Ašur, as in Assyria
- onomatopoeic words:

The screenshot shows a Zoom meeting interface. At the top, it says "You are viewing Foy Scalf's screen" and "View Options". The main content area is titled "BONUS OBJECT" and displays two ancient Egyptian artifacts. The top artifact is a fragment of papyrus with hieroglyphs. The bottom artifact is a fragment of papyrus with a drawing of a cat, a mouse, and a boy. To the right of the artifacts, there is a list of Coptic symbols and their transcription: τ^3 miw pnw p³ d(d). Below this, it says "the cat, mouse, and the boy". The Zoom interface includes a bottom bar with controls like Unmute, Stop Video, Participants (36), Chat, Share Screen, Summary, Record, Show Captions, Reactions, Apps, Whiteboards, and a Leave button.

- someone with username "R B": "cat" becomes $\epsilon\mu\omicron\gamma$ in Coptic
- LE *di* replaces ME ϵ for "hand, arm"
- in general, *-w* replaces *-sn* as the default 3rd-person plural suffix pronoun: *-sn* now sounds more formal
- warning: in LE, unlike in ME, suffix pronouns bind to nouns only in the case of (a limited set of) inalienable nouns: e.g., body parts
- instead, suffix pronouns in LE bind to articles to form *possessive articles*:

$t3y=f\ \check{s}ri$

NOT

* $t3\ \check{s}ri=f$

his daughter

- also notice that $\check{s}ri$ replaces $s3$, $s3.t$
- *pronominal compounds* in LE occupy subject slots, but do not replace independent pronouns:

$tw=i$

$tw=k$, $tw=t$

sw , st

$tw=n$

$tw=tn$

$tw=tw$

- LE mostly gets rid of passive forms, using pronominal compounds to convert passive constructions to impersonal active ones
- LE also uses pronominal compounds to avoid saying the name of the king, converting it to “the Royal One...”
- the *first present* construction: bipartite, consisting of NP + AdvP
- two examples that show a reversal from ME: the example with the pronoun has nothing in front of it, whereas in ME, we would require an *iw*

p3y=i it im
tw=i im

My father is there.
 I am there.

- LE *bn* replaces ME *nn* to negate the predicate; statement sometimes concluded with *iwn3*:

bn p3 ʕ m-di=i
hr bn tw=i m p3y=i shr.w iwn3

The donkey is not in my possession.
 Now, I am not in my (normal) way(s).

- Rachel: isn't *nn* to *bn* an unusual phonological evolution? Foy: yes, there was also a *mn* used to mean “There is/are not...”, and which was probably part of this evolution
- *bn ... iwn3* evolves into a negation construction in Coptic
- note that the first present, despite the name, does not indicate a tense: tense will be marked by *converter* particles
- so far, we're only discussing the nonverbal first present, but there is a verbal version
- the converter for the *circumstantial first present*, which corresponds to an English dependent clause “..., while...”, is *iw* (!)
- the circumstantial converter replaces the *tw=* part of the pronominal compound, and precedes the negating particle *bn*

iw p3 rmt m pr
iw bn p3 rmt m pr
iw=i m pr
bn tw=i m pr

...while the person is in the house.
 ...while the person is not in the house.
 ...while I am in the house.
 ...while I am not in the house. / I am not the house.

- extended example:

hr ir'Inpw
sw hr pr hr hm.t
iw p3y=f sn-šri m-di=f mi shr m šri

Now, as for Anubis,
he had a house and wife,
while his younger brother was with him in the way of a son.

- uses of *iw*:
 - circumstantial first present
 - continuative or NIMS (“Non-Initial Main Sentence”) clauses, which have the form *iw=f(hr) sdm* (“And, __ listens/listened...”) and are negated by *tm*
 - third future
- for next week:
 - do readings from Late Egyptian grammars, study descriptions of grammatical constructions
 - memorize signs and vocabulary
 - finish week 2 exercises
 - start looking at week 3

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3. The Infinitive and the Stative in the First Present and Late Egyptian

- as the force of the demonstrative adjectives in ME was reduced to that of definite articles in LE, these words took on possessive functions?
- in the spelling of *m dr.t=k*, the second *t* occurring in *tw* merely indicates that the *t* was pronounced, not just written as part of *dr.t*
- *pr-ḥd* for “treasury”, with honorific transposition when written:

iw=w m-ḥnw p3y r pr-ḥd

...when they were inside the doorway of the treasury.

- note that the replacement of *=sn* with *=w* is not a phonological shift: it’s grammaticalization of the plural marker
- restoration of *m* in transliteration:

ist iw p3y=f sn šri (m) ḥ3wty nfr

...so his younger brother was a good man[...]

- from P. BM EA 10185, recto 1.1



ist r=f ir ny-sw.t šknn-Rḥ (nh) w(d3) s(nb)
sw m ḥk3 ḥ(nh) w(d3) s(nb) n niw.t rsy.t
i3d.wt m dmi ḥm.w

iw wr ꜥppy ꜥ(nh) w(d3) s(nb) m Hw.t-wꜥr.t

...so as for the king, Seqenen-Re, l.p.h.,
he was ruler, l.p.h., of the southern city.
Miseries were in the town of the Asiatics,
when the chief, Apophis, l.p.h., was in Avaris.

- *dependent pronoun* series:

<i>wi</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>tw, ti</i>	<i>twtn</i>
<i>sw, st</i>	<i>sn, st</i>

- uses of dependent pronouns in LE:

direct objects of verbs

as subjects of clauses with adjectival predicates

in higher registers, uses closer to ME uses

- dependent pronouns beginning to be replaced with *direct object pronouns*:

<i>tw</i>	<i>tw=n</i>
<i>tw=k, tw=t</i>	<i>tw=w</i>
<i>tw=f, tw=s</i>	<i>st</i>

- Rachel: do the direct object pronouns come from the impersonal *tw*? Foy: no; but in fact, that's probably how the pronominal compounds evolved

- we believe the pronominal compounds were formed from *tw*, while the direct object pronouns were formed by generalizing, then re-grammaticalizing, the infinitive ending *-t*: thus the similarity between these pronouns would be merely coincidental

- example of use as direct objects:

wn.in=f hsf tw=f

Then he answered it.

iw=tn ꜥp tw=f r=i

You will conceal it from me.

- absolute, construct, and pronominal (i.e., with suffix pronoun) states of the infinitive evolved into corresponding forms in Coptic

- use of the infinitive in the first present:

with *hr*, less common:

p3 wpwty hr šmi.t

The messenger is walking.

Rꜥ hr hw=f

Re is protecting him.

tw=n hr mw.t n hkr

We are dying of hunger.

tw=i hr dd n P3-R

I am speaking to Pre [Pa-Re].

without *hr*(!), actually more common:

tw=i iri=f n=i m šri

I am making him as a son for me.

hr ir sw m3 n3 bt3.w

Now, he learned[?] about the crimes.

- the continuative / NIMS is our name for *iw=f(hr) D sdm*, where *sdm* can be replaced by either an infinitive or a stative
- the third future has a similar construction: *iw=f(r) sdm*
- no gemination in LE!
- other names for the stative: pseudo-participle, old perfective, resultative
- stative endings in LE:

Table of suffixes and spellings

Singular	1 st	<i>k</i> or <i>101</i> , later <i>t</i> or <i>0</i> (rare)
	2 nd masc.	<i>t</i> or <i>0</i> (rare), (<i>0</i> rare)
	2 nd fem.	<i>t</i> or <i>0</i>
	3 rd masc.	<i>0</i> or <i>y</i> (3rd inf.), (<i>t</i> or <i>0</i> very rare)
	3 rd fem.	<i>t</i> or <i>0</i> or <i>0</i> , (<i>0</i> rarer)
Plural	1 st	<i>n</i> or <i>0</i> , later <i>t</i> or <i>0</i>
	2 nd	<i>t</i> or <i>0</i> (or <i>0</i>), or <i>0</i>
	3 rd	<i>0</i> or <i>y</i> (3rd inf.), (<i>t</i> or <i>0</i> rare)

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4. The *sdm=f* Forms of Late Egyptian

- way to think about the Egyptian stative: high-transitivity verbs in the stative are translated with passive voice; low-transitivity verbs, like verbs of motion, are translated with active voice

tw=i sdm.kwi

I was heard.

NOT

* I heard.

- the third future in LE is similar to the indicative future in English
- one drawback of using Černý–Groll, etc. for a beginner course: they list ALL the exceptions up front
- from Coptic, we know that the stative had a different pronunciation from the infinitive in LE, irrespective of the endings
- due to the distinct pronunciation, the stative began to be spelled without its endings in LE, and these endings almost disappear in Demotic
- with verbs of motion, the *ḥr* + infinitive construction usually becomes *m* + infinitive, the main exceptions being *mšꜥ* and *šmi*
- nonetheless, *m* + infinitive becomes very rare in LE, except in high-register texts
- *wn.in* is the “narrative imperfect” converter
- Dentals in LE all merging together, resulting in written *t*’s that are likely phonetic(!) complements rather than, e.g., infinitive markers

iw=f ḥr di

NOT

* *iw=f ḥr rdi.t*

* *iw=f ḥr di.t*

Tiensirin: nonetheless, the *-.t* could also be a feminine suffix pronoun!

- definite article vs. demonstrative adjective:

n3 n rmt.w

n3.y n rmt.w


nn rmt.w

the people

these (of the) people

these people

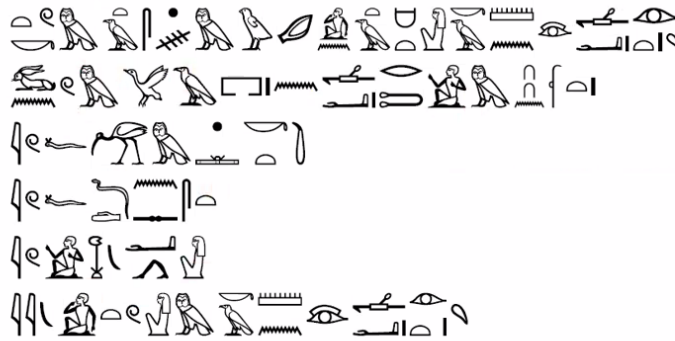
- *ym*, “sea”, is a borrowing from some Semitic or Canaanite language
- the “extra” signs in LE spellings can mislead, e.g., with noun gender, so rely on other cues:

 *tjy=f šri* “his daughter”

 *p3 šri* “the boy”

- extended use of the continuative:

4. LRL 46, 7-9



tw=k m t; sm n t; hm.t k;mn w' ir.t

wn m p; pr n w' rmt m 20 n rnp.t

iw=f gm k.t

iw=f dd n=s

iw=i h;=t

y; tw=t m k;mn w'.(t) ir.t

You are in the situation of the wife blind in one eye,
 when [she] was in the house of a man for 20 years,
 and he found another,
 and he said to her:
 I divorce ["abandon"] you.
 Indeed, you are blind in one eye.

- second-to-last line here is tricky:

5. Doomed Prince, verso 4.11-12



hr ir m-ht n; hrw.w sw; hr nn

iw p; hrd hr tnw m h'.wt=f nb.t

iw=f hr h;b n p;=f it m dd

iy ih iw=(i) min; hmsi.kwi

hr mk tw=i wd.kwi n p; šiy

Now, after the days passed concerning this,
 the child grew older in all his limbs,
 and he sent word to his father, saying:
 What has happened, while [I] am here waiting?
 Now, look, I am destined to ["the"] fate.

- LE *sdm=f* forms:

perfective *sdm=f* (a.k.a., preterite, perfect, ...)

prospective *sdm=f* (a.k.a., subjunctive, ...)

nominal *sdm=f* (a.k.a., second-tense, emphatic, ...)

- these $s\bar{d}m=f$ forms have the same outward appearance when used “positively”, but their negations look different
- LE perfective $s\bar{d}m=f$ developed into the periphrastic use of $\bar{i}ri$, in $\bar{i}ri$ + infinitive, and later into Coptic ⲁⲓⲣⲓⲛⲓ
- perfective and prospective $s\bar{d}m=f$ are sentence-initial
- perfective $s\bar{d}m=f$ negated by $bw-pw=f s\bar{d}m$, while prospective $s\bar{d}m=f$ negated by $bn s\bar{d}m=f$
- prospective $s\bar{d}m=f$ can follow:
 - $r\bar{d}i$ as a causative: $di s\bar{D}m=f$
 - $i\bar{h}$, “please”
 - $m-\bar{d}r$ or other prepositions/conjunctions

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5. Nominal Predicates in Late Egyptian

- the LE present- & past-tense verbal system:

independent present	$tw=f s\bar{d}m$
dependent present	$i\bar{w}=f s\bar{d}m$
negated independent present	$bn tw=f s\bar{d}m i\bar{w}n3$
negated dependent present	$i\bar{w} bn tw=f s\bar{d}m i\bar{w}n3$
independent past	$s\bar{d}m=f$
dependent past	$i\bar{w} s\bar{d}m=f$
negated independent past	$bw-pw=f s\bar{d}m$
negated dependent past	$i\bar{w} bw-pw=f s\bar{d}m$

- Demotists often read $h\bar{s}b.t$ as $h^{\bar{c}}t-sp$ by tradition, but this is actually incorrect: this tradition started from a (mis)reading of a Ptolemaic inscription where $h\bar{s}b.t$ was spelled out phonetically
- in many ways, LE works exactly the opposite of ME

$\bar{d}d=f$

he said

OR

saying it

NOT

* his saying

- wn = imperfect converter; $wn.in$ = narrative imperfect converter

$wn=i s\bar{d}m$

I heard

- LE no longer has a $s\bar{d}m.n=f$! it's replaced by the perfective $s\bar{d}m=f$

$\bar{h}^{\bar{c}}.n \bar{d}d n=s t3 Ps\bar{d}.t$

NOT

* $\epsilon h^{\epsilon}.n \underline{dd}.n=s \text{ } t3 \text{ } Ps\underline{d}.t$

Then the Ennead said to her

- example of a continuative followed by a perfective $\underline{s}dm=f$:

$\underline{i}w=s \text{ } hr \underline{dd} \text{ } n=f$
 $\underline{ptr} \text{ } di \text{ } p3y=k \text{ } ntr \text{ } w^{\epsilon} \text{ } m \text{ } n3y=k \text{ } s^{\epsilon}w.w \text{ } m \text{ } \underline{dr}.t=k$

And she said to him:

Look, your god has put one of your fates in your hand.

- remember that there are three words for day: r^{ϵ} , hrw , sw ; the last one is the one used in calendar dates
- example of active voice used to convey a passive construction:

O. DeM 73, 4

$\underline{hsb}.t \text{ } 20 \text{ } 3bd \text{ } 2 \text{ } 3h.t \text{ } sw \text{ } 10$
 $hrw \text{ } pn \text{ } \underline{dd} \text{ } iri.n \text{ } kd \text{ } Hr\text{w-}nfr \text{ } hn^{\epsilon} \text{ } 3ny-nht \text{ } m-b3h \text{ } sš \text{ } n \text{ } tm3 \text{ } Imn-nht$
 $\underline{i}w=tw \text{ } hr \text{ } sw\underline{d} \text{ } n=f \text{ } p3 \text{ } \epsilon3 \text{ } bin$

Regnal year 20, month 2 of Inundation, day 10.

On this day, the testimony that the builder Heru-nefer made against Any-nakht in the presence of the scribe of the magistrate Amun-nakht.

And the bad donkey was transferred to him.

(“And one transferred to him the bad donkey.”)

- Galen: “Interesting that hn^{ϵ} can be translated “against” due to context—not in Lesko as such.”
- example of a prospective $\underline{s}dm=f$:

$\epsilon nh \text{ } rmt.w \text{ } mnmn.t \text{ } m \text{ } inw.w=f \text{ } n \text{ } š3.w \text{ } nb$

May [the] people and cattle live from his gifts of all [the] fields.

- translate $mtr.t$ as “true” in the sense of “accurate” rather than *maat*:

$h3.t-^{\epsilon} \text{ } m \text{ } sb3y.t \text{ } mtr.t \text{ } ts.w \text{ } n \text{ } w3.t \text{ } n \text{ } \epsilon nh$

Beginning of [the] true teaching, sayings for a way of life.

- demonstratives can function like in ME (though have other functions; see below):

$\underline{dd} \text{ } n=f \text{ } t3ty$
 $i \text{ } \underline{dd} \text{ } my \text{ } n=i \text{ } p3 \text{ } di=k \text{ } p3y \text{ } h\underline{d} \text{ } im$

The vizier said to him:

Tell me, please, the place where you put this silver.

- independent pronouns and their evolution:

		Late Egyptian		Coptic	
		Accented	Distinctive Unaccented	Accented	Unaccented
1st pers. sing.	<i>ink</i>		2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	ΔNOK	$\Delta N\bar{I}$
2nd pers. sing. masc.	<i>ntk</i>		7.	$\bar{N}TOK$	$\bar{N}T\bar{K}$
2nd pers. sing. fem.	<i>nte</i>		8. 9. 10.	$\bar{N}TO$	$\bar{N}T\bar{E}$
3rd pers. sing. masc. and neuter	<i>ntf</i>		11. The demonstrative stands in complementary relationship	$\bar{N}TO\psi$	$\bar{N}T\bar{E}$
3rd pers. sing. fem.	<i>nts</i>		12. 13. The demonstrative stands in complementary relationship	$\bar{N}TOC$	$\bar{N}T\bar{E}$
1st pers. pl.	<i>inn</i>		14. 15. No distinctive form	ΔNON	$\Delta N\bar{N}$
2nd pers. pl.	<i>ntn</i>		16. No distinctive form	$\bar{N}T\omega T\bar{N}$	$\bar{N}T\bar{E}T\bar{N}$
3rd pers. pl.	<i>ntw</i>		17. The demonstrative stands in complementary relationship	$\bar{N}TOOY$	$\bar{N}E$

1.s.c.	<i>ink</i>		$\Delta NOK ; \Delta N\bar{I}$
2.s.m.	<i>mnt.k</i>		$\bar{N}TOK ; \bar{N}TK$
f.	<i>mnt.t</i>		$\bar{N}TO ; \bar{N}TE$
3.s.m.	<i>mnt.f</i>		$\bar{N}TO\psi$
f.	<i>mnt.s</i>		$\bar{N}TOC$
1.pl.c.	<i>inn</i>		$\Delta NON ; \Delta N\bar{N}$
2.pl.c.	<i>mnt.in</i>		$\bar{N}T\omega T\bar{N} ; \bar{N}T\bar{E}T\bar{N}$
3.pl.c.	<i>mnt.w</i>		$\bar{N}TOOY$

Singular	Tonic Serie		Atonic Serie	
	1 st	<i>ink</i> (ΔNOK)		<i>ink</i> ($\Delta N\bar{I}$)
	2 nd masc.	<i>ntk</i> ($\bar{N}TOK$)		<i>ntk</i> ($\bar{N}TK$) ⁴⁰
	2 nd fem.	<i>ntt</i> ($\bar{N}TO$)		<i>ntt</i> ($\bar{N}TE$)
	3 rd masc.	<i>ntf</i> ($\bar{N}TO\psi$)		////
	3 rd fem.	<i>nts</i> ($\bar{N}TOC$)		////
Plural	1 st	<i>inn</i> (ΔNON)		<i>inn</i> ($\Delta N\bar{N}$)
	2 nd	<i>ntn</i> ($\bar{N}T\omega T\bar{N}$)		<i>ntn</i> ($\bar{N}T\bar{E}T\bar{N}$) ⁴²
	3 rd	<i>ntw</i> ($\bar{N}TOOY$)		////

- uses of independent pronouns:

“subject” of a sentence with nominal predicate
possession
emphasis

- possible structures for sentences with nominal predicates:

independent pronoun + NP

NP + *p3y/t3y/n3y* + NP

NP + NP + *p3y/t3y/n3y*

šri p3y

3s.t wr mw.t-ntṛ t3y

He is a son.

She is Isis, the great, [the] god-mother.

- note: *p3y/t3y/n3y* always follows the predicate!

- how this is explained in Černý–Groll, etc.:

Singular	1 st person	<i>ink B</i>	‘I am a B’
	2 nd person	<i>ntk / ntṭ B</i> •	‘you are (fem.) a B’
	3 rd person	<i>B p3y / t3y</i> or <i>B Ø</i>	‘it is a (masc./fem.) B’
Plural	1 st person	<i>inn B</i>	‘we are B’
	2 nd person	<i>ntn B</i>	‘you are B’
	3 rd person	<i>B n3y</i> or <i>B Ø</i>	‘these are B’

- Foy believes that A + B constructions where both A and B are NP’s, not pronouns or demonstratives, are extremely rare, and that most examples in grammar books are actually adverbial predicates with a hidden *m*: in other words, A B is really A (*m*) B

- “Now, we don’t have time—in fact, we’re out of time...”

- nominal predicates negated using *bn* ____ (*iwn3*)

bn mntk rmt iwn3

You are not a man!

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6. The Imperative and the Conjunctive

- $tw=k mi=k$ “How are you?”
- for the best transcription + transliteration of LE stories: Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I, edited by Gardiner
- for the best transcription + transliteration of LE letters: Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca IX, edited by Černý
- summary of LE predicates:

nonverbal

adverbial (first present + satellites)

nominal

A B

A B $p3y/t3y/n3y$

A $p3y/t3y/n3y$ B

adjectival

$ny sw$ A

verbal

perfective $s\bar{d}m=f$

prospective $s\bar{d}m=f$

nominal $s\bar{d}m=f$

- the stacking of $p3y$'s can get confusing: below, the first $p3y$ is part of a possessive adjective, while the second indicates the nominal predicate

$p3y=k iti p3y$

He is your father.

- Doomed Prince, 7.2–4 [with Galen's help in wording the seventh line]:

$ptr tw=k m-di=i m šri$
 $iw=f hr dd n=f$
 $ink šri w^c n snny n p3 t3 n Km.t$
 $iw t3y=i mw.t hr mwt$
 $iw p3y=i it hr iri.t n=f k.t hm.t$
 $iw=s hr hpr hr msdy=i$
 $iw=i hr iy.t m w^c r r h3.t=s$
 $wn.in=f hr di n=f t3y=f šri r hm.t$

Look, you are as a son with me.

And he said to him:

I am the son of an officer of the land of Egypt.

And my mother died.

And my father took [“made”] for himself another wife.

And she came to despise me.

And I came to flee from before her.

Then he gave to him his daughter as wife.

- above, note the broad semantic range of *iri*, which we usually only translate as “to do, make”: it also shows up in the idiom for “to pass the time”
- repeated use of the independent pronouns:

mntk nby ntr.w m k3i=sn
mntk iir ʕnh=sn
 [...]
 mntk p3w.ty tpy
hr=k n=i
ink s3w-ʕ

You are the goldsmith of the gods in their forms.
 You are the one who makes their life.
 [...]
 You are the first primeval one.
 Your face is toward me.
 I am weak of arm.

- Wenamun, 1.12–14:

iw=i dd n=f
tw=i ʔ3i.tw n t3y=k mr
hr mntk p3 wr n p3y t3
hr mntk p3y=f smty

And I said to him:
 I have been robbed [stative] in your port.
 Now, you are the leader of this land.
 Now, you are its judge.

- the particle *ih* used to mean “Please...”:

ih dd=tn n ʔImn nb ns.t t3.wy Mr-sgr

Please, may [prospective] you say to Amun, lord of the throne of the two lands and Meretseger.

- “95%” of verbal roots look the same in the imperative as in the infinitive, but a few have a prefix (or “prosthetic”) *i*.-

i.dd
i.ir
i.h3b n=n ʕ=k

Speak!
 Do!
 Write to us how you are [“your condition”].

- verbs with special imperative forms:

mi
imi sw n=i

Come!
 Give it to me!

- So Miyagawa: the LE imperative *i*-prefix looks like the Coptic imperative α -prefix
- whereas the direct objects of LE infinitivets are suffix pronouns, the direct objects of LE imperatives are dependent pronouns

tw=i sdm=f
sdm sw

I heard it.
 Hear it!

- the imperative is negated by *m*, in which case there is no prefix *i*-, because it's technically a separate verb form taking a negational complement, just like in ME

m ir dd=f n=i ʕ n

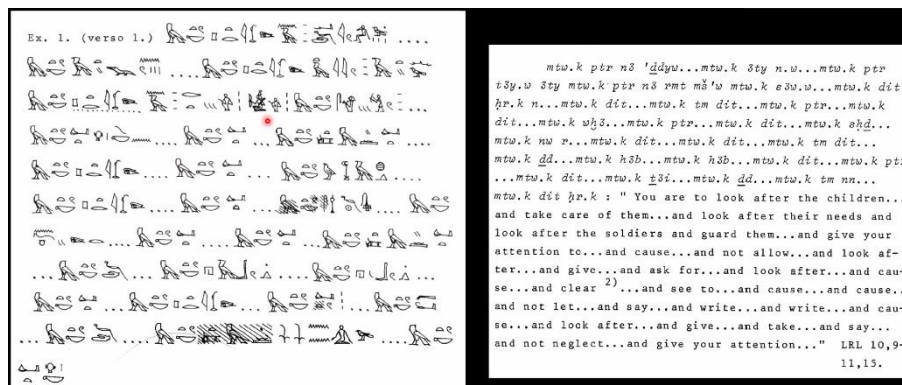
Don't say that to me again.

- the conjunctive takes the form *mtw* + [subject] + [infinitive]
- the conjunctive continues the semantic meaning of the preceding clause, so we translate it as a NIMS clause with "...and...":

dd n=i in n=t t3y ʕdd.t šrit mtw=t dit n=i sw n(t)=s

Buy from me for yourself this young girl and pay me her price.

- conjunctives can be strung together endlessly in informal language, as in this excerpt from a letter:



- Gardiner proposed that the “conjunctive morpheme” *mtw* actually evolved from the ME independent pronoun series:

iw=f r sdm iw=f r md.t
 \rightarrow * *iw=f r sdm hn ʕ md.t ntf*

→ $iw=f r \underline{s}dm \dot{h}n^c ntf md.t$
 → $iw=f r \underline{s}dm mtw=f md.t$

- the conjunctive persists into Coptic!

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7. The Third Future and Relative Clauses

- to use Ramses Online, it's necessary to type queries in FRENCH not English (e.g., "Moscou" not "Moscow")
- verb forms covered (and not covered) in this class:

Recording

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LATE EGYPTIAN SYSTEM

Talking: Foy Scall

Independent Present Tense

$tw=f \underline{s}dm$

Dependent Present Tense

$iw=f \underline{s}dm$

Independent Present Tense Negated

$bn tw=f \underline{s}dm iwn3$

Dependent Present Tense Negated

$iw bn tw=f \underline{s}dm iwn3$

Independent Past Tense

$\underline{s}dm=f$

Dependent Past Tense

$iw \underline{s}dm=f$

Independent Past Tense Negated

$bw-pw=f \underline{s}dm$

Dependent Past Tense Negated

$iw bw-pw=f \underline{s}dm$

Subjunctive Future

$\underline{s}dm=f$

Subjunctive Future Negated

$bn \underline{s}dm=f$

Indicative Future

$iw=f \underline{s}dm$

Indicative Future Negated

$bn iw=f \underline{s}dm$

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE EGYPTIAN VERBAL SYSTEM

MEANING	LATE EGYPTIAN	DEMOTIC	COPTIC
Present	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Circumstantial Present	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Relative Present	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Second Present	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Negative Present	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Circumstantial Negative Present	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\epsilon\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Progressive	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Aorist	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Negative Aorist	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Future	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Negative Future	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Past	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Second Past	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Negative Past	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Perfect	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Negative Perfect	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Optative	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Negative Optative	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Terminative	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Temporal	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Conditional	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Negative Conditional	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$bn tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Imperative	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Causative Infinitive	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Finalis	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Conjunctive	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$
Purpose Clause	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$tw=f r \underline{s}dm$	$\tau\omega\epsilon\mu\tau$

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- Galen on the “circumstantial negative present”: “I was puzzled by $iw bn tw=f \underline{s}dm iwn3$ because it seems to duplicate the independent and the dependent morphology. Why wouldn't it be $iw=i bn \underline{s}dm iwn3$?” Foy: break it down into converter + negation + first present
- “I don't know if I'm scaring you or if I'm inspiring you...”
- Egyptologists borrowed the term “aorist” from Greek studies, but give it an opposite(?) usage
- why the difference below?

$tw=k mi ih$
 $sw mi ih$
 NOT
 * $tw=f mi ih$

How are you?
 How is he?

- note how the syllable mi is usually spelled with the group writing: m -owl + \dot{c} -arm



mi n=i sp-sn Bit.t hm.t hr
mi ink hr

Come to me [emphasis]! Bichet, Wife of Horus.
 Come. I am Horus.

- for more on the Seven Scorpion Wives of Horus: check out Ritner's lecture about it on YouTube
- The scorpion wears a dress and bracelets:

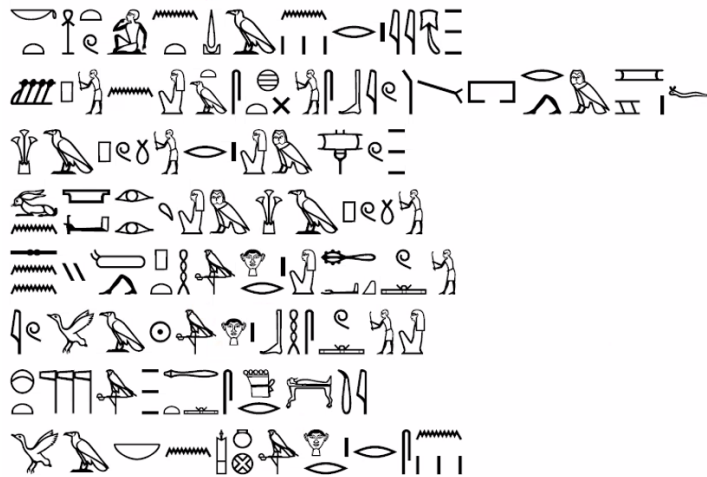


- example of active construction with passive meaning, followed by a relative:

wn.in=s hr dd n=f
imi di=tw hdb p3 iw nty m-s3=k
iw=f hr dd n=s
wh3

Then she said to him:
 Have the dog which is behind you killed ["Cause that one kill the dog which is behind you"].
 And he said to her:
 Foolishness.

- a spell about the Scorpion Wives (taken from https://www.metmuseum.org/art/metpublications/The_Art_of_Medicine_in_Ancient_Egypt):



k.t šn.t n.t d3r.wt
šsp n=t t3 sh.t sbi pri m mr=f
h3p r3=t m t3w
wn ir.ty=t n h3p
sni Pth hr=t h'k
iw P3-R' hr bhs=t
Psḏ.t ʕ.t sḏr.ti
p3 Nb n Twnw hr=sn

Another incantation of scorpions.

Receive for yourself the blow of the rebel who has come forth from his canal.

Cover your mouth within a sail.

Open your eyes in hiding.

May Ptah pass by your shaven face,

while Pre pursues you.

The great Ennead has passed [stative?] [the night].

The Lord of Heliopolis is upon them.

- note how *hr* is spelled with two *r*-mouths in the last line, hinting that the pronunciation has become reduced in LE *except* when a suffix pronoun preserves the ending *-r*

- John Sarr: “The Metternich Stele is also a good source of [the] Isis and the [S]even [S]corpions story”

- the conjunctive is more likely to follow a prospective / future / imperative than a present:

iry=k šmi.t r p3y=n pr
mtw=k ʕ'k r iḥw

May you go to our house
and enter the stable.

- from the famous Egyptian–Hittite treaty:



r3-pw ir w^rr w^c rmt^c 3 m p3 t3 n Ht3
mtw=f iy.t n Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c p3 hk3 3 n Km.t
mtw=w iy.t n R3-ms-sw mri Imn p3 hk3 3 n Km.t
bn iri Wsr-m3^c.t-R^c Stp.n-R^c p3 hk3 3 n Km.t r šsp=w
iri R^c-ms-sw mri Imn p3 hk3 3 n Km.t di.t ini.t=w n p3 wr 3 n Ht3

Or, if a great man should flee from the land of Hatti,
 and he come to Usermaatse Setepenre, the great ruler of Egypt,
 and they come to Rameses, beloved of Amun, the great ruler of Egypt,
 Usermaatse Setepenre, the great ruler of Egypt, will not receive [third future]
 them.

Rameses, beloved of Amun, the great ruler of Egypt, will cause [third future]
 that one bring them to the great leader of Hatti.

- Rachel: the Hittites put extradition clauses into all of their treaties because of how their inheritance [laws] worked
- Cy: “The Egyptian version on the monuments was translated from Akkadian[:]; it even refers to the Hittite seal that was on the Akkadian metal tablet”
- for further reading, Cy suggests *Hittite Diplomatic Texts* by Gary Beckman
- the *third future* is the indicative future verb form, just as the prospective is the subjunctive future verb form:

iw=f r sdm
bn iw=f r sdm

He will hear.
 He will not hear.

- *r* can be omitted from the third future, just as *hr* can be omitted from the first present
- the initial *iw* in the third future is often replaced with *iri*, as is (probably) occurring in the excerpt above from the Egyptian–Hittite treaty
- why this *iw* to *iri* replacement? we believe the two words sounded similar, so that this replacement would just be orthography to disambiguate the third future from the circumstantial first present
- circumstantial conversion of the third future will result in two *iw*’s, which will actually allow us to avoid further ambiguity:

Present I	Present I Circ.	Future III	Future III Circ.	Future III Neg.	Future III Circ. Neg.	Present I Circ. Neg.
tw=y	iw=y	iw=y	iw iw=y	bn iw=y	iw bn iw=y	iw bn tw=y
tw=t	iw=t	iw=t	iw iw=t	bn iw=t	iw bn iw=t	iw bn tw=t
tw=k	iw=k	iw=k	iw iw=k	bn iw=k	iw bn iw=k	iw bn tw=k
sw	iw=f	iw=f	iw iw=f	bn iw=f	iw bn iw=f	iw bn sw
st	iw=s	iw=s	iw iw=s	bn iw=s	iw bn iw=s	iw bn st
tw=n	iw=n	iw=n	iw iw=n	bn iw=n	iw bn iw=n	iw bn tw=n
tw=tn	iw=tn	iw=tn	iw iw=tn	bn iw=tn	iw bn iw=tn	iw bn tw=tn
st	iw=w	iw=w	iw iw=w	bn iw=w	iw bn iw=w	iw bn st

- “adverbial subordination makes it particularly clear that *th iw* in the Third Future belongs to the morphology of the form itself”:

[*mtw=k*] *3ty n=s iw iw=k gm=s r ir.t n3y=k ipw.ty im=s*

[...and you will] be careful with it [the boat], for you will find it useful for carrying out your tasks.

- *nty* is the only relative converter in LE
- some subtlety:

p3 rmt nty sw m-di=f

the man with whom he is

NOT

* the man who is with him

- occasionally, resumptive pronoun absent:

iw=i (hr) šm r p3 nty p3 wr im

I went to the [place] in which the prince was.

4/23/2024

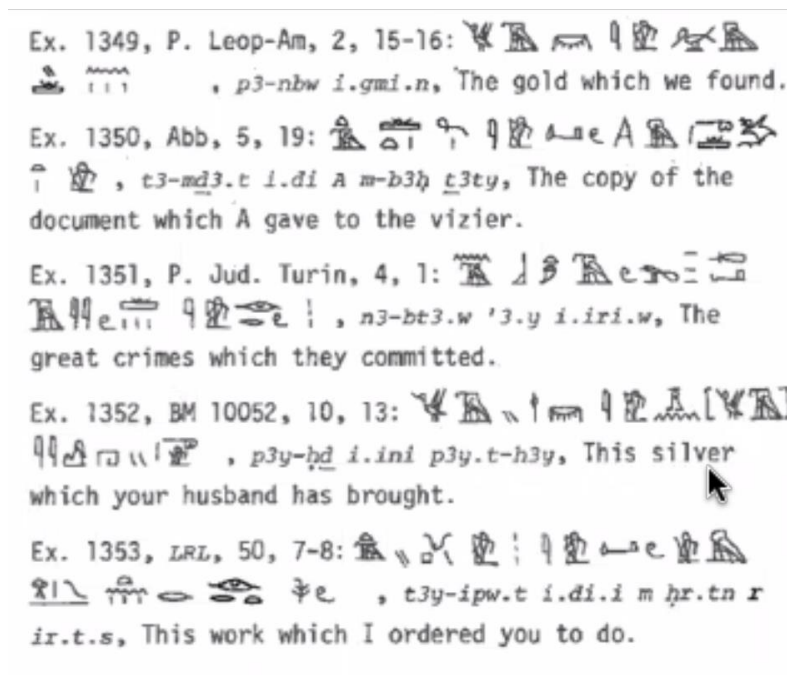
8. Relative Forms, the Second Tense, and Second Tense Conversion

[missed most of this class due to an airplane flight]

- like imperatives, relative forms are usually preceded by a prosthetic *yod*, which is sometimes written instead with an *r* mouth
- we can distinguish relatives from imperatives by the presence of a subject in the former:

t3 šc.t i.di p3 rmt n sn.t=f

the letter which the man gave to his sister



- recall that the purpose of a second-tense clause is to emphasize the adverbial phrase that follows
- very unfortunately(?), second-tense forms are also marked with a prosthetic *yod*
- the second-tense construction has the general form

i.sdm=f / i.ir=f sdm

+

one of

[preposition] + [noun phrase]

r + [infinitive]

iw + [sentence conjugation]

[clause conjugation]

i.ir=k it3 3h.t=i hr ih

Why did you take my property?

(Wenamun
2.3-5)



hwf w3b qd n3t i.3rk ly hr ih n shn

hwf qd n3f i.3r3t ly m-s3 t3 t.t n p3 w3 3 3ps n 'Imnw-R'w nzw ntr.w

i.3r p3y=k tit

i.3r p3 tit n p3y=k tit

hwk 3r3f m-r3-3

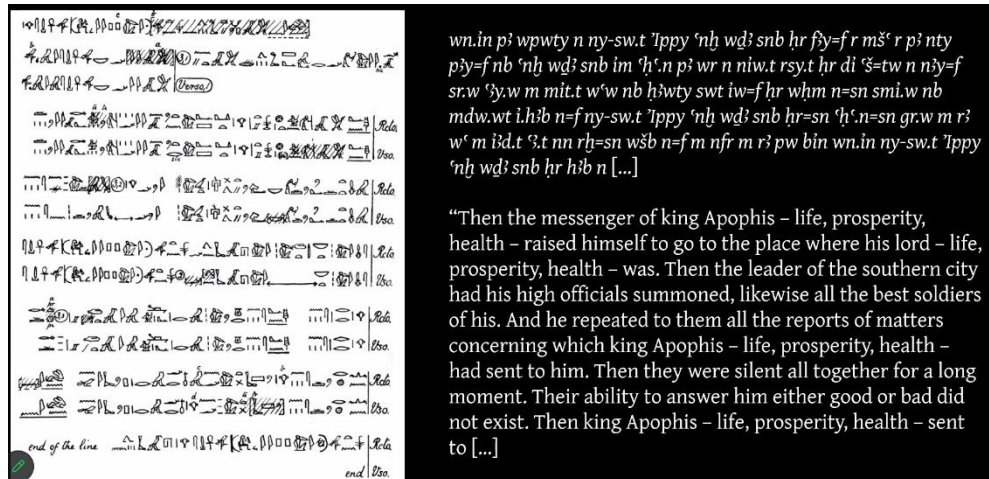
"And he responded, asking me, 'Because of what orders did you come?' And I said to him, 'It was because of the wood for the Great and Noble Bark of Amonrasonthor that I came! What your father did, and your grandfather did, you too will do!'"

- Alex Lorenz: What form of the Egyptian language is inscribed on the Rosetta Stone?
Foy: Technically ME because they were trying to write in a higher register

4/30/2024

[missed most of this class due to an airplane flight]

- *r pw* means “or”
- typical use of *‘h’.n* construction:



- *B3-Nb-Dd* is Smendes I in the Third Intermediate Period, circa 1100 BCE
- in the example below, *tw* must be a subject, identifying this clause as second-tense, but that's not clear until you go through the rest of the clause:

i.ir=tw wpw.t=w m sp tpy m t3 wsh.t W^c M3^c.w

It was in the first time in the hall, Unique of Truths, that they were judged.

- underlining in transcription/transliteration means rubric text
- v° 4.2 in annotation means “verso, column 4, line 2”
- why did the start of the name Dhwt^oy sound like “th” to Ptolemaic Greeks? remember *t*, *ṭ*, *d*, *ḍ* merging into *th*
- the only “Greek” thing about the names Isis and Osiris is the declensional endings
- another example: Petekhons becomes Petekhonsis
- where to go from here:

choose a reading out of Gardiner's Late Egyptian Stories or Late Ramesside Letters

- work through the text with a translation and/or help like the Ramses database
- make vocab and sign lists
- parse everything