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Girgis Mattha

The Egyptian conjunctive.

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THE EGYPTIAN CONJUNCTIVE

BY

GIRGIS MATTHA.

I.—The origin and true interpretation of the Late Egyptian conjunctive has always been a serious problem to students of Egyptian philology. In his most instructive article entitled An Egyptian Split Infinitive and the Origin of the Coptic Conjunctive Tense published in The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, vol. XIV, pp. 86-96, Gardiner gives very important examples, dating from the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty and the beginning of the XIXth, illustrative of the use of a construction of the type as the actual origin of the later conjunctive h 2 - h and the Coptic NTE4-COTEM, Sa'idic NACOTM. He explains this construction as being composed of $1 \leq 1$ followed by the independent pronoun ≤ 1 and the infinitive - h, and that it is simply the outcome of the older possibility 1 - with the transposition of the pronoun from after to before the infinitive with a meaning "together with on his part the hearing" containing no time-implication; and, lastly, that $\mathbf{h} \stackrel{\sim}{\frown} \cdot \mathbf{h}$ is nothing more than $\mathbf{h} \stackrel{\sim}{\frown} \stackrel{\sim}{\frown} \mathbf{h}$ with the suppression of 🚛 and the disguising of 🚎 🖌 in Late Egyptian orthography. 👘 Erman holds the same views (1).

II.—To the part of this theory concerning the explanation of the construction $\underbrace{1}_{i}$ $\underbrace{1}_{i}$ $\underbrace{1}_{i}$ there are serious objections : (1) Had $\underbrace{1}_{i}$ been really an independent pronoun or at least felt as such by the Egyptians it should have at least been occasionally rendered in Late Egyptian by one of the forms peculiar to the Late Egyptian pronoun $\underbrace{1}_{i}$, $\underbrace{1}_{i}$ or $\underbrace{1}_{i}$, and not persistently

(1) ERMAN, Neuägyptische Grammatik (1933), § 575; Aegyptische Gram. (1928), § 416, Anm.

written $\mathbf{A} \stackrel{e}{}$, which latter is never used elsewhere in Late Egyptian as independent pronoun. (2) It is difficult to reconcile this theory with a form like $\mathbf{A} \stackrel{e}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{}$ for the first person singular or with another for the first person plural. (3) If $\mathbf{A} \stackrel{\frown}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{}$ is simply the outcome of the older possibility $\mathbf{A} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}{}$ with the transposition of the pronoun from *after* to *before* the infinitive, as Gardiner assumes on p. 88 of his article, then we should naturally expect a parallel construction like $\mathbf{A} \stackrel{\bullet}{} \stackrel{\bullet}$

le ▲ ? ≝ e ▲ 二 ★ ⊥ ★ ... ▲ C ... ★ C ... See XI, c, below.

III.—For these reasons and others we must seek another explanation for the construction (1 - 1) (and (1 - 1), nom. subj. \cdot), which, as Gardiner's most important examples (n^{os} 1-9, 22-24, 35) clearly show, is the actual origin of the Late Egyptian Conjunctive (1 - 1) (and (1 - 1), nom. subj. \cdot).

V.—To assume that $(_ _ ~ \uparrow ~)$ is the actual origin of $(_ _ ~)$ is undoubtedly the correct inference. But we must first determine what sort of pseudo-verbal construction that is, which follows after $(_ ~)$, before making any definite conclusion as to the true sense of $(_ ~)$, which will in turn be shown to be the actual origin of the conjunctive $(_ ~)$.

VI.—If we consider that the co-ordinate construction ushered in by \square after \square is the pseudo-verbal construction \square , which we call Praesens I in Late Egyptian terminology, with \square (pronounced *te*) assimilated

VII.—But if we, on the other hand, consider that the co-ordinate construction, ushered in by <u>after</u> after <u>s</u>, is the pseudo-verbal construction $\mathbf{e} = \mathbf{e} \cdot \mathbf{e}$, conveniently called Praesens II, with \mathbf{e} (pronounced e) assimilated to terminal e in ente (= <u>)</u>, then our co-ordinate construction, henceforth called Praesens II, would certainly suit all tenses and moods, including, of course, the future or prospective tense. This is as a matter of fact the outstanding characteristic of the so-called Praesens II.

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---+ 3.(46).....

Here $\begin{array}{c} & & & \\ & & & \\ & & & \\ & & \\ & & & \\ & &$

 $[\] [\] [\]]]$ is a contraction of $[\] [\]] [\]]]$, and the Praesens II $[\] [\]] [\]]]$ is co-ordinate with $[\]]]]]$ and means "who shall make lasting", thus continuing a relative clause.

Examples 6-8, where the co-ordinate Praesens II continues a relative clause, are to be explained in the same manner.

f (22) ... $f = - \dots = - f =$

 ----- (47)....

by the particle _____ after an implicit [_____ in the following most important example (No. 35) given by Gardiner on page 95 of his article :

"[as to...any serfs...any] bee-keeper (?) or any person belonging to the temple \square is short for an implicit $hn' + \square$ its co-ordinate \square \square \square \square and means "who shall say".

XI.—Having thus explained the origin and meaning of $(\mathbf{T}, \mathbf{T}, \mathbf{T}) \neq \mathbf{N}$, (=) nom. subj. - h and = h according as they occur in the early examples treated above, we can safely say that their uses are identical with those of the Late Egyptian conjunctive $\mathbf{M} \stackrel{\sim}{\frown} (\mathbf{P}) \stackrel{\sim}{\bullet} \mathbf{M}$ and $\mathbf{M} \stackrel{\sim}{\bullet}$ nom. subj. $(\P) \sim \mathbb{N}$. But as their uses in these examples are confined to the tense with future meaning after imperatives, injunctions, and relative clauses referring to future time, we must needs see whether $\left\{ \underbrace{}_{} \underbrace{} \underbrace{}_{} \underbrace{$ explanation of $(\uparrow) \sim h$, could possibly be suited to the other uses of the Late Egyptian conjunctive $\sum_{n=1}^{\infty} (\P) \cdot \sum_{n=1}^{\infty}$. To achieve this and to ascertain that both are essentially identical in this respect also, we shall substitute the Late Egyptian $\mathbf{M}^{e}(\mathbf{\uparrow}) \cdot \mathbf{M}$ by $\mathbf{\downarrow}^{e}(\mathbf{\uparrow}) \cdot \mathbf{M}$ in such examples as are given by Erman in his Neuägyptische Grammatik (1933), §§ 575-587, to illustrate the other uses of the Late Egyptian conjunctive referred to above.

a) Erman, Neuäg. Gram., § 578. § ____ () . Continues future tense : $= \frac{1}{2} \times \frac$ I shall take away the cattle and they shall be in my possession" Hor. and

P. Bologna, 5, 5-6.

b) Ibid., § 579. [______ continues an *infinitive*. Report XXII _____ A... "his running (after the chief workman) his door (for h -) + (for h

------ (48).e....

a stone $(for \land \circ \circ)$ and that he broke his door to pieces $(for \land \circ \circ)$ and that men were appointed (to look after the chief workman) (-) (for -) (for and that the chief workman reported (him to the vizier) (for) and that he (the vizier) punished him (for) and that he (the criminal) reported the vizier to Msi(for $\mathbf{M}_{\mathbf{a}}^{\mathbf{a}}$) $\mathbf{A}_{\mathbf{a}}^{\mathbf{a}}$ and that he (*Msi*) dismissed him (the vizier)" *P. Salt*, 2, 14-17.

As the infinitive cannot be confined to any one time-position, in the sense that "his hearing" could mean "that he heard", "that he hears" and "that he will hear" etc., the infinitive X $V \sim I$ his running" expresses here a past narrative tense "that he ran". Thereupon, its co-ordinates in the form of the Praesens II express the same tense.

d'Orb., 14, 6.

Here the co-ordinate Praesens II expressing future tense is in the construction $\mathbf{1} \leftarrow \mathbf{1} \not \Rightarrow \mathbf{2} \not \Rightarrow \mathbf{3} \not \Rightarrow \mathbf{3}$, i.e. with the pseudo-participle. This clearly shows that the co-ordinate Praesens II of an intransitive verb could be expressed in either of its two forms, namely, \downarrow followed by (\P) infinitive or in \downarrow followed by a pseudo-participle.

d) Ibid., § 582. $(\uparrow) \sim h$ continues past narrative tense.

(for))) & C , and he took them (to that place) d'Orb., 1, 10. The co-ordinate Praesens II in both cases expresses the past narrative tense.

e) Ibid., § 584. e) Ibid., § 584. e) (for) (fo down and thou comest" d'Orb., 8, 4-5.

 $2 \leq 1 \leq \infty$ $\sim \infty$ $\sim (for M) \leq \infty$ $(for M) \leq \infty$ $(for M) \leq \infty$ it (sc. the heart) and put it (in a bowl of cold water)" d'Orb., 8, 5.

of the high priest) and he sees... (so and so)" Unamun, 2, 61.

The co-ordinate Praesens II in each of I The Internet of Internet of I The Internet of Internet 📫 🔄 🖌 📾 expresses the conditional, a use appropriate to the Praesens II. f) Ibid., \$ 587. [____ N - _ N . Negative of the co-ordinate Praesens II.

"do not eat bread $| \cdot - \mathbf{h} | = | \cdot - | \cdot - (\text{for } \mathbf{h} - \mathbf{h}) = \mathbf{h} \cdot \mathbf{h} \cdot \mathbf{h}$ d'Anii, 7, 2.

The form with \longrightarrow is not uncommon as negative for the Praesens II. g) *Ibid.*, § 587. \bigcirc as co-ordinate with present after negative | e.

Je T T I W +] I S ! " ~ ! T I (for N ~ ~) R J e ~ ~ - N I M J J ' ' he does not realise my desire to embrace him and so does not write to my mother" Lieb. Beatty, 23, 2.

Here the Praesens II $\left\lfloor \begin{array}{c} & \\ & \\ & \\ \end{array} \right\rfloor \left\lfloor \begin{array}{c} & \\ & \\ \end{array} \right\rfloor$ is co-ordinate with $\begin{array}{c} & \\ & \\ & \\ \end{array} \right]$ and, therefore, holds the same rank as this latter after the negative]e. But see XIV b, 2, below.

h) Ibid., § 587. $f = 1^{\circ} - 1^{\circ}$ continues vetitive. $h = 1^{\circ} - 1^{\circ}$ or that He hear her cry" Max. d'Anii, 7, 2.

The verbs 3 1 1 , T 1 . 5 1 and - 1 are all dependent on 1 -🔪 🚺 and , therefore , the presence of 🛲 🔪 📢 before 🏹 🖣 🖞 is evidently Anii means : do not let her raise her arms (in complaint). superfluous. But see XIV, b, 2, below.

(for) (for) (or held) (or held) (or held) at a blind man or deride (?)a dwarf or hurt the feelings of a disfigured person" Amenemope, 24, 9.

XII.—Now that we have established that (1) = 1 = 1-) and . are entirely identical in sense and use, it is evident that **h** a later and purely phonetic writing of one and the same 7

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word $\underline{\tilde{}}$, with $\underline{h} = \bar{n}$ and $\hat{e} = \bar{\tau} e$. Hence is the Coptic form of the conjunctive $\bar{n}\tau e q c \omega \tau e m$ and $\bar{n}\tau e$ before the nominal subject.

Such parallelisms as were made in XIa and b, above, give us forms like

a) Ist Sing. (1 → 1 + 4 for h • 4
IIIrd PI. (1 → 1 + 1 + 7) → 1 + 1 + 7
b) With • (1 → 1 + 1 + 7) → 1 + 1 + 7
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XI c shows that the co-ordinate Praesens II of an intransitive verb could be invariably used in the pseudo-participial or the infinitive forms.

XIII.----THE ABSENCE AND THE PRESENCE OF P BEFORE THE INFINITIVE OR

THE CORRELATIVE AND THE ABSOLUTE CONJUNCTIVE.

a) $| \cdot | = 1 = 1$ "they said to him (the grass is good in such and such a place) $| \cdot = 1 = 1$ and he heard (what they said) $| \cdot = 1 = 1 = 1$ and he then took them (to that place)" d'Orb., 1, 10.

In this example the scribe regarded $\mathbf{M} \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \cdot \mathbf{M} \mathbf{I}$ "he heard" as directly resultant from $\mathbf{I} \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \mathbf{I} \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \cdots \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \cdots \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \mathbf{M} \mathbf{I}$ "he heard" as directly resultant from $\mathbf{I} \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \mathbf{I} \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \cdots \stackrel{\circ}{\leftarrow} \cdots$

on formation. Hence is the presence of **?**. b) **Some and the state of the state of**

c) $1 \stackrel{\text{siz}}{=} 1 \stackrel{\text{siz}}{=} 1$

d) $\underline{} \underline{} \underline$

g) The correlative conjunctive is also used when its verb forms part of a whole narrative, such as an item of a speech or in a report. For this, see XI a (first example) and b, above.

XIV.---Non-conjunctive Forms.

We have seen that the conjunctive is essentially a clause of co-ordination composed of the Praesens II introduced by $\underline{\ }$ after $\underbrace{\ }$ whether this latter is actually present, as in $\underbrace{\ }$ $\underbrace{\ }$ $\underbrace{\ }$, or implied, as in $\underbrace{\ }$, or $\underbrace{\ }$ $\underbrace{\ }$, \cdot $\underbrace{\ }$ and the Coptic RTEACOTEM. On this assumption the co-ordinate verb

7.

in the form of the Praesens II must needs hold the same rank and order as the preceding verb with which it is co-ordinate. Otherwise any form like λ $\cdot \cdot \cdot \cdot$ or the Coptic $\bar{n} \tau \in 4C \oplus \tau \in M$, which does not express co-ordination, cannot in any way be assigned to the conjunctive.

As a matter of fact there are instances of the type $\mathbf{h} \stackrel{\sim}{\frown} \mathbf{h}$ or the Coptic **NTERCOTEM** which either takes the form of the Late Egyptian conjunctive only in appearance and is not at all etymologically connected with it, or is a noun-clause composed of a Praesens II introduced by $\stackrel{\sim}{\frown}$, and so has exactly the same form as the Late Egyptian conjunctive but not the same uses. Of these instances we may single out the following :

а. фантеч- and мпантечсотем.

The construction $\mathfrak{GANTEQCOTEM}$ represents $\mathfrak{GA} \amalg \mathfrak{GA} \mathfrak{GA}$

The pronunciation antef for finitian in GANTEY led to the purely phoneticand unetymological writing <math>finite hard for finite hard the form pronounced atefto do with the conjunctive. On the other hand the form pronounced atefin GATEY led to such purely phonetic and unetymological writings as<math>finite hard for finite hard for finit

b. $\Lambda_{e} \sim \Lambda = (-) \square \Lambda_{e} \sim \Lambda$. (1) IIIIX? $\Lambda \subseteq \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda$ $\square \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda \subseteq \Lambda$ $\square \cap (I \text{ swear})$ by Amūn and by the Prince to the effect that if I tell a falsehood I should be ---+ ... 53)....

placed at the back of the house" Mes, N 35. Here \frown to the effect that" followed by a conditional Praesens II. This is Gardiner's example 29, p. 91.

N $\stackrel{\sim}{\longrightarrow}$ $\stackrel{\sim}{\longrightarrow}$

(2) The demotic $\mathbf{M} \in \mathbf{M}$ is that everyone may see it'' in line 60 of the *Canopus Decree* of Tanis has as hieroglyphic parallel is that everyone may see it''.

XI g and h (1st example), above, could also belong here; and so translate :

генк ерон пафири йтахомхем ерок "come near, son, that I may feel thee" *Mallon*, § 250, 2. Фатоу оуог фасоу йтаоуноч ймон "cut them and cook them that I may rejoice" *ibid*.

$$c. \mathbf{h} \in \mathbf{h} = \mathbf{h} = \mathbf{h} \cdot \mathbf{h}.$$

(1) After (* 🚆 ε εφωπ "if" lit. "if it happens".

 Image: Image

A $e \times A$ **A** $h = \pi e^{-\pi} e^{-\pi}$

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But this may be a case of conditional ENE (cf. SPIEG., Gram., §§ 497-8) before Praesens EKTEXCO "if thou do not tell".

(4) After an implied $\underline{\mathfrak{B}}$ « "it will happen" as in Coptic EQDIE OYN OEETER+OYKOYI NAI NTABUK NTATAA4 "if it is possible for thee to give me something, then (lit., it will happen that) I will go and give it" SPIEG., Gram., § 153, anm.

(5) After such verbs as command, entreat, wish etc.

thou reveal thyself to me" demotic Mag. Pap., V, 15.

суоуша) йсссі сгоун "they want to come in" Steindorff, Gramm., § 282.

KENEYE NAT TAGAXE "allow me to speak" ibid.

хоушц йтатасоо мпекцири "dost thou wish that I send back thy son?" Mallon, § 251, 1.

$$d. \mathbf{h} = \mathrm{Relative} \left[\underbrace{\overset{e}{\longrightarrow} \mathbf{h}} \right] = \frac{1}{2} \left[\underbrace{\overset{e}{\longrightarrow} \mathbf{h}} \right]$$

For examples illustrative of this use in demotic and Coptic, see Spiegel-BERG, Gramm., § 151 and Anmerkung.

e. h . - - h emphatic for l . - .

Gram., § 116, end). The examples quoted by Spiegelberg in his Grammatik, § 152, except the one quoted above under c 3, all belong here. Of these we may quote the example Heidelberg 723, 22, by way of illustration :

The following example is also worth adding. It is demotic Mag. Pap., VI, 17. $\mathbf{M} \in \mathcal{M} \setminus \mathbf{M} \in \mathcal{M} \setminus \mathbf{M}$ "do thou bring me the god" emphatically used for imperative $\mathbf{M} = \mathcal{M} \setminus \mathbf{M} \in \mathbf{M} \setminus \mathbf{M}$ "etc. "thou shalt bring etc."

The emphatic use of the independent pronoun in place of the pronominal suffix occurs at times in Coptic in such examples as :

"Apa Macarius lived in the wilderness $\epsilon N \epsilon$ — $\bar{N} T O q$ маулач п ϵ and he was alone by himself". Zoega, 316.

Thus $\mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}^{e} - \mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}$, $\mathbf{\tilde{NTE4COTEM}}_{e}$, is essentially a Praesens II introduced by and can stand for : (1) $\mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}^{e} - \mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}$ as in XIV, c; or (2) $\mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}^{e} - \mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}^{e}$ as in XIV, b; or (3) $\mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}^{e} - \mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}^{e} - \mathbf{\Lambda}_{e}^$

Besides there are forms such as WANTEGCOTEM and MIANTEGCOTEM (XIV, a) and also $\mathbf{M}_{e} \sim \mathbf{M}$ (XIV d and e), which outwardly resemble the Praesens II introduced by \mathbf{M}_{e} , but have nothing whatsoever to do with it.