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Girgis Mattha

The Egyptian conjunctive.

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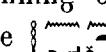
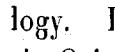
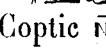
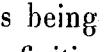
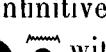
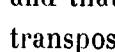
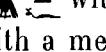
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THE EGYPTIAN CONJUNCTIVE

BY

GIRGIS MATTHA.

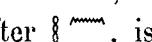
I.—The origin and true interpretation of the Late Egyptian conjunctive  has always been a serious problem to students of Egyptian philology. In his most instructive article entitled *An Egyptian Split Infinitive and the Origin of the Coptic Conjunctive Tense* published in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 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  followed by the infinitive  as the actual origin of the later conjunctive  and the Coptic  Sa'idiic  . He explains this construction as being composed of  followed by the independent pronoun  and the infinitive , and that it is simply the outcome of the older possibility  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  is nothing more than  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  there are serious objections : (1) Had  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 ,  or , and not persistently

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

written                <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for 'she'" data-bbox="1000 141 1000 1

to *te* of *ente* (= ) and, therefore, omitted in writing, then and there our co-ordinate construction would certainly be only confined to the sense and usage peculiar to the Praesens I; and future or prospective sense is not at all suitable to the Praesens I. This is apart from other difficulties such as, for instance, the problem of reconciling a construction like  with an assumed origin as  . Hence is Gardiner's justified rejection of this view.

VII.—But if we, on the other hand, consider that the co-ordinate construction, ushered in by  after  , is the pseudo-verbal construction  , conveniently called Praesens II, with  (pronounced *e*) assimilated to terminal *e* in *ente* (= ), 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.

VIII.—That the pseudo-verbal construction with  could actually be ushered in by  after a preposition is clear from the example “sharpen your weapons            ” seeing that it is intended to engage issue with that vile enemy to-morrow”. (GARDINER, *Gram.*, § 223). Moreover, it would not seem very strange if we explain such writings as  in an example like        (*ibid.*) as standing for   instead of   .

IX.—Let us now see how far our explanation of the construction   , as being =    , is true by applying it to Gardiner's quoted examples, discussing each under the same number assigned to it in his article.

a) (1)    ...   ... “may they be... and mayest thou say...”; an optative, literally meaning “cause that they be... and that thou say (  ,  , ). Here  is co-ordinate with  and is dependent, like it, on  . That it is not in the *sdm-f* form  , like its co-ordinate  , is true; but it holds the same rank and order as this latter. It acts, like it, as object of  ; and expresses, like it, the same tense. The whole is parallel to   ...   ... “may they be... and mayest thou say...”, two parallel optatives.

b) (2) “give thy mind to cause (the harvest) to be paid... and draw out (50 sacks of corn)”.
 Here stands for (Praesens II) with (Praesens II) “thou shalt draw” (imperative) as co-ordinate with .

Or it may be co-ordinate with after ; and so is to be translated “and that thou draw”

c) (3) “let Tita be brought to thee, and contend with her”.

is short for (injunction), the Praesens II here being co-ordinate with .

d) (4) “thou shalt put them over the fire and thou shalt add to them...” Here is short for with meaning “thou shalt add” and having exactly the same use as , with which it is co-ordinate, as expressing an injunction.

e) (5) “as to any king who is yet to be and who shall make lasting my acts”.

is a contraction of (Praesens II) 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) “... one shall hear... and another shall come to report”.

is short for (Praesens II) with the co-ordinate Praesens II meaning “another shall come” and having a future sense like . Here the subject of the co-ordinate Praesens II after is “another”

X.—In the foregoing examples co-ordination is expressed by the preposition and, therefore, the co-ordinate Praesens II had to be introduced to it by means of the particle . Later on Egyptian was sparing in the use of prepositions and they were frequently left out unexpressed; yet they were implied and functioned in this capacity with exactly the same effect as though they were actually present. Hence is the use of the Praesens II introduced

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   ... who shall be interfered with and who shall say...” Here  is short for *an implicit hn* +   , where the co-ordinate Praesens II introduced by  expresses future relative like its co-ordinate   and means “who shall say”.

XI.—Having thus explained the origin and meaning of   (=?),  (= ) nom. subj.  and  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   and  nom. subj. (=?). 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   (=?), as explanation of   , could possibly be suited to the other uses of the Late Egyptian conjunctive   . To achieve this and to ascertain that both are essentially identical in this respect also, we shall substitute the Late Egyptian   by   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 :

“then the vagabond said to my son : I shall thrash thee and I shall take away the cattle and they shall be in my possession” *Hor. and Seth*, 7, 6-7.

  (for  )                                         <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for 'then'"

a stone  (for   and that he broke his door to pieces  (for   and that men were appointed (to look after the chief workman)  (for   and that he (the criminal) thrashed (9 men)  (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 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   "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.

c) *Ibid.*, § 581.   continues *future* tense,
             "I shall become a big ox... and thou shalt sit on my back" *d'Orb.*, 14, 6.

Here the co-ordinate Praesens II expressing future tense is in the construction           <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph for a door" data-bbox="17245 525 1729

—••• (for **לְ**) **וְ** “if I go (to the house of the high priest) and he sees... (so and so)” *Unamun*, 2, 61.

The co-ordinate Praesens II in each of **וְ** **לְ** **וְ** and **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** expresses the conditional, a use appropriate to the Praesens II.

f) *Ibid.*, § 587. **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** *Negative of the co-ordinate Praesens II.*

“do not eat bread **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** (for **לְ**) **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** if another is standing and if thou dost not invite” *Max. d'Anii*, 7, 2.

The form with **וְ** **וְ** is not uncommon as negative for the Praesens II.

g) *Ibid.*, § 587. **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** as co-ordinate with present after negative **וְ**.

וְ **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** (for **לְ**) **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** “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 **וְ** **וְ** is co-ordinate with **וְ** **וְ** and, therefore, holds the same rank as this latter after the negative **וְ**. But see XIV b, 2, below.

h) *Ibid.*, § 587. **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** continues vettive.

וְ **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** (for **לְ**) **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** (for **לְ**) **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** “do not cause that she reproach thee or that she raise not (sic) her arms to God or that He hear her cry” *Max. d'Anii*, 7, 2.

The verbs **וְ** **וְ**, **וְ** **וְ** and **וְ** **וְ** are all dependent on **וְ** **וְ** and, therefore, the presence of **וְ** **וְ** before **וְ** **וְ** is evidently superfluous. *Anii* means: do not let her raise her arms (in complaint). But see XIV, b, 2, below.

וְ **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** (for **לְ**) **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** (for **לְ**) **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** “do not laugh 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 **(וְ)** **וְ** **וְ** (= **וְ** **וְ** **וְ**) and **וְ** **וְ** are entirely identical in sense and use, it is evident that **וְ** is but a later and purely phonetic writing of one and the same

word **τε**, with **τ** = **ن** and **ε** = **ت**. Hence is the Coptic form of the conjunctive **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـم** and **نـتـهـ** before the nominal subject.

Such parallelisms as were made in XI *a* and *b*, above, give us forms like

- a) 1st Sing. (§ 22) **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** for **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ**
- IIIrd Pl. (§ 22) **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** " **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ**
- b) With **τ** (§ 22) **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** " **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ**
- Nom. Subj. (§ 22) **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** " **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** N.S. See also IX *f*, above.

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.

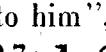
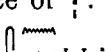
XIII.—THE ABSENCE AND THE PRESENCE OF ♀ BEFORE THE INFINITIVE

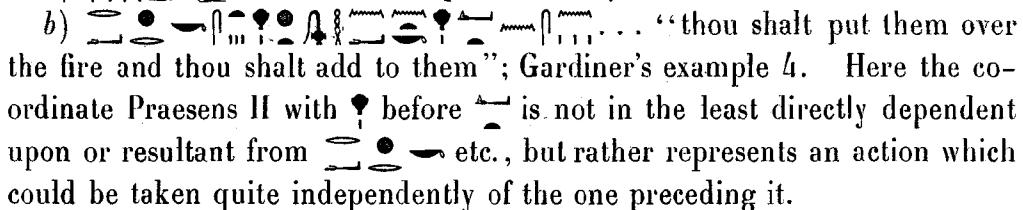
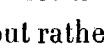
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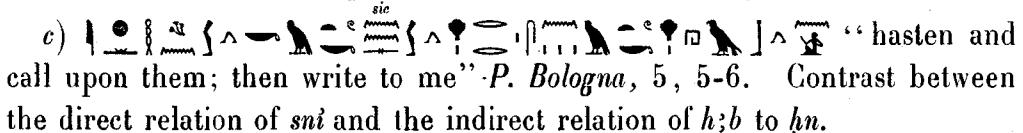
THE CORRELATIVE AND THE ABSOLUTE CONJUNCTIVE.

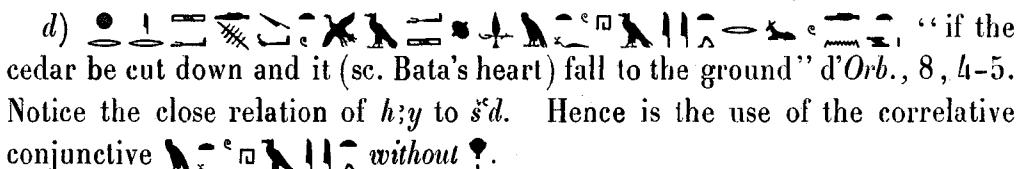
In the examples employing **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ**, **نـتـهـ** or **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ**, **نـتـهـ**, i. e. the form without ♀ before the infinitive, it will be noticed that the verb in the conjunctive form, or, in other words, in the co-ordinate form of the Praesens II, is directly related to the preceding verb with which it is co-ordinate, in the sense that it is either directly dependent on it as resultant from it, or that both verbs are closely connected by their common relation to a third member of the sentence. On the other hand, in the examples employing ♀ before the infinitive the verb in the co-ordinate form of the Praesens II is not directly dependent on the preceding verb with which it is co-ordinate, nor does it share with it in common the quality of being dependent on a third member of the sentence. Thus Late Egyptian distinguishes between two forms of conjunctive: (1) a Correlative conjunctive, *without* ♀ before the infinitive, and (2) an absolute conjunctive, *with* ♀ before it. To illustrate this theory, the following examples may be quoted :

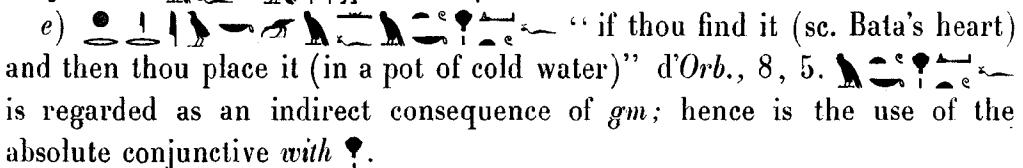
a) **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** "they said to him (the grass is good in such and such a place) **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** **نـتـهـ** and he heard (what they said) **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ** ♀ **نـتـهـقـسـوـتـهـمـ**, and he then took them (to that place)" d'Orb., 1, 10.

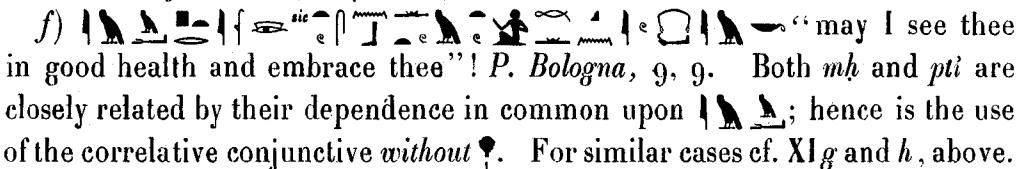
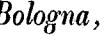
In this example the scribe regarded  "he heard" as directly resultant from  "they said to him", so he omitted  before . On the other hand he regarded  as indirectly dependent on . Hence is the presence of .

b)  "thou shalt put them over the fire and thou shalt add to them"; Gardiner's example 4. Here the co-ordinate Praesens II with  before  is not in the least directly dependent upon or resultant from  etc., but rather represents an action which could be taken quite independently of the one preceding it.

c)  "hasten and call upon them; then write to me" *P. Bologna*, 5, 5-6. Contrast between the direct relation of *sni* and the indirect relation of *h; b* to *hn*.

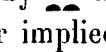
d)  "if the cedar be cut down and it (sc. Bata's heart) fall to the ground" *d'Orb.*, 8, 4-5. Notice the close relation of *h;y* to *sd*. Hence is the use of the correlative conjunctive  without .

e)  "if thou find it (sc. Bata's heart) and then thou place it (in a pot of cold water)" *d'Orb.*, 8, 5.  is regarded as an indirect consequence of *gm*; hence is the use of the absolute conjunctive with .

f)  "may I see thee in good health and embrace thee"! *P. Bologna*, 9, 9. Both *mh* and *pti* are closely related by their dependence in common upon ; hence is the use of the correlative conjunctive without .

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  after  whether this latter is actually present, as in  or implied, as in  or  and the Coptic *πτεψεψτεψ*. On this assumption the co-ordinate verb

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  or the Coptic **ϣϣϣϣϣϣ**, 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  or the Coptic **ϣϣϣϣϣϣ** 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 , 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 :

a. ϕαντεφ- and 旾παντεφσωτεμ.

The construction **ϕαντεφσωτεμ** represents  “until” followed by  “he does”, the *sdm-t-f* form of *iri*, followed by the infinitive  thus means “until he hears”, lit. “until he does a hearing”. The *sdm-t-f* form , *artef*, is here pronounced dialectually *antef* with the *a* assimilated to that of *sa* and the *r* rendered *n*, exactly as in **旾παντεφ = 旾πατεφ = 旾πατεφ** (compare Achmimic **旾旾** = ). Thus we have two forms for the *sdm-t-f* form of *iri*: (1) *antef* as in **ϕαντεφ** and **旾παντεφ**, and (2) **ατεφ**, with the *r* dropped, as in **ϕατεφ** and **旾πατεφ**, and possibly in **ατετησωτη** of the Perfect I and **旾τατεησωτη** of the Perfect II.

The pronunciation *antef* for  in **ϕαντεφ** led to the purely phonetic and unetymological writing  in demotic. This has nothing to do with the conjunctive. On the other hand the form pronounced *atef* in **ϕατεφ** led to such purely phonetic and unetymological writings as  “until they find” *Unamun*, I, 19, for   and  “till when?” *ibid.*, 2, 66, for            <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyphs for 'till

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

He swore  "saying : if the ass dies I am responsible for it and if it lives I am also responsible for it" *Ostr. Berlin*, III, 35 (= *ERMAN, ibid.*, § 584).

 stands for  followed by the conditional Praesens II  while  is the conjunctive form.

"(I swear) by Amūn  ... to the effect that if I do not pay, I shall receive (100 strokes)" *Ostr. Petrie*, 60. (= *ERMAN, ibid.*, § 584).

(2) The demotic  "so that everyone may see it" in line 60 of the *Canopus Decree* of Tanis has as hieroglyphic parallel  "so that everyone may see it".

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

"he does not realise my desire to embrace him so as to write (de façon qu'il écrive  to my mother" and "let her not reproach thee lest she ( raise her arms to God that He may hear (de façon qu'il entende  her cry"—clauses of consequence with  and .

ΣΕΝΚ ΕΡΟΙ ΠΑΦΗΡΙ ΝΤΑΧΟΜΧΕΜ ΕΡΟΚ "come near, son, that I may feel thee" *Mallon*, § 250, 2. φΑΤΟΥ ΟΥΟΣ ΦΑΣΟΥ ΝΤΑΟΥΝΟΥ ΜΜΟΙ "cut them and cook them that I may rejoice" *ibid.*

c.  = .

(1) After  εωφωπ "if" lit. "if it happens".

 "if he opens his eyes" demotic *Mag. Pap.*, II 3. εωφωπ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΑΡΧΩΝ ΕΡΝΟΒΙ "if the prince sins" *Mallon*, § 391.

(2) After an implied *iw-f hpr* εωφωπ "if".

 "if the light is good" *Mag. Pap.*, II 15. ΝΤΝΝΔΟΥΓΕΜ-ΛΛΛΥ ΑΝ...ΝΓ ΤΜΧΩ ΝΑΝ "we shall eat nothing... if thou do not tell us (what thy profession is)" *Zoega*, 346.

But this may be a case of conditional ενε (cf. SPIEG., *Gram.*, §§ 497-8) before Praesens εκτριχω “if thou do not tell”.

(3) After an implied  “it usually happens” as in *Canopus*, 19, 68: |  (ερε)            | “if the first crop appears (it usually happens that) the female singers hold up ears of corn” *καὶ ὅταν ὁ ἀρώματος σπόρος παρασῆ ἀναφέρειν τὰς ἱερὰς ταρθέντους στάχυς.*

(4) After an implied θε “it will happen” as in Coptic **εψωπε ογή** θεετεκθογκογί ηλι ηταθωκ ηταθλαφ “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.*

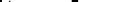
(5) After such verbs as command, entreat, wish etc.

“I pray thee that thou reveal thyself to me” demotic *Mag. Pap.*, V, 15.

εγογωφ πισσει εσογη “they want to come in” STEINDORFF, *Gramm.*, § 282.

κελεύε ναί ταφαχε “allow me to speak” *ibid.*

χογωφ ὑτατασθο ἡπεκφηρι “dost thou wish that I send back thy son ?” *Mallon*, § 251, 1.

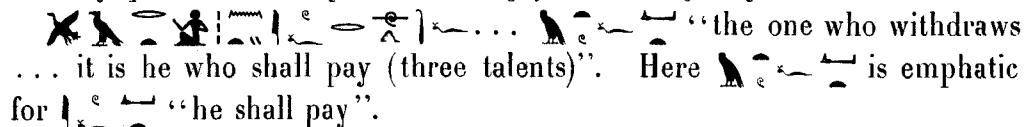
d.  = Relative 

For examples illustrative of this use in demotic and Coptic, see SPIEGELBERG, *Gramm.*, § 151 and *Anmerkung*.

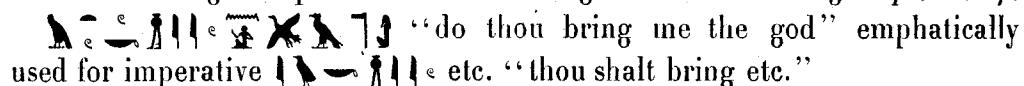
e.       emphatic for     

To lay emphasis on the subject of the Preasens II expressing future action demotic sometimes replaces the pronominal suffix by the independent pronoun. So instead of    "he shall hear" it emphatically uses    (for )   "it is he who shall hear", with  (pronounced *e*) assimilated to the initial *alif* of the independent pronoun "*inok*", "*ntok*", "*ntof*" etc., and, consequently, left out in writing. This use of the independent pronoun may be traced back to its rare and archaic employment as subject of the sentence with adverbial predicate in some Middle Egyptian and Pyramid texts (GARDINER).

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 one who withdraws . . . it is he who shall pay (three talents)”. Here  is emphatic for  “he shall pay”.

The following example is also worth adding. It is demotic *Mag. Pap.*, VI, 17.

 “do thou bring me the god” emphatically used for imperative  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  and he was alone by himself”. *Zoega*, 316.

XV. — To sum up, Late Egyptian, demotic and Coptic used the pseudo-verbal construction , conveniently called Praesens II, after the particle . This took the form  (♀) , which acted as a noun-clause after prepositions and as subject or object to certain verbs. Its use after prepositions is almost confined to cases where  or  is used, in which case the preposition itself is not expressed but is implied, and the resultant  (♀)  is elliptical for   (♀)  or   (♀) ; except in the case of some examples, dating from the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty and the beginning of the XIXth, where is expressed before the same construction in the form (♀) .

Thus                              <img alt="verb suffix" data-bbox="11120