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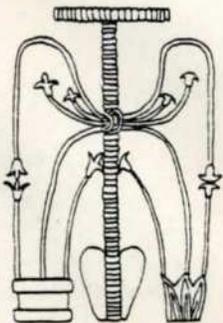
Volume One

Interrogative Constructions  
with *JN* and *JN-JW* in  
Old and Middle Egyptian

by David P. Silverman

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## PREFACE

This study is a revised and edited version of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Division of the Humanities through the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago (Aug. 1975). In its present state, it is an examination of the syntax of ancient Egyptian questions introduced by *jn* and *jn jw*, and the examples, for the most part, are from the Old, Middle, and early part of the New Kingdom. Since information from the later stages of the language bears some relationship to earlier material, a discussion of questions from these periods is included in the Appendix.

Despite the discussion of questions in most grammars, the topic had not previously been examined in any depth before our original study.<sup>1</sup> An attempt, therefore, was made to compile examples from all types of texts. While no such study can expect to be exhaustive, the sources include both published and unpublished material. Questions occur in religious, literary, and legal texts, as well as in letters and dialogues in scenes of daily life on the walls of the tombs. We are grateful, therefore, to the many scholars who graciously shared their knowledge with us during all of the phases of this study of questions in ancient Egypt.

For access to the unpublished sources in the Cairo Museum, I am indebted to the former director, Dr. Henry Riad, and also to Dr. Abdel Kader Selim; and to Mme. Mahassan Moussa, the curator in charge of the particular area in which I worked, special thanks are due for her invaluable aid. The work in Egypt was carried out through a grant from the American Research Center in Egypt, and the principal investigator was Dr. George R. Hughes of the Oriental Institute without whose interest and sponsorship the project would not have been possible.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Labib Habachi was a constant source of aid and inspiration and Mr. John Dorman, then director of the Research Center, contributed much to making access to the material easier. The late Dr. Ramadan Saad was especially helpful when the work continued in the tombs of the Theban area, and Dr. Sami Farag was responsible for allowing us to investigate many unpublished Saqqara tombs. Dr. Werner Kaiser of the German Institute, the late Dr. Serge Sauneron of the French Institute, Dr. Gerhard Haeny of the Swiss Institute, and Dr. Carla Burri of the Italian Institute all kindly put their libraries at my disposal. Mr. Bernard Bothmer, chairman of the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art in the Brooklyn Museum, was always helpful, and his advice concerning photography was essential to our investigation. Special thanks are due to the former president of the Research Center, the late Dr. John A. Wilson, without whose support our work could not have been completed.

Study was continued in Germany, and Dr. Jürgen Settgast, director of the collection at

<sup>1</sup> It was only H. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten, wie sie sich grüssten und wie sie miteinander sprachen IV* (APAW, 1942, VII; Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften), who investigated this subject. See now D. Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions with Jn and Jn-Jw in Spoken and Written Old and Middle Egyptian* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1975).

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the study, see D. Silverman, "Late Egyptian Features in Middle Egyptian Non-Literary Inscriptions," *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter*, LXXXIX (Spring, 1974), 28-30.

Charlottenburg, was particularly helpful. Dr. Mueller of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin provided me with access to the archive of Kahun letters, and Dr. Steffen Wenig and Dr. Ulrich Luft were instrumental in helping me go through the required material. The files of the Berlin Dictionary were open to me, and I am grateful to Dr. Erica Freier for this privilege.

Work in the Louvre was made possible by the curator of the department of Egyptian antiquities, Mme. Christiane Desroches-Noblecourt, and Diane Harlé provided special help and attention. Dr. Jaromír Málek of the Porter-Moss Bibliography in Oxford graciously put his files at my disposal.

The examination of unpublished sources was essential to the study, and I am grateful to these scholars for their interest and consideration.

The faculty and archival sources of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago were available without restriction during all phases of the investigation. My greatest appreciation is expressed to Dr. Klaus Baer who was responsible for introducing me to the study of hieroglyphs. He has always given generously of his time, and I have benefitted greatly from his knowledge. Without his advice, encouragement, and criticism this study could not have been completed. My thanks are due also to the other members of the Egyptological faculty, Dr. George R. Hughes and Dr. Edward Wente, whose comments and additions were invaluable, and to Dr. Janet H. Johnson, whose suggestions and criticism were essential. I also wish to acknowledge my debt as well to my fellow Egyptologists, in particular Mr. Edward Brovarski, Mr. James Allen, and Ms. Del Nord, who made pertinent comments on the ideas expressed herein.

My wife Melanie was always supportive, understanding, and a constant inspiration to me. It is to her that this book is dedicated.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	Ägyptische Abhandlungen. Wiesbaden.
AÄG	Edel, Elmar. Altägyptische Grammatik. <i>Analecta Orientalia</i> , Vols. XXXIV and XXXIX. Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1955 and 1964.
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Cairo.
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl. Berlin.
AECT	Faulkner, Raymond. <i>The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I-III</i> . Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1973-78.
AEL	Lichtheim, Miriam. <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature I and II</i> . Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973 and 1977.
AEPT	Faulkner, Raymond. <i>The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin.
ARCE Newsletter	American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter. Princeton.
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt. London.
BAe	Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca. Brussels.
BD	Allen, Thomas G. <i>The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum</i> . Oriental Institute Publication, Vol. LXXXII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
	Naville, Edouard. <i>Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie I</i> . Austria: Akademische Druck, 1971.
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Cairo.
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i> . Cairo.
CD	Crum, W. E. <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
CD	Faulkner, Raymond. <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> . Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962.
CG	Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Cairo.
CT	Buck, Adriaan de. <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> . 7 vols. Oriental Institute Publication, Vols. XXXIV, XLIX, LXIV, LXVII, LXXIII, LXXXI, and LXXXVII. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935-61.
DAWW	Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie des Wissenschaften in Wien. Vienna.

- DG Spiegelberg, Wilhelm. *Demotische Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1925.
- EG Gardiner, Alan H. *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. rev. London: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- GEC Lefebvre, Gustave. *Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique*. 2nd ed. rev. Bibliothèque d'Étude, Vol. XII. Cairo: l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955.
- GN Korostovtsev, M. *Grammaire du Neo-Égyptien*. Moscow: Département de la Littérature Orientale, 1973.
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*. New Haven.
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*. Princeton.
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*. London.
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*. Chicago.
- JSS *Journal of Semitic Studies*. Manchester.
- L.D. Lepsius, Karl. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, n.d.
- LEM Caminos, Ricardo. *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.
- MAS Münchner Ägyptologische Studien. Berlin.
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*. Cairo.
- MIFAO Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo
- MVEOL *Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap (Gezelschap) "Ex Oriente Lux."* Leiden.
- NG Erman, A. *Neuägyptische Grammatik*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968.
- OIP Oriental Institute Publication. The University of Chicago. Chicago.
- OMRO *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Leiden.
- PT Sethe, Kurt. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1960.
- Pyr.,Übers. Sethe, Kurt. *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten*. 4 vols. Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1962.
- RdE *Revue d'Égyptologie*. Paris.
- RT *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*. Paris.
- SAOC Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago.
- Urk. I Sethe, Kurt. *Urkunden des Alten Reiches I*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933.
- Urk. III Schäfer, Heinrich. *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905.
- Urk. IV Sethe, Kurt. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV, 1-16*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961.
- VIO Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichungen. Berlin.
- Wb Erman, Adolf and Grapow, Hermann. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 6 vols. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971.
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Leipzig.

## CHAPTER I

### The Uses of Interrogative JN

In some instances questions in Egyptian are simply indicated by context; it is more usual, however, for questions to be marked by an interrogative word. The interrogative words *jn* and *jn-jw* have been discussed in most Egyptian grammars. Both of these words usually stand at the head of a sentence<sup>1</sup> and can make interrogative most main clause constructions and, in one case, a single element.<sup>2</sup> It has usually been pointed out that *jn-jw* is the later form of the question indicator to which Coptic  $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$  is related.<sup>3</sup> We will see that the writing  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  is used sometimes as an abbreviation for *jn* with no apparent distinction in meaning.

Certain ambiguities can arise when analyzing questions of which the first two words are *jn jw*, since, in many cases, *jw* is not part of the interrogation but actually is an essential element of the clause which is being transformed into a question. Gardiner did not discuss the problem of segmenting *jn* and *jw* in certain questions, and he included some examples in the category *jn-jw* which should have been analyzed *jn + jw + main clause*.<sup>4</sup> In expressions with a verbal predicate, the context of the passage is helpful because it then becomes obvious whether a compound form such as *jw sdm.n.f* or *jw sdm.f* is really to be expected, or whether *sdm.n.f* or *sdm.f* is to be understood after an introductory *jn-jw*.

For the sake of clarity, the constructions which occur after *jn* will be discussed in this chapter, and those with *jn-jw* will be dealt with in Chapter II.

#### Jn Introducing Sdm.n.f and Jw Sdm.n.f

Previous discussions of the question patterns *jn + sdm.n.f* and *jn + jw sdm.n.f* have not included a systematic analysis of the form of the verb.<sup>5</sup> Polotsky, in 1957, however, pointed

<sup>1</sup> See, however, W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1925), pa. 485 and pa. 488, where examples are cited of *g'* and *hr* before *jn*.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, *Admonitions*, 14, 13 (A. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* [Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969]), which is discussed later, p. 62, Example 5.

<sup>3</sup> A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), pa. 739, felt that as a rule impersonal *jw* stood after interrogative *jn* and formed the interrogative introduction *jn jw*, which in turn was written in Coptic as  $\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ . See also J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976) p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> See the questions quoted by Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed. rev.; London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pa. 492, 1 and 2. See also the second question in pa. 492, 5, the three questions in pa. 492, 6, and the example referred to in pa. 492, 7.

<sup>5</sup> See for example *ibid.*, pa. 492, G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien classique* (2nd ed. rev.; "Bibliothèque d'Étude," vol. XII; Cairo: l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1955), pa. 673-77, and E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* ("Analecta Orientalia," vols. XXXIV, XXXIX; Rome: Pontifical Institute, 1955, 1964), pa. 1005. Cf., however, Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter sich anredeten*, IV, 46.

out that *sdm.n.f* in declarative statements manifested no visible morphological distinction between an emphatic and a non-emphatic form.<sup>6</sup> He indicated that *sdm.n.tw.f* was an emphatic passive form on the basis of diachronic evidence and the presence of a strongly stressed adverbial complement.<sup>7</sup> In another study he suggested that initial bare *sdm.n.f* was in fact a true emphatic form. For a verb to have full predicative force in the initial position, Polotsky stated that a compound form such as *jw sdm.n.f* was employed.<sup>8</sup>

It would seem, since both predicative and non-predicative forms of the verb appear in declarative statements, that they might also occur in questions. Since *jn* functions as an introduction to what otherwise would be a main clause, it appears that it is restrictive only in that what follows it must in most cases be an independent sentence.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the forms of the verb which appear after it retain their initial status,<sup>10</sup> and our translations will reflect the observations which Polotsky has made concerning forms of the verb in this position.

### Jn + Sdm.n.f

The first type of verbs to be dealt with will be verbs of motion, since Polotsky has shown that an initial *sdm.n.f* of such a verb is clearly emphatic.<sup>11</sup> One of the earliest examples of such a case is from the Pyramid Texts.<sup>12</sup>

#### Example 1 PT 523 a-c

jnd hr.t j"t hjwt    jn jj.n.t jr T. m j"t hjwt    h(w)j.n.f tm m sd

...

Hail to you, Oh, monstrous she-ass! Is it as a monstrous she-ass that you have come against T.? He has struck you with the tail. . .<sup>13</sup>

#### Example 2 PT 522 a-c

jnd hr.t dbt nhhtwt    [jn jj]<sup>14</sup>.n.t jr T. m dbt nhhtwt    zh.z.n.f w' 'ms.wj Hr jr.t

<sup>6</sup> H. J. Polotsky, *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1971), p. 43 ("The Emphatic *Sdm.n.f* Form," p. 109). There does exist, however, a circumstantial *sdm.n.f*, one of the functions of which is its use as a continuative form. Even though it may appear to be an initial form, it is actually a continuation of a previous sentence.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. and p. 44 ("The Emphatic *Sdm.n.f*," p. 110).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 87 ("Egyptian Tenses," p. 17).

<sup>9</sup> For the collocation *jn jr*, where *jn* introduces a phrase, see below, p. 87.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the similar, although rarer, use of the non-enclitic particles *mk* and *js* illustrated by Gardiner, *EG*, p. 440, Obs. See also Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, p. 89 ("Egyptian Tenses," p. 19), for a case with *hr*, and *ibid.*, p. 92 ("Egyptian Tenses," p. 22), for another example with *mk*. Circumstantial forms of *sdm.f*, moreover, do not occur after *jn*. Cf., however, J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1975), p. 458, where the authors point out the existence of both positive and negative examples of non-initial prospective *stp.f* after (*jn*) in Late Egyptian (see, however, n. 624).

<sup>11</sup> Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, pp. 80-86 ("Egyptian Tenses," pp. 10-16).

<sup>12</sup> K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1960).

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that in both Examples 1 and 2, the clauses beginning with *h(w)j.n.f* and *zh.z.n.f* respectively are to be understood as circumstantial adjuncts: "Is it after he has struck you . . . ?" If not circumstantial, both of these clauses are emphatic.

<sup>14</sup> The restoration is made according to the parallel in Example 1.

Hail to you, Oh, immortal she-hippopotamus!<sup>15</sup> Is it as an immortal she-hippopotamus that you have come against T.? He has swung<sup>16</sup> one of the two scepters of Horus against you.

We also find a verb of motion in an interrogative expression in the Coffin Texts.<sup>17</sup>

**Example 3 CT V 54a-55b**

tm nḥm ḥ'tj n s m-'.f m ḥrt-ntr<sup>18</sup> ḥ'.k wpwtj n ntr nb jn jī.n.k  
r jt ḥ'tj.j<sup>19</sup> pn n 'nhw n rdj.n.j ḥ'tj.j pn n ḥppw

Not to take away a heart of a man from him in the Necropolis. Get back—agent of every god. Is it to take away this my heart to<sup>20</sup> the living that you have come? I am not giving this my heart to the dead ones.

The answer to the question introduced by interrogative *jn* can only be the statement which begins with *n rdj.n.j*. It is of interest that two variants, B1C and B2L, have instead of the expression *jn*, a negative phrase:

**Example 4 CT V 54c-55b**

n jī.n.k js r jt ḥ'tj.j pn n 'nhw n rdj.j n.k ḥ'tj.j pn n 'nhw nb ḥpw

It is not to take this my heart of the living that you have come. I have not given to you this my heart of the living, Oh, lord of the dead.

Since Gilula has already shown that the phrase *n sdm.n.f js* is a negative emphatic construction where it is the nexus of the cleft sentence which is actually being negated,<sup>21</sup> its position here as a variant of the passage under discussion also indicates that the parallel

<sup>15</sup> See R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 103, for the translation of the phrase *dbt nḥḥwt*.

<sup>16</sup> K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten* (Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1962), p. 403, translates *zḥz* in this way. See also Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 103, who suggests "wrenched away," but he renders *jr.t* as "from you." See n. 13 above for comments on the form of *zḥz.n.f*.

<sup>17</sup> A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. ("Oriental Institute Publication," vols. XXXIV, XLIX, LXIV, LXVII, LXXIII, LXXXI, LXXXVII; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935-61).

<sup>18</sup> B9C, which may be the best text, omits this opening passage.

<sup>19</sup> Two of the six variants contain *r jt*, while the remaining texts have only *r ḥ'tj.j*. For a discussion of the *jr r* "to come for a thing," see A. de Buck, "Some Interpretations in Sinuhe," in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1932), pp. 57-58. De Buck, *Grammaire élémentaire du Moyen Égyptien* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1952), p. 256, 1, cites without reference, a parallel to our example: *jn jr jī.n.k r ḥ'tj.j pn nn dj.tw n.k ḥ'tj.j pn*— "Is it for this my heart that you have come? This my heart shall not be given to you." The text is from Book of the Dead, *Papyrus Nu*, Chapter 29, 2-3, part of which de Buck does quote in the above article. The interrogative expression *jn-jr* will be discussed in Chapter II.

<sup>20</sup> It is probable that *n 'nhw* is to be understood as "to the living," since the answer states that the heart cannot be given to the *ḥppw*. Cf. CT V 58b: *n jtḥ ḥ'tj.j pn n 'ḥ' r Jwnw*— "This my heart has not been taken to the fighter at Heliopolis." Cf. however, Example 4, where the addition of the phrase *n.k* indicates that *n 'nhw* is to be understood as a genitive expression.

<sup>21</sup> For a discussion on *n . . . js* as the negation of the predicative nexus, see M. Gilula, review of *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen*, by H. Satzinger, in *JEA*, LVI (1970), 208-10.

interrogative clause was emphatic.<sup>22</sup> When *jn* introduces an emphatic form it appears that the predication between the nominal verb and its adverbial complement is to be questioned, and it is only when a form with full predicative force is employed that the action of the verb can be questioned. In essence, as the translations suggest, *jn* + *sdm.n.f* is an interrogation of the adverbial adjunct.<sup>23</sup> This distinction between the intent of two different verb forms has, as mentioned in the beginning of this discussion, been examined only in relation to statements,<sup>24</sup> but their effect has not been examined in questions introduced by *jn*.

We find another passage in the Coffin Texts where a verb of motion is also used after interrogative *jn*:

**Example 5 CT VII 224 j-k**

j ḥwn mn[//]<sup>25</sup> jn jj.n.k zḥn.k w(j) w'w jn.kwj . . .<sup>26</sup>

Oh, young so and so(?). Is it that you might embrace me, Oh sole one,<sup>27</sup> that you have come when I was brought . . .?

In questions where *sdm.n.f* is not a verb of motion, one still finds an adverbial adjunct in each case that is capable of being stressed, and, according to Polotsky, these too should be emphatic forms.<sup>28</sup>

**Example 6 PT 481 a<sup>w</sup> ʿ<sup>1</sup>**

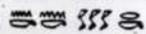
jn sm'.n.f tw dd.n jb.f m(w)t.k n.f

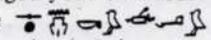
<sup>22</sup> It is possible that a question, although not specifically indicated by *jn*, is implied in Example 4 (cf. Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 491 A), and the resulting translation would then be: "Isn't it to take away this my heart to the living that you have come? [For] I have not given to you this my heart. . ."

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Gilula, review, p. 210, who observed that the adjunct is really being negated in negative emphatic statements.

<sup>24</sup> It can also be seen that adverbial interrogatives can also employ an emphatic form. See the examples which Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, p. 45 ("Emphatic *Sdm.n.f*," p. 111) and pp. 33-37 ("Une règle concernant l'emploi des formes verbales dans la phrase interrogative en Neo-Égyptien," pp. 241-45), has quoted. See also S. Groll, "Iw *Sdm.f* in Late Egyptian," *JNES*, XXVIII (1969), 188-90. Cf. E. Wente, "A Late Egyptian Emphatic Tense," *JNES*, XXVIII (1969), 10-11, who illustrates emphatic verbs which are introduced by interrogative *js* and, in one case, by *jn-jw* (ibid., p. 6, n. 37). See now Černý and Groll, *A Grammar*, Chapter 26 and P. J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974), pa. 88 and pa. 89, who discuss the emphatic forms after (*jn*) with an interrogation of the adverbial adjunct in Late Egyptian.

<sup>25</sup> There is perhaps enough space for a book roll which would function as the determinative for *mn*.

<sup>26</sup> The sentence continues after *jn.kwj* with . It is not evident whether the three leg signs are to be understood as a separate word, or as the plural determinative for the word *nk*, or whether the word *nknk* was intended. Since neither word is attested elsewhere, no suggestion can really be substantiated. A word *nkn*— "to damage" or "to be injured" may have been what was actually intended. See A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 6 vols. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971), II:346, 8. The reading and translation would then be: *nkn.k rdw r.k* "you having damaged your own feet."

<sup>27</sup> It is not likely that the phrase  is to be understood as *zḥn.k w'w* "that you might embrace the sole one," for the  would then have to be a preceding phonetic element, parallels of which are not common for this word. Cf., *Wb*, I:273,3, where  is written for the cardinal number. See also PT 1078 e, where the translation "one" refers to a particular deity and could therefore be rendered, as with our example, "sole one." It is also unlikely that *kw* is to be understood after *zḥn*, since that writing of the dependent pronoun is usually found only in the Pyramid Texts.

<sup>28</sup> See Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, pp. 87-89 ("Egyptian Tenses," pp. 17-20). See also p. 18, Example 7, where there is some ambiguity in the reading of the text.

Was it after his heart said that you shall die because of him that he has slain you?

Two parallel texts from the same source have a similar expression.

**Example 7 PT 1477 a-b<sup>P</sup>**

jn jr.n.tn jr.f dd.n.tn m(w)t.f n m(w)t.f

Was it after you said that he will die that you acted against him?  
He has not died.

**PT 1477 a<sup>N</sup>**

jn sm'.n.sn tw dd.n.sn m(w)t.k n.sn

Was it after they said that you will die because of them that they have slain you?

Faulkner,<sup>29</sup> however, has understood that *sm'.n.sn* and *jr.n.tn*, respectively, and the following *sdm.n.f* of *dd* are governed by the interrogative *jn*. In order to do this, he has interpreted the verbs as parallel predicative forms, and he has joined the two clauses with "or." If "and" were used it would appear that both the act of saying and doing would have occurred simultaneously.

It would seem more logical, however, that the threat of a slaying would occur before the actual attempt. Therefore, it would be expected that the clause with *dd* would actually precede in time the action of the initial clause. If the second clause is understood to be circumstantial, as Sethe had already suggested,<sup>30</sup> then it is possible for the action of the *dd* clause to have happened before that of the preceding clause. When emphatic *sdm.n.f* is used, the stress falls on the circumstantial clause, thereby questioning whether it was after the threat that the attempt was made. Only then is the impact of the ironic answer in PT 1477b felt.<sup>31</sup> In the Coffin Texts, we find a later version of the same question again, and here too the initial *sdm.n.f* is to be understood as emphatic.<sup>32</sup>

In the next example, from the Pyramid Texts, three questions are in parallel; one of the verbs is intransitive, and the others are transitive. It appears that in this example the three interrogative expressions share one adverbial adjunct.

**Example 8 PT 2127 b-e = Nt 831**

mk w(j) bs<sup>33</sup> jj.k(w)j jn.(n.j)<sup>34</sup> n.k jt.t.n.f jm.k jn jršrš.n.f jm.k

<sup>29</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 227. Cf. Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter*, IV:15.

<sup>30</sup> Sethe, *Pyr., Übers.*, IV:424.

<sup>31</sup> It would also be possible, as Professor Klaus Baer has suggested, that the emphasized circumstantial clause could be translated with equal clarity by "because."

<sup>32</sup> While both T9C and B10C, in CT VII 34a, have *jn sm'.n.f tw* the other variant TIC uses instead *jn jw sm'.n.f tw*. The latter form can be analyzed in two ways depending on the segmentation of the two introductory words. For a further discussion of this example, see Chapter II, p. 71, Example 3.

<sup>33</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 302, n. 2, reads *js* for an apparently erroneous *bs*.

<sup>34</sup> The reading *jn.n.j* is suggested by JP II 1009 which has . It is quite possible that our text, *Nt*, omitted  owing to a possible confusion with the word for water, resulting from three  signs in a row. James



interrogative *jn* meaning "fürwahr," a category under which he also included the collocation *jn jr* which James<sup>40</sup> has now shown to be an interrogative expression.

**Example 10 PT 782 a-d**

't hprt m pt (j)n šhm.n.t̄ (j)n jmjm.n.t̄ mh.n.t̄ bw nb m  
nfr.t̄ t' hr.t̄ r dr.f jt̄ n.t̄ sw šn.n.t̄ n.t̄ t' ht nb m-hnw 'wj.t̄

Oh, Great One, who came into being in heaven: Is it after you have filled every place with your beauty that you have become powerful and have become strong?<sup>41</sup> [Now], the entire land is in your possession. Take possession of it. It is in your embrace that you have enclosed for yourself the land [and] all things.

It is obvious that a question does make good sense in this passage, considering the presence of a following statement which seems to function well as an answer. It is of interest that *mm* is retained in the later parallels to this text, and *jn* is never written in its place.<sup>42</sup> Since the question does occur after a vocative, it is possible that this same abbreviation, which is found mainly in non-literary texts, that is, in letters and dialogues, may occur here too. This suggestion implies that dialogues, even in conservative religious texts, might show some influence from the spoken language.

**Example 11 PT 783 a-b**

(j)n pnd.n.j tm m Gb m rn.t̄ n pt zm'.n n.t̄ Gb t' r dr.f m bw  
nb

Is it as Geb that I have made you fruitful<sup>43</sup> in your name of heaven? For Geb has united for you the entire land in every place.

The third example of *mm* before *sdm.n.f* in the Pyramid Texts is less certain owing to the fact that only two of the three variants contain *n*. Later parallels to this passage are also inconsistent in their use of *n*.<sup>44</sup> But this fact does not completely remove the possibility that *n*

("MIFAO," vol. LXV; Cairo: l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1935), pl. CXI, and S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza, 1930-1931* (Cairo: Government Press, 1936), II:195. Other less certain examples are discussed later in this section.

<sup>40</sup> James, *Heḳanakhte*, pp. 102-3. See also K. Baer, "A Deed of Endowment in a Letter of the Time of P<sup>h</sup>py I," *ZÄS*, XCIII (1966), 2, note n, and H. Goedicke, "Ein Brief aus dem Alten Reich (Pap. Boulaq 8)," *MDAIK*, XXII (1967), 4, note d.

<sup>41</sup> It might be preferable to treat *t' hr.t̄ r dr.f jt̄ n.t̄ sw* as two circumstantial clauses acting as the emphasized adverbial adjunct. For the reading *jmjm* rather than *mmmm* (which appears to be written), see Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 142. Sethe, *Pyr., Übers.*, III:435, has made several suggestions for the *n* before the main clause in both this passage and PT 784 a and 823 a. One of his ideas was to treat *n* as a writing of *jn* to indicate a conditional sentence, and he also suggested that *mm* might be a non-essential particle.

<sup>42</sup> Several Saqqara coffins, although understanding *hprt* as an old perfective rather than as a perfective participle, do have *mm* before *sdm.n.f* (Sq3C, Sq4C, and Sq6C). The text from Neit (406) also has *mm*. For the references to CT variants here and below, we are indebted to Mr. James P. Allen.

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of the word *pnd*, see Sethe, *Pyr., Übers.*, III:345. Most of the later parallels have *mm* before *sdm.n.f* (Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq6C, Neit, and several coffins from Dahshur); however, some of them change *pnd* to *pdn* (Dahshur coffins Da4X, Da2X and Da3X).

<sup>44</sup> One of the Dahshur coffins (Da1C) has *mm*, while others (Da2X, Da3X) do not have it. Of the Saqqara

indicates a question, since, as has already been pointed out, no syntactic element had to be present to indicate the presence of some questions.

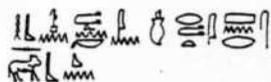
**Example 12 PT 823 a-c**

Nwt (j)n pr.n jrjt m tp.t jt.n.t Hr wrt.f ḥk'w jst jt.n.t Stš wrt.f ḥk'w jst

Oh, Nut: Is it after you have taken possession of Horus and his great of magic and after you have seized Seth and his great of magic that the two eyes have come forth from your head?

A more certain question where *sdm.n.f* is introduced by interrogative *jn* is found on a wall in the tomb of Ti. Behind, that is, to the left, of a representation of a man milking a cow, a small calf stands on its hind legs, its head turned back to the cow that is being milked. Its front legs are being held by a man who is kneeling on one knee. There is a small plant growing on the ground between the man and the calf. Further to the left there is an old man who is standing up, supporting himself on a staff. Above the entire scene appears the following inscription:

**Example 13 Ti, pl. CXXIV (Wild)**



sšnr jrjt jn jt.n.k rnpj n ḥnb bḥs

Drawing milk:<sup>45</sup> Have you used [lit. taken] the plant for the binding<sup>46</sup> of the calf?

That “binding” is the correct interpretation of the word *ḥnb* is indicated by the scenes to the right, where several calves are up on their hind legs while their front legs are tethered to a small plant. There is an apparent attempt to keep the calves away while their mothers are being milked. These illustrations represent the type of binding about which the speaker in our section of the scene is speaking.

The Coffin Texts also supply a few other examples of *sdm.n.f* after interrogative *jn*.

**Example 14 CT V 115 a-g**

nn ḏd n.k ḏ'.k r bw ḥr nṯr pf špsj<sup>47</sup> ḏd jr.f nṯr pn šps jn

coffins, Sq4C and Sq6C have *nm*, but Sq3C does not. Neit has *nm*, but S1C (from Siut) has only *jnk Nwt pr*. Note also *nm* before *sdm.n.f* in PT 824 a; but this occurs after a previous *sdm.n.f*, and, therefore, it can easily be understood as “because.” Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 148, disregards *nm* in his translation.

<sup>45</sup> Because of the arrangement of the hieroglyphs, the reading of the text is not certain. Erman, *Reden, Rufe*, p. 35, gives no translation for this passage. Montet, *Les Scènes*, p. 108, suggests that *sšnr jrjt* “tirer lait” is a legend and that the remainder of the speech belongs to the “surveillant”: “as-tu pris de la verdure pour orner le cou de veau?” See Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 130, 3 for *nr* = *l*.

<sup>46</sup> For “bind” as a meaning for *ḥnb*, *Wb*, V:53, 1, uses our example as the reference. *N ḥnb bḥs* functions as the stressed adjunct.

<sup>47</sup> T1C, which is followed from *ḏd jr.f* on, does not contain the opening lines which are in the two variants.

ḏ'.n.k<sup>48</sup> n.j s n rḥ.f ṯnw ḏb'w.f k'.f jw.j rḥ.kwj ṯnw ḏb'w.j<sup>49</sup>

This which is said to you when you are ferried across to the place of that august god, and this august god actually says [to you]: Have you ferried across to me a man who does not know the number of his fingers?, so he will say. I know the number of my fingers.

**Example 15 CT I 158 a-159g**

m-ṯn jt.j pf ḥ'w.j pf mḥy.j pf ḥ'y.j pf h'.n.j n.f pf jmj jmntt ḥrt-  
nṯr sjwy.n.f wj m ḏ'ḏ't ḏd.n.f jn.tw.j<sup>50</sup> tp r.ṯn s'r.tw<sup>51</sup> hrw.j m t'  
pn n 'nhw nty wj jm.f ḏd.n.f jt.j st.f nḥm.j s'ḥ.f m t' pf ḏsr ntj-f  
jm.f jn ḏd.n.ṯn jn.tw.j n.ṯn r s'r n.j jt.j pf r jw'.j st.f r nḥm.j s'ḥ.f

Behold, you! That father of mine, that stand-by of mine, that guardian of mine, that protector of mine, that one to whom I have descended, who is in the West and/of the Necropolis. It is in the council that he has announced me. It is upon your utterance, when my days in this land of the living where I am are brought to an end, that he has said that I should be brought. It is in order that I might take possession of his position and assume his dignity in that sacred land in which he is that he has spoken. Is it in order that that father of mine might be dispossessed<sup>52</sup> in my favor [lit. "for me"] and that I might inherit his position and that I might assume his dignity that you have said that I should be brought to you?<sup>53</sup>

It is only through the use of the "emphatic" question that the contrast between the motive of the father and that of the gods, to whom the suffix *ṯn* refers, can be appreciated.

**Jn + Jw Sḏm.n.f**

In each of the examples discussed thus far,<sup>54</sup> the adverbial adjunct has been questioned, not the action of the verb. For the predicative counterpart one would expect to find the compound

<sup>48</sup> The two variants omit *jn*, and *ḏ'* is in the *sḏm.f*.

<sup>49</sup> The answer is only in the two variants.

<sup>50</sup> The prospective form *jnt* is expected here, but when *jn* is in the *sḏm.tw.f* form, only one *t* is written. See Edel, *AAG*, pa. 481.

<sup>51</sup> All of the texts have, instead of *s'r.tw*, *s'rw*, but, undoubtedly, the passive form is what was meant. For *s'r hrw* "to bring an end to the days (of one's life)," see also PT 291 c.

<sup>52</sup> *S'r* appears to be a causative of 'r—"to drive away," although there is no striking man or arm determinative. According to Professor Edward F. Wente, , like the writing in our example, occurs in the autobiography of Sabni. It means "to drive away (or deprive) a man from his property." See now L. Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), figure 16. The same meaning is attributed to the word when it is not in the form of the causative. *S'r* also has the intransitive meaning "be wise" and can also mean "need," neither of which expressions fits the context of our example. R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1973), I:30, translates "give place (?)."

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the similar questions with the *sḏm.f* form of the verb in the following section of this chapter.

<sup>54</sup> For other less certain examples of *jn* + emphatic *sḏm.n.f*, see the end of this section.

form *jw sdm.n.f* introduced by *jn*, and although no characteristic examples of this construction have yet been attested in the earliest documents of the Old Kingdom, we do find one in a late Old Kingdom Letter to the Dead from Naga ed-Deir.<sup>55</sup>

**Example 16 JEA LVI, pl. XLVI, 2 (N 3500)**

jn rr jw m'.n.k nn n jww[t] jw.tn " sk jkr.k js n.k

Haven't<sup>56</sup> you seen these remonstrances?<sup>57</sup> You [two] are there,  
while it is [only] for yourself that you are diligent.<sup>58</sup>

It is impossible to understand *m'.n.k* as an emphatic form since the clause *jw.tn "* is independent, and there would be no adverbial adjunct for an emphatic form. In addition, the presence of *rr* indicates that *jw* belongs with the following verb to form the construction *jw + circumstantial sdm.n.f*.<sup>59</sup> In the absence of *rr* or a similar word, there is always the danger, when examining examples of *jn jw sdm.n.f*, that one is dealing with the interrogative compound *jn-jw*<sup>60</sup> + *sdm.n.f* rather than *jn + jw sdm.n.f*. A careful analysis of the following clauses is particularly necessary in order to substantiate the use of the predicative form *jw sdm.n.f*.

**Example 17 CT II 116 b-d**

jn jw jn.n.k mj kd j.jn Wsjr r N pn jw jn.n.j mj kd jw r.f dd.n  
Wsjr . . .

Have you brought everything?,<sup>61</sup> so said Osiris to this N.<sup>62</sup> I have  
brought everything. Then Osiris said, . . .

<sup>55</sup> W. Simpson, "A Late Old Kingdom Letter to the Dead from Nag' ed-Deir N 3500," *JEA*, LVI (1970), 58-64. For another study of the same letter, see H. Goedicke, "The Letter to the Dead Nag' ed-Deir N 3500," *JEA*, LVIII (1972), 95-98.

<sup>56</sup> For a discussion of the collocation of particles *jn rr*, see Chapter III.

<sup>57</sup> Simpson, "A Late Old Kingdom Letter," p. 59, note d, suggests reading \**jwwt* and understands *nn n* to refer to a singular substantive because he needs a feminine singular antecedent in his reading of *j(w).s* rather than *js*. Goedicke, "The Letter to the Dead," p. 95, note b, prefers to read a non-emended word *jww* "wailings."

<sup>58</sup> Both Simpson, "A Late Old Kingdom Letter," p. 60, note d, and Goedicke, "The Letter to the Dead," p. 95, note c, have understood *jw* to be circumstantial, a suggestion which would seem doubtful at this early date. That the phrase is not to be understood as circumstantial is further indicated by the presence of a following clause introduced by *sk*, a particle which seems to be used regularly with temporal and circumstantial meaning; cf. Edel, *AAG*, pa. 855. It is probable that *jkr.k* is to be understood as an emphatic verb subordinated by *sk* and that *js* indicates the adjunct. Gilula, review, p. 210, has shown that *n js* can function as a negation of an adjunct when the verb is in the nominal form. This means of negation is used when there are several possible adjuncts, and, therefore, *n . . . js* would not actually specify which one was to be stressed. *Js*, in our sentence, might be the affirmative counterpart to *n js*. Cf. also Chapter III, p. 91, Example 5.

<sup>59</sup> Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, pp. 88-9 ("Egyptian Tenses," pp. 19-20).

<sup>60</sup> See Chapter II for a discussion of *jn-jw + sdm.n.f*.

<sup>61</sup> It is highly unlikely that *mj kd* would be used in order to function as an adjunct considering its use in the answer. For its meaning, see Edel, *AAG*, pa. 382b.

<sup>62</sup> For the preposition *r* meaning "to" after verbs of speaking, see Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 163, 2, and Edel, *AAG*, pa. 747, 3. See also Faulkner, *AECT* 1, 103.

The answer to the question is in the form *jw sdm.n.f*, and it is likely that this is also the verbal form in the question.<sup>63</sup>

**Example 18 CT V 102 c-h**

jn jw.k mḥ.t(j) jw.j mḥ.k(w)j jn jw.k 'pr.tj jw.j 'pr.k(wj)  
jn jw srwḥ.n.k 'ty jw srwḥ.n.j 'ty

Are you filled? I am filled. Are you prepared?<sup>64</sup> I am prepared.  
Have you treated the two limbs? I have treated the two limbs.

The predicative construction *jw sdm.n.f* used in the question is also used in the answer. That the interpretation of the form of the verb after *jn* is *jw sdm.n.f* rather than the passive form *jw sdm(w)* followed by a dative expression and the noun subject seems to be indicated by a variant text in coffin M2C which was partially restored by de Buck:

**Example 19 CT V 102 g-h**

jn jw[.k ḏsr.n.k]<sup>65</sup> 'ty jw.j ḏsr.j 'ty

Have you raised the two limbs? I am raising the two limbs.

Whereas it would be possible in Example 18 to interpret *jw srwḥ* as *jw sdm* (passive) in both the question and the answer, the same ambiguity among the forms does not exist in Example 19. Since all the variants in Example 19 are consistent in that the voice used in the question is the same as that used in the answer, and the answer in Example 19 is in the active voice, it is certain that the question is also in that voice. Therefore, it is likely that the form *jn jw srwḥ.n.k* is also in the active voice. The interrogative expression of Examples 18 and 19 appears again in the same spell, where the variant texts must also be in the active voice.<sup>66</sup>

We also find *jw sdm.n.f* in a hieratic letter from the latter part of Dynasty XII, where there does not appear to be any ambiguity in the analysis of the passage.

<sup>63</sup> Although  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  could be read *jnn.j*, emphatic forms after *jw* are not written until much later, when *jw* is the circumstantial converter; cf. Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, pp. 79-80, n. 22 ("Egyptian Tenses," pp. 9-10). There is, however, a remote possibility that the passive form *jw sdm* is being used in both the question and the answer, with *mj ḳd* as subject preceded by a dative expression.

<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of questions with a pseudo-verbal predicate, see the section later in this chapter.

<sup>65</sup> The other variant text which also uses *ḏsr* rather than *srwḥ* has the expression *jn jw.k ḏsr.k 'ty* "Are you raising the two limbs?" It is also to be noted that another appearance of this expression in CT V 108 1 (M2C and T1Be) is also *jn jw.k ḏsr.k 'ty*, where the *sdm.f* rather than the *sdm.n.f* (which is used in the earlier passage) is employed.

<sup>66</sup> CT V 108 1-m: *jn jw srwḥ.n.k 'ty jw srwḥ.n.j*. One of the variants (T1Be) has *jn jw.k ḏsr.k 'tj ḏsr.j 'ty* "Are you raising the two limbs? I am raising the two limbs," where both the question and the answer are obviously in the active voice. The other variant (M2C) has *jn jw.k ḏsr.k 'ty* which must also be in the active voice, but the answer, *jw ḏsr 'ty*, is ambiguous. Since *jw sdm.f* (passive) is the counterpart of active *jw sdm.n.f* (Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 422, 1 and pa. 465) and the time period expressed is that of the past, understanding *jw ḏsr 'ty* as a passive form would not fit the present time period indicated in the question. For this reason, the answer should probably be read *jw.(j) ḏsr.(j)* "I am raising the limbs," even though this text does seem to indicate the first person as  $\text{𓂏}$ . The answer is written  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ , and it is not certain what function the damaged sign was to have, since 'ty is generally written with only one arm and *ḏsr* does not have a determinative (CT V 102 g and h and 108 1). In the notebook in which de Buck hand copied the Coffin Texts, he commented that  $\text{𓂏}$  was certainly wrong.

**Example 20** ZÄS LIX, pl. II vs. 2 (Berlin 10016)<sup>67</sup>

(j)n<sup>68</sup> jw rdj.n.k jn.t(w) jw'w n špt.(j)  
mk nḥm gs jrj jḥ dj.k jn.t(w) jw'w jrj

Have you sent the women substitutes [workers]?<sup>69</sup> (For) I have not yet received [them].<sup>70</sup> Behold, half of them were taken away. Please send the women substitutes thereof.

It is clear from both context and the absence of an adverbial adjunct that the action of the verb is being questioned in this expression.

In a medical text, we find that *jw sdm.n.f* is again introduced by *jn*, and the absence of an adverbial adjunct confirms the analysis of the example.

**Example 21** P. Ebers 2, 3-5

jn jw tr sh'.n.k jt.tw Ḥr ḥn' Stḥ r jst 't nt Jwnw m nd.tw ḥrwy Stḥ  
ḥn' Ḥr wn.ḥr.f w'd mj wnn tp t'

Have you really thought about<sup>71</sup> Horus and Seth being taken to the great palace of Heliopolis when Horus was interrogated about the testicles of Seth? He should become healthy<sup>72</sup> like one who is upon earth.

In the Instructions of King Amenemhet I<sup>73</sup> there is a series of questions, only the first of which will be discussed here. While the paleography of P. Millingen, the version of the text which we will use, indicates that the text was written in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>74</sup> the composition probably dates back to the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>67</sup> See G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie I* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909), pl. V, 2, 7, for the hieratic and A. Scharff, "Briefe aus Illahun," ZÄS, LIX (1924), pl. II and pp. 24-27, for the hieroglyphic version. See also U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1971), I:8.

<sup>68</sup> The abbreviation of *n* for *jn* was mentioned above, pp. 6-7, n. 39. For a further discussion, see below, pp. 13-14, Examples 23 and 24. Cf. H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* ("Münchener Ägyptologische Studien," vol. XII; Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1968), p. 34, who also has understood the phrase as a question: "hast du verlasst, dass man die Arbeiterinnen bringe?" B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1924), pp. 89 and 173, and Scharff, "Briefe," p. 27, have not taken the phrase as a question.

<sup>69</sup> For the reading *jw'w*—"woman substitute (worker)," see Scharff, "Briefe," p. 27. Although Gunn, *Studies*, p. 173, transcribes the word , the hieratic does not seem to fit such a determinative. Gardiner, "A Word for 'Representative,' 'Substitute,' or the Like," JEA, XXXVII (1951), 111, agrees with Scharff's suggestions.

<sup>70</sup> Professor E. Wente has suggested this reading.

<sup>71</sup> For a further discussion of this example and the particle *tr* separating *jw* from *sdm.n.f*, see Chapter III, p. 99, Example 18 and pp. 100-101. Unlike the particle *rr* in Example 16, p. 10, *tr* does not aid in segmenting here, and it is clear that an initial *sdm.n.f* introduced by *jn-jw* is not the correct analysis of the passage. See also Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 414.4, who suggests the translation, "Dost thou remember . . .?"

<sup>72</sup> For the most recent study of the function of *sdm.ḥr.f*, see F. Junge, "zur Funktion des *sdm.ḥr.f*," JEA, LVIII (1972), 133-39.

<sup>73</sup> W. Helck, *Der Text der Lehre Amenemhets I für seinen Sohn* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1969), pp. 61-64. R. Faulkner, "The Teaching of Amenemes I to His Son Sesostriis," *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. K. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 193, has made an updated translation and has supplied references for earlier studies of this text.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1, and J. Lopez, "Le Papyrus Millingen," *RdE*, XV (1963), 30.

Example 22 *P. Millingen 2, 7*

jn jw p'j.n ḥmwt ts skw

Have women previously marshalled troops?

Its position here at the head of a series of independent interrogative phrases, the next of which follows directly, leaves no opportunity for an adverbial adjunct.

In the presentation of the questions in this section it is clear that they fall into two distinct categories: *jn + sdm.n.f* and *jn + jw sdm.n.f*. Through the analysis of context and syntax, the original supposition that the verbal forms in a question introduced by *jn* would behave as if they were initial forms appears to hold true, and, therefore, the analysis which Polotsky has made of *sdm.n.f* and *jw sdm.n.f* in statements is valid when these forms are introduced by *jn*. *Jn + sdm.n.f*, the emphatic interrogation, questions the predicative nexus, while *jn + jw sdm.n.f*, the predicative interrogation, questions the action of the verb.

## Ambiguous Examples

Only those examples whose interpretation as questions is not certain remain to be discussed in this section. Among the Kahun Papyri, there are a few ambiguous passages where a question may have been intended, but because of a damaged context and the occasional use of rather than *jn* before *sdm.n.f*, there can be no certainty that they are in fact questions. In the first of these examples, the context is unclear, but an interrogative expression does seem to fit the meaning of the passage better than the alternative suggestions.

Example 23 *Kahun, pl. XXXIII, 7-9*swd' jb [pw n] nb 'w.s. r-ntt (j)n h'b.n.tw n b'k jm ḥr šḥr nb  
[n] nb 'w.s.

It is a communication for the lord, l.p.h., to the effect that: Is it concerning every plan of the lord, l.p.h., that one has written to this humble servant?<sup>75</sup>

This letter was written to the *jmj-r* 'ḥnwtj by the *b'k n pr-qt Ḥmmj*. The writer appears to be referring to a letter received by him inquiring about the plans of his lord. The section following our passage is damaged in parts and unclear in others, but it seems that *Ḥmmj* is concerned about the returning of his lord. He then asks about the taking of a boat and states that he is alone with only one other person. Obviously, since the entire meaning of the letter is not particularly clear, the interpretation of Example 23 as a question cannot be certain. Understanding the hieratic sign  $\neg$  as an abbreviation of *jn*, however, seems to be as likely a solution as understanding it as a writing of the negative word *n*.

<sup>75</sup> Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 77, Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 89 and 112, and Gardiner, *EG*, p. 333, n. 4, have understood  $\neg$  to be the negation, but one would have expected *n sdm.f* rather than *n sdm.n.f*, if the past were being stressed; see Gardiner, *EG*, p. 418. Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 28, uses our example, however, to attest the existence of *n sdm.n.f* as a negation of the relative past (see also *ibid.*, p. 34). The only other example of such a usage [see Gunn, *Studies*, p. 112 (17)], mentioned by Satzinger, is from a later text. Rather than basing the authenticity of a use on two quite doubtful examples, it would seem best to take the late example (Sphinx Stela 5/6 *n rh.n st rmt nb* "no man knew it") as an incorrect archaism and our example as a question with  $\neg$  written for *jn*. The phrase following *nb 'w.s.*, which is omitted in the transliteration, could be the stressed adjunct if it is an emphatic question.

An example of another possible question, which is perhaps less problematic than the previous one, is found in the Kahun Medical Papyrus, where, like the case in Example 23, the ambiguous hieratic sign  $\curvearrowright$  is used. The passage has been understood as a negative expression,<sup>76</sup> but, since negative *n* ( $\curvearrowright$ ) does appear to be written in its usual form in other parts of this text,<sup>77</sup> it is unlikely that this example is also negative.

**Example 24** *Kahun*, pl. V, 20-22

šš'w [st] mr.n 'wt.s nbt hr mn b'b'w n jrtj.sj dd.hr.k r.s g'wt  
pw nt jdt (j)n hpr.n n.s swrj hkr[///]<sup>78</sup> hr kd m mst w'dt  
jr.hr.k r.s . . .

Prescription for [a woman] whose every limb has become ill and who suffers in the sockets of her eyes: You should say as to it: It is constrictions (?)<sup>79</sup> of the womb. If drinking has become possible for her [ . . . ] at all in [her state of] a recent birth,<sup>80</sup> you should do thus . . .

The question here may be an attempt to localize the symptoms of the disease even more, so that an appropriate cure can be suggested.

The same method of inquiry may have been attempted in another case of illness, and here too  $\curvearrowright$  may be written for *jn*; but the entire passage is uncertain.<sup>81</sup> Even less likely to be interpreted as a question is another passage which, although *jn* is written out fully, is not at all clear in its interpretation.<sup>82</sup>

Even though these last examples are ambiguous in their interpretation, they do not represent any serious arguments against our hypothesis that *jn sdm.n.f* is a question where the nexus between the nominal verb and the adverbial adjunct is interrogated.

<sup>76</sup> Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 7, Gunn, *Studies*, p. 89, and H. von Deines, H. Grapow and W. Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, vol. IV, pt. 1: *Übersetzung der Medizinischen Texte* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), pp. 268-69.

<sup>77</sup> See Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. V, 15 and 35.

<sup>78</sup> Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 7, reads *hkr*, while von Deines et al., *Grundriss*, vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 203, has proposed either *hkr* or *hnkt*. The hieratic is difficult to read in this section of the passage, and this particular word is unclear. If it were possible to read *hkr*.[n.s], we could consider this verb to be either a circumstantial *sdm.n.f* functioning as an adverbial adjunct, "Is it after she has become hungry that drinking has become possible for her at all . . . ?" or as an expression parallel to the preceding one and governed as well by (j)n, ". . . and if she has become hungry . . . ?"

<sup>79</sup> Cf. von Deines et al., *Grundriss*, vol. IV, pt. 2, p. 203, where "Mangel" or "Verengung" are suggested. Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 7, proposes the phrase "starving of the uterus."

<sup>80</sup> Because of the damage, it is difficult to judge which adjunct is to be stressed. It would be possible to consider either *hr kd* or *m mst w'dt* as the adverbial complement. Despite our rendering the question as a virtual condition, it is by form a question. See below Chapter IV.

<sup>81</sup> The text, according to Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. V, 26, is transcribed  $\curvearrowright$ , while the same section is written  $\curvearrowright$  by H. Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter*, V: *Die medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), p. 460. Both translators have understood  $\curvearrowright$  as a writing for negative  $\curvearrowright$ , but, since the text is partially damaged, it is even possible that negative  $\curvearrowright$  is actually written.

<sup>82</sup> See Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXXI, 8, where the phrase *jn g'w n* occurs. Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 148, 5, has considered it to be a prepositional phrase similar to *jn mrwt*, and he relates it to *n g'w*; however, all of the Middle Kingdom examples of *n g'w* differ from our example in that they each take a direct genitive, while ours has an indirect genitive. For *g'w.n* to be treated as a verb we would not expect *w* in the *sdm.n.f*. In either interpretation, we are faced with many problems.

### Jn Introducing Sdm.f and Jw Sdm.f

The pattern *jn + sdm.f* is analyzed as the *sdm.f* form of the verb introduced by the interrogative word *jn*. However, the pattern *jn jw sdm.f* is not so easily segmented, since it may conceal two distinct constructions, and, therefore, it can be analyzed as either *jn + jw sdm.f* or *jn-jw + sdm.f*. Only the pattern *jn + jw sdm.f* along with the previously mentioned pattern *jn + sdm.f* will be discussed in this section.

Although Gardiner realized that the basic verb form in the phrase *jn jw sdm.f* could have been the compound form *jw sdm.f*, he still treated such examples as if they contained the interrogative *jn jw*.<sup>83</sup> Lefebvre has acknowledged that in certain phrases introduced by *jn jw*, *jw* is not part of the interrogative.<sup>84</sup> Erman,<sup>85</sup> like Gardiner,<sup>86</sup> felt that the expression *jn jw* at the head of a sentence was more common than was *jn*, but he did not examine any examples of the pattern *jn + jw sdm.f*. It was the opinion of Erman that this *jn jw*, an ancestor of Coptic  $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ , could be placed before any sentence in order to turn it into a question.<sup>87</sup>

In contrast to these scholars, Edel has organized his examples of questions introduced by *jn* and *jn jw* under the general category, "Eingeleitet durch die Fragepartikel *jn*."<sup>88</sup> Although he stated that sentences with an old perfective form as predicate must be introduced either by *jw* or *wmn* if the interrogative word *jn* stood at its head,<sup>89</sup> he treated *jn jw* as a separate introduction before a verbal sentence; in reality, his example contains the compound *jw sdm.f*, introduced by interrogative *jn*.<sup>90</sup>

As was the case with the construction *jn jw sdm.n.f*, it is necessary to examine carefully the questions where *jw* precedes *sdm.f* to discern whether *jw* is really an essential part of the compound verb form, in which case it would belong to the category of *jn* questions, or whether *jw* is incompatible with the following verb form, in which case the example would clearly belong to the category of *jn-jw* questions. The examples can then be organized into several groups: *jn + non-emphatic sdm.f*, *jn + emphatic sdm.f*, *jn + jw sdm.f*, and *jn-jw + emphatic sdm.f*.<sup>91</sup> The distinctions which Polotsky has made concerning emphatic and non-emphatic *sdm.f* in statements will be adhered to in our renderings of questions in light of the observations which were made in the first part of this chapter concerning the role of the emphatic *sdm.n.f* of the verb in questions.<sup>92</sup>

### Jn + Non-emphatic Sdm.f

The pattern *jn + non-emphatic sdm.f* occurs frequently in both the Old and Middle

<sup>83</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 492, 5.

<sup>84</sup> Lefebvre, *GEC*, pa. 676 bis.

<sup>85</sup> A. Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik* (Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1928), pa. 505 and pa. 506.

<sup>86</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 493.

<sup>87</sup> Erman, *ÄG*, pa. 505a.

<sup>88</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 1005.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pa. 1005b.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pa. 1005a, where Edel treated *jn jw wn rmw* "Are there fish?" as if *jn jw* were a separate interrogative expression. The other examples of verbal sentences which Edel quoted were introduced simply by *jn*.

<sup>91</sup> The last category will be discussed later in Chapter II. We have omitted the pattern *jn-jw + non-emphatic sdm.f*, since, as we will see in Chapter II, such a construction does not occur with any regularity in the time period with which we are concerned.

<sup>92</sup> See above, pp. 1-2 and 13.

Kingdoms. One of the most common types of question is illustrated by an example from *Urkunden I*.<sup>93</sup>

**Example 1** *Urk. I 39, 17-40, 1*

jn mr.tn R' dw'.tn ntr nb n S'hw-R'

Do you love Re?<sup>94</sup> You should worship every god for Sahure.

Other texts have similar passages,<sup>95</sup> and in all of them it is also possible to render the interrogative expressions in English as conditional clauses.

**Example 2** PT 879 b-c

jn mr.tn 'nh Tm wrh.tn mrht wnh.tn hbs

Do you want Atum to live? You should smear on oil; you should put on garments.

*Jw wn* is the phrase most commonly found in the Middle Kingdom in statements of existence, but it occurs as early as the late Old Kingdom after *jn*. During the Old Kingdom and later the phrase *jn wn* is also attested with apparently little, if any, distinction in meaning. *Jn jw wn* will be discussed later in this section,<sup>96</sup> while *jn wn*, the less common one, will be examined here.

**Example 3** PT 893 a-b

jn wn z' R' jr.f st.f jr.f st P. pn jn wn z' R' wd'.t(j).f(j) wd'  
P. pn

If there is a son of Re who makes his place, he makes the place of this P. If there is a son of Re who will be healthy, this P. will be healthy.<sup>97</sup>

The same interrogative expression appears to precede *nn sdm.n.f* in an early Middle Kingdom letter to the dead.

**Example 4** *Letters to the Dead*, pl. VI, 7-8

(j)n wn nn rh.n.k ntt jn t' b'kt jrr pr.k m rmtt 'h' tw hr.[s]

<sup>93</sup> K. Sethe, *Urkunden des alten Reiches I* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1933).

<sup>94</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 1041, has translated this example as "sowahr Re euch lieben möge, sollt ihr jeden Gott für S'hw-r'w priesen;" however, parallel questions, such as Example 2, p. 16, and n. 95 below, indicate that *tn* is to be understood as the subject. Other examples, where the predicate is a participle, also indicate that *tn* is to be the subject, and these passages will be discussed later in Chapter II. Note, however, that E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlichen Buchgesellschaft, 1973), p. 197, has indicated that the first example of a god loving a man is in *Shipwrecked Sailor*, while a man loving a god is not known before the Ramesside period.

<sup>95</sup> See PT 2252 a = N 1055 + 44 = Nt 692 *jn mr.k 'nh.k Hr hrj-tp 'nwt htm.k w "wj pt* "Do you wish that you live, Oh Horus, Chief of 'nwt? You shall not seal the doors of heaven" and PT 815 a-b *jn mr.k 'nh.k Hr hrj-tp m'nh.f nt m"t htm.k w "wj pt* "Do you wish that you live, Oh Horus, chief of his staff of m"t? You shall not seal the doors of heaven." PT 1050 a, which also contains the phrase *jn mr.k*, is in a broken context.

<sup>96</sup> See below, Examples 33-38, pp. 28-29.

<sup>97</sup> Although the passages are translated as conditions, as is the case with many questions, they are syntactically questions. The relationship between questions and conditions is discussed later in Chapter IV.

Are you not aware of the fact that it is the servant girl who prepares your house among men? Take care of her!

It appears that (*j*)*n wn* here questions the existence of specific knowledge concerning the servant girl. Gardiner and Sethe suggest that *n wn* should be translated "Can it be that . . .?" and have considered that *n wn* was "almost certainly a question, so that the most probable explanation of these words is that they serve as an unusual interrogative particle."<sup>98</sup> It would seem, however, that the phrase "Is there the fact that . . .?" might convey more accurately the literal sense of the passage. The date of the text is clearly at least Eleventh Dynasty considering the use of *r'* and the hieratic writing of the bookroll. It is, therefore, certain that *nn* would hardly have been written for *n*, and that *n* is written for *jn*.

Although *jn wn* is not a particularly common expression in the earlier phases of the language, it does occur with some regularity in Demotic. Its presence during that period rather than *jn jw wn* may be due to the fact that *jw* by that time was predominantly the circumstantial converter, *wn* + subject being the usual statement of existence.<sup>99</sup>

Example 5 ZÄS XCIII, 2, 13-14 (P. Boulaq 8)

jn rr dj Mrrj nb.j ndm r.f nbt b'kt nt pr dt

Doesn't<sup>100</sup> *Mrrj* my lord cause that the mistress of the maid-servant of the estate be pleased concerning it?

In the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Ti, there is a fishing scene in which one of the workers is speaking to another. The arrangement of the hieroglyphs makes the transliteration and translation of the text somewhat difficult.

Example 6 Ti (Wild), pl. CXXIII



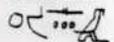
Although the transliteration is not certain, it seems that the text is to be read: *jn dj.k tw hr gbjt*

<sup>98</sup> Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 12 and p. 22, VI, 6.

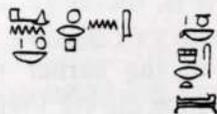
<sup>99</sup> *Jw* occurs in Demotic after *jn* for questions using the first present tense, but it is always then followed by a suffix. See J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, ("Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," 38; Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1976), p. 32, n. 1. Although Spiegelberg, *DG*, pa. 440, indicated the rare use of *jw* in independent verbal sentences, Professor George Hughes has concluded that the two cases referred to by Spiegelberg are actually examples of circumstantial *jw* with noun subject. See J. Ray, "Two Inscribed Objects in the Fitzwilliam Collection," *JEA*, LVIII (1972), pl. XLIII, who shows two examples (*ibid.*, lines 5 and 6) of *jn wn* which convey the meaning "Is there?" There is also a statement of existence (*ibid.*, line 9) which employs *wn* + subject. See also Spiegelberg, *DG*, pa. 485, for further examples of *jn wn*. For a discussion of the proposed relationship of *jn wn* to Late Egyptian *jnn* see J. Černý, "Inn in Late Egyptian," *JEA*, XXVII (1941), 111, and also below Chapter IV.

<sup>100</sup> For a discussion of the role of *rr* in questions, see Chapter III.

*wh'*<sup>101</sup> . . . "Are you applying yourself to (the task of) boning(?)<sup>102</sup> the *wh'* fish . . .?" It is difficult to say exactly what the last part of the text means, since there are many ambiguities.<sup>103</sup>

Another caption from a later tomb wall also appears to be a question. Two men are standing, each with a sickle in his hand. Behind these two figures there is a woman who is bending over, pulling out two stalks. In front of the first man, there is written the comment  - "I am thirsty," while in front of the second man is the phrase  - "Reap the grain." Before the woman and above her is the following:

Example 7 Allen, *Handbook*, p. 28<sup>104</sup> (Oriental Institute P 9895)



*jnk sđrt*<sup>105</sup>    *jn hrp.(j) n r' nb*

Am I one who is sleepy or am I one who is first every day?<sup>106</sup>

In the first six examples, the verbs were mutable, and therefore visibly non-emphatic.<sup>107</sup> In

<sup>101</sup> For the reading *wh'*, see I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* ("ÄA," vol. XXI; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 33, who suggests that  is to be understood as an ideogram for the word. See also the earlier discussion by H. Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-Her-Akhti* (MVEOL, vol. V, Leiden: Brill, 1943), p. 59, where both *gbt* and *wh'* are actually written out.

<sup>102</sup> F. Daumas, "Quelques remarques sur les représentations de pêche à la ligne sous l'ancien empire," *BIFAO*, LXII (1964), 84, has agreed with P. Montet, *Scènes*, p. 37, that *gbt* is not a fish (cf. *Wb.* V, 162: 15), but a verb, and he suggests translating "Ne vas-tu pas te mettre à priver le clarias de . . .?" See also A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe*, p. 34.

<sup>103</sup> It is not clear if  is to be construed with the preceding infinitive *gbjt*, in which case  might refer to what was being boned or removed. Such a suggestion, according to Daumas, "Quelques remarques," pp. 84-85, creates the problem of a superfluous sign . He, therefore, suggests a reading  which may be a writing for  "rapidly," and he renders the whole passage: "Ne vas-tu pas te mettre à desarmer le clarias rapidement." Edel, *ÄAG*, pa. 607, apparently has understood  as the writing of the imperative, and Montet, *Scènes*, pp. 37-38, suggests among other expressions, "Va! Cours!" and "prends son ecaille!"

<sup>104</sup> T. Allen, *A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 28.

<sup>105</sup> Although W. Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe, und Leiden auf altägyptischen Darstellungen der Landwirtschaft, Viehsucht, des Fisch und Vogelfang vom Mittleren Reich bis zur Spätzeit* ("Tübinger Ägyptologische Beiträge," I; Bonn: R. Habelt, 1973), 37, did not read the *t* in *sđrt*, it is present, and it no doubt is the ending of the feminine participle; agreement of the participle with its subject being the rule in the Old Kingdom. See Edel, *ÄAG*, pa. 632. See also H. Junker, *Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizäus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reich bei den Pyramiden von Giza*, IX ("DAWW," Vienna: R. Roher, 1950), 36.

<sup>106</sup> Guglielmi, *Reden, Rufe*, p. 37, translates the phrases as two questions, both of which have rhetorical sense: "Bin ich (etwa so) ein Faulenzer? War ich nicht jeden Tag die erste?" However, the negation present in her translation does not appear in the Egyptian. Guglielmi, *ibid.*, has translated *sđr* "to be lazy" and *hrp* "to be first." Cf., however, the translation in Allen, *Handbook*, p. 28. It is also possible to read the question, *jn hrp.n.(j) r' nb*. Although such a reading would eliminate the problem of an early appearance of the phrase *n r' nb*, the pattern of the question would then be *jn sdm.n.f*—an emphatic question, with the interrogation of the adverbial adjunct. There would then be no parallelism between the first and second questions.

<sup>107</sup> A few uncertain examples are found in letters. See A. Roccati, "Una Lettera Inedita dell' Antico Regno," *JEA*, LIV (1968), pl. IV, 17, where there is a partially damaged passage introduced by *jn* which he (*ibid.*, pp. 18-19) does not consider a question, *jn hm s'[w.j] tw n srw jw.(j) r jrt r hbd.k* "Should I protect you for the officials?"

Example 7, the form *hrp.j* is ambiguous, since it would also be possible for the verb to be emphatic, with the stress to be placed on the expression of time which follows it.

A question from the Coffin Texts provides us with an example of the pattern *jn* + non-emphatic *sdm.f* where it is certain that the verb is not emphatic.<sup>108</sup>

**Example 8 CT I 239 d-e**

jhj sp 4 jn ršy jn nhy jn dj.j 'wj.j tp.j hr ntr pn nb ntrw

Jubilation four times! so said the joyful one, so said the complaining one. Shall I raise my two limbs over me on behalf of this god, lord of gods?

Although this example is clearly a question, there is another in the Coffin Texts where, because of an ambiguous context, it is not certain that it is.<sup>109</sup>

Letters from the early Middle Kingdom often contain interrogative constructions, and it was James<sup>110</sup> who considered the expression *n 'nh wđ snb* followed by a suffix pronoun as a question interrogated by (*j*)*n*—an abbreviated writing of the word *jn*. He translated the phrase, analyzing '.w.s. as a series of verbs with a common subject:<sup>111</sup> "Are you alive, prosperous, and healthy?"<sup>112</sup> The context and position of these expressions in the sentence indicate that they are non-emphatic.<sup>113</sup>

Then, I would act according to your displeasure." See also the Ninth Dynasty letter of *Mrw* which W. Simpson published, "The Letter to the Dead from the Tomb of Meru (N3737) at Nag'ed-Deir," *JEA*, LII (1966), pl. IX, 2. Simpson, however, did not consider the possibility of translating the passage as a question, *j'nw hḥ n s[pl] 'h j'nw n mhḥkw(?) .n.k hr nn jrrw dt.k Sn[ḥ] n rdj.t(w) m' sw b'k jm m rswt m njwt w't [hn'].k* "A cry, many times! May the cry of the one whom you have favored be effective in respect of these things which your *dt* servant Seni does [ibid., p. 50]. Does one cause this humble servant to see him in a dream in one city together with you?" Obviously, the context is far from clear, and it cannot for certain be determined which interpretation is correct. This letter was also discussed by G. Fecht, "Der Totenbrief von Nag'ed-Deir," *MDAIK*, XXIV (1969), 105-128, but he did not suggest rendering the clause as a question. See also *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. III (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), pl. VII, Str. B2 Vorderseite, where in a fragment from Elephantine, there appears to be a question, (*j*)*n rdj.j rh IIII* "Have I caused . . . to know?"

<sup>108</sup> See also the same pattern in other Coffin Texts, where none of the verbs appear by context to be emphatic: CT V 80 b and 103 e: *jn dd.k đ.k jr gs j'btj n pt* "Do you say (or think?) that you shall ferry across to the east side of heaven?" and CT VII 213 a-c: *hpr.k' wrw m šrrw n hpr dd.j n sdm.j jn ḥsf.twj dd nn* "The great shall become as little ones. It did not happen that I said, I did not hear [or It shall not happen that I say, I haven't heard.]. Am I opposed when this is said?" Another passage from the same source is CT VII 340 c-341 a: *jn rh.sn gmm w'wt.sn jw.sn k' m jubw nw ds* "Do they know who finds their roads? They are high in walls of flint." This last case can also be understood as a statement, "It is the one who knows them . . ." See also below, p. 76, n. 422.

<sup>109</sup> The translation of CT V 74 o: *jn mh' hr.s* "Is the document complete concerning it [the boat]?" is very uncertain because the text is damaged, and the remainder is ambiguous. It is not likely that the first three signs  are written for "who," since this text writes  (V 68 j and 69 f). There is a possibility that *jn* is used to introduce a statement continuing the answer to the question in 74 m; however, the earlier questions (V 74 b and d) are followed only by short answers.

<sup>110</sup> James, *Heḳanakhte*, pp. 102 and 124.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., pp. 124-25.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., II, 1, 2; XI, 7; XVI, 1. See also, Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXXVII, 5, which James, *Heḳanakhte*, p. 124, also considers to be the same expression. In Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXXIII, 10, there is a broken passage where *n* appears before *snb(?)*, but the damage in the papyrus makes it impossible to make a definite reading.

<sup>113</sup> The phrase is followed by *m ḥst Mnḥw* (James, *Heḳanakhte*, pl. II, 1) which is understood as an independent greeting (ibid., p. 125). It cannot, therefore, function as a stressed adjunct. In pl. II, 2, it is followed by an imperative, and in pl. XI, 7, a phrase indicating the speaker of the questions follows '.w.s., while a new sentence

Passages from literary texts such as the *Eloquent Peasant*, *Westcar Papyrus* and *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* furnish more examples of the pattern *jn* + non-emphatic *sdm.f*.

**Example 9 Peasant B 1, 322-23**

*jn*<sup>114</sup> *gs' jws* ḥnkw.f pw f'yw ḥt

Does a balance tilt? It is its scale pan which weighs things.

**Example 10 P. Westcar IX 12-14**

ḏd.jn ḏdj ptr jr.f p' jb jty 'w.s. nb.j jn jr.t(w) ḥr p' ḥrdw 3

Then Djedi said: What is this mood, sovereign, l.p.h., my lord?  
Does one act<sup>115</sup> [in such a way] because of the three children?

**Example 11 Admonitions 13, 3**

*jn* ḫn.f nḥm.f sw 'nḥ.f pw

Is he brave and does he rescue himself?<sup>116</sup> It means that he will live.

Since both *ḫn.f* and *nḥm.f* are governed by *jn* and the following clause is a nominal sentence, there is no adjunct present to be emphasized, and, therefore, it is certain that both verbs are non-emphatic.

The examples quoted above, both in the text and the notes, illustrate a category of questions where the non-emphatic form of the *sdm.f* was introduced by interrogative *jn*. In these questions it is the action of the verb which appears to be interrogated. In function this pattern is similar to *jn* + *jw sdm.n.f*, the means of questioning the action of a verb in the *sdm.n.f* form.

### **Jn + Emphatic Sdm.f**

When discussing the pattern *jn* + *sdm.n.f*, we saw that *jn* was a non-restrictive particle, and that, therefore, the *sdm.n.f* introduced by it still maintained its initial status. According to Polotsky, *sdm.n.f* in such a position is emphatic.<sup>117</sup> The *sdm.f* form in the initial position, however, is not as easily analyzed as the *sdm.n.f* which occupies the same place, since an immutable verb in the *sdm.f* at the head of a sentence can be not only an emphatic form, but also an indicative (perfective) or prospective (subjunctive / optative) form. It is only when the

follows the expression in pl. XVI, 1. In all cases, except that in Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXXVII, 5, *n' w.s.* is preceded by *jw.k* (or *jn*) *mj-jj*. For another question which is in the same pattern, see P. Smither, "The Semna Despatches," *JEA*, XXXI (1945), pl. V, 12. Here, however, the verb is mutable, and it is clear, if the interpretation of the interrogative is correct, that the pattern is *jn* + non-emphatic *sdm.f*: *jn jn sw swn* "Does one who trades bring himself?" Cf. also below, p. 58, n. 329.

<sup>114</sup> *Peasant B 2*, 87, has, instead of the interrogative *jn*, the negation . For other examples of  for *jn*, see below, p. 52, n. 290, and p. 66, Example 5.

<sup>115</sup> The translation is based on the assumption that the reading *jr.t(w)* is correct (instead of an emphatic *jrr.t(w)*).

<sup>116</sup> A condition would also suit the context. See also Chapter IV.

<sup>117</sup> Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, p. 87 ("Egyptian Tenses," p. 17) and *Les Transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique*, "Israel Oriental Studies VI", (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1974), pp. 18-19.

verb is mutable that the nominal (emphatic) form of the *sdm.f* is visibly distinct from the other forms.

“Emphatic” questions where the verb is mutable are not attested in the early inscriptions of the Old Kingdom. It is not until the latter part of this period that we find geminating forms of the *sdm.f*, i.e., clearly emphatic forms, introduced by *jn*. The earlier examples which contain immutable verbs will be discussed later in this section because of their ambiguity.

**Example 12** *Letters to the Dead I, 8*

jn wnn jb.k ꜥb r.s

Will your heart remain cool concerning it?<sup>118</sup>

We find this pattern, also from the same type of source, in the First Intermediate Period.<sup>119</sup>

**Example 13** *Letters to the Dead II, 4*

jn jrr.t(w) r.j r gs.k n jrt ddt.n z'.k jm jn sn.j

Is it in your presence that evil is done against me, while that which your son said was not done by my brother?<sup>120</sup>

**Example 14** *Letters to the Dead III, 3*

jn jrr.t(w) r.j r gs.t hrdw špt n z'.t jm mr

Is it in your presence that evil is done against me, the children being sorely discontent<sup>121</sup> with this your son?

Coffin Texts also provide us with a few examples of geminating forms of the *sdm.f* in questions.

**Example 15** CT V 288 b-c

jn "" jb.k hr nw tpj r'.k rdj.n n.k mwt.k

Is it on account of this which is upon your mouth, which your mother has given to you, that you become presumptuous?<sup>122</sup>

<sup>118</sup> *Wnn.f* + adverbial predicate (including old perfective) is the future of a sentence with adverbial predicate. The emphatic form of *wnn* is used to point out the predicate.

<sup>119</sup> K. Baer, “A Deed of Endowment in a Letter of the Time of Pepi I?,” *ZÄS*, 93 (1966) p. 2-3, n.3, prefers to date the text to the Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>120</sup> For the placement of the agent at the end of the expression, see Edel, *ÄÄG*, pa. 1073. For ꜥ as a negation of existence, see *ibid.*, pa. 1091. Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 17, suggested that ꜥ was written for later *mr*. If *jr.t(w)* is read rather than the infinitive *jrt*, the translation would still be essentially the same.

<sup>121</sup> For the translation of *špt . . . mr*, see Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 19. For a further note on *mr*, see Baer, “A Deed,” p. 5, note n.

<sup>122</sup> The context of the short spell deals with snakes, and it seems that *tpj r'.k* may refer to the poison in the fangs of the snake, which was put there by the mother. The name of the mother, written ꜥꜣꜣꜣ, may be *Srꜣt* the Scorpion. See G. Posener, “L'expression *bj'.t* “.t ‘mauvais caractère,’” *RdE*, XVI (1964), 43, who suggests “presumptuous” for the expression “*jb*.”

**Example 16 CT I 227 b-c**

jn rr wnn.j " w'.kw(j) jn jw tr jt.j " ḥn'.j

Shall I not be here alone?<sup>123</sup> Is my father really here with me?<sup>124</sup>

**Example 17 CT I 244 h**

jn rr wnn.j w'.k(wj) n wnt sn.j z'.j

Shall I not be alone,<sup>125</sup> without my brother or my son?

The Coffin Texts also provide us with several other questions in the pattern *jn* + *sdm.f* which, since the verbs are not mutable, cannot be used as certain examples. Each of these questions, however, occurs in a context which suggests that the form of the verb is to be understood as an emphatic one.

**Example 18 CT II 118 c-e**

jw rrj zn jn zwn.sn sk wj zwn.k(wj) jw jbk' znb' jn znb'.f sk  
wj znb'.k(wj)

The pig has passed by. Is it when I suffer that they will suffer?  
*Jbk*<sup>126</sup> has slipped. Is it when I have slipped<sup>127</sup> that he will slip?

**Example 19 CT IV 77 c-f**

ph.k r.k ḏrw n pt mj m jst tw 'pr.tj m jr w Ḥr nn nms jr.k jn  
mdw.k r.k ḥr ḏrw nw pt

How can you approach the limits of heaven,<sup>128</sup> while you are  
equipped with the form of Horus, without a *nms* cloth on you? Is  
it really upon the limits of heaven that you speak?<sup>129</sup>

Several questions from these texts employ the phrase *jn ḏd.k*, and, in most cases, the context implies that the form of the verb is emphatic.<sup>130</sup>

**Example 20 CT I 168 d-169a**

jn rr ḏd.tn jn.t(w).j r st nt jt.j pf { ḥ'y.j }  
pf ḥ'y.j [p]f h'.n.j n.f pf jsk { mḥy.j }  
rh.n.j ḏd.tn m'.n.j ḥnw.tn

<sup>123</sup> For a further discussion of this example, see Chapter III, p. 93.

<sup>124</sup> See also below, p. 52, Example 4.

<sup>125</sup> See also the discussion of this question in Chapter III, p. 90, Example 3.

<sup>126</sup> Faulkner, *AECT* I, 104, has translated *jbk* "boar."

<sup>127</sup> For the meaning of *znb'*, see Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 171, n. 4. Cf. PT 1536 a *jn twt js ḥw(w) znb'w.sn m ḥnw'wy.k* "It is you who prevent them from slipping into your arms." Edel, *AAG*, pa. 523, points out that PT 1534 a, a very similar passage, substitutes *nnyw* for *znb'w*. It is likely, therefore, that the two words may have the same meaning. *Wb*, III, 459: 1 suggests "fallen." See also Faulkner, *AECT* I, 104.

<sup>128</sup> Coffin DIC, although not particularly reliable in all cases, appears to be correct in omitting *Wsjr* in *n Wsjr pt*.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. BD 78 and A. de Buck, "The Earliest Version of the Book of the Dead 78," *JEA*, XXXV (1949), 87-97.

<sup>130</sup> See also above, p. 9, Example 15, where *ḏd.n.f* is used similarly.

Isn't<sup>131</sup> it since I know your character and since I have perceived your intentions [lit., what is inside you] that you say that I should be brought to the place of that father of mine, that stand-by<sup>132</sup> and that guardian of mine, that protector of mine, that one to whom I have descended?

**Example 21 CT I 159 h-160a**

jn ḏd.tn jn.tw.j n.tn tp r'.f jsk sw rh ḥnw.tn šš'w m jrt.n.tn nbt . . .

Is it since he knows your intentions and is acquainted with everything which you have done . . . that you say that I should be brought to you at his bidding?<sup>133</sup>

In both Examples 20 and 21 the verb *ḏd* is followed by a content clause, the verb of which is a prospective/subjunctive *sdm.f*.<sup>134</sup> This nominal clause functions as a direct object, and, as such, it cannot be used as an adjunct. It is, therefore, the following circumstantial clause introduced by *jsk* which is to be emphasized.

Some of the letters of the early Middle Kingdom employ geminating forms of the *sdm.f* in questions.

**Example 22 *Heḳanakhie*, XVI vs. 1**

jn wnn jb.j mḥ r ḏd rdj.n.j ḳw n pr.j jw h'b.t(w) n.j r ḏd nn ḳw jm

Will I be able to remain confident that I have given provisions to my household?<sup>135</sup> [Now] one keeps writing to me saying: There are no provisions there.

<sup>131</sup> For a discussion of *jn rr* at the beginning of this question, see below, Chapter III, p. 90, Example 4.

<sup>132</sup> See also the parallel passage in CT I 158 a.

<sup>133</sup> There are several other questions in the Coffin Texts where the same verb is used: CT I 160 g-i: *jn ḏd.k jn.tw.j r' r' pw ḏsr ntk jm.f r st.k jmit ḥrt-ntr jw'.j ḥtm.k . . .* "Is it that I might inherit your seal(?) . . . that you say that I should be brought to this sacred land in which you are, to your place which is in the necropolis?"; and CT I 162 g-h: *jn ḏd.k jn.t(w).j r.j r' r' pw ḏsr ntk jm.f r sd r.f pr.k . . .* "Is it to break up your house . . . that you say that I should be brought to this holy land in which you are?" We also see the same pattern in CT VI 316 r-317 c: *jn ḏd.tn h'w N pn r w'b r gs Jmmw(?) pj nb ḥtm ḏd sw' mtwt ḥsf.k' sw N pn m mwj pw t'y šn st jn ḏd.tn w'b N pn r gs Mnš pw ḳ' ḥrw ḏwy mtwt ḥsf.k' sw N pn jm.f* "Is it in the presence of this *Jmmw*(?) [cf. PT 1095 b], lord of destruction who says, Destroy the seed, that you say that this N should descend in order to be purified? This N shall oppose him as this male cat whom odor surrounds. Is it in the presence of this *Mnš*, high of voice, and evil of seed, that you say that this N should be purified? This N shall oppose him therein"; and CT VII 52 j-k: *jn ḏd.k n.f sdm.n.sn nḥmn Skm m nḥpw* "Is it to him that you speak after they heard; indeed *Skm* is in the morning of the next day?" It is also possible that circumstantial *sdm.n.f* is the emphasized adjunct.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. the note immediately above, where prospective *jn.tw.j* is also used in CT I 160 g and 162 h. The fact that in all these examples the first two clauses remain constant, while the adjuncts change, indicates that the adjunct is the predicate. In CT VI 316 r, the prospective nominal form *h'w* is the object of *ḏd*. (For a discussion of the prospective form, see W. Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin*, vol. VIII: *Grammatik der Medizinischen Texte* [Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962], 136-52). Edel, *AAG*, pa. 519-30, does not include the appearance of *sdmw.f* after *ḏd* in his discussion. See also Polotsky, *Transpositions*, p. 24 and the references therein. The prospective form also seems to be used in CT VI 317 b.

<sup>135</sup> Since *rdj.n.j* is initial, it is emphatic, and the stress should be on *n pr.j*.

In the recto of the same letter, there is a question where, although the verb is one of three radicals and, therefore, shows no characteristic ending, the context implies that the verb is emphatic.

**Example 23** *Hekānakhte*, XVI rt. 9

jn mdd.k jb n ḥmt.k m sm' prw.j

Is it in slaying my household that you follow the desire<sup>136</sup> of your wife?

This letter concerns the fact that, since rations were not delivered to the household of the writer, Nehsi, at least one person has died. Nehsi states, just before our passage begins, that he knows the character of the woman who is responsible for this action, and he then questions whether Kay will go as far as killing an entire household in following the wishes of this woman. He does not question that Kay is conforming to the wishes of his wife; rather, he asks to what extent Kay will act according to her demands. The context would seem to demand the translation of the emphatic.<sup>137</sup>

In literary texts of the Middle Kingdom, there is a passage where the pattern *jn* + emphatic *sdm.f* is found.

**Example 24** *P. Westcar* XII, 11

jn jrr.t(w) st n' [////]<sup>138</sup>

Is it here . . . that one does it?

In most of the texts, however, the verbs are, unfortunately, non-geminating, and it is only by context that we can interpret them as emphatic forms.

**Example 25** *Peasant* B I, 18

jn 'w'.tw.j rf m d'tt.f

Is it really in his estate that I will be robbed?

<sup>136</sup> For the translation of *mdd jb*, see James, *Hekānakhte*, p. 92, n. 13.

<sup>137</sup> For another question dated to the early part of the Middle Kingdom that should also be translated emphatically, see E. Wente, "A Misplaced Letter to the Dead," *Miscellanea in Honorem Josephi Vergote, Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (1975/1976), p. 596 and p. 597, note d: *iw.t mj-jh (j)n nḏ js Jmwt ḥrt [ḥft] jb.t* "How are you? Is it as you wish that the West is taking care of you?"

<sup>138</sup> See James, *Hekānakhte*, p. 112, for a discussion of the adverbial use of the demonstratives *in* and *n'* after intransitive verbs, and Edel, *AAG*, p. 754. Cf. the use of the non-emphatic question *jn jr.t(w)*, Chapter I, p. 20, Example 10. It is not certain whether the text is correct at this point, however, and K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), p. 13, 15, chooses to restore *n' sp sn*. Because of the geminating form, one expects to find an emphasized adverbial adjunct. Sethe's suggestion is acceptable, if we translate the passage: "Is it here, twice, that it (i.e., the beating) is done?" Less likely is the suggestion that the following clause *iw ms.n.s njswt 3* is to be considered an emphasized circumstantial clause: "Is it since she has born three kings that it is done here?" See Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXXVI, 54-55, for another example of circumstantial *iw sdm.n.f*. W. Simpson, "King Cheops and the Magicians," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed.: W. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 30, has rendered the phrase: "Shall this be tolerated?" G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1949), p. 90, suggests that the reading *jr.t st*, which is the way he reads our *jr.t(w)*, is vulgar and perhaps corrupt, and that it seems necessary to correct *jr.t* to *jr.s*. A. Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar* (Berlin: W. Speman, 1890), p. 70, understood *jr.t* "Thust du."

In this passage, it is clear that the Peasant is going to be robbed, but the irony of his speech is emphasized if it is in the estate of Rensi, a person known to restrain all robbers, that such an act is going to take place. Such a nuance is felt only with a stress on the adverbial adjunct.<sup>139</sup>

**Example 26 Peasant R 53**

jn ḥnd.k ḥr ḥbsw.j

Is it upon my clothes that you are going to tread?

In order for the Peasant to get by he must tread on either the cloth or the barley. In reality, then, the question is not posed to interrogate the action of treading, but rather to question upon what surface the treading shall take place. It is only through the use of the emphatic verb that such a stress can be made.

**Example 27 Peasant B 1, 225**

jn rf wrš.j r.f

Am I not<sup>140</sup> spending all day only at it?<sup>141</sup>

**Example 28 Peasant B 1, 135**

jn ḥm.k m h`w.j

Is it only of my affairs that you are ignorant?

It is exceptional to find the verb *ḥm* construed with the preposition *m* as is the case in Example 28. This verb is transitive, and, therefore, takes a direct object without intercession of a preposition.<sup>142</sup> A possible explanation could be the desire of the writer to enforce the understanding of the emphatic nature of the question by means of creating an adverbial adjunct upon which the stress could fall.<sup>143</sup> Such a solution would strengthen the interpretation of the form of the verb as emphatic. In addition, the context of the passage indicates that the adjunct is to be questioned. The Peasant addresses the "wisest of all men" who, by his nature, should be omniscient. The Peasant then limits his question to refer only to his own circumstances by means of stressing the prepositional phrase.

### Uncertain Examples in the Pattern Jn + Sdm.f

Another possible question from the same text contains some ambiguities, and, therefore, it is placed in this section.

<sup>139</sup> See also below, Chapter III, p. 96, Example 12.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. below, Chapter III, p. 94, Example 8.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. below, p. 27, Example 31 and n. 150.

<sup>142</sup> See *Wb*, III, 279: 11-13, where in the New Kingdom the prepositions *ḥr* (Dynasty 18) and *r* (Dynasty 19) can be used with *ḥm*.

<sup>143</sup> This construction will be investigated more fully in a forthcoming issue of *Orientalia*. See also James, *Heḳanakhte*, p. 104, K. Baer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer's Letter to His Family," *JAOS*, LXXXIII (1963), 5, n. 26, and E. Meltzer, "A Rare Use of *Ds* + Suffix Pronoun in Middle Egyptian," *JARCE*, XII (1975), p. 35, n. 24.

## Example 29 Peasant B 1, 95

jn m(w)t m(w)t ḥn' ḥryw.f jn jw.k r s n nḥḥ

If a mortal man<sup>144</sup> dies together with his underlings, will you be a man of eternity?

Although Faulkner did not understand the first *mwt* as a verb and therefore rendered the phrase as a statement,<sup>145</sup> it makes equally good sense as a question, and, since the phrases which both precede and follow it are questions, it appears likely that it is to be understood as an interrogative expression.<sup>146</sup>

The next three examples are unlike the previous one, in that they are clearly questions. Their ambiguity lies in the interpretation of their verb forms as either emphatic or non-emphatic. They are all from the early part of the Old Kingdom and, if emphatic, are the only questions of that type during the period.

Example 30 Hassan, Giza, II, fig. 219<sup>147</sup>

jn jn.k k't tp hrw nfr

Do you delay work at the beginning of a holiday?

In this tomb, there is a wall scene where several groups of artisans are pictured. In one of these, two dwarfs are seated on stools opposite each other, and they are working on a necklace. The figure on the right turns his head around toward another group of people, and he says: *jšst pw mk bj' r gs.k* "What is this? Behold, the iron is beside you." His companion, apparently vexed with the lack of attention to the work at hand which is shown by his co-worker, utters two pithy remarks, the first of which is: *nḍr nw mnḥ nt(j) m-.k* "Grasp this well, what is in your hand!" The second expression is the question in Example 30. There is some ambiguity in

<sup>144</sup> For the rendering of *mwt* as "mortal man," see R. Faulkner, "The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed.: W. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 36. See also R. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1962), p. 120, who quotes only this example for the meaning which A. Gardiner, "The Eloquent Peasant," *JEA*, IX (1923), 11, had also used. We, therefore, understand *mwt* to be an imperfective participle, "one who dies," i.e., "a mortal."

<sup>145</sup> Faulkner, "Eloquent Peasant," p. 36.

<sup>146</sup> The condition seems clear, "If mortals die, can you be immortal and live forever?" Although there does seem to be a contrast set up between a mortal and an immortal person which seems best illustrated by understanding *mwt* as a non-emphatic verb, it is possible, but less likely, that the verb is emphatic with the interrogation directed toward *ḥn' ḥryw.f*. See also below, p. 53. Example 6. Faulkner, *AECT* I, 177, has translated the ambiguous passages beginning with *jn s'' tw . . .* (CT III 216 a-b) as questions and cites as a parallel CT VII 46 a-b, where *jn s'' tw.j sḥ* occurs; he, *ibid.*, p. 178, n. 3, treats the word after *jn* as a verb form with omitted subject. If *s''* were a *sdm.f*, the gemination would indicate an emphatic (nominal) form, but there is no immediate adverbial adjunct capable of emphasis. Unless *s''* and its parallel verbs *sḥ*, *mr* (CT III 216 b), and *stt* (CT III 216 b) were all considered to be emphatic forms with a common adverbial adjunct *r t'*, which occurs only after— and appears to apply only to—*stt*, there would be no adverbial expression upon which to lay emphasis. Moreover, only the first verb of each pair of verbs has an introductory *jn*. This fact may indicate that the second verb is not influenced by *jn*. It would appear that a participial statement might better fit the context and syntax. CT VII 46 a-b, where a verb appears to be indicated, may be an erroneous writing.

<sup>147</sup> S. Hassan, *Giza*, vol. II (1930-1931), fig. 219 and p. 199.

the reading of the first two words, since both the interrogative and the verb are transliterated *jn*; however, the position of the fish indicates that there are two words.<sup>148</sup> Since the class of the verb is not particularly clear, it would be difficult to prove its emphatic or non-emphatic nature.<sup>149</sup>

A question where it is also ambiguous whether it is actually the adjunct or the verb which is being interrogated occurs in another non-literary source.

**Example 31** *Urk. I* 129, 6-8

jn wrš.k sḏr.k ḥr mḥ m jrt mrrt ḥzzt wḏt nb.k jw ḥm.f r jrt  
s'rw.k š'w jkrw

If you [continue to] spend the day and night taking care in doing what your lord loves, praises, and commands, His Majesty will grant your many excellent wishes.

It is likely that the verbs in this question are emphatic<sup>150</sup> and that the interrogation is directed toward the adjunct. We have not rendered it as a cleft sentence, however, owing to the apparent conditional aspect.

**Example 32** *PT* 1496 a-c

j' R' jn j.dd rmtw ḥ'.sn ḥr gs P. pn jr t' sk tw ḥ'.tj m j'bt  
pt jmj 'k jr P. šd n.k sw ḥn'.k jr gs j'b n pt

Oh, Re! Is it when you appear in the east of heaven that men who are standing beside this P. on earth say: Stretch out your arm to P., take him away with you to the east side of heaven?

This passage is followed by two others which are quite similar, the main difference being that only ours has the writing *j.dd*, a factor which can, but does not have to, be indicative of an emphatic form.<sup>151</sup> Perhaps more important is the fact that each of the three passages uses essentially the same phrases except that the particular part of heaven mentioned in the

<sup>148</sup> Cf. *Wb*, I, 92:19, where  $\text{𓂏}$  always occurs after  $\text{𓂏}$  and before  $\text{𓂏}$ . The word usually does have a reed leaf at the head; however, since the space for the expression is limited, it is possible that  $\text{𓂏}$  before  $\text{𓂏}$  was omitted. This is the earliest attestation of the word; the next is in the Coffin Texts.

<sup>149</sup> *Wb*, I, 92:19, and Gardiner, *EG*, p. 554, read *jn*, while Faulkner, *CD*, p. 23, reads *jnj*. Only if the verb is to be read *jn* would it be possible for it to be emphatic, and it is clear from the context that such an understanding would be possible. It would seem especially appropriate for the conscientious worker to point out the particular time when the work is slowed down. "Is it at the beginning of a holiday that you delay work?"

<sup>150</sup> Cf. the "emphatic" questions with parallel verbs p. 25, Example 27, and p. 76, Example 3. Although S. Groll, "Tw *Sḏm.f*," pp. 189-90, showed that Late Egyptian *sḏm.f* of verbs like *wrš* was parallel to the *sḏm.f* of verbs of motion and were emphatic, we cannot use with certainty evidence from Late Egyptian to explain Old Kingdom forms. In addition, it was Middle Egyptian emphatic *sḏm.n.f* of verbs of motion which probably corresponded to Late Egyptian *sḏm.f*. Therefore, since both the context and morphology are somewhat ambiguous, we have not made a definitive interpretation of the passage.

<sup>151</sup> Although Edel, *AAG*, pa. 491 a, when discussing geminating *sḏm.f*, includes examples of II lit. verbs with a prothetic  $\text{𓂏}$ , the *j* apparently occurs before non-emphatic forms of this class (*ibid.*, pa. 473, pa. 476, pa. 479, pa. 481, and pa. 488).

circumstantial clause and in the quotation differs.<sup>152</sup> It might seem then that the information in the circumstantial clause might actually be what should be stressed and interrogated.

Of course, since the verb is immutable, it can be argued that the question refers to a non-emphatic verb. Faulkner, however, did not even consider the three parallel passages as questions, but preferred to understand them as statements.<sup>153</sup>

### Jn + Jw Sdm.f

As has already been mentioned, *jn* is also the interrogative particle which introduces the construction *jw sdm.f*. This pattern, since it employs the compound form *jw sdm.f*, should question repeated or continuous action or a generalization.<sup>154</sup>

### Jn + Jw Wn

*Jw wn*, a phrase denoting existence,<sup>155</sup> seems to characterize a generalization. Since it occurs several times after the introductory interrogative word *jn*, we can examine such questions in this section.

#### Example 33 *Deir el Gebrawi*,<sup>156</sup> pl. IV

jn jw wn rmw

Are there fish?

#### Example 34 *Urk. I 61, 2*<sup>157</sup>

jn rr jw wn m" snḏm' jb.j jm

Is it not truly so, that my heart is gladdened thereby?<sup>158</sup>

This construction is attested also in the Coffin Texts, where it again appears to question existence.

<sup>152</sup> See PT 1497 a-c, where the southern side is referred to, and PT 1498 a-c, where the middle is mentioned.

<sup>153</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, pp. 230-31, in contrast to Sethe, *Pyr., Übers.*, V, 454-57, does not translate the phrases as questions, but as statements, and renders *jn ḏd rmtw* "Thus people say." He refers to R. Faulkner, "The Verb 'I To Say' and Its Developments," *JEA*, XXI (1935), 183, e, where he stated, "I am inclined to suspect in this apparently tautologous introduction of the verb *ḏd* the first stage in the development of the Late Egyptian idiom *i n.f ḥr ḏd*, lit. 'So said he, speaking.'" He did point out (*ibid.*, n. 7) that de Buck differed from this interpretation by taking *jn* as an interrogative word.

<sup>154</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 462.

<sup>155</sup> See Edel, *AAG*, pa. 979 A1, and Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 107, 2.

<sup>156</sup> N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi II* ("ASE," vol. XII; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902), pl. IV.

<sup>157</sup> Another question of this type which was published by P. Kaplony, "Eine neue Weisheitslehre aus dem Alten Reich," *Orientalia*, XXXVII (1968), pl. III, 3-4, is almost completely reconstructed, and, therefore, it is not included as an example. See also *Urk. I 61, 5*, *jn ḥm wn r ḥpr*, which Edel, *AAG*, pa. 622, does not treat as a question, but rather as a statement.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Edel, *AAG*, pa. 949 BB, who understood the clause beginning with *snḏm* to be the subject and *m"* to be the verb. See also p. 89, Example 2.

**Example 35 CT I 227 d**(B10C<sup>b</sup>) *jn jw rr wn jty sn.f*

Is there really one who would seize his brother?

(B16C) *jn jw rr wn dy n sn.f*Is there really one who is given to his brother?<sup>159</sup>**Example 36 CT VII 163 m-n***n mk.j zp jn rf jw wn mk.j zp.f*I did not protect [for myself] a portion. Is there not<sup>160</sup> my protecting his portion?

From the Middle Kingdom, we find a few examples of *jn jw wn* in the story of Sinuhe.<sup>161</sup>

**Example 37 Sinuhe B 133-34***jn jw wn ky nht 'h' r.f*

Is there another warrior who will fight against him?

**Example 38 Sinuhe B 34***jn jw wn hprt m hnw*

Is there something that has happened in the Residence?

*Jw wn*, the phrase which is introduced by *jn* in Examples 33-38, is a fairly common expression for existence from the end of the Old Kingdom through the Middle Kingdom. These questions of existence (*jn jw wn*), however, comprise the totality of examples conforming to the pattern *jn + jw sdm.f* during the Old Kingdom and the early part of the Middle Kingdom. The limitation of the examples in this pattern to the phrase *jw wn* may be explained by the fact that *jw wn* may have already been considered an expression of existence, and that the actual syntactic function of *jw* before *wn* might have been of secondary importance in comparison to the understanding of the two words as a complete phrase. Edel<sup>162</sup> has already pointed out the comparative rarity of *jw sdm.f* in the Old Kingdom, so it is not surprising to

<sup>159</sup> See also below, Chapter III, p. 92, Example 6, and pp. 92-93.

<sup>160</sup> See also below, Chapter III, p. 95, Example 10.

<sup>161</sup> The expression is also present in *Sinuhe* B 120-21: *jn jw wn tw' mrrw n s' n tp-hr* "Is there a low-ranking person who is loved through obliging the master?" W. Simpson, "The Story of Sinuhe," In *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed.: W. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 64, translates the passage: "Is a subject loved when he acts the master?" Cf. J. Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1952), p. 13.

<sup>162</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 883 aa, gives only two definitive examples of *jw sdm.f* in the Old Kingdom.

find relatively few examples of such a form after interrogative *jn*<sup>163</sup> and that those examples which are attested are formed with the expression of existence *jw wn*.

#### Jn + Jw Sdm.f (Active)

It is not until early in the Middle Kingdom, when *jw sdm.f* begins to appear regularly as the construction which expressed repetition or continuity, that questions employing this form of the verb start to occur. Even then, however, we find that the questions seem to prefer the form *jw.f sdm.f*,<sup>164</sup> equally uncommon until the Middle Kingdom.

#### Example 39 CT V 102 g (T1Be)

*jn jw.k dsr.k 'ty*

Are you raising [the] two limbs?

This same question occurs later in the spell.<sup>165</sup> Two other variants include this expression, but another one replaces it with the pattern *jn jw sdm.n.f*.<sup>166</sup>

#### Example 40 Peasant B 1, 148-50

*jn jw jwsw nnm.f jn jw mh't hr rdjt hr gs jn jw rf Dhwjt  
sfn.f jh jr.k jyt*

Does the balance err? Does the scale put to [one] side? Is Thoth really merciful?<sup>167</sup> Then you will commit crime.

It would also be possible to translate the series of questions in the above example as conditional clauses, and the concluding clause, which begins with *jh*, would function well as the apodosis.

The pattern *jn + jw.f sdm.f* is also found in another story.

#### Example 40a Sinuhe B 123

*jn jw k' mr.f 'h'*

Does a bull love combat?

<sup>163</sup> In contrast to C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I: Text* (Cairo: l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1926), pl. LVIII and p. 100, VII, Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 509 and pa. 1038, has understood the phrase *jn jw mry.jn* as *jn + jw* participle. James, *Heḳanakhte*, p. 102, in agreement with Firth and Gunn, however, has treated *mry* as a *sdm.f* form. Parallels exist in *Urk.* I 205, 2 and 12, and 217, 16. In *Urk.* I 218, 16, *jn jw* is followed by *mry.n.jn* where the verbal form is either a passive participle or a relative form. See below, Chapter II, pp. 80-82, for a further discussion of these examples.

<sup>164</sup> See Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 884. *Jw.f sdm.f* is a construction which Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 463, felt was practically identical in meaning with *jw sdm.f*.

<sup>165</sup> See CT V 108 I.

<sup>166</sup> For our Example 39, Sq1C probably has the same expression, while M2C has *jn jw.k dsr.n.k 'ty*, and T1C has *jn jw srwh.n.k 'ty* (see above, p. 11). For CT V 108 I, both T1C and T1Be remain the same, but M2C has *jn jw.k dsr.k 'ty*. According to W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn: University of Bonn, 1962), pp. 119-23, only T1C belongs to the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, while the others belong to the Twelfth Dynasty. See also CT V 109 h, where *jn jw tr shm.k m tm jn n.k* occurs. For a further discussion of this question, see below, p. 36, n. 201.

<sup>167</sup> For the second question, see p. 48, Example 25. The third question is discussed again later in regard to the particle *rf*, Chapter III, p. 95, Example 11.

Another literary papyrus, although written in the New Kingdom, was probably composed much earlier, and, therefore, we can include it here as an example.<sup>168</sup>

**Example 41 Admonitions 12, 14**

jn jw rf mnjw mr mwt

Does one who is desirous of death really act as a herdsman?<sup>169</sup>

P. Millingen, whose composition dates to the Middle Kingdom, supplies another example.

**Example 42 P. Millingen 2, 7-9**

jn jw šd.tw ḥnnw m ḥnw jn jw wb'.tw mw 'dd gbb

Are brawlers looked after<sup>170</sup> in the Residence? Is water released when the land is hacked up?<sup>171</sup>

From the last part of the Seventeenth Dynasty, we find a question inscribed on a royal stela, and it appears that the interrogative expression conforms to the pattern *jn + jw sdm.f.*<sup>172</sup>

**Example 43 Kamose, 20-21**

jn jw gmḥ.k jrt.n Kmt r.j ḥk' nty m ḥnw.s K'-ms dj 'nh ḥr thm.j  
ḥr jtn.j

<sup>168</sup> For the most recent discussion of the date of the composition, see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 149-50, who feels that it is a work of the late Middle Kingdom. See also G. Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den "Mahnworten des Ipu-wer"* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1972), pp. 10-27, who discusses the evidence for dating parts of the composition to the First Intermediate Period and others to the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

<sup>169</sup> A. Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 85, and Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 160, have translated the passage "Is there a herdsman who loves death?" It is probable, however, that *jw wn* would have been used for an expression of existence. R. Faulkner, "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," *JEA*, LI (1965), 61, translates the phrase "Does a herdsman love death?" In such a rendering, one might assume *mr* to be an old perfective, but then the action should have been completed. It is likely, therefore, that *mnjw* is the verb, for which *mr mwt* acts as the subject. For the perfective participle *mr* expressing a habitual action, cf. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 367. See also the discussion of *mnjw* by D. Mueller, "Der gute Hirte," *ZÄS*, LXVIII (1961), 130-44.

<sup>170</sup> See R. Faulkner, *CD*, p. 274.

<sup>171</sup> 'dd is probably to have been understood as 'd.tw, a circumstantial *sdm.f.* Many of the variant texts have rather 'dd.tw (see Helck, *Der Text der Lehre*, p. 63), and it is also possible that the second part of the phrase was also to be governed by the interrogative: "Is water released and the land hacked up?" The text may be followed by another question which, although it appears to be the same type of verb form, may not warrant using the compound form *jw sdm.f.* We, therefore, have included a discussion of it in Chapter II. It is unlikely in Example 42 that *šd* and *wb'* were parallel emphatic verbs introduced by the compound interrogative *jn-jw*, since none of the parallel texts use the geminating form for the 3 inf. verb *šdj*. In a similar literary text, there are a series of questions, two of which appear to be in the pattern *jn + jw sdm.tw.f.* For a discussion and alternative interpretations, see E. Blumenthal, "Eine neue Handschrift der 'Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn' (P. Berlin 14374)," *Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Mitteilungen aus Ägyptischen Sammlung*, vol. VIII: *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974), pp. 55-56. See also K. Kitchen, "Studies in Egyptian Literature I: 'The Instructions by a Man for His Son,'" *Oriens antiquus*, VIII (1969), 189-208, and H. Goedicke, "Die Lehre eines Mannes für seinen Sohn," *ZÄS*, XCIV (1967), 62-71, for parallels and commentary.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. L. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* ("ADAIK," vol. VIII; Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1972), p. 39.

Do you see what Egypt has done against me?<sup>173</sup> The ruler who is in it, Kamose, given life, is attacking me upon my soil.

#### Jn + Jw Sdm.f (Passive)

Questions in this pattern do not refer to continuity or repetition, but are the passive counterparts of the interrogative expression *jn + jw sdm.n.f*, and, therefore, they refer specifically to actions which have already occurred. This type of question is limited in usage, and Gardiner has already pointed out that passive examples of *jw sdm.f* are much more common than active ones.<sup>174</sup>

#### Example 44 CT II 201 a-c

jn jw rdj n.k wdw nw ḥwt.k tn jw r.f N pn h'w ḥ'w jb.f ndm rdj  
n.f wdw nw ḥwt.f tn

Have the decrees of this your family been given to you?<sup>175</sup> This N has descended, rejoicing, while his heart is joyful, since the decrees of this his family were given to him.<sup>176</sup>

#### Example 45 *Kahun*, pl. XXX, 8-13

(j)n jw wd sdm jt' jn rmtt nbt wpw-ḥr jmj-r' šnt n grt sdm.n jmj-  
r' šnt n js ndr.tw m-'f

Has the judging of a thief been commanded by any person except the *jmj-r' šnt*?<sup>177</sup> Now, the *jmj-r' šnt* cannot judge a thief, since one has not apprehended him.<sup>178</sup>

Although Example 45 is usually accepted as a negation,<sup>179</sup> the passage is probably best

<sup>173</sup> The sense of continuity or repetition seems rather limited here despite the apparent use of *jw sdm.f*. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 462, however, has pointed out that this form can also be used to characterize a prevalent state of affairs. Even though the stela does employ the definite article *p'*, and occasionally employs circumstantial *jw* and the possessive article *p'y.j*, as well as the pronominal compound, it is not likely that *jn-jw*, the compound interrogative usually found in the New Kingdom, was being used here to introduce *sdm.f*. An emphatic *sdm.f* would require a stressed adverbial adjunct and, since neither the preceding clause beginning with *ḥk'*, which is clearly descriptive, nor the negative clause following it, which is not circumstantial (*n ph.f sw . . .*), can fulfill this function, *gmḥ.k* would then have to be understood as a non-emphatic *sdm.f*. As we will see later in Chapter II, however, the pattern *jn jw + non-emphatic sdm.f* does not seem to occur. Moreover, such an analysis might force the action of the verb into the past tense (the usual time reference of the *sdm.f* in Late Egyptian), and it is clear that it should be understood as indicating present tense. T. Säve-Söderbergh, "The Nubian Kingdom of the Second Intermediate Period," *Kush*, IV (1956), p. 57 and H. Smith and A. Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," *ZÄS*, 103 (1976) 58 and 61, translate the text in the present tense.

<sup>174</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, p. 462. *Jw.f sdm.f* (see above Ex. 39-41) is the construction mainly used for the active voice.

<sup>175</sup> The presence of *nw* in some cases here and in CT II 201 c indicates the presence of a genitive construction.

<sup>176</sup> Coffin B17C employs  as the verb in both CT II 201 a and c, which clearly marks the forms as passive.

<sup>177</sup> For a short discussion of the title, see H. G. Fischer, "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat," *JARCE*, I (1962), 18, n. 84.

<sup>178</sup> Faulkner, *CD*, p. 145, suggests "arrest" for *ndrw*. According to both Faulkner (*ibid.*) and *Wb*, II, 383:16, 17, *ndr m* means to "take possession of" or "hold the hand." The phrase literally means "one has not taken possession of him," i.e., "apprehended."

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 89 and 173, and Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 72. Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 34 (8), however, has understood the passage as a question.

understood as a question. It is hardly likely that  $\neg$  before *ju sdm.f* (passive) would be written for the negation, since *n* + passive *sdm.f* would be expected. In addition the negative is written in its usual form several times in this text.<sup>180</sup>

In this discussion of the use of *sdm.f* in questions introduced by *jn*, it can be seen that the pattern *jn* + emphatic or non-emphatic *sdm.f* is the most common pattern. Aside from the examples where the phrase *ju wn* is introduced by *jn*, the pattern *jn* + *ju sdm.f* is limited to only a few examples. Since those questions, where the verb is in the passive voice do not technically belong to the same category, we are left with only Examples 41-43 conforming to this pattern. Examples 39, 40, and 40a are to be analyzed as *jn* + *ju.f sdm.f*, but, since *ju.f sdm.f* seems to convey the same meaning as *ju sdm.f*, these questions have been included in this section; but they represent the only examples of the pattern *jn* + *ju.f sdm.f*. Examples 41 and 42 are later copies of much earlier original texts, and it would be difficult to base our evidence for the pattern *jn* + *ju sdm.f* only on these questions. Example 43 creates some problems because it is part of an intercepted letter which was copied directly on the commemorative stela.<sup>181</sup> One would hardly expect a letter which was written in the earliest part of the New Kingdom to reflect the standard grammar of the Middle Kingdom. All of these factors concerning the evidence for the questions conforming to the pattern *jn* + *ju sdm.f* lead to the conclusion that the existence of such a pattern in Middle Egyptian is not attested very well.<sup>182</sup> The use of compound constructions employing the *sdm.f* form of the verb after interrogative *jn* is extremely limited, and it would seem from the evidence which remains that *jn* had a marked preference for simple forms of the verb.

### Jn Introducing Ju + Subject + Pseudo-Verbal Constructions

Sentences whose predicates consist of a pseudo-verbal construction are used throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Such a predicate can consist of the old perfective form of the verb or a preposition followed by an infinitive.<sup>183</sup> When the subject is a noun or a demonstrative pronoun it can stand in the initial position,<sup>184</sup> but either of these types of subject can also be introduced by *ju*, as well as by other non-enclitic particles.<sup>185</sup> If the subject is a personal pronoun, it cannot stand alone and must be introduced by *ju* (+ suffix pronoun)<sup>186</sup> or a non-enclitic particle (+ dependent pronoun), and in a few rare cases a negative word (+

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXX, 11, 13, 17 and 19.

<sup>181</sup> See Habachi, *Kamose*, p. 39.

<sup>182</sup> Depending on the interpretation, it may be possible to add another example of this pattern, *jn ju sst'.tw n.k skw* "Are troops ushered in to you?" But see the discussion of this example in Chapter II below, p. 74, Example I.

<sup>183</sup> In the Pyramid Texts, preposition + infinitive as a predicate is not used. See Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 926 - pa. 930. Predicates consisting of non-verbal prepositional phrases or adverbs will be discussed in a separate section.

<sup>184</sup> According to Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 927, *hr* + infinitive as predicate occurs with an un-introduced subject only when it is used after *ntj* in a relative sentence. When the predicate is *r* + infinitive, Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 935, can show only one case where the subject stands alone. Noun subjects do occur, however, when the predicate is the old perfective.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 324. Although forms of the verb *wn* can also introduce the subject, it would seem that *wn* would then act as the verb followed by an adverbial modifier consisting of either an old perfective or a preposition followed by an infinitive, i.e., *wnn* + subject + adverbial expression is a verbal construction. If *wnn* is to be understood as a nominal form, then it serves to point to the logical predicate, the adverbial expression.

<sup>186</sup> The suffix pronouns are also used in the construction of pronominal compounds, but such constructions do not occur until the advent of the New Kingdom.

dependent pronoun).<sup>187</sup> The independent pronoun is not at all common as a subject for an adverbial predicate and occurs in only a few isolated cases in the Old Kingdom.<sup>188</sup>

Gardiner has pointed out that the majority of independent statements utilizing the pseudo-verbal construction are introduced by either *iw* or a non-enclitic particle like *mk*, and that, although instances can be shown to have existed where this construction, without an introductory word, does function as a main clause, such usages are rare.<sup>189</sup> In Middle Egyptian, it is more usual that pseudo-verbal constructions which do not have an introductory word are understood as virtual clauses of circumstance. In the Old Kingdom only an old perfective predicate can have an un-introduced subject. These clauses are, however, seldom used in statements,<sup>190</sup> but there are a few examples where they are used in wishes.<sup>191</sup> It is more common to find that the subject is introduced by either *iw* or a non-enclitic particle.

When questions are formed, as we have seen from the previous examples where the predicates consisted of verb forms, it appears that generally an independent statement is simply preceded by interrogative *in*. By context, syntax, and morphology, it was possible to segment the examples as *in* + verbal sentence. With pseudo-verbal predicates there is a general uniformity among the examples in that *in* is almost always<sup>192</sup> followed by *iw* + subject + predicate (either adverbial or pseudo-verbal), a construction which, as indicated above, is most commonly used for an independent statement. Gardiner has included his examples of such questions under the category of *in iw*,<sup>193</sup> while Edel has indicated that *iw* must precede pseudo-verbal predicates when the particle *in* is used.<sup>194</sup> Lefebvre has explained that, in certain questions introduced by *in iw*, *iw* does not belong to the interrogation, but it is actually part of the following phrase.<sup>195</sup>

It would seem a priori that such questions should logically be segmented *in* + an *iw* construction, rather than *in-iw* + . . . , since the underlying statement requires the presence of *iw*. It might be argued, however, that the form of the question in these cases may not be the best evidence, since *iw* follows *in* in virtually all of the examples. It could be possible, therefore, to analyze the pattern as *in-iw.f* + pseudo-verbal predicate, *iw* being obligatory since it was bound to *in*.

It is perhaps best then to consider the answers to the questions and to compare the construction of the answer to that of the question. If the answer contains an *iw* construction, it is likely that the question would be parallel and that it should be analyzed as *in* + an *iw* construction. We cannot use the context as a source of information, since either analysis would produce the same translation. An investigation of the diachronic evidence, which unfortunately

<sup>187</sup>Negation by *n* is limited to one example when the predicate is *r* + infinitive (see Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 938) in the Old Kingdom. In the Middle Kingdom, Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 334, shows only a few examples, one with an old perfective predicate and another with *hr* + infinitive.

<sup>188</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 905, points out that the un-introduced pronominal subject can be expressed by the independent pronoun when the predicate is an old perfective, and he also shows (*ibid.*, pa. 914) examples with a prepositional phrase as predicate. The examples are limited to PT and three cases in *Sinuhe* (See Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 116).

<sup>189</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 322. For the difference between noun + adverbial predicate and *iw* noun + adverbial predicate, see p. 49, n. 277.

<sup>190</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 906 aa and pa. 909 a, mentions the fact that *iw* + subject + old perfective is a more common construction than subject + old perfective.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*, pa. 906 bb. A wish would hardly be a likely candidate for a question.

<sup>192</sup> See below, p. 37. Example 5, for the only exception to this rule yet found.

<sup>193</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 492.

<sup>194</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 1005 b.

<sup>195</sup> Lefebvre, *GEC*, pa. 676 bis.

does not always represent the most reliable information, will be discussed in the Appendix in order to determine whether it has any effect upon the problem of segmentation. The significance of enclitic particles in relation to the segmentation of the examples in this section will be examined in Chapter III. This section of Chapter I will be divided into two sub-sections corresponding to the two types of pseudo-verbal predicates, old perfective and preposition + infinitive.

### Jn + Jw + Subject + Old Perfective

Although one of the most common questions during the Middle Kingdom is that in which the old perfective form of the verb is the predicate, examples of this pattern are rare in the Old Kingdom. A question of this type, however, is found as part of the dialogue among workers who are engaged in one of the activities of daily life in a scene on the wall of an Old Kingdom tomb. Since this question was intended as speech, it can hardly be considered as representative of standard Old Egyptian, and the absence of this type of question during this period would support the influence of the colloquial language in dialogue represented on the tomb walls.<sup>196</sup> Unfortunately, the text is somewhat damaged, and there is no answer to the question.

#### Example 1 *Kagemni* I pl. XXIII<sup>197</sup>

j.dd t̄w jn j(w).k wn.tj mdw pw nfr n š

Speak! Have you gone past<sup>198</sup> this Beautiful Staff of the Lake?<sup>199</sup>

It is not until the time that the Coffin Texts were written that we begin to find this type of question occurring in texts with any frequency.

#### Example 2 CT II 330 a-332 d

ḥwtwt j'pw šwtwt jḥmt j' p'swt ḥnkt pḏtw jn jw.tn  
rh.tjwnj rdyt P n Ḥr ḥr.s n rh.tn st jw.j rh.kwj st jn R' rdj  
n.f sw m-jsw j'tt m jrt.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>196</sup> Often, aspects of the colloquial language (which later appears in Late Egyptian) will be used in earlier periods in sections of dialogue. Several instances of the words *p'*, *t'*, and *n'* occur in the passages which contain questions. See, for example, p. 40, Example 10; p. 38, n. 210; p. 46, Example 22; pp. 63-64, Example 10; p. 65, Example 2; p. 65, Example 3; p. 85, Example 4. See also p. 16, Example 4; p. 20, Example 10, and p. 24, Example 24.

<sup>197</sup> F. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* (Berlin: A. Duncker, 1905), pl. XXIII.

<sup>198</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 590 b and pa. 1005 b, translated the passage in the present, "Rede doch! Gehst du (etwa) an diesem schönen Stock des Sees vorüber?" He, *ibid.*, pa. 590 b, considered this to be one of the few cases of the old perfective with present meaning. His other example is not preceded by *jw* and, therefore, might be interpreted rather as a case of the historical perfect, thereby limiting the use of the old perfective with present tense meaning to only our example.

<sup>199</sup> For a discussion of *mdw n š* as well as other staves, see G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* ("MIFAO," vol. XLVII; Cairo, l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1921), 160-61. One could also understand the quotation as being in two parts; the short, choppy sentence is common in dialogues. The phrase is divided through its position on the wall. The horizontal portion is *j.dd t̄w jn j(w).k wn.tj* "Speak! Have you gone past?" The vertical section is separated from the question, and it can stand alone as a nominal sentence, "It is the Beautiful Staff of the Lake," or it could be a vocative, "Oh, Beautiful Staff of the Lake" (cf. Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 191). Either one might be a preferable translation, since the alternative demands a transitive use of the old perfective. In addition, it would then be clear that *jn* would be introducing an *jw* construction, since *jw.f* + old perfective is the means of expressing the non-emphatic initial verb of motion in a narrative usage. See also below, p. 42, Example 16.

Oh, you of the temple of *Jpw*, you of the sunshade who cannot praise, you brewers of beer, you of the bowls! Do you know on account of what Pe was given to Horus? You do not know it; I know it. It is Re who gave it to him in payment for the injury of his eye.

Here, the question is not followed by an answer made by the persons being addressed; it is the speaker who supplies the response. His following statement *jw.j rh.kwj* directly parallels the question, and it seems, therefore, that the expression *jn jw.tn rh.tjwnj* is the interrogative counterpart to the statement *jw.j rh.kwj* and that *jw* functioned similarly in both expressions, as an introduction for the suffix subject.

**Example 3 CT V 46 c-e**

*jn jw.k rh.t(j) w't šmt.k hr.s 'nh nb w' jw.j rh.kwj pt tn m mrwt.s nb*

Do you know the way upon which you should walk? As the sole lord lives, I know this heaven in all its streets.

In this example, it is apparent from the answer, *jw.j rh.kwj*, that the question is to be segmented *jn + jw.k rh.tj* and that the pseudo-verbal construction introduced by *jw* is interrogated by *jn*.

**Example 4 CT V 105 b-e**

*jn jw.k rh.t(j) w't šmt.k hr.s Hk'y pw jw.j rh.kwj st*

Do you know the way upon which you should walk? Oh, *Hk'y*, I know it!

Another question from the same spell also conforms to this pattern, but unlike Examples 3 and 4 it does not have an answer, and it, therefore, provides no evidence for segmenting after *jn*.<sup>201</sup>

The same spell is the source of still another question. There are many variations in the writing of the expression, but all of the texts appear to convey the same meaning.

<sup>200</sup> All of the nouns in the vocative expressions appear to be feminine nisbe forms. A parallel to this text can be found in BD 112. For the initial question, cf. E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Totenbuch der XVIII, bis XX. Dynastie I* (Austria: Akademische Druck, 1971), pl. CLXXVIII, 10-11. See also *ibid.*, 6 and 8 for similar questions. Note also questions of the same type in BD 153B. Cf. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 135-36.

<sup>201</sup> See also the similar question in CT V 110 e-f *jn jw.j tr šm.kj m tm jn n.k Hk'y pw* "Am I actually powerful over the one who did not fetch for you, oh, *Hk'y*?" The position of *tr* after *jw.j* is not evidence for segmenting after *jn jw*. For a further discussion of the significance of the position of particles like *tr* in questions which are introduced by *jn*, see Chapter III. A parallel to this question, CT V 109 h *jn jw tr šm.k m tm jn n.k* "Are you actually powerful over the one who did not fetch for you?" is clearly segmented after *jn*, if it is in fact a correct text. A variant of both this question and that in 110 e has, instead of a question, the statement *jw.j tr šm.kwj* which, whether or not it is understood as an implied question, surely indicates our variant is to be read *jn + jw tr*. The same question is repeated in CT V 112 d and 114 j. For a similar question, see also R. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1956), pl. XX, 1, 8. According to B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, "Gottinger Orientforschungen," vol. 7, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1975), p. 161. *Hk'y* is a god with whom the deceased identifies.

## Example 5 CT V 102 c-f

## Coffins T1C and T1Ca

*jn jw.k mḥ.t(j) jw.j mḥ.k(w)j jn jw.k 'pr.tj jw.j 'pr.k(w)j*

## Coffin M2C

*j[n] jw.k mḥ.t(j) jn jw.k jw.j mḥ.kwj jn jw.k 'pr.t(j)  
jw.j 'prt(sic).kwj*

## Coffin T1Be

*jn jw.k mḥ.tj mḥ.kwj jn jw 'pr.tj 'pr.kwj*

## Coffins Sq2Sq and Sq1C

*jn mḥ.tj mḥ.kw(j) jn 'pr.tj 'pr.kw(j)*

## Parallel Texts

## CT V 119 (= 102 c-e)

## Coffin Sq7Sq

*jn mḥ.tj mḥ.k(w)j jn 'pr*

## CT V 108 h-k

## Coffins T1C and M2C

*jn jw.k mḥ.t(j) jw.j mḥ.kw(j) jn jw.k 'pr.t(j) jw.j 'pr.kwj*

## Coffin T1Be

*jn jw.k mḥ.tj jw.j mḥ.kwj jn [j]w.k 'pr.tj 'pr.kwj*

Are you made whole? I am made whole. Are you prepared? I am prepared.

Most of the texts are consistent in that the phrase used in the answer is the same construction which, when introduced by interrogative *jn*, is used in the preceding question. T1Be, however, is not as consistent as are the others, since in one case (108 h-j), even though the question is *jn + jw + suffix + old perfective*, the answer is simple bare old perfective. Because of the evident corruption of this tradition it is difficult to use this text for studying the question patterns.<sup>202</sup> Still, the alternation between the construction *jn + jw + suffix + old perfective* in some texts and the parallel expression *jn + old perfective* in others indicates that, although there was some difference in rendering the underlying main clause in the question, *jn* clearly was functioning in both cases as the interrogative element, and that the examples where the *jw* construction was present are to be segmented after *jn*. This evidence is supported by the fact that the answers to these questions also have an *jw* construction.

The texts which do not use *jw*<sup>203</sup> are the three coffins from Saqqara, and it is evident that they did not use standard Egyptian grammar. In addition to these examples, another parallel can be seen in a coffin which was omitted by de Buck, the provenience of which is the northern site of Riqqeh, a village close to el Gerzeh.<sup>204</sup> The coffin of Ameny-Intef contains the

<sup>202</sup> Another error in this text can be seen in CT V 102 e, where T1Be omits the suffix after *jw*.

<sup>203</sup> It seems as if the construction *jn + jw subject + pseudo-verbal predicate* does not occur in the Coffin Texts from Saqqara. Moreover, there has not yet been found any question from the Saqqara texts where *jw* appears after *jn*.

<sup>204</sup> James Allen has pointed out this reference from R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1915), pl. XXV, 102-3.

similar phrases, [j]n mh.[tj mh.k(wj) j]n 'pr.tj 'pr.[k(wj)]. Although the passage is quite damaged, it does seem to contain the same expressions as the Saqqara coffins.

It is clear, since some of the manuscripts have the expected construction *jn jw.k* + old perfective, that the northern texts are quite aberrant and probably should not be taken too seriously. As we have pointed out before, *jn* is non-restrictive, so that the following phrase should be capable of standing as an independent sentence. Such is not the case with the northern texts, since *mh.tj* or *'pr.tj* cannot stand as an independent statement.<sup>205</sup> In addition, an independent use of the first person of the old perfective (as is the case in the answer), although an attested construction, is not common.<sup>206</sup> There are other oddities in the northern versions of Spell 397, most of which seem at first to be archaic writings. Multiple determinatives are sometimes employed to indicate the plural.<sup>207</sup> There is an occasional use of phonetic complements, and there are archaic spellings of some words, but neither practice is particularly consistent.<sup>208</sup> The prothetic *j* occurs sporadically before some verb forms, but is usually omitted before relatives.<sup>209</sup> The northern texts use, however, what appears to be an early example of the weak demonstrative *p'*.<sup>210</sup>

The fact that these texts are not consistent in using Old Egyptian implies that they probably were not copied from an older model, but rather that certain words and constructions were consciously archaized to make the spell appear more ancient. Because of this attempt, we see that in Example 5, the authors of the northern texts apparently felt that the old perfective construction without introductory *jw* must have been a correct archaic form. It is because we have the comparison of the parallels and the variants that we can see the implicit identity of the grammatically correct construction of *jw* + suffix + old perfective. This evidence supports segmenting examples of *jn* + *jw* + subject + old perfective after *jn*.

<sup>205</sup>See Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 587 and pa. 589. In Middle Egyptian, the initial old perfective in the second person was used only in certain greetings, exhortations, and similar phrases (see Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 313).

<sup>206</sup>For the stative meaning of transitive verbs in the passive voice, see Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 587, who quoted no initial examples. He does, *ibid.*, pa. 590 b, illustrate a use in the first person in the passive voice with "fientisch" meaning for Historical Perfect; our text, however, seems to warrant an interpretation as the stative. See also Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 312.

<sup>207</sup>CT V 86 a, 87 a, 88 b, 94 b and c, 98 f, 99 e, 103 g, 104 a, and 107 j.

<sup>208</sup>In CT V 95 g *mj* is written . The full writing in PT can be , and Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 762, considers a writing like ours to be graphic metathesis: *mh* is written  (102 c). In the following passage, however, only one of the texts (Sq2Sq, 102 d) writes , and the other was simply . The phrase *kt ht* is written  (96 e) and  (98 g) as well as  (118 = 96 e). The Saqqara texts usually write *my*  (91 c, 104 b and c) and *tr* as  or  (95 f and g). The lack of examples of *jn* introducing *jw* constructions has already been pointed out above; however, in 105 b, *jn j.k* does appear. The Riqqeh coffin also uses this abbreviated form in the passage *jn j.k srwh.k* (Engelbach, *Riqqeh*, pl. XXV) which is parallel to that of the Theban texts, where, however, *jn jw* is used (102 g). In a statement, when the other texts have *jw.j* (105 e), Sq2Sq has —a writing for *jw* which is attested in the Pyramid Texts (PT 1179 b). It would seem from the evidence of these examples that the texts from the northern sites tended to avoid *jw* in many instances where it was used in parallel or variant texts, and, when it is used, archaic spellings seem to predominate in this spell.

<sup>209</sup>The augment *j* before the relative forms is not frequent even in PT, and the use or disuse of it in these coffins would, therefore, not appear to be significant. In the passage from CT V 78 c, *jnk myr jt.f mrj jt.f mrrw jt.f wrt* "I am one whom his father loved, will love, and loves greatly," only the variant from Thebes (T3L) uses the augment before the relative forms. In CT V 98 g, *kt ht j.jrt.n.k [n.sn]* "other things which you did for them," *j* is used only in T1C and Sq7Sq. Other examples of the prothetic in the Saqqara texts in this spell are: 80 b (which may be an error for *jn*), 81b, 88c, 92a, 104b, d and j, 105h, 106h and 107b.

<sup>210</sup>In CT V 94 c, the Saqqara texts, except Sq7Sq (118=94c), use *p'*, while the other texts use only *pw*. In CT V 94e, where one Theban text and the Meir text use *p'*, the others do not. The Riqqeh coffin (Engelbach, *Riqqeh*, pl. XXV, 72), however, uses *p'* only in the passage which corresponds to 94 e. W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, p. 119, dates these texts to the Twelfth Dynasty.

Hieratic letters of the Middle Kingdom are good sources of questions in general, and these texts contain several interrogative expressions whose predicates are the old perfective form of the verb.

**Example 6 *Ḥeḳanakhte*, I, vs. 16-17**

jn jr grt p' jrt bjnw r ḥbswt.j mḥ tw mḥt (j)n jw.k dj.t(j) ḥn'.j  
m pššy gr.k nfr wy st

Now what about the doing<sup>211</sup> of evil against my wife?<sup>212</sup> What is completed shall fill you.<sup>213</sup> Have you been appointed as a partner with me? If you stop, how good it will be.

Since there is no real response to this question, we cannot use it as evidence for supporting segmentation after *jn*.

**Example 7 *Ḥeḳanakhte*, II, 4**

jn [grt]<sup>214</sup> jw ḥ'py [' w]rt

[Now], is the inundation very [great]?

In the two examples above, one can see both the full and the shorter writings of the interrogative *jn*. It has already been mentioned that *n* is a frequent abbreviation for *jn*,<sup>215</sup> and there is apparently no distinction between the two. Although the contraction is fairly common in letters, it has been noted also in other contexts as well.<sup>216</sup> Despite the absence of an answer

<sup>211</sup> For a discussion of *jn jr*, see James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, pp. 102-3, and Baer, "A Deed of Endowment," p. 2, and "An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer's Letter," p. 5, n. 27. In both references Baer agrees with James concerning the significance of *jn jr*; he, however, suggests in the latter reference that the rendering "what is the idea" might convey the meaning better. See also Chapter III, below, p. 87.

<sup>212</sup> P. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Lugdunum Batavorum: Brill, 1961), p. 10, n. 7, p. 11, n. 4, pp. 25-26, n. 4, and p. 27, translates examples of *ḥbswt* in the New Kingdom as "wife." For a further designation of *ḥbswt* as "wife," see D. Nord, review of *Der königliche Harim im alten Ägypten und seine Verwaltung*, by E. Reiser, in *JNES*, XXXIV (1975), 144, where the reviewer points out that *ḥbswt* in the Middle Kingdom may refer to the wife of *Ḥeḳanakhte*. Nord has also pointed out that *ḥmt* and *ḥbswt* are used in parallel in the New Kingdom in P. Turin 2021 (see J. Černý and T. Peet, "A Marriage Settlement of the 20th Dynasty," *JEA*, XII (1927), 32, 9 and 11).

<sup>213</sup> By this statement, it appears that *Ḥeḳanakhte* is warning that retaliation in kind will be done for any action taken against his wife. Baer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Farmer's Letter," p. 6, n. 4; James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, p. 14; and Guglielmi, *Reden*, pp. 79-80, have also discussed this phrase.

<sup>214</sup> James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, p. 38, n. 7, has made the reconstruction according to suggestions by Gunn. It seems possible that one might also restore *rf* in the first lacuna, despite the fact that *rf* does not appear to be used in these texts. If *rf* were used, then the question would be rhetorical with an expected response of "yes" (for a discussion of particles after *jn*, see below, Chapter III). The translation would not be appropriate, since it would then imply that the inundation was in fact great. For this reason, it would be necessary to restore  *šr wrt* in the second lacuna, and such a reconstruction would fit the available space. The translation of the passage would then be, "Isn't it a very low inundation?" This translation fits the context well, and *jn rf*, as we will see later in Chapter III, is a well attested introduction to rhetorical questions, while *jn grt* is not. It is, therefore, unlikely that *grt* would be used instead of *rf*.

<sup>215</sup> See above, pp. 13-14, and pp. 32-33. In James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, pp. 102 and 104, there are also discussions of the writing *n* for *jn*.

<sup>216</sup> E.g., PT 782 a-b, PT 823 a, Wild, *Ti*, pl. CXI, and Hassan, *Giza*, II, 195.

to the question in Example 7, it is clear, because of the placement of the restored particle, that the question is to be segmented after *jn*.<sup>217</sup>

**Example 8 ZÄS, LIX, pl. IV, 4-6 (P. Berlin 10025)**

jn jw nb.j 'nh wḏ' snb ḥr ḥ(j)ḥj ntt r jrt r b'k jm . . . (j)n jw.j  
ksn.kwj nb.j 'nh wḏ' snb

Is my lord, l. p. h., seeking what will be done against this humble servant? . . . Am I in trouble, my lord, l. p. h.?

This letter was sent in answer to a letter of inquiry which the lord had sent, and now the writer is attempting to have his side heard. Scharff did not consider the long horizontal stroke before *jw* to be *n* for *jn*.<sup>218</sup>

In the *Kahun* papyri there are questions with pseudo-verbal predicates in the legal documents as well as in the letters.

**Example 9 Kahun, pl. XIII, 23-24**

'ḥ'.n wšd p'y.j jt jn jmj-r' ḥt Mrs w m jdn nty m srwt r ḏd jn jw.k  
hr.tj ḥr rdjt n.k p' tpj-r ḏdw

Then my father was questioned by the overseer of the field *Mrs w* as deputy of the *Nty-m-srwt* saying: Are you satisfied with the giving to you of the principal mentioned?<sup>219</sup>

**Example 10 Kahun, pl. XXXII, 2-3**

swḏ' jb pw n nb.j '.w.s. ḥr p'y<sup>220</sup> 'm jb n nb.j '.w.s. (j)n jw.tn  
'd.[tjwnj . . .]<sup>221</sup>

It is a communication to my lord, l. p. h., concerning this neglectfulness<sup>222</sup> of my lord, l. p. h. Are you sound . . .?

A later leather roll, written in hieratic, which is dated to either the end of the Middle Kingdom or to the Second Intermediate Period<sup>223</sup> contains another question where the adverbial predicate is the old perfective form of the verb.

**Example 11 JEA, XXXIV, pl. VIII, 3, 6-8 (P. Berlin 10470)**

jn jw.tn hr.tjwnj ḥr [p' rdjt] t' ḥmt Snbt n njwt ḥft n' spr.n [p'y.]tn  
sn ḥry n tm Ḥḳ'-jb s' Jt.f-snb ḥr.s

<sup>217</sup> The enclitic particle *grt* can stand also after *jw* in a question introduced by *jn* without any apparent effect on the segmentation. Its placement here, however, does seem to indicate segmentation after *jn*, since it breaks up *jn* and *jw*. For a further discussion of the effect of particles on the segmentation of questions introduced by *jn*, see below, Chapter III.

<sup>218</sup> Scharff, "Briefe," pl. IV, note d.

<sup>219</sup> Further on in the text (Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XIII, 26), the father answers the question with the statement *jw.j hr.kwj* "I am satisfied," which further supports segmenting the question after *jn*.

<sup>220</sup> Although Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXXII, questioned his own transcription of this word, there is little doubt that *p'y*, the Late Egyptian demonstrative was meant, even though it would be unexpected at such an early date.

<sup>221</sup> The text is quite damaged at this point, but it seems clear that *tjwnj* was meant.

<sup>222</sup> See James, *Ḥeḳanakte*, p. 110, for a discussion of this passage.

<sup>223</sup> P. Smither, "The Report Concerning the Slave-Girl Senbet," *JEA*, XXIV (1948), 31-34.

Are you satisfied with the giving of the servant girl Senbet to the city in accordance with what your brother, the *hry-n-tm* Hekaib's son Itfseneb, has petitioned for her?<sup>224</sup>

Literary texts also have many questions, and some of these fit into the category discussed in this section.

**Example 12 P. Westcar XI, 19-20**

'ḥ'.n ḏd.n.s n wb't.s jn jw p' pr sspd 'ḥ'.n ḏd.n.s jw.f sspd  
m bw nb nfr . . .

Then she said to her maid-servant: Is the house prepared? Then she said: It is prepared with all good things . . .<sup>225</sup>

**Example 13 Peasant B 1, 198-99**

jn jw t' mhnt s'ḳ.t(j) ḏj.tw jr.f m-<m>

Is the ferry brought to land? Wherewith can one ferry across?<sup>226</sup>

**Example 14 Sinuhe B, 125-26**

jr wnn jb.f r 'ḥ' jmj ḏd.f ḥrt-jb.f jn jw nṯr ḥm š't.n.f

If his heart will fight, let him say his desire. Is god ignorant of what he has ordained?<sup>227</sup>

Although the paleography of *Admonitions* suggests a date in the early New Kingdom, the language, with a few exceptions, appears to be characteristic of the Middle Kingdom. It is likely, therefore, that the manuscript is a much later copy of an earlier original.<sup>228</sup>

**Example 15 Admonitions 12, 5-6**

jn jw.f tr sḏr m-ṯn n m".n.tw b'w jrj

Is he really asleep?<sup>229</sup> Behold, his power cannot be perceived.

Another later literary text whose language suggests<sup>4</sup> that an earlier composition was the

<sup>224</sup> See *ibid.*, pl. VIII, 3, 9, for the answer to the question. Again, it is in the form *jw* + suffix + old perfective, and this fact indicates that the question was formed by prefixing *jn* to such a statement.

<sup>225</sup> In this passage, both the answer and the underlying statement in the question are the construction *jw* + subject + old perfective.

<sup>226</sup> Unlike the preceding example, there is no response to this question.

<sup>227</sup> See J. Barns, "Some Readings and Interpretations in Sundry Egyptian Texts," *JEA*, LVIII (1972), 161, for the reading. W. Simpson, "The Story of Sinuhe," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed.: W. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 64, however, translates the question, "Does God not know what is predicted for him?"

<sup>228</sup> See the earlier discussion of the date of the composition of this text, p. 31, n. 168. See also Gardiner, *Admonitions*, pp. 1-3; R. Faulkner, "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed.: W. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 210-29; and J. Van Seeters, "A Date for the 'Admonitions' in the Second Intermediate Period," *JEA*, L (1964), 13-23.

<sup>229</sup> See Chapter III for a discussion of particles.

model is *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*. The hieratic script, however, indicates that this copy was probably written late in the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>230</sup> The text contains several difficulties, some of which can be attributed to the time in which it was written, a period when elements of Late Egyptian were being used along with elements of Middle Egyptian.

**Example 16** *M.u.K.* E 5, 3-4

"mt tn jn jw.t jj.tj "mt tn jn jw.t bs.tj "mt tn jj.[n].j r  
nꜣnꜣ kf' . . .

Oh, Asiatic woman,<sup>231</sup> have you come? Oh, Asiatic woman, have you entered?<sup>232</sup> Oh, Asiatic woman! It is in order to consult about the flowing forth . . . that I have come.

**Example 17** *M.u.K.* P, vs. 2, 2-3

r n tsw n hrd t' jn jw.k šm.tj sš jn jw.k hm.tj m b't nn  
mwt.k hn'.k nn snt jm snfy nn mn't r wdt s'w

Spell for the fortifying of a child, a fledgling: Are you warm <in><sup>233</sup> the nest? Are you hot in the *b't* bush? Your mother is not with you. There is not a sister there <to><sup>234</sup> succor. There is not a nurse to place protection.

The questions with old perfective predicates all follow the pattern *jn* + *jw* + subject + old perfective,<sup>235</sup> and the examples can, and in most cases must, be segmented after *jn*. When answers to the questions are given, they are almost always in the form *jw* + subject + old perfective, and this would support segmenting the questions after *jn*. In a few cases, the answers, although not conforming to the form *jw* + subject + old perfective, can be considered as parallel constructions, the *jw* construction not being used owing to particular rules of grammar.<sup>236</sup> These, then, would also support segmenting after *jn*. The presence of particles after *jn* supplies further evidence for this segmentation, and the few examples which do not contain an answer do not represent any argument against segmenting after *jn*. The analysis of these questions as *jn* + an *jw* construction parallels the analysis of the questions

<sup>230</sup> A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind* (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1901), p. 6.

<sup>231</sup> It is apparent that *tn* after "mt is to be understood as a vocative, a function of the demonstrative usually performed by *pw* (see Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 112). See also p. 51, Example 3, for another case of this use of *tn*; this one, however, is from the Coffin Texts.

<sup>232</sup> The analysis of the question is clear; *jw.f* + old perfective had to be used, since both verbs are verbs of motion, and the predicative counterpart to *jw sdm.n.f* of such verbs is *jw.f* + old perfective. Moreover, there is clearly a contrast between the emphatic statement and the non-emphatic question. See also above, p. 35, n. 199.

<sup>233</sup> In order to parallel the following question, *m* is to be understood before *sš* (see Erman, *M.u.K.*, p. 38). It is possible to take *sš* as a vocative, "Oh, nested one;" however, unless one then understands *m b't* to have been written for *jmj b't* "he who is in the *b't* bush," the two questions would not be in parallel.

<sup>234</sup> Sethe, *Lesestücke*, p. 52, 10, n. 6, suggests that *r* is to be understood before *snfy*. The negative statements after the questions can be understood as evidence supporting segmentation after *jn*, since *nn* + noun + pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicate is probably the counterpart to *jw* subject + pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicate (see Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 334).

<sup>235</sup> See above, p. 37, Example 5, for the only example of simple old perfective introduced by *jn*.

<sup>236</sup> See above, notes 232 and 234 and p. 35, n. 199.

with verbal predicates, where it was pointed out that independent statements were turned into questions simply by prefixing *jn* to the statement.

### Jn + Jw + Subject + Preposition + Infinitive

The pseudo-verbal predicate can also consist of a preposition plus an infinitive. The subject of the phrase can be bare, if a noun, or it can be introduced by *jw* or a non-enclitic particle. Only the constructions which utilize *jw*, however, appear in interrogative expressions introduced by *jn*. The only attested question with a predicate consisting of a preposition + infinitive from the Old Kingdom involves the future construction *jw.f r* + infinitive. Edel has pointed out that this construction is already common in statements of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>237</sup>

### Jn + Jw + Subject + R + Infinitive

Since *jw.f + r* + infinitive is an independent clause, which is capable of being used as an initial main clause, it is, therefore, similar to the construction *jw.f* + old perfective, which was discussed in the preceding section. When this construction is used in a question where *jn* stands at the head, it too should probably be segmented after *jn*, i.e., *jn + jw.f r sdm*. Questions of this type are not particularly common, but a few examples from different periods of time do occur. In all but one case the source of the passage is a letter. As in the previous section, we had a priori expected the answers to the questions to supply information to aid in segmenting after *jn* or *jn-jw*; but unfortunately we do not have responses to the questions in this pattern.

#### Example 18 ZÄS, XCIII, 2, 6-7 (P. Boulaq 8)

jn jw mrt r jw r b'k jm ḥn' b'kt tn sn.nwt

Shall misfortune come against this humble servant and this fellow  
maid-servant?<sup>238</sup>

#### Example 19 Heḳanakhte, II, ro. 42-43

(j)n jw ḥm<sup>239</sup> w' jm.tn r whd srḥw n.f ḥmt.f jḥ whd.j

Would one of you be patient when his wife had been denounced  
to him? Then I shall be patient.<sup>240</sup>

In a later Middle Kingdom letter from the Kahun papyri there is a passage that possibly contains a question. Gunn, who included this example when he discussed the phrase *n jw*, considered it to be a negative expression.<sup>241</sup> James, however, pointed out that examples where

<sup>237</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 937.

<sup>238</sup> Baer, "A Letter of Endowment," p. 5, note n, suggests "misfortune," for *mrt* and "fellow" or "companion" for *sn.nw* (ibid., note o).

<sup>239</sup> See below, p. 89, n. 509, for a discussion of the particle *ḥm*.

<sup>240</sup> The sense of the last phrase seems to be that of an apodosis, especially, since *jḥ* is utilized, and it is also possible that the question introduced by *(j)n* might be understood as a condition. See also Chapter IV.

<sup>241</sup> Gunn, *Studies*, p. 172. Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 73, simply translates this example of *n jw* (ibid., pl. XXX, 21-22), as a negation, but he does not include any commentary.

𐎎𐎎, rather than negative *n*, was written before *jw* were probably to be understood as *jn jw*.<sup>242</sup> This observation can be taken one step further, since, as Satzinger has already noticed,<sup>243</sup> Gunn had observed that 𐎎𐎎 was not infrequently written as a variant of *jn*,<sup>244</sup> and, therefore, several examples of 𐎎𐎎𐎎 were written for 𐎎𐎎𐎎.<sup>245</sup> Our example seems less problematic, since 𐎎𐎎 is written before *jw*; but, because much of the letter is damaged, the context of the passage is difficult to determine. For this reason, we have included only the question and not the preceding passages.

**Example 20 *Kahun*, pl. XXX, 21-22**

(j)n jw.tw r gm(t).f(?)

Will he be found?<sup>246</sup>

Despite the difficulty of this text, it is probable that 𐎎 was written for (j)n, since the negative 𐎎 is regularly written in this text.<sup>247</sup> Moreover, the negation of the pseudo-verbal construction *jw.f + r + infinitive* would likely have been *nn sdm.f* in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>248</sup>

Another question in the pattern *jn + jw.f + r + sdm* which is not from the same type of source as were the previous examples is in a passage of dialogue from the *Eloquent Peasant*, where the peasant is speaking before the high steward.

**Example 21 *Peasant B* 1, 281-84**

jw wsf.k r tht.k jw 'wn jb.k r swḥ'.k jw snm.k r šḫpr  
hryw.k jn jw.k swt [r] gmt ky šḫty mjtjw.j jn jw wsfw spry r  
'ḥ' r r n pr.f nn gr rdj.n.k mdw.f sḏr rdj.n.k rs.f

Your sluggishness will lead you astray. Your rapacity will befool you. Your greed will bring into being your enemies. But will you find another "peasant" like me? Will a sluggard who petitions wait at the door of his<sup>249</sup> house? There is not one who is silent whom you have caused to talk, nor is there one who sleeps whom you have caused to wake.

The statements preceding the questions supply some information concerning the segmentation of the following questions. All of them take the form *jw + subject + r + infinitive*, and it would seem likely, therefore, that to form the question, which would refer to

<sup>242</sup> James, *Heḳanakhḫe*, p. 102.

<sup>243</sup> Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 34.

<sup>244</sup> Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 89-90. See also p. 66, Example 5.

<sup>245</sup> See below, p. 51, Example 3, and the discussion following the example.

<sup>246</sup> After 𐎎 the text is badly destroyed, but it is likely that [mt] should be restored. It would make sense then to restore *f* to refer back to the individual mentioned in the preceding passage who cannot return. Griffith's suggestion (*Kahun*, p. 73) of restoring 𐎎 does not seem to suit even this destroyed text.

<sup>247</sup> See Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXX, 11, 13, 17, 19 and 22.

<sup>248</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, p. 334, pointed out that it is only in the early part of the New Kingdom that *nn jw.f r sdm* is used for the negation of *jw.f r sdm*. An example of this construction occurs in the tomb of Paḥeri (see *ibid.*, p. 468, 4), *nn jw.j r w'ḫ.t* "I will not leave you." Ordinarily, *jw.f r sdm* will be negated by *nn sdm.f* (see *ibid.*, p. 334). For these reasons, it is likely that our passage should be understood as a question.

<sup>249</sup> The suffix in *pr.f* is a bit ambiguous. It can refer to the house of the sluggard, whereupon the question must really be asking whether even a lazy person who has a petition would wait at his own house for help. If the house referred to belongs to the high steward, then we must understand *pr.k* rather than *pr.f*. See also below, p. 45, n. 251.

the same time period, *jn* was simply prefixed to the construction which is used in the statements.

In this passage, the peasant is logical in the presentation of his argument. First, he mentions several unsavory qualities with which he associates the high steward, and he tells how each of these traits, if practiced, will have negative consequences for the high steward. He then continues his monologue, questioning whether he (the peasant) is replaceable. By asking this question, the peasant implies that the evil qualities, which are the possible motives for reacting unfavorably against the peasant, will cause the high steward not only ill fortune, but also the loss of this unique and eloquent person. In the next question the subject *wšfw* and the following word *sprw*, "who petitions," are in apposition, and they both refer to a person whose character is opposite to that of the peasant.<sup>250</sup> The peasant then asks whether even such a person would wait as he has had to do.<sup>251</sup> This question is also perhaps an ironic one in the sense that even an idler would lose patience in this situation. There is an implicit comparison between the person referred to in this question and the high steward who earlier in the passage was represented as a sluggard.<sup>252</sup>

These few questions are all examples of *jn* + *iw.f* + *r* + infinitive.<sup>253</sup> The only other attested pseudo-verbal construction where a preposition + an infinitive is used as the predicate in a question introduced by *jn* is *iw.f* + *hr* + infinitive; there are no questions where the predicate consists of *m* + the infinitive of a verb of motion.

#### Jn + Jw + Subject + Hr + Infinitive

For questions utilizing the construction *iw.f* + *hr* + infinitive, we are limited to examples from the Middle Kingdom. This fact should not be surprising, since there are very few declarative statements in the Old Kingdom employing this construction. Edel felt that *iw* always introduced a main clause,<sup>254</sup> but the examples which he quotes, where the predicate consists of *hr* + infinitive, limited to only two occurrences, are hardly indicative of standard Old Egyptian, since one is from a letter to the dead and the other is part of a dialogue on the wall of a tomb.<sup>255</sup> Another example of the same type of statement occurs in the tomb of Mereruka, and it also is part of a dialogue.<sup>256</sup> Despite the appearance of these three cases of the construction

<sup>250</sup> Professor K. Baer has made the suggestion that both these words may refer to a lazy person.

<sup>251</sup> It is also possible, if *pr.k* were to be read in place of *pr.f*, that the question would ask whether an idler would wait to wait at the door of the high steward as he has had to do.

<sup>252</sup> If *wšfw* were in anticipatory emphasis, as Gardiner, *EG*, p. 148, 3, has suggested, we would have expected it to appear outside the question. Therefore, it is probably to be understood as the subject of the sentence with the following participle *sprw* modifying it. Faulkner, "Eloquent Peasant," p. 45, follows Gardiner's suggestion, and Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 108, translates the passage, "Is there an idler at whose door a petitioner will stand?"

<sup>253</sup> See the discussion of two examples from later periods in Chapter IV.

<sup>254</sup> Edel, *AAG*, p. 930.

<sup>255</sup> The first example which he (ibid.) shows certainly seems to continue the sense of the first clause, *iw jn.n.s A. B. C. m'.k j(w).s hr jtt htyw nb n hm.k r-s' jtt wnt nb m pr.k* "She has taken away A., B., and C. from you, and she is taking away all the menials of your majesty, after taking everything which was in your house." His only other example, for which he does not give the full context, is part of a dialogue on a tomb wall (J. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqara* (Brussels: Vromant Co., 1907) II, pl. LVI, *jnk ndr n.j dt.s iw hmw-k' nw s'-t'-wr pn hr shpt ht r h'wr* "It is I who takes hold for myself of its body (?) [It is also possible, since the word is written  $\text{𓏏}$  without the *t*, that *ds.j* was actually meant; cf. Gunn, *Studies*, p. 49], and the funerary priests of this *t'-wr* phyle bring the offerings to the offering stand." For a discussion of the designation of the *t'-wr* phyle, see H. Kees, "Die Phylen und ihre Vorsteher im Dienst der Tempel und Totenstiftungen," *Orientalia*, XVII (1948), 74-75.

<sup>256</sup> M. Daressy, "Le mastaba de Mera," *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut égyptien* (n.p.: 1900), III:570, published

*jw.f hr sdm* prior to the Middle Kingdom, they cannot be considered as representative of standard Old Egyptian, since each of them comes from a context where we might expect the influence of the spoken language to be greatest. It is not until the Middle Kingdom, when the construction *jw.f + hr + infinitive* was commonly used, that we find it introduced by interrogative *jn*.

**Example 22** *Meir*, I, pl. V<sup>257</sup>

jn jw.k hr m" ntt n 'h'.n p' mnw m-' ntt nn sntrw.f

Do you see that the *mnw*<sup>258</sup> cannot stand, seeing that it has no *sntr*?<sup>259</sup>

In addition to a dialogue on the wall of a tomb, we find this pattern also in letters.

**Example 23** *ZÄS*, LIX, pl. IV, 3-4 (P. Berlin 10025)

. . . hn' wnn jn nb.j '.w.s. hr rdjt h'b.t(w) š'wt [r] ndnd jrt n.f hm-k' jm (j)n jw nb.j '.w.s. hr h(j)hj ntt r jrt r b'k jm

. . . And then my lord, l.p.h., caused<sup>260</sup> the documents to be sent [in order to] confer about what the *k'*-priest there shall do for him. Is my lord, l.p.h., seeking what will be done against this humble servant?<sup>261</sup>

the inscription without a photograph. We have had access to an unaccessioned print from the Oriental Institute, and our transliteration and translation is based on this photograph: *wn in rhw jw hrj-hbt hr jrt ht stp nn n spt* "Hurry, comrades! [One could also translate the same phrase as "May you hurry, comrades."] The lector priest is making offerings. Cut off these cuts of meat." The independent status of the clause *jw hrj-hbt hr jrt* here, and the similar clauses in the two cases shown by Edel, seems to be certain. The sources of these examples, however, are not the best indicators of standard grammar for the period.

<sup>257</sup> A. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* ("Archaeological Survey of Egypt," vol. XXII; London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914), I, pl. V.

<sup>258</sup> This word was not translated by Blackman, *Meir* I, 30; he simply left his transliteration of the signs which he read *mnhw*. It is written . The reading which Blackman made is possible, and it leads one to translate the word "chisel." It seems, however, since drills are being used in the scene, not chisels, and since the word is plural with a singular article, that unless *mnhw* represents an otherwise unknown mineral, the word might be read differently than is suggested by Blackman. Since the circular sign which Blackman reads *h* is placed just under *mn*, it is possible that the sign is to be read *σ* and that the word is *mnw*, a type of jar probably related to the *mn* jar (see *Wb*, II:66, 4-11). Since the determinative of the word is partially damaged, it is not certain that  shouldn't actually be restored as . The word would then be , a writing which is similar to that which is used in the Late Period.

<sup>259</sup> The meaning of *sntr* is difficult to ascertain in the given context. In *Urk*. IV 699, 15, *mn* occurs as a jar measurement (see S. Ahituv, "The  Measure," *JEA*, LVIII (1972), 302) for *sntr*, and it is possible that unless the jar, which is specifically used for measuring *sntr*, is filled with this *sntr*, it cannot stand.

<sup>260</sup> Professor Baer has suggested that *hn' wnn jn nb.j* may be related to the construction *hn' sdm ntf*. Since the subject in our passage is a noun, it is introduced by *jn* in analogy with the independent pronoun. The context demands a past meaning, since it continues what appears to be *jw sdm.n.f*. It is hardly likely that the form *sdm.jn.f* would occur after *hn'*, and Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 428, shows only initial uses of the *sdm.jn.f*. A. Gardiner, "An Egyptian Split Infinitive and the Origin of the Coptic Conjunctive Tense," *JEA*, XIV (1928), 95, when discussing the split infinitive, suggested that if a scribe of the early Eighteenth Dynasty had wanted to write *hn' ntf sdm*, using a nominal, rather than pronominal subject, he would have written \**hn' jtt jn ky*. Gardiner's hypothetical example is in essence our example.

<sup>261</sup> See above, p. 40, Example 8, for a discussion of the following section of this letter.

We find another passage in a hieratic medical text which also appears to be a question. The text is difficult, and the papyrus is damaged in parts.

**Example 24 *Kahun*, pl. V, 34-36**

[šs'w] st hr mrt n dwn.s (j)n jw.s hr ḥsdḥt<sup>262</sup> dd.hr.k r.s  
 'mmw pw n [jdt] jr.hr.k r.s rdj.[t(w)] swr.s hnw 2 n h'w rdj k'.s  
 st hr 'wy

[Diagnosis]<sup>263</sup> for a woman upon the sick bed:<sup>264</sup> She has not gotten up. (But) can she move it?<sup>265</sup> You should say concerning it: These are spasms of the womb (?). Then you should act regarding it. She is caused to drink two hin of h'w which cause her to spit it up immediately.

The phrase *n jw.s hr ḥsdḥt* from this difficult passage has been included in Gunn's discussion of the negation of sentences introduced by *jw*,<sup>266</sup> but, since this expression is immediately preceded by a negation of *sdm.f*, where the hieratic is the expected sign , it would seem unusual for the scribe to have written two different signs with the same meaning.<sup>267</sup> All of the other examples which Gunn included in his study where  preceded a sentence introduced by *jw* can best be understood as questions,<sup>268</sup> as we have already mentioned in the preceding section. In addition, there are other passages in this medical text where it appears that  was used as an abbreviation for *jn*,<sup>269</sup> even though traditionally these signs have been interpreted as negations.<sup>270</sup> These other examples, however, do not have *jw*

<sup>262</sup> Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. V, 35, has proposed this reading which seems likely. There are traces of *s* and *d*, and the *t*, and determinative are clearly written.

<sup>263</sup> Professor G. Hughes has made the suggestion to translate šs'w "diagnosis" rather than "prescription."

<sup>264</sup> The word *mrt* is followed by a hieratic sign which is transcribed . Both Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 8, and von Deines et al., *Grundriss*, IV: pt. 1, 269, understood the passage as *mrt sdr*. *Sdr* is used two other times in this text (*Kahun*, pl. V, 33 and 43), but each time it is written out fully. The determinative alone can, although not elsewhere in this text, designate the word *sdr* (*Wb*, IV:390, 45 and 15, and 391, 3). If  is used to designate *sdr*, then *mrt* is left without a determinative. Although *mr* "to be sick" is not attested written with the biliteral sign  as we have, it seems probable that  was employed as a determinative for an otherwise unattested word  "sick bed." *Sdr* (*Wb*, IV:392, 15) refers to confinement to bed due to illness, and there may be a similar connotation for *mrt*. Since further elaboration of the condition of the woman reveals that she does not get up and that there is a question concerning her ability to move, it is difficult to conceive of her "loving to sleep" or "loving bed" (the translations for *hr mrt sdr*). See also Groll, "Iw *Sdm.f*," p. 187, who refers to Deir el Medineh ostrakon no. 581, 7-8, where the phrase *tw.j sdr.kwj mr.kwj* "I was bedridden," (lit. "lying ill") occurs. Professor Wente has suggested the diagnosis "a woman who desires to remain in bed and won't get up."

<sup>265</sup> The *f* probably refers to her limbs. Gunn, *Studies*, p. 172, has suggested that it refers back to *sdr*, and he translates "shake it (sleep) off." It cannot refer to her condition, since that is usually designated by the feminine suffix *s*. Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 8, von Deines et al., *Grundriss*, IV: pt. 1, 269, and Gunn, *Studies*, p. 172, felt that  before *jw.s* was to be understood as the negation. It is possible, given the context, that the question is to be understood as a condition.

<sup>266</sup> Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 172-73. Satzinger, *Die negativen*, however, does not include this example in his discussion. See also below, p. 48, n. 271.

<sup>267</sup> See above, p. 14, for an earlier discussion of this point. See also Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. V, 15, for another correct writing of  for the negation .

<sup>268</sup> See James, *Heḳanakte*, p. 102, who felt that  was a writing of *jn jw*. See below, p. 48, n. 271. See above, p. 44, Example 20.

<sup>269</sup> See above, p. 14, Example 24; p. 14, n. 81; and p. 14, n. 82.

after *n*; a verb form follows it, and there is, therefore, the possibility that  $\rightarrow$  could stand for  $\rightarrow$ . In contrast, the question from Example 24, as well as the similar ones which Gunn included, would seem best rendered as questions, since it is not usual for *jw* to occur after  $\rightarrow$ .<sup>271</sup>

The pattern *jn* + *jw.f* + *hr* + infinitive is attested also in a literary text of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>272</sup>

**Example 25 Peasant B 1, 148-50**

*jn jw jwsw tnm.f jn jw mh't hr rdjt hr gs jn jw rf Dhwtj  
sfn.f jh jr.k jyt*

Does the balance err? Does the scale put to [one] side? Is Thoth really merciful? Then, you will commit crime.

In the examples discussed thus far in this section, only the prepositions *r* and *hr* have been used with the infinitive to make up the pseudo-verbal predicate when it was used in a question introduced by *jn*. Although it does not seem impossible that *m* + infinitive could also occur in such a question, no example of it has yet been noted.

We have seen throughout Examples 18-25 that there have been no responses to the questions. Our investigation of the answers to questions with old perfective predicates, however, did support segmenting after *jn*, rather than after *jn jw*; but, unfortunately, we do not have the same information here. We can only assume from analogy that these questions would also have been analyzed as *jn* + *jw*. The information provided by the passages preceding the question, where the statements used the same construction as that which appears after *jn*, in Example 21, however, does support segmenting after *jn*.

### Jn Introducing Jw + Subject + Adverbial Predicate

Statements where *jw* introduces a subject and where the predicate is an adverbial phrase are common in non-religious texts of the Old Kingdom,<sup>273</sup> and this type of clause is also found regularly in texts of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>274</sup> Edel has pointed out that in the Pyramid Texts the subject of an adverbial predicate can be un-introduced if it is an independent pronoun.<sup>275</sup> When the subject is a noun, Edel has shown that only in wishes and expressions of concomitant circumstances (i.e., virtual clauses of time) is it common for a subject + adverbial

<sup>270</sup> Von Deines et al., *Grundriss*, IV: pt. 1, 268-69, and Griffith, *Kahun*, p. 7. In these texts, however, one finds that  $\rightarrow$  can even be written for  $\rightarrow$ ; (Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. V, 5).

<sup>271</sup> See Satzinger, *Die negativen*, pp. 33-34. It is apparent that Satzinger questions the existence of the construction  $\rightarrow$ . There are, however, a few examples of  $\rightarrow$  which actually do occur in hieroglyphic texts, and although most of them can also be considered as another writing of *jn jw*, there is one example where it is difficult to interpret  $\rightarrow$  as a question; it appears to be a negation. Since these examples all have adverbial predicates, they will be discussed in the following section.

<sup>272</sup> See also p. 30, Example 40. For what appears to be another example of *jn* + *jw.f hr sdm*, see the difficult question in the Instructions by a Man for His Son. For P. Berlin 14374, 3, see E. Blumenthal, "Eine neue Handschrift," p. 56, 3. Goedicke, "Die Lehre," p. 66 has other parallels. See above, p. 31, note 171.

<sup>273</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 919.

<sup>274</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 29.

<sup>275</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 914.

predicate to stand without any introductory word.<sup>276</sup> It was the opinion of Gardiner that a statement would become less obtrusive when *jw* did not introduce a construction such as a subject + adverbial predicate.<sup>277</sup> It would be unlikely for a construction that is used mainly as a wish or concomitant circumstance to be turned into a question. In addition, our evidence thus far has indicated a preference for a clearly independent construction to serve as the underlying statement after *jn*; i.e., *jw* + subject + adverbial predicate.

It will be seen in the following discussion that interrogative *jn* does occur almost exclusively with the sentence pattern *jw* + subject + adverbial predicate. As in the previous section on *jn* + *jw.f* + pseudo-verbal predicate, we shall pay special attention to the construction of the answers in regard to the matter of segmentation.

Since the questions with adverbial predicates are similar to those with pseudo-verbal predicates, we might assume a priori that the segmentation would be the same for both types of questions.

It is perhaps only coincidental that in the Old Kingdom we are limited to only a few certain questions,<sup>278</sup> and in each of these the abbreviation of *n* for *jn*, so common in the letters of the Middle Kingdom, introduces the phrase.

**Example 1 Urk. I 129, 8-14**

jw ḥm.f r jr[t] s'rw.k 'š'w jkrw r 'ḥ n z'.k n dt r dd rmtw nbw  
sdm.sn jrt n.k ḥm.j (j)n jw mj nf jry n smr w'tj Ḥr-ḥw.f h'.f m  
J'm ḥr rs-tp jr[.n.f] r jrt mrrt ḥzzt wdt nb.f

His majesty will grant your many excellent wishes to be beneficial for the son of your son forever in order that all people will say when they hear that which my majesty is going to do for you,<sup>279</sup> "Is [it] like that which was done for the sole friend Harkhuf as he was returning from Yam on account of the vigilance which he has shown in order to do what his lord loves, praises, and commands?"

Gunn treated the question as if it were a statement negating existence;<sup>280</sup> however, one

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., pa. 915, and Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 117.

<sup>277</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 117. For a discussion of the distinction between sentences with adverbial predicates with and without *jw* at the head, see H. Smith and P. Johnson, review of *Collected Papers*, by H. J. Polotsky, *JSS*, XVIII (1973), 134, who note that *r' m pt* answers the question "Where is the sun?" and *jw r' m pt* answers the question "What is in the sky?" In the first statement the prepositional phrase is the element of interest, and in the second the subject answers the proposed question.

<sup>278</sup> There is also another possible question in this pattern, but the first part of the sentence is damaged. Sethe, *Urk. I* 134, 11, first restores  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$ , but he also suggests that  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$  would be possible. Owing to the context and syntax, it would seem that the second suggestion would be preferable: [(j)n jw] jrrt ḥryw-tp nw šm'w n jk[r] rs-tp.j n jrt.j mrrt n nb.j "Is what the nomarchs of Upper Egypt do [now] through the excellence of my vigilance and because of my doing what is loved of my lord?" *Jn rf* would also fit in the damaged space, and in this case the passage would be a rhetorical question with an expected answer of "yes," and we would then translate the beginning of the expression "Isn't what the nomarchs . . . do . . . ?" (See Chapter III for a further discussion of the use of the particle *rf* in questions.) The context of the passage concerns the actions of Pepinakht while he was on a mission, and may be referring to the fact that the nomarchs can now function well owing to his efforts. Professor Baer has suggested that the context would also suit a restoration of  $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$ .

<sup>279</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 672, would read *jrt.<n> n.k ḥm.j* "what my majesty has done for you." For the prospective relative, see Gunn, *Studies*, p. 4.

<sup>280</sup> Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 26-27 and 172, n. 1. Cf. also Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 1005 c, and Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 34.

would have expected the negation *n wnt* or *n wn*.<sup>281</sup> Edel, although understanding the passage as a question, translates *(j)n jw mj nf* as “gibt es etwas gleich jenem,” but he does not comment on the lack of examples where *jw* acts as an introduction to an existential sentence, without *wn* following *jw*. It would seem more likely that an impersonal suffix subject was omitted after *jw*.<sup>282</sup>

There is a dialogue between two men accompanying a scene on the wall of an Old Kingdom tomb.<sup>283</sup> Two sculptors are carving statues, and one of them complains, *'bd n hrw r m dr wdj. (j) ':(j) m twt pn ntj m-:(j)*<sup>284</sup> “It is now one full month since I started to work on this statue which is in my charge.” The other sculptor is apparently annoyed at this remark and replies with a few short lines, one of which appears to be a question.

**Example 2 Hassan, Giza, II, fig. 219**

*jtwt wh' rht.k k't n 'dd.k (j)n jw ht mj 't*

You are a foolish person. What you should learn is the work. You should not say, Is wood like a hard stone?

Obviously, the first sculptor is complaining that his work on the stone statue is taking a long time, and the second sculptor points out in essence that the material is not wood, but hard stone.

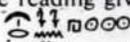
Edel has understood the passage differently and reads *n 'dd.k n.(j)* followed by a statement *jw ht mj 't*. He translates the expressions, “(sonst) würdest du mir nicht sagen: das Holz ist wie Stein;”<sup>285</sup> but he found it necessary to add “sonst” to insure the meaning he desired and to understand an adverbial phrase *n.(j)* after *dd.k*. Although interpreting *n* as either a preposition or an abbreviated writing of the interrogative *jn* seems equally possible, we have chosen to understand *n* as *(j)n*, since an ironic question seems to suit the context better. If we read *n* as *n.(j)*, moreover, it is necessary to make, as is clear from the rendering given by Edel, an addition in the translation which is not apparent in the Egyptian original. Another alternative would be to render the passage strictly, taking into consideration Edel’s interpretation of *n*, “You shouldn’t say to me, ‘Wood is like a hard stone.’” However, a question at this point appears best to justify calling the first sculptor a “foolish person.”

Both Examples 1 and 2 come from contexts where one might expect to find the abbreviation *n* for *jn*, since the first one, although from a hieroglyphic text, is a copy of a letter which the king sent to Harkhuf, and the other one is part of a dialogue on a tomb wall.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>281</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 924 bb. For the negation of sentences with adverbial predicate, see also *ibid.*, pa. 923, where the examples illustrated are limited to the Pyramid Texts. For *n* (for later *mn*) as a more common expression for the negation of existence, see *ibid.*, pa. 1091, where there are no cases with *jw* after *n*. See also Gilula, *review*, p. 211, and Satzinger, *Die negativen*, pp. 33 and 38.

<sup>282</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 919, and Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 123, comment on the ellipses of the pronominal subject. The subject may have been omitted, since it refers to favors which the king will grant in the future to which those given to Harkhuf will be compared. See also below, pp. 54-55, Examples 9-11.

<sup>283</sup> Hassan, *Giza*, II, fig. 219.

<sup>284</sup> Although Hassan, *Giza*, II, 194 and Edel, *AAG*, pa. 199, read *mn n hrw*, the arrangement of the hieroglyphs permits the reading given here. Professor Baer has suggested this new interpretation. The first part of this dialogue is written: 

<sup>285</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 819. Hassan, *Giza*, II, 194, has translated the last phrase as a question. It would also be possible to render the inscription, “You are foolish (concerning) your knowledge of the profession. Wouldn’t you have said: ‘Is wood like a hard stone?’” It would then be necessary to take *n 'dd.k* as an implied question, and this would be less certain than the rendering given above.

Further questions in the pattern *jn* + *iw* subject + adverbial predicate do not occur again until they appear in the Coffin Texts.<sup>287</sup>

Example 3 CT VII 35 g-1

h' N pn n iw.k m pt n iw.k m t' sn.<n> n.k mwt.k Nwt  
 "wy kbhw wn.n n.k jt.k Gb "wy.f n iw.k m j'wt.k rsyt n  
 iw.k m j'wt.k mhttt n iw.k m j'wt.<k> j'btt n iw.k m j'wt.k  
 jmntt

Oh, you N! Are you in heaven<sup>288</sup> [or] are you on earth? It is for you that your mother Nut has opened the two doors of the firmament. It is for you that your father Geb has opened his two doors. Are you in your southern mounds [or] are you in your northern mounds? Are you in your eastern mounds [or] are you in your western mounds?

There are two variants where these passages occur. In the more complete version each question is introduced by  while in the other, although shorter and somewhat damaged, interrogative *jn* stands at the head, and it is likely, therefore, that both versions of the spell are to be understood as questions.<sup>289</sup> It is possible to add more evidence supporting the interpretation as an interrogative rather than the negative from another spell in the Coffin Texts (CT VII 47 b-d) where only coffin T2L contains the particular passage. In this case—*jn j(w).k m pt . . . jn j(w).k m t'w*—the introductory word is interrogative *jn*, and the context appears to be similar to that of our Example 3. Another question of this type is found in Spell 902 (CT VII 109 c), *jn iw.k m p[t] t'* "Are you in heaven or earth?" In addition to the supporting information provided by these other questions is the fact that understanding the expressions as negations would hardly make sense in the context.

Although we do not have any responses to these questions to help us determine how these expressions are to be segmented, it would seem that the variant writing of  for *jn* in certain texts might imply an understanding that the first element of the sentence was separate.

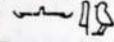
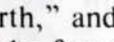
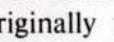
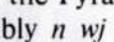
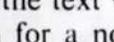
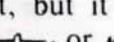
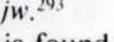
<sup>286</sup>See also *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königliche Museen zu Berlin*, III: pl. VI, Str. Cb, vs. 3, where the phrase *n iw hm* [  ] occurs. Unfortunately, the papyrus is damaged, so there is no further context.

<sup>287</sup>One can perhaps include in the examples of the Old Kingdom a difficult dialogue from the wall of Saqqara tomb 31 (K. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Abt. I (Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, n.d.), pl. CII, which Erman, *Reden, Rufe*, p. 31, did not fully translate. The group at the right reads, "Fattening the long-horned ox." The other groups are susceptible to many interpretations, none of which is certain. It is possible to read *k* twice owing to its position, *jn j(w).k hr.k* "Are you paying attention?" The phrase *dt mnt* "[Keep] a steady hand" would then follow the question. In favor of this interpretation is the fact that all of the other feeders face the animals and hold their reigns tight, while the feeder under our inscription faces in the other direction away from his animal, and the rope hangs loose. It would be possible, although not as likely as the first suggestion, to read across the divider, *jn j(w).k hr (w)dt mnt* "Are you putting firmness?" For the writing of the infinitive of *wdj*, see Edel, *AAG*, pa. 687. Since there is another person to the left of the last inscription, it is perhaps he who speaks first, saying, "[Keep] a steady hand," while the feeder turns to him and asks, *jn j(w) hr.k* "Is it your concern?" For the omission of the pronominal subject, see above, p. 50, n. 285.

<sup>288</sup>Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 120, who, like Gunn, *Studies*, p. 172, interpreted this passage as a negation.

<sup>289</sup>Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 89-90, has already pointed out the writing  as a graphic variant for interrogative *jn*. See also Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 34. See also the later, but similar, questions in the temple of Seti I (A. Mariette, *Abydos* (Paris: A. Franck, 1869), I: pl. XL a), where  occurs before *iw*. See also below, p. 113, n. 638, where a similar text occurs in U.M. 29-27-474.

If the frequent appearance of *jw* + subject + pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicate after *jn* caused the first two elements to be understood as *jn-jw*, we would hardly expect to find variant writings of the first element in an expression which should have been formulaic.

Despite the fact that our examples of  are clearly to be understood as questions, there is one similar expression from the Pyramid Texts (PT 890 b), which, as Gunn pointed out,<sup>290</sup> does appear to be a negative statement, *n jw N jr t* "N is not on earth." A variant of this passage is *n sw jr t* "He is not on earth," and it would seem, therefore, that  is the negation. The same introduction can also be found in PT 392 d, where, although *n W pn tp ntrw thth* is written, one can see that originally the beginning was .<sup>291</sup> Since it is generally assumed that much of the Pyramid Texts were originally written in the first person, the original of this text was probably *n wj* (often written <sup>292</sup>), and the variants of both PT 890 b and 392 d used *n sw* when the text was put into the third person, while  was reinterpreted and kept as an introduction for a nominal subject in Unis. It is difficult to say whether or not this derivation is correct, but it would seem in any event that almost all examples of *n jw*, whether written with  or  are really questions with *n* written for *jn* introducing a construction beginning with *jw*.<sup>293</sup>

The full writing of the interrogative *jn* is found in the Coffin Texts before the construction *jw* + subject + prepositional phrase in another passage, and, because of the presence of an enclitic particle, it will also be discussed later in Chapter III.<sup>294</sup>

**Example 4 CT I 227 c**

*jn jw tr jt.(j) "hn'.(j)*

Is my father really here with me?

The predicate of the question consists of both an adverb and a prepositional phrase.

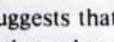
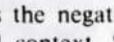
Some of the examples which conform to the pattern examined in this section come from passages of dialogue in literary texts of the Middle Kingdom.

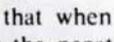
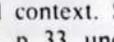
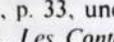
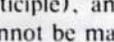
**Example 5 Peasant R 55-B1, 5**

*dd.jn Nmtj-nht<sup>295</sup> pn jn jw n.k šm'.j r w't dd.jn šhty pn nfr  
[m]tn.j*

<sup>290</sup> Gunn, *Studies*, p. 172.

<sup>291</sup> See also Sethe, *PT*, III:22, and A. Piankoff, *The Pyramid of Unas* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pl. XXVII.

<sup>292</sup> See Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 167. Sethe, *PT*, III:67, suggests that an original  led to a later .

<sup>293</sup> Cf. James, *Heḳanakhte*, p. 102, who felt that when  preceded *jw* the negation was always meant. Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 34, apparently doubts the negative quality of . See also P. Westcar IV, 20, where *n' n jw tm[m]t hpr* occurs in a damaged context. Sethe, *Erläuterungen zu den Aegyptischen Lesestücken* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1927), p. 33, understood the preceding  as the end of the previous sentence and  for *jn jw* "whether." Lefebvre, *Les Contes*, p. 77, does not, however, accept the interrogative. Following *n jw* is *tmmt hpr* (a negation of a participle), and then the text is broken. Because of the damage a conclusion regarding the nature of this example cannot be made.

<sup>294</sup> Despite the presence of the enclitic particle *tr* after *jw* rather than after *jn*, the example should still probably be segmented after *jn*, since *tr* affects only the underlying statement beginning with *jw*. As we will show in Chapter III, the position of enclitic particles in questions does not always supply information on which we can base our segmentation.

<sup>295</sup> Professor Vaer has pointed out the reading *Nmtj-nht* which was made by O. D. Berlev, "Сокол плывущий в ладье." *Вестник Древней Истории Москва*, I (1969), 3-30.

Then this Nemtynakht said: Is my barley to be a pathway for you? Then this peasant said: My way is good.<sup>296</sup>

**Example 6 Peasant B1, 95**

jn m(w)t m(w)t hn' hryw.f jn jw.k r s n nhh

If a mortal man dies together with his underlings,<sup>297</sup> will you be a man of eternity?

**Example 7 Peasant B2, 65-67**

jw šdw.k m šht jw fkw.k m d'tt jw 'kw.k m šn' jw srw hr  
rdjt n.k<sup>298</sup> jw.k hr jtt jn jw.k [rf] m 'w'y

Your plots are in the field; your endowments are in the estate; your provisions are in the storehouse. The magistrates give to you; [yet] you rob. Are you really a robber?

The last of these examples is of interest to us in regard to the problem of segmentation, despite the fact that it does not contain an answer.<sup>299</sup> The first three clauses of the passage are statements conforming to the pattern *jw* + subject + prepositional phrase, while the next two conform to the pattern *jw* + subject + pseudo-verbal predicate. It would seem from this information that the question following these expressions simply prefixed interrogative *jn* to the statement, and that the question is to be segmented after *jn*.

Although *Admonitions* is not a narrative or a story, it contains sections which seem to be similar to dialogue.

**Example 8 Admonitions 14, 12-14**

nn (sic) gm.n.tw nty r 'h' hr mkt st . . . 'h' s nb hr snt.f mk.f  
h'w.f jn Nhsyw k' jr:n mkt.n s's'w 'h' r hsf pdtyw jn jw.s  
m Tmhw k' jr.n 'nw

The one who would stand and protect them cannot be found . . . Every man fights on behalf of his sister, and he protects his own limbs. Nubians? Then we will make our own protection, and warriors will be increased in order to repel the bowmen. Is it Libyans? Then we will return [to fight].<sup>300</sup>

<sup>296</sup> The construction of this answer unfortunately does not provide any information for the analysis of the question.

<sup>297</sup> For a further discussion of this question, see above, p. 26, Example 29. Both Faulkner, "Eloquent Peasant," p. 36, and Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 173, apparently understand the passage as a participle statement.

<sup>298</sup> According to *Peasant* B1, 302. *Peasant* B2, 67, has *hr rdjt jn.k*.

<sup>299</sup> Another question follows, but there is no answer to either one further on in the text.

<sup>300</sup> Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 91, suggests "turn back(?)" for *jr 'nw*. Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 16, translates "turn them back." G. Posener, "À propos des graffiti d'Abisko," *Archiv Orientalni*, XX (1952), 163, n. 3, using this example and others, suggests "faced (the enemy)." In any case, "retreat" does not seem to suit the context. Professor Baer has suggested that "returned to the fray" might be the best rendering. Professor Wente has suggested that *jn jw.s m Tmhw* might best be translated "Is it merely some Libyans?"

Both questions introduced by *jn* could also be understood as conditions without altering the meaning of the passage. The use of the pattern *jn* + noun<sup>301</sup> with essentially the same meaning as the pattern *jn* + *jw* + subject + adverbial predicate which is used later in the passage seems to indicate that the segmentation of the pattern *jn* + *jw* + subject + adverbial predicate should be after *jn*. If the latter question were to be analyzed as *jn-jw* + rather than as *jn* + *jw*, we might have expected the first question to have been *jn jw Nhsyw*.

Another question comes from the same papyrus, but here, the corruptions in the text make the context rather uncertain in parts.

**Example 9 Admonitions 5, 7-9**

*jw ms š'd sm'(m) st sndw hr hsf jrrw r hftjw.tn jw grt 'nd  
tw w'd'w hr nty ktw jn jw m šms.n hnty hn' wd'.f jn jw m  
rhs.n m'jw 'sr.n sdt jn [jw] m jwḥ.n Pth . . . dd.tn n.f hr-m*

Truly, the one who slayed it [them] is now cut down<sup>302</sup> while the fearful man now opposes<sup>303</sup> the one who acts against your enemies. Moreover, few [people] are assembled, while the prosperous are upon the one who is weak.<sup>304</sup> Is [it] one whom the crocodile followed and split? Is [it] one whom the lion slaughtered and the fire roasted? Is [it] one whom Ptah moistened? . . .<sup>305</sup> Why do you give to him?<sup>306</sup>

In this series of rather enigmatic questions which have the form *jn jw* + *m* + relative form, it appears that *jw* is used with an impersonal (omitted) subject<sup>307</sup> which is referred to by the suffix pronoun *f* in the concluding question ending with *hr-m*. It is possible that the objects of the preposition *m* in each of the questions might be epithets referring to the one who has caused the tumultuous events just described and that the questions ask in essence just who it was who was responsible for the misery. Even though the subject is consistently omitted in our questions, this fact is no reason not to segment *jn* + *jw*. It would seem likely that the pronominal subject was omitted, and, since we have no response to the questions, we can make no definitive conclusion concerning the segmentation of the first two elements of the sentence.

Another question from the same source is redundant in its attempt to insure the understanding of the interrogative, since the sentence is introduced by interrogative *jn*, and an interrogative adverb serves as the predicate.

<sup>301</sup>See also below, p. 62, Example 5.

<sup>302</sup>Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 43, and Faulkner, "Admonitions," p. 216, have taken *š'd* to be a writing for *š't*; however, this emendation does not seem necessary. Both authors and Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 154, render the phrase "terror slays."

<sup>303</sup>Faulkner, "Admonitions," p. 217, has understood the predicate of this phrase to be *hr hsf*, while Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 43, and Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 154, have understood *hr (dd)* as the predicate.

<sup>304</sup>In this translation, the sense is that fighting among the populace has made it impossible for more than a few people to assemble. If *w'd'w* were considered the predicate, the translation would then be "The assembled few are prosperous on account of the one who is small."

<sup>305</sup>The subject matter is extremely obscure, and it is difficult to give a coherent translation. Cf. Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 43, and Faulkner, "Admonitions," p. 217.

<sup>306</sup>This phrase could also be read *dd.t(w).n n.f hr-m* "Why are we given to him?"

<sup>307</sup>See above, p. 50, n. 281.

Example 10 *Admonitions* 12, 5

jn jw rf tny mjn jn jw.f tr sdr

Where is (he)<sup>308</sup> today? Is he really asleep?

In another text (the preserved manuscript of which is dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, although the text was composed in the Twelfth Dynasty), we find a somewhat elliptical question similar to that in Example 9.<sup>309</sup>

Example 11 *Neferti* (P. Petersburg 116 B, 14-15)

dd.jn hrj-ḥbt Nfr.tj jn jw m ḥprt jn jw m ḥprty.sy<sup>310</sup> jty  
 '.w.s. nb.j dd.jn ḥm.f '.w.s. m ḥprty.sy<sup>311</sup> swt mjn js ḥpr  
 sw'.f

Then the lector priest Neferti said: Is it to be what has happened or is it to be what will happen? Oh, Sovereign, l.p.h., my lord! Then his majesty, l.p.h., said: What will happen, since today has already come about and is passing by.

As in the enigmatic questions in Example 9, the impersonal subject is apparently omitted. It does not seem likely that the phrase *m ḥprty.sy* is being interrogated by the interrogative *jn-jw*, since *m ḥprty.sy* is not a sentence; it is a prepositional phrase. It is clear that the answer is elliptical and that *jw.s m ḥprty.sy* is to be understood.

In almost all questions introduced by *jn* in this section we have seen that *jw* introduces the subjects of adverbial predicates. Despite the occasional omission of *jw* in some statements in texts of the Middle Kingdom, where an un-introduced nominal subject can stand before an adverbial predicate, it is apparent that in questions it was preferable to utilize *jw* before both the pronominal and nominal subject.<sup>312</sup>

<sup>308</sup> Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 83, suggests that written *rf* should be emended to *f*, and he understands *tny* as the predicate. It would seem more likely that the signs should be read as written and that the subject after *jw* was simply omitted (see also above, p. 50, n. 281, and p. 54, Example 9, for similar examples). The pronominal subject is written, however, in the following question in this example.

<sup>309</sup> W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970), p. 1.

<sup>310</sup> Although 𓄀𓄁𓄂𓄃 is written, it probably should be read *ḥprty.sy*. The only other manuscript is damaged in both the question and the answer and, therefore, cannot supply any support for our proposed reading.

<sup>311</sup> Although 𓄀𓄁𓄂𓄃 is written, it should probably be read *ḥprty.sy*. See above, p. 310.

<sup>312</sup> There is, however, an ambiguous example from the *Maxims of Ptahhotep* (Z. Žába, *Les maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague: Éditions de l'Académie Tchécoslovaque des Sciences, 1956), Number 527), where *jn* introduces what appears to be a noun followed by an adverbial predicate, *jn sr ḥr sp.f nfr* "Is a magistrate at his good deed?" Although R. Faulkner, "The Maxims of Ptahhotep," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed.: W. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 173, understood the passage as a question, Žába, *Maximes*, p. 100, and Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 73, have translated it as a statement. Professor Wente has suggested understanding the passage as the first part of a participial statement, with the following words completing the expression, *jn sr ḥr sp.f nfr m<ḥ'>* (see Žába, *Maximes*, p. 100 for the reading) *jb.f ns.f* "It is the magistrate at his good deed who puts his heart and tongue in good balance." Professor Baer has indicated that the ambiguity of the phrase *s'.tw rh*, which occurs in the sentence preceding that with *jn*, makes it even possible to understand *jn* as the indicator of the agent of a passive verb. It is clear, however, that either the interrogative or the non-interrogative interpretation (with the exception of understanding *jn* as an indicator of an agent or as the first element of a participial statement with *m<ḥ'>* as the predicate) would present us with an unprecedented construction *jn* + noun + adverbial predicate.

We unfortunately have few responses to which we can compare our questions, and we must, therefore, rely primarily on the information from the section on questions where the predicate was pseudo-verbal in regard to the problem of segmentation. However, evidence supporting segmenting the sentences after *jn* is apparent in the alternation of negative *n* and interrogative *jn*.<sup>313</sup> In addition, one of the questions from the *Eloquent Peasant* came from a passage preceded by several instances of the construction *jw.f* + adverbial or pseudo-verbal predicate,<sup>314</sup> which would also support dividing questions *jn* + *jw*. The parallel use of *jn* + noun and *jn jw.f* + adverbial predicate in Example 8 also indicates that our questions should be analyzed as *jn* + *jw*, rather than as *jn-jw*.<sup>315</sup> Only in the case of those questions where *jn jw* occurs immediately before a preposition is there any serious doubt about analyzing them as *jn* + *jw* + subject + adverbial predicate.<sup>316</sup>

### Jn Introducing Sentences with Adjectival Predicates

There are very few questions where the predicate is adjectival, and most examples are questionable to some degree. We will see in Chapter II that sentences with adjectival predicates can also be introduced by *jn-jw*. In this section, we will not deal with adjective verbs, since they have already been discussed in previous sections, but we will examine sentences whose predicates are either adjectives or participles.

From an Old Kingdom tomb, there is a scene of men filling baskets with freshly caught fish. One of the workers stands erect and has a full basket of fish in one hand, and in the other hand two fish are still hanging from a short line. He is apparently giving directions to his co-worker who is bending over a large container before him, and the standing individual says, *jmj grg.j sj nty-hn.j sh'.j jst.k jm.s r ht djnt* "Let me prepare it, my comrade, that I may cause your things therein to fall to the bottom of the *djnt*."<sup>317</sup> The response of the co-worker to this statement is a series of remarks, the first of which is a question.

#### Example 1 *Ti* (Wild), pl. CXI

(j)n twt sb' wj jlj pw rḥ.k(wj) nn jr.k

Is it you who teaches me?<sup>318</sup> Oh, thief, I know this better than you!<sup>319</sup>

It is likely that this example is a question, as Edel has already observed.<sup>320</sup> Since neither he

See also below, p. 58, n. 327, for another possible example. See also p. 63, n. 365, where it is possible, but not likely, that interrogative *jn* stands before a noun + adverbial predicate.

<sup>313</sup> See above, pp. 51-52.

<sup>314</sup> See above, pp. 52-53.

<sup>315</sup> See above, pp. 53-54.

<sup>316</sup> See above, p. 49, Example 1; p. 54, Example 9; and p. 55, Examples 10 and 11.

<sup>317</sup> The phrase *r ht djnt* is obscure. *Ht* as an inner part of something is not attested in the Old Kingdom *Wb*, III:358, 10 and 11). *Djnt* is left untranslated in *Wb*, V:533, 10. It might, however, mean "creel."

<sup>318</sup> Cf. Hassan, *Giza*, II, fig. 219, where there is inscribed on a wall scene a statement similar to our question, *jw.j r sb'w* "I will be the teacher."

<sup>319</sup> See Edel, *AAG*, pa. 760 g.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, pa. 1005.

nor Sethe<sup>321</sup> know of any examples of an independent pronoun introduced by emphasizing *jn*, it can be assumed that *n*, the abbreviated form of *jn*, frequently used in letters and dialogues, was written for interrogative *jn*.<sup>322</sup> In addition to this evidence, the context also indicates that the expression is to be understood as a question.

Another wall scene from the Old Kingdom provides us with a rather uncertain text. There are several registers where a standing individual at the right of the scene has turned his head back, and his arm is raised over another person who is bending over behind him. In each of these scenes there are some phrases inscribed over the crouching individual, who has apparently been dragged in for work or perhaps even for a beating. One of these dialogues appears to consist of two questions.

Example 2 *L.D. II, pl. 63*

*jn k'.j nfr jr.n.j m*

Is my *k'* good? What have I done?

Edel has considered only the second phrase as a question,<sup>323</sup> and he has treated the first one as a statement.<sup>324</sup> He analyzes the phrase as emphasizing *jn* introducing noun + adjective, and this passage is his only example.<sup>325</sup> Edel has further concluded that emphasizing *jn* could never introduce a noun + old perfective,<sup>326</sup> but he did not consider the possibility of the construction's being introduced by interrogative *jn*. Since there are other examples of *jn* standing at the head of sentences with adjectival predicate, this may be the best analysis.

The inscription is not in the best condition, and it is, therefore, difficult to make a definite judgment concerning the interpretation of the passage, but there is also a dialogue nearby which apparently belongs to the standing man. This text is also partially damaged, but the

<sup>321</sup> Ibid., pa. 943. K. Sethe, *Der Nominalsatz im Ägyptischen und Koptischen* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1916), pa. 63.

<sup>322</sup> Although they are not certain, there are other examples of independent pronoun + participle in questions with *jn* at the head. *Jn twt js* precedes a participial predicate *hw* in both PT 1534 a and 1536 a, and the context would certainly permit a question, albeit a rhetorical one, despite the translations given by Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 523, and Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 234. Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 523, has chosen to categorize *jn* here as a non-interrogative particle which he renders "fürwahr," a usage which, as we attempt to demonstrate in this study, probably does not exist. In addition, when discussing independent pronoun + participle, he (ibid., pa. 945) gives no examples with *jn* (non-interrogative) at the head. See also ibid., pa. 845, n. 1, where he, contrary to his explanation in pa. 523, called *jn* a writing of prepositional *n*; but such a suggestion would result in the rendering "because" which would not be appropriate for his example. As we shall see in the next section the same words *jn twt js* occur before a nominal predicate where it would seem certain that they are questions, and Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 1005, has understood these as interrogative expressions. *Jn js* occurs before noun + participle as well (see Simpson, "Letter to the Dead," pl. IX, 3, *Hieratische Papyri*, III: pl. IV Str. A 5, and Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 954), but these are probably to be understood as participial statements, the positive counterparts to *n jn js* noun + participle, as Edel (ibid.) has already suggested. See also M. Gilula, "Enclitic Particles in Middle Egyptian" (Ph. D. dissertation, Hebrew University, 1968), pp. 60-64, who has shown that *n jnk js* + participle and either *n jn js* + noun + participle or *n noun + js* + participle were constructions used for the negation of participial statements. For affirmative counterparts with pronominal subjects, Gilula (ibid., pp. 178 and 185) shows examples of independent pronoun + *js* + participle. It is likely then that the two examples from the Pyramid Texts with *jn* at the head should be understood as questions.

<sup>323</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 1006 bb.

<sup>324</sup> Ibid., pa. 845 aa. Cf. also Erman, *Reden, Rufe*, p. 51, for a similar interpretation.

<sup>325</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 953.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., pa. 845 aa.

phrase *jn nfr* is clearly written, and it may possibly be understood as an answer to the first question, "It is good." It is also possible, however, that this phrase is not complete.<sup>327</sup>

In another question the adjectival predicate, a participle, stands before the subject, a dependent pronoun.

**Example 3** *Urk. I 129, 5*

*jn tr rh w(j) tw jrt mrrt ḥzzt nb.k*

Aren't<sup>328</sup> you the one who really knows how to do what your lord loves and praises?

When the participle functions as an adjectival predicate for a preceding noun subject we can no longer distinguish between a question and a statement, if *jn* stands at the head. Usually such constructions are considered to be participial statements, but there are examples where translations as questions have also been proposed.<sup>329</sup> In such instances, it is not clear whether the question was implied by context or whether interrogative *jn* introduced a noun + participial predicate.<sup>330</sup> The solution to this problem of distinguishing between two opposing constructions within one expression does not seem at the present time to be attainable.

Perhaps less problematic, but by no means certain, is a passage from the Coffin Texts where *jn* introduces an adjectival predicate followed by a dependent pronoun.

<sup>327</sup> Phrases which at first appear similar to the first question in Example 2 are frequently found in other speeches on the walls of tombs, but, since most of these do not contain a specific answer, a clear interpretation of them is difficult. Junker, *Giza*, III, fig. 21, and p. 156, fig. 48, and p. 235, discussed the expressions *jn k' mry* and *jn n k' mry* and takes them as variants of the common phrase *n k' mry*. Although it is true that *n* is frequently written for *jn*, the reverse, *jn* for *n*, is rare (see Gardiner, *EG*, p. 147, 5, p. 155, and p. 164, and Edel, *AÄG*, p. 757). For *jn k' = n k'*, see R. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 31, 70, and 88. Although it is likely that the suggestion which Junker makes is correct, there is a slight possibility that *jn k' mry* was an abbreviation of *jn n k' mry* and that they should both be translated as questions, "Is it for the beloved *k'*?" These questions would be interrogative analogues for the more common statement *n k' mry*. This suggestion would of course mean that *jn n k' mry* would correspond to questions with an adverbial predicate (see above, p. 55, Example 11). Since the passage is from dialogue, and the statement *n k' mry* is elliptical, a question could simply be formed by prefixing interrogative *jn*; the final *n* of *jn* then might have coalesced into one *n* in most cases, leaving *jn k' mry*. Such a suggestion is of course highly speculative, especially when dealing with what appears to be a rather formulaic expression. See, however, H. G. Fischer, "Some Early Monuments from Busiris in the Egyptian Delta," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 11 (1976), pp. 19-20, who prefers to understand *jn n k' mry* as an elliptical writing of *j(w) n(n) n k' mry*.

<sup>328</sup> For a further discussion of this example, see below, p. 98, Example 14.

<sup>329</sup> See above, p. 57, n. 322. See also W. Helck, "Die Berufung des Vezirs *Wsr*," *Ägyptologische Studien*, ed.: O. Firchow ("VIO," vol. XXIX; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955), p. 111, who has translated what appear to be participial statements as questions. There is also another ambiguous phrase in *Ptahhotep* (Žába, *Maximes*, Number 254), *jn sr r ḥt.f nmm*, which, according to Žába, *ibid.*, p. 136, is to be translated as a statement, "Le noble qui s'oppose à sa chose, se trompe." Faulkner, "The Maxims," p. 165, however, has understood the passage as a question, "Is the magnate against his affair in error?" In the latter interpretation, it is impossible to discern whether *jn* functioned as an interrogative or as an introduction for a participial statement. Another ambiguous phrase, which has already been discussed in regard to one of its possible interpretations (see above, pp. 19-20, n. 113) may also be understood as a question with an adjectival predicate, *jn jn sw swn* "Is it he who has brought it (or himself) who trades?" (Smither, "Semna Despatches," pl. V, 12). Another ambiguous expression, discussed also in the following section, p. 60, Example 3, comes from the Coffin Texts (CT IV 391 d), where the variant texts may indicate understanding *jn ḥt w'd* as a question, "Is wood fresh?"

<sup>330</sup> See Edel, *AÄG*, p. 950, for a discussion of the rather uncommon construction noun + participle in Old Egyptian. Gardiner does not give any examples of the construction in the Middle Kingdom. Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, p. 43, however, points out that some personal names are of this construction.

## Example 4 CT IV 286 a-288 c

sy tr pw mjw pw " R' pw ds.f dd.n.tw mjw r.f m dd Sj'  
r.f jn mjw sw m nn jrr.f hpr rn.f pw n mjw

Who actually is this great cat? It is Re himself. He was called<sup>331</sup>  
cat when Sia said of him: Is<sup>332</sup> he catlike<sup>333</sup> in this which he does?  
That is how his name of cat came into being.

Most of the parallels to this passage from the *Book of the Dead* omit *jn*<sup>334</sup> at the head of the sentence and, therefore, are usually understood as statements.<sup>335</sup> It is possible, however, that they were understood as implied questions in these later editions, and, therefore, *jn* was omitted.<sup>336</sup>

Unfortunately, these few examples are what remains of questions with adjectival predicates. It is perhaps only coincidental that no questions in this pattern are attested from the Middle Kingdom.<sup>337</sup>

## Jn Introducing Nominal Sentences

In this section we will examine questions where *jn* stands at the head of a non-verbal nominal sentence. There will be two sub-sections corresponding to the two types of nominal sentences, those without *pw* and those with *pw*.

<sup>331</sup> Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, p. 46 ("The Emphatic *Sdm.n.f* Form," p. 112), has used part of this example in his examination of *sdm.n.tw.f*.

<sup>332</sup> It is also possible that this example could be interpreted as a condition. In Naville, *Tb*, chap. 17, 56, which is a later (Eighteenth Dynasty) parallel to our passage, *jn* is omitted. See also T. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum (OIP, vol. LXXXII; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960)*, pl. LIX, 145, where *jn* is also omitted. Faulkner, *AECT* I, 268, n. 68, has understood *jn* to be the full writing of *n* "because."

<sup>333</sup> It was E. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (New Hyde Park: University Books, 1960), p. 390, who pointed out that in *BD* there apparently was a pun on the word *mjw* "cat" and *mjw* "like." It is true that in all the examples of this spell in both the CT and *BD* versions *mjw sw* is infrequently determined with either the cat or animal hide sign; however, only an adjective formed from *mjw* "cat," "catlike," would make sense in the context. See, however, *Wb*, II:38, 15, where, although the phrase is understood as a question, the meaning "Solcher" is suggested for *mjw*. See also M. Heerma van Voss, *De oudste versie van Dodenboek 17a* (Leiden: J. J. Groen, 1963), p. 45, who also understands the expression as a question. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, p. 75, although understanding a question, translates the passage as a play on words, "Ist er einer, der gleich ist mit dem, was er geschaffen."

<sup>334</sup> See above, n. 333. See, however, *Urk*, V, 51, 6 and 17, where *jn* does occur.

<sup>335</sup> See Allen, *BD*, pp. 90 and 95, and T. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* ("SAOC," vol. XXXVII; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), p. 30 (Spell 17, 15).

<sup>336</sup> In favor of this interpretation is the fact that some later texts actually did include *jn*. *Wb*, II:38, 15, has understood the later version of our passage as a question involving a play on words, "Ist er ein Solcher?"

<sup>337</sup> It is unlikely that the negation  $\overline{\text{w}}$  is to be understood as a variant writing for  $\overline{\text{h}}$  in *Hekanakhte* 1, vs. 2, *n hr nfr tw*. Like the example quoted by Lefebvre, *Grammaire* pa. 631, *n wr.w(y) ".w(y) hswt.j jptn* (*Urk*, VII 46, 18), the negation is graphically indicated, while the interrogation, if intended at all, was implied by the context.

**Jn + Nominal Sentences Without Pw**

Since this is not a very common type of declarative sentence, we can expect our collection of questions to be relatively small. We do find, however, that declarative statements are not uncommon in both Old and Middle Egyptian, when the subject is an independent pronoun. For questions corresponding to this type of statement, which was never preceded by *jw*, we would expect to find *jn* + independent pronoun + noun.

**Jn + Independent Pronoun + Noun****Example 1 PT 685 a-b**

*jn twt Hr hr hr.k p'hd.tj jn twt Stš hr hr.k stz.tj*

Are you Horus? Down upon your face! Be inverted! Are you Seth? Down upon your face! Be dragged off!

Edel has included another question which, although it seems to be in the same pattern as Example 1, has the particle *js* after *twt*.<sup>338</sup>

**Example 2 PT 473 a-c**

*jn twt js ntr w'b swt pr m w'bt 'h' N jn Hr hms N jn St šsp  
'f jn R'*

Are you a god pure of places, who came<sup>339</sup> from a pure [place]? Stand up, Oh, N, says Horus. Sit down, Oh, N, says Seth. Take his hand, says Re.

Like the first question, this one too is followed by direct orders. The context of the passage certainly permits a question,<sup>340</sup> and it would appear that it is interrogative *jn* before the nominal sentence.<sup>341</sup>

Two other examples where *jn* also introduces *twt* are not as obvious in their interpretation as our first two examples because the context is not particularly clear. They have been included here, despite their apparent ambiguity, because the pattern used in these expressions is the same as that in Examples 1 and 2.<sup>342</sup>

**Example 3 CT IV 391 c-e**

*htp r.k nb tm jn twt Tm jn ht w'd pr njs m<sup>343</sup> r.tn*

<sup>338</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 1005 d.

<sup>339</sup> It is unlikely that *pr* here should be read as *pr. (j)* "I came," referring to the speaker.

<sup>340</sup> See also Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 93.

<sup>341</sup> See also PT 471 a-c, where a similar passage is present. Despite the absence of *jn* before *twt*, it is also possible that it is to be understood as a question (see Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 93). This expression is also followed by commands. See also Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 1004 c, who considers a similar example, where *jn* is omitted, as a question.

<sup>342</sup> In both Old and Middle Egyptian, non-verbal nominal sentences consisting of independent pronoun + noun are not preceded by non-interrogative *jn* (see Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, pa. 59). We have, therefore, chosen to treat *jn* as an interrogative, rather than to assume a special function for it.

<sup>343</sup> Although only one variant has *m*, it is apparent that it is necessary in this context.

<n>nk<sup>344</sup> js tm

Peace, Oh, lord of all.<sup>345</sup> Are you Atum? Is wood fresh?<sup>346</sup> The summons comes forth from your mouths: To me belongs everything.<sup>347</sup>

**Example 4 CT VII 210 i**

jn twt 'h 'pr jn R' Tm

Are you a prepared 'h? so says Re-Atum.<sup>348</sup>

It is perhaps only coincidental, but each of these questions, the only ones attested in this pattern, employ only the second person singular pronoun *twt* as the subject and are found only in religious texts.

**Jn + Noun + Noun**

When we deal with non-verbal nominal sentences, where both the subject and the predicate are nouns, the analysis is less clear, since it is often ambiguous which element is actually the subject and which is the predicate. We are limited to examples from the Pyramid Texts.<sup>349</sup> and it is difficult to ascertain in each case whether *jn* was used to stress the subject or to indicate a question. Sethe,<sup>350</sup> like Edel,<sup>351</sup> has understood the examples where *jn* stands before noun + noun to have the same meaning as those cases where the sentence was simply noun + noun, the first element probably functioning as the subject. Passages such as PT 1370 a, *jn P pn z' sm't hmt wrt* "This *P* is the son of the Great Wild Cow,"<sup>352</sup> could just as easily, however, be translated as questions.<sup>353</sup> We cannot, owing to the limitation of our evidence for the construction *jn* + noun + noun, come to any definite conclusions about the interrogative

<sup>344</sup> Since the variant (B3C) which is in the third person uses *ny-nts*, it is likely that *nmk* is to be read. See also below, n. 347.

<sup>345</sup> For the phrase *nb tm* as an epithet for Atum, see the discussion by K. Sethe, "Das Pronomen I. Sing. *n-nk*," *ZÄS*, LIV (1918), 44. See also Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, p. 28.

<sup>346</sup> One coffin, which consistently uses the third person (B3C) and which may be the best variant, has *jn twt Tm twt ht w'd* "Are you Atum? Are you fresh wood?" *Jn* would govern both clauses in this translation. Cf. Faulkner, *AECT*, I, 284, who used this text for his translation. *Twt ht w'd* could also, however, be rendered as a statement, "You are fresh wood." Faulkner, *ibid.*, has suggested that the variant, which we have illustrated in Example 3, *jn ht w'd*, could also indicate the speaker, "so says green wood," but it could even be the statement, "It is wood which is fresh." Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, does not mention *ht w'd* in association with Atum.

<sup>347</sup> For a discussion of *nmk* used for possession, see M. Gilula, "An Adjectival Predicative Expression in Middle Egyptian," *RdÉ*, XX (1968), 55-61. On p. 57, Gilula (Example 8) quotes one of the variants of our text where *ny-nts* occurs for the third person feminine singular.

<sup>348</sup> For a discussion of the names of Re-Atum, see Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, p. 25.

<sup>349</sup> Sethe, *Nominalsatz*, pa. 24.

<sup>350</sup> *Ibid.* He has also, *ibid.*, pa. 25, shown that, since some examples of noun + noun are parallel to sentences with *pw*, the second element may actually be the subject.

<sup>351</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 947.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. PT 1988 a, *jn m't Hr m't N pn* "The *m't* of Horus is the *m't* of this *N*" or "Is the *m't* of Horus the *m't* of this *N*?" Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 287, however, has understood the passage as a participial statement, "It is she who once led Horus who leads this king." It might also be possible, if we read *m't* as *m'.t(w)*, to translate the passage as a condition, understanding *jn* to be the interrogative, "If Horus is led, then *N* will be led."

<sup>353</sup> In some cases, the clause might best be understood as a condition. Gunn, *Studies*, p. 60, and Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 214, treat these passages as statements.

nature of such expressions. It would seem, however, since the frequency of examples of *jn* + noun + noun is much smaller than those where *jn* does not occur, that it is unlikely that the primary function of *jn* was to mark the subject. If this were the function of *jn*, one might have expected to find that most examples, where parallels or variants did not employ *pw*, would naturally have used *jn* to mark the subject. It would be possible to assume, however, that such a practice, although rare even in the Pyramid Texts and unattested elsewhere, might have been archaic and had already been fading out of use.

Although we find no other examples of this pattern outside of the Pyramid Texts, there is one example of *jn* + noun where it appears that *jn* questions a single element.

**Example 5 Admonitions 14, 13**

*jn Nḥsyw k' jr.n mkt.n*

Nubians? Then we will make our own protection.

This is an isolated example, and it is even possible that the question was elliptical for *jn jw.s m Nḥsyw*.<sup>354</sup>

**Jn + Nominal Sentences with Pw**

Since it is unnecessary for the subject of a nominal sentence with *pw* to be marked by *jn*, it would seem, therefore, that when *jn* stood at the head of such a construction, it was interrogative. Non-interrogative emphasizing *jn* would have been redundant in that position.

**Example 6 PT 1224 a-c**

*nm š jnw nm š jnw jn sr pj jn sw jn zt pj jn sy jn  
ng' pj<sup>355</sup> jn sw*

Traverse the lake, Oh, bringer.<sup>356</sup> Traverse the lake, Oh, bringer.  
Is it a goose?<sup>357</sup> Bring it. Is it a duck? Bring it. Is it a long-horn?  
Bring it.<sup>358</sup>

In the Coffin Texts we find another nominal sentence with *pw* preceded by *jn*. Here, however, there is some ambiguity in the interpretation owing to the presence of a second *pw*.

**Example 7 CT III 336 e-j**

*'ḥ' n.j<sup>359</sup> nst.j m-'j n js jt.j rdj n.j n js mwt.j rdj n.j jn  
Jw'-pw pw " Knst swt rdj n.j s*

<sup>354</sup> Note that one member nominal sentences are common in Late Egyptian; see Černý and Groll, *Grammar*, pp. 523-24. See above, p. 53, Example 8. See also below, p. 87, n. 497.

<sup>355</sup> One of the variants omits *pj* after *ng'*, but, since it is present after both *sr* and *st*, it is likely that it is an error and should be restored; it is hardly likely that it is another example of *jn* + noun.

<sup>356</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 195, suggests the imperative for *nm*, rather than the two alternatives suggested by Sethe, *Pyr. Übers.*, V:124, "Durchschwommen ist der See, O Bringer," or "Was den See durchschwommen hat ist mein Tribut."

<sup>357</sup> Edel, *ÄAG*, pa. 1038, has considered PT 1224 b as a condition, even though it is a true question by form.

<sup>358</sup> Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 195, has also translated the passage in this manner.

<sup>359</sup> It is less likely that the passage should be read *'ḥ'.n.j nst.j m-'j* "It was while my throne was in my possession that I stood up."

Attend me! My throne is my charge. It is not my father who gave it to me. It is not my mother who gave it to me.<sup>360</sup> Is it *Jw'pw*, the great one of *Knst*?<sup>361</sup> It is he who gave it to me.

Since *pw* appears two times, it is likely that it is first a demonstrative pronoun after *Jw'*, which we have understood as part of a name, and then a copula. We have analyzed the passage after *jn* as a noun + *pw*, with " *Knst* in apposition to the noun. In this analysis *jn* is interrogative. It would also be possible to consider the pattern to be noun A + *pw* + noun B, and we would then translate the question "Is the great one of *Knst* *Jw'-pw*?" Unfortunately the spell is quite short, and, since it has neither parallels nor variants, we cannot reach any certain conclusions.

In a Middle Kingdom literary text, we find two more examples of interrogative *jn* before a nominal sentence with *pw*.

**Example 8 Peasant B1, 311-13**

jn jsw pw n gs'.n.f<sup>362</sup> jn mh't pw n rdj.n.s hr gs

Is it a balance? [Then] it cannot tilt. Is it a scale? [Then] it cannot incline to one side.<sup>363</sup>

Again, we see the pattern noun + *pw*, and, since non-interrogative *jn* would not be expected in this pattern, we have understood *jn* to be interrogative.

**Example 9 Peasant B1, 103-4**

jn 't pw n.k-jmy hr jb.k r jt tw šmsw.j

Are your belongings of greater importance to you than the fact that my retainer might seize you?

In this translation *n.k-jmy* is considered to be the subject of the sentence,<sup>364</sup> while 't is the predicate. The pattern of the question is *jn* + noun A *pw* + noun B.<sup>365</sup>

**Example 10 Peasant B1, 18-20**

dd.jn Nmtj-nht pn jn p' pw hn n mdt ddw rmtt dm.tw rn n  
hwrw hr nb.f

<sup>360</sup> For the negation of the participial statement, one would have expected *jt.j* and *mwt.j* to come before *js*. For a further discussion of this passage, cf. Gunn, *Studies*, p. 186, and Gilula, "Enclitic Particles," p. 28.

<sup>361</sup> Since there is what appears to be a god determinative after *pw*, it is probable that *Jw'-pw* is to be understood as a name. Faulkner, *AECT* I, 192, n. 9, has treated the passage as a statement. It can only be a statement, however, if we treat the second *pw* as a demonstrative modifying the name and if we understand the first phrase as an introduction for *swt*: "It is this *Jw'-pw*, the great one of *Knst* . . ." The sense appears to be the same as interpreting the expression as a question. See Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, pp. 261 and 330, who suggests that " *Knst* is a designation of Atum.

<sup>362</sup> The reading of the word *gs'* is from *Peasant* B2, 77.

<sup>363</sup> It is also possible to understand both questions as conditions.

<sup>364</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 114, has considered *n.k-jmy* as a substantive.

<sup>365</sup> It is hardly likely that *pw* is used here as a demonstrative pronoun, but if such an archaism were possible, the pattern of the question would then be *jn* + noun + adverbial predicate, "Is this greatness of yours of more concern to you than that my retainer might seize you?" See also above, pp. 55-56, n. 312.

Then this Nemtinakht said: Is it\* the complaint<sup>366</sup> that people make: It is only on account of his lord that the name of a poor man is mentioned?

In this question the pattern in *jn* + noun + *pw* where *pw* comes between *p'* and *hn n mdt*, the intercalation of *pw* between a noun and a modifier being the usual practice in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>367</sup>

All of the phrases discussed in this section have been analyzed as nominal sentences introduced by an interrogative word. We can only make this assumption on the grounds that non-interrogative *jn* would not stand at the head of this type of construction.

As we have stated in the introduction to this section, our selection of examples in this pattern would be rather small in consideration of the frequency of the declarative analogues to this type of question. We now see in turn that the distribution of the few examples which have been found is not very broad. Except for a few questions from the *Eloquent Peasant*, we have discovered examples only in religious texts.

### Jn Introducing Negated Expressions

Since there are substantially fewer negative questions than positive ones, we have organized them in one section, rather than adding them to the corresponding section of positive questions.

#### Jn + Negations with N

##### Jn + N + Sdm.n.f

###### Example 1 PT 1954 a = NT 787 = JP 741

Nt pw št' swt jn rf n <d>r.n.tn n šhr.<n>.tn

<sup>366</sup> See *Peasant* B1, 37, where *hn n mdt* also occurs. Faulkner, *CD*, p. 192, suggests "complaint" for this phrase, but he prefers "proverb" for our passage. As Professor Baer has pointed out, "complaint" makes equally good sense in both passages, and the meaning "proverb" occurs nowhere else.

<sup>367</sup> See Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 129, and pa. 131. It is clear that he, *ibid.*, pa. 130, considered *p'* to be a demonstrative pronoun functioning predicatively. Such a usage, although frequent with *n'* (see *ibid.*, pa. 111), is not particularly common with *p'* and *r'* (see *ibid.*, pa. 130, n. 6). A phrase such as *p' pw Wsjr* "Such is Osiris" is rare, and the Middle Kingdom examples of this expression to which Gardiner refers (see L. Speelers, "La stèle de Maï du Musée de Bruxelles (E 5300)," *RT*, XXXIX (1921), 121) are both from the late Middle Kingdom and may be late enough that *p'* is to be understood as Late Egyptian *p'y* (see Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. XXXII, 3, for a Twelfth Dynasty example of *p'y*); the later New Kingdom parallels also use *p'* rather than *p'y*. Cf., however, the use of *p'* in CT V 94 c and e. *Pw* also stands between *p'* and its noun in the phrase *p' pw st' w'd* "The firewood is green" (N. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker* ("Theban Tomb Series," vol. II; London: George Allen and Unwin, 1920), pl. XI and p. 15). Faulkner, "Eloquent Peasant," p. 33, and Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 171, have considered *p'* to be predicative in our example, while Grapow, *Wie die alten Ägypter*, IV:50, has treated it as part of *hn n mdt*. In the earlier occurrence of the phrase in *Peasant* B1, 37, it is also preceded by *p'*.

Oh, *Nt*, hidden of seats! You cannot destroy nor remove, can you?<sup>368</sup>

We also find *n sdm.n.f* in a later, early Middle Kingdom document, and there is no enclitic particle in this passage.

**Example 2 *Letters to the Dead*, pl. VI, 2-3**

(j)n jr t' b'kt Jmjw ntt mr.tj (j)n n 'ḥ'.n.k ḥr.s grḥ hrw ḥn' jrr  
nb r.s ḥn' jrnt nbt r.s

What about<sup>369</sup> the female servant *Jmjw* who is ill? Can you<sup>370</sup> not fight for her night and day with every man and every woman who acts against her?

The same pattern occurs in a literary text where it is obviously part of a dialogue.

**Example 3 *P. Westcar V*, 17**

'ḥ'.n.s gr.tj nn ḥnt wn.jn p'y.s rmnw gr nn ḥnt ḏd.jn  
ḥm.f jn n ḥnn(sic!).n.tn<sup>371</sup> 'ḥ'.n ḏd.n.sn t'y.n šyt  
gr.tj nn ḥnt

Then she became silent and did not row. Then her [entire] side became silent and did not row. Then His Majesty said: Can you row no longer? Then they said: Our leader has become silent and does not row.

It is clear that this question in the pattern *jn + n + sdm.n.f*, interrogates the ability of the girl to row, since there is a later contrasting passage (*Westcar VI*, 4-5) where the phrase '*ḥ'.n ḏd.n ḥm.[f] n.s tm.t ḥn ḥr-m*' "Then his majesty said to her, 'Why do you not row?'"<sup>372</sup> occurs.

**Jn + N + Sdm.f**

For this pattern we have found thus far only one example, and it comes from a religious text where it is apparently part of a dialogue. It is the first in a series of questions.

<sup>368</sup> For a further discussion of this example, see below, p. 94 Example 9. See also Edell, *AAG*, pa. 502, who treats *n sdm.n.f* as a negation of the present perfect rather than as a negation of ability.

<sup>369</sup> For the collocation *jn jr*, see James, *Ḥekanakhte*, pp. 102-3, and Baer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Letter," p. 5, n. 27. See also a further discussion of *jn jr* in Chapter III.

<sup>370</sup> B. Gunn, review of *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, by A. Gardiner and K. Sethe, in *JEA*, XVI (1929), 152, suggested that the horizontal stroke in lines 2 and 7 might be  $\overline{\text{mm}}$  for  $\overline{\text{qmm}}$ . He did not, however, mention that the horizontal stroke before  $\overline{\text{m}}$  in line 3, read by Gardiner as  $\overline{\text{mm}}$ , was probably also to be understood as  $\overline{\text{qmm}}$ . Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 22, suggested that  $\overline{\text{mm}}$  stood for  $\overline{\text{m}}$ , but they admitted that such a writing would not be appropriate for a Middle Kingdom text.

<sup>371</sup> Since *Wb*, III:374, takes *ḥnj* as a III inf. verb, it seems strange, as Gunn, *Studies*, p. 115, has already noted, that it would geminate in the *sdm.n.f* form.

<sup>372</sup> Cf. Lichtheim, *AEL*, p. 216, however, who translates the earlier question as if *ḥr-m* were present. Gunn, *Studies*, p. 115, has considered our example to be a problem for which he had no solution.

## Example 4 CT III 86 c-f

. . . jn rf n wnm.j ḥs ḥn.k jr.f m jšst

I haven't eaten excrement, have I?<sup>373</sup> On what, then, do you live?

## Jn + Negations with Nn

We have found even fewer questions utilizing the negation *nn*. In one possible example, the negation does not follow the interrogation directly; the verb *wn* comes between *jn* and *nn*, and it is, therefore, probable that the pattern is *jn* + *sdm.f.*<sup>374</sup> In another example, there is some ambiguity owing to the writing of  rather than the interrogative *jn*.

## Jn + Nn + Sdm.f

Our first example of this pattern has not in the past been interpreted as a question, since, as mentioned above,  is written at the head of the sentence.<sup>375</sup>

Example 5 *Ḥeḳanakhte*, II, 43-44

ptr ky n wnn.j ḥn'.tn m tt w't (j)n nn tr.tn n.j ḥbswt.(j)

What is the sense<sup>376</sup> of my being with you in one household?<sup>377</sup>

Will you [then] not respect<sup>378</sup> [my] wife for me?<sup>379</sup>

The next question, which comes from a dialogue in a literary text, presents no problems, since *jn* clearly introduces *nn sdm.f.*

Example 6 *Peasant B1*, 5-9

dd.jn šty pn nfr [m]tn.j jḥmt k'.tj mtn ḥr šm'w ḥn.k rf  
w't.n m ḥbsw.k jn nn rf dj.k sw'.n ḥr w't

<sup>373</sup> See also below, p. 93, Example 7. D. Mueller, "An Early Egyptian Guide to the Hereafter," *JEA*, LVIII (1972), 120, n. 2, considers the passage to be a statement.

<sup>374</sup> See above, pp. 16-17, Example 4. Unless we follow the suggestion made by Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, p. 22, that "*n wn* is almost certainly a question, so that the most probable explanation of these words is that they serve as an unusual interrogative particle," we are probably dealing with *jn* + *sdm.f.* The subject of *wn* may have been omitted. It is not likely that *nn rh.n.k* . . . should be understood as the subject of *wn*, since we would have expected a nominal negation such as *tm.n.k rh*; but, according to Satzinger, *Die negativen*, pa. 80, such a form exists only in the construction of a double negative. See now Gilula, "A *tm.n.f sdm* Sentence?" *JEA* 60 (1974), p. 249.

<sup>375</sup> Professor Wente has suggested that Example 5 is probably to be understood as a question. James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, p. 44, n. 56, however, preferred to render  as "no." Cf., however, Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 89-90, where he shows several examples of  as a graphic variant for *jn*. In addition to these, we can now include the examples of  , discussed above, pp. 51-52.

<sup>376</sup> Although it is clear that James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, p. 44, n. 55, must be correct in identifying *ky* with  , it would seem that a more abstract connotation, such as "sense" or "value," must be associated with the word. *Wb*, V:15, suggests "Wesen," which may be interpreted in such a manner.

<sup>377</sup> James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, p. 44, n. 55, has suggested the translation "household" for *tr*, which obviously refers to a group, since it is followed by a demonstrative and plural strokes. Baer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Letter," p. 9, suggests, "How can I be with you at the same table?" for the question.

<sup>378</sup> See James, *Ḥeḳanakhte*, p. 44, n. 56, for a discussion of *trj* "to respect."

<sup>379</sup> It is also possible that the second question might best be translated as a conditional clause, "What is the sense of my associating with you, if you will not even respect my wife for me?" For *ḥbswt* as "wife," see above, p. 39, n. 212.

dd.jn šty pn nfr [m]tn.j jhmt k'.tj mtn hr šm'w hn.k rf  
w't.n m ḥbsw.k jn nn rf dj.k sw'.n hr w't

Then this peasant said: My way is good; the bank is high, and the road is under barley. It is with your clothes that you obstruct our road. Won't you really allow us to pass upon the road?<sup>380</sup>

As for the negation *tm* in questions, Gardiner<sup>381</sup> has stated that despite its use in some questions, it is not employed after *jn*. We have found, however, that *tm*, at least one time, does occur after *jn-jw*.<sup>382</sup> Unfortunately, the text is damaged after *tm*, and no translation can, therefore, be made.

Our collection of negative examples does not seem to be limited to any particular period or any one type of text. Our examples have come from the Old Kingdom as well as the Middle Kingdom, religious texts as well as literary and non-literary texts. We have not yet found an emphatic negative question where the adjunct is both negated and interrogated. We have noticed, however, that three of our questions in this section employ the particle *rf*, Examples 1, 4 and 6, and the effects of this particle, and others, upon the interrogation will be discussed in Chapter III.

<sup>380</sup> See also below, p. 96, Example 13.

<sup>381</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 346, 1.

<sup>382</sup> Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin*, VII:420, 2. See also below, p. 79, n. 452.

## CHAPTER II

### The Uses of Interrogative JN-JW

This chapter will be devoted to the examination of those constructions which appear to be introduced by the compound interrogative *jn-jw*. Considered in most grammars to be the Late Egyptian successor to the earlier interrogative *jn*, *jn-jw* has also been identified as the ancestor of Coptic  $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$ .<sup>383</sup>

We have already seen in Chapter I that there are numerous instances prior to the New Kingdom where *jw* does follow *jn*, but that in some of these examples it is clear, and in others it is likely, that *jw* is an integral part of the underlying statement; it is not part of the interrogation. We will now examine other questions of the same period, where *jn jw* also occurs, but where *jw* does not seem to be an essential part of the clause which follows it. If we can segment such questions as *jn-jw* + a main clause, we will be able to illustrate the use of the compound interrogative *jn-jw*<sup>384</sup> before the advent of the New Kingdom.

We found in Chapter I that *jn* was capable of introducing any clause which could function as an independent statement,<sup>385</sup> and now we will attempt to discover the restrictions, if any, which *jn-jw* might impose on the constructions which follow it.

#### Jn-Jw Introducing Sdm.n.f

Since *jn-jw* is generally considered to be the interrogative expression which was common in the New Kingdom, it is likely that the texts where it would occur prior to that time would then be filled with Late Egyptianisms. We might assume a priori that such texts might already have substituted *sdm.f* for *sdm.n.f*, since the former replaced the latter in non-literary texts of the New Kingdom. We do find a few examples, however, from a literary papyrus written in the New Kingdom whose text was probably composed at a much earlier date.<sup>386</sup>

<sup>383</sup> See the earlier discussion of *jn*, *jn-jw*, and  $\epsilon\eta\epsilon$  in Chapter I, p. 1, and see also below Chapter IV and the Appendix. Cf., however, Černý and Groll, *Grammar*, p. 151.

<sup>384</sup> It has already been pointed out above, p. 1, that despite the fact that statements which contained *jw* as an introduction were turned into questions simply by prefixing *jn*, questions formed in such a manner have usually been analyzed as if they were headed by *jn-jw*.

<sup>385</sup> Note, however, above, p. 49, Example 1, and pp. 53-55, Examples 8-11, where *jn* followed by *jw* is then followed by an adverbial phrase. It is likely that the subjects in these examples have been omitted. See also p. 62, Example 5, where *jn* appears to introduce a single element. For *jn* followed by phrases introduced by *jr*, see below, p. 87.

<sup>386</sup> See also pp. 41-42.

Example 1 *M.u.K.* 2, 1-3

jn-jw jj.n.t r sn hrd pn nn dj.j sn.t sw jn-jw jj.n.t r sgr nn  
 dj.j dj.t sgr jm.f jn-jw jj.n.t r hdt.f nn dj.j hdt.t sw jn-jw jj.n.t  
 r jt.f nn dj.j jt.t sw m-'j jr.n.j s'.f r.t

Is it to kiss this child that you have come? I will not allow you to kiss him. Is it to cause silence that you have come? I will not allow you to cause silence in him. Is it to injure him that you have come? I will not allow you to injure him. Is it to seize him that you have come? I will not allow you to seize him from me. It is against you that I have made his protection.

In each of the questions, it is clear that *jw* is not part of the predicative form *jw sdm.n.f*, since the verb in each case is a verb of motion. With such verbs, the construction *jw.f* + old perfective generally replaces *jw sdm.n.f*,<sup>387</sup> so it is clear that we are dealing with the compound interrogative expression *jn-jw*. Since we have seen that *jn* is a non-enclitic particle and that what follows it is an independent clause, we should assume, as long as *jn-jw* appears to function similarly, that the clause following it is to be understood as an independent sentence.<sup>388</sup> It is then evident that we have an initial *sdm.n.f* of a verb of motion which should be understood as an emphatic form, and the adjunct is actually what is being questioned.

In the same text, we find two occurrences of what appears to be the *sdm.n.f* form of *m*" after *jn-jw*.<sup>389</sup>

Example 2 *M.u.K.* vs. 4, 3-4

jw.k wd'.k R' jw.k wd'.k<sup>390</sup> jn-jw m".n.k p' mwt jj r.[s mn]t<sup>391</sup>  
 ms(t) n mn(t) mwt hmt <r wdt><sup>392</sup> r hr.s hr jrt shrw . . . nhm.k  
 wj nb.[j] R' j[n] mnt ms(t) n mnt

You are setting, Oh, Re; you are setting. Have you seen the dead man who is coming against her, [i.e.] the female N, born to N, [as well as] the dead woman<sup>393</sup> <in order to put forth> the

<sup>387</sup> See Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, pp. 87 and 94 ("Egyptian Tenses," pp. 17 and 24). He also points out the emphatic nature of the *sdm.n.f* of verbs of motion.

<sup>388</sup> See above, p. 2.

<sup>389</sup> See also Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, pl. III, 3, 8, where *jn jw m".n.k* also occurs. Caminos, *ibid.*, pp. 3-4, points out that this text, although dating paleographically to the Eighteenth Dynasty, employs Middle Egyptian grammar. Unfortunately, the text is damaged after the verb form, so it is impossible to analyze whether *jn* or *jn-jw* was to be understood. See *M.u.K.*, vs. 3, 7 (which actually should be vs. 3, 9), for the other example of *jn-jw m".n.k*.

<sup>390</sup> The same phrase is seen in *M.u.K.*, vs. 2, 7-8, which is then followed by *jr m".n.k*. *M.u.K.*, vs. 3, 9, like our example, has *jn-jw m'.n].k*, but it is preceded by *jw.k wbn.k R' jw.k wbn.k* "You are rising, Oh, Re; you are rising."

<sup>391</sup> See *M.u.K.*, vs. 3, 9, for the restoration.

<sup>392</sup> Although *drt* is written, two of the other passages, *M.u.K.*, vs. 2, 8, and 3, 4, have *r wdt*, a phrase which makes more sense in the context.

<sup>393</sup> For *hmt* as the designation of a female counterpart, see R. Faulkner, "*Hmt* 'woman' as feminine suffix," *JEA*, LVIII (1972), 300.

mouth under her,<sup>394</sup> acting out [evil] plans? . . . Protect me, Oh,  
Re, my lord, so says the female N born to N.

The verb *m''* belongs to the class of Ilae. gem. verbs, and, although other verbs of this class do show gemination when in the *sdm.n.f* form, *m''* should not.<sup>395</sup> The context of this passage and its parallels<sup>396</sup> is at times unclear, and part of the papyrus is damaged. That we are dealing with the simple form *sdm.n.f* preceded by *jn-jw* and not the compound form *jw sdm.n.f* preceded by *jn* is clear owing to the fact that the spell is composed of four similar sections, two of which contain the expression *jn-jw m''.n.k*,<sup>397</sup> while the remaining two employ *jr m''.n.k* and *m''.n.k*.<sup>398</sup> The similarity among the texts of the four sections indicates that, although there were some minor differences, the passages probably expressed the same ideas.

In one of the two parallel passages, where *jn-jw* is not employed, *m''.n.k* stands at the head of the clause without any introductory word before it. We find that the clauses preceding it, however, are essentially the same as those in the other parallels (*jw.k wbn.k R' jw.f wq'.f*).<sup>399</sup> Aside from the absence of *jn-jw* before *m''.n.k*, we find that this parallel is much the same as those in which *jn-jw* is present. Although it is not clear whether this passage is to be understood as an implied question,<sup>400</sup> parallel to those where *jn-jw* appears, or whether it was to serve as a statement in contrast to the later questions, it is evident that, since *m''.n.k* stands at the head of the sentence, the verb is emphatic. Whichever interpretation is chosen,<sup>401</sup> it seems clear that *m''.n.k* and *jn-jw m''.n.k* are parallel, if not identical, expressions, and, therefore, that *jn-jw* functioned as the compound interrogative introducing an emphatic *sdm.n.f*.<sup>402</sup>

When discussing the pattern *jn + sdm.n.f* which occurred in an example from Chapter I, we pointed out the existence of a later parallel where one of the variants used *jn-jw* rather than *jn*.<sup>403</sup>

#### Example 3 CT VII 34 a-b (T1C)

*jn-jw sm'.n.f tw dd.n jb.f mwt.k*

Is it after his heart has said that you will die that he has slain  
you?

<sup>394</sup> F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1925), II:31, has translated *r wdt r* "la gronder," while Erman, *M.u.K.*, p. 45, has rendered the phrase "die den Mund auf sie . . ." It is clear that a connotation of doing evil is to be associated with the expression.

<sup>395</sup> See Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 413; Lefebvre, *GEC*, pa. 272; and Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 533.

<sup>396</sup> See *M.u.K.*, vs. 3,9, for the passage where *jn-jw m''.n.k* is also used.

<sup>397</sup> There is no reason to believe that *p' mwt* which follows the verb in both cases is to be understood as the subject and that *n.k* should be understood as a dative expression, since the context demands that *k* should be interpreted as the subject.

<sup>398</sup> See *M.u.K.*, vs. 2,8, and 3, 4.

<sup>399</sup> See *M.u.K.*, vs. 3, 3-4. A second vocative to Re does not occur in this version.

<sup>400</sup> See Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 491.

<sup>401</sup> Erman, *M.u.K.*, pp. 40 and 42, however, has rendered both *jr m''.n.k* and *m''.n.k* "Wenn du gesehen hast." It is quite possible that some of the text is garbled. In all four of the parallels, we find a similar clause addressed to Re before the clause with *m''.n.k*. In three of the cases, either *wbn* or *wq'* is repeated. In the passage where *m''.n.k* stands at the head, both *wbn* and *wq'* are used in the preceding expression. It is only in this parallel (without either *jn-jw* or *jr* at the head) that *jm* follows *wq'*; but it is not clear whether this word is to be understood as an error for *jr*, or even for *jn*.

<sup>402</sup> It is probable that the interrogation is directed at the phrase beginning with *hr jrt shrw*, questioning whether it was while evil was being done that the dead man and woman were seen.

<sup>403</sup> See above, p. 5, n. 32.

Both the Coffin Text variants and the Pyramid Text parallels to this passage employ only *jn* before the *sdm.n.f* form, and since *jn* is non-restrictive, the verb functions as an initial form and, therefore, is to be regarded as an emphatic form. It is probable, then, that in our Example 3, the only variant in the Coffin Texts which has *jn-jw*, the verb was also regarded as an emphatic form. It is necessary, then, to understand *jn-jw* as the compound interrogative which is generally assumed to have been used only in the New Kingdom. The appearance of *jn-jw* at this early date<sup>404</sup> is exceptional, and it may indicate that much before the advent of the New Kingdom *jn-jw* was known as an interrogative capable of performing at least one of the functions of the interrogative *jn*.

In an Eighteenth Dynasty version of the Book of the Dead, we find a passage employing *jn-jw* which has an earlier parallel in the Coffin Texts which uses only *jn*.<sup>405</sup>

**Example 4 Papyrus Nu,<sup>406</sup> Chapter 29, 2-3**

*jn-jw* *jj.n.k r h'tj.j pn n 'nhw*    *nn dj.tw n.k h'tj.j pn n 'nhw*

Is it [to get]<sup>407</sup> this my heart of the living that you have come?  
This my heart of the living shall not be given to you.

In this example, it is clear that we are dealing with *jn-jw* + emphatic *sdm.n.f*, since *jj* is a verb of motion.

We can include another case where *jn-jw* appears to introduce emphatic *sdm.n.f*. Here, however, we are dealing with a text which was composed in the Eighteenth Dynasty, unlike the preceding examples. It is clear, then, that such an example would be susceptible to influence from the idiom of Late Egyptian despite the fact that it is a monumental hieroglyphic inscription.

**Example 5 Urk. IV 324, 6-11**

*dd.hr.sn dbh.sn htpw*    *ph.n.tn nn hr sy jst r h'st tn hmt.n*  
*rm'tt jn-jw h'j.n.tn hr w'w(t) hrt*    *jn-jw skd.n.tn hr mw hr t'*

They say, while begging for peace: Why have you arrived here at this foreign land of which the Egyptians are ignorant? Is it upon the roads of heaven that you have descended? Is it upon the water or upon the land that you have traveled?

There are several questions in this passage, all of which utilize the emphatic *sdm.n.f*: the first one stresses the interrogative adverb, while the remaining ones, introduced by *jn-jw*, emphasize the adverbial phrase. It is clear that what is being questioned in the latter two questions is not the action of the verbs *h'j* and *skd*, since the Egyptian contingent has already arrived in Punt, but the type of route which they used in order to reach their destination.

In this rather small collection of examples, the pattern is *jn-jw* + emphatic *sdm.n.f*. Despite the use both of transitive verbs (Examples 2 and 3) and of verbs of motion (Examples 1, 4,

<sup>404</sup> The text belongs to Harhotep, whose inscription W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, pp. 121-22, dates to the end of the reign of Nebhepetre.

<sup>405</sup> See above, p. 3, Example 3 and n. 19.

<sup>406</sup> E. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910), I:26. Ani also has *jn-jw*. See also T. G. Allen, *Going Forth By Day*, p. 39 for a translation of the passage.

<sup>407</sup> See above, p. 3, n. 19.

and 5), it is clear that each of the verb forms was emphatic and that *jn-jw* functioned in the same manner as *jn* before emphatic forms, i.e., the interrogation is essentially directed toward the adverbial adjunct. Since we find *jn-jw* used parallel to *jn* in the emphatic questions, we might a priori expect to find it as well with non-emphatic verb forms. We would not, however, expect to find an expression such as \**jn-jw + jw sdm.n.f*, since *jw jw* would be impossible in either Old or Middle Egyptian. It is likely, as we have already shown in Chapter I,<sup>408</sup> that when the predicative form *jw sdm.n.f* was used, the simple interrogative *jn* introduced it. To assume that *jn jw sdm.n.f* concealed several distinct patterns of questions—*jn + jw sdm.n.f*, *jn-jw + sdm.n.f*, and *jn-jw + jw sdm.n.f*—would seem to confuse the issue unnecessarily.

Of all our examples, only one can be considered as good Middle Egyptian (Example 3). It is possible that, although the Harhotep text (TIC) is a textual variant to examples with *jn*, there might have been an error, despite the fact that the text is generally reliable. It is not the best practice to base a particular pattern on the evidence of only one variant reading. The remaining questions which we have discussed in this section, although conforming to the pattern *jn-jw + sdm.n.f*,<sup>409</sup> are from a period late enough to make us suspect the possible influence of Late Egyptian.

We have included the examples which occur after the Middle Kingdom, since there was an attempt in most of them to write standard Middle Egyptian. We are dealing with a pattern of question which has very little support from the period predating the Eighteenth Dynasty. We have not yet found a predicative counterpart for it, and, even if *jn + jw sdm.n.f* did perform this function, such a construction is not at all common in texts after the Middle Kingdom.<sup>410</sup> If our Coffin Text example of *jn-jw* were a dialectical variant of *jn*, we might have expected to see it more than once, unless it were a slip in a substandard dialect; but *jn* occurs regularly in this text. It would likewise be difficult to call it an early colloquialism which was to become standard in Late Egyptian, since we have no other evidence from the text. On the basis of the examples which we have collected, we can only conclude thus far that *jn-jw* appears to be more restrictive than *jn* in that we can document it only in the pattern *jn-jw + sdm.n.f* (emphatic).

### Jn-Jw Introducing Sdm.f

When dealing with *jn* introducing the *sdm.f* form of the verb in the first chapter, we alluded

<sup>408</sup> See above, Chapter I, pp. 9-13.

<sup>409</sup> For other later examples, see also A. Massart, "The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 and I 345," *OMRO*, Supplement op Nieuwe Reeks, XXXIV (1954), ro. X, 10, where we find *jn-jw dj.n.k hr.k r šmt III* "Is it toward going . . . that you have set your face?" In the same text, there are also two questions (vs. IX, 10-11) where *jj.n.k* is introduced by *jn-jw*, and in both of them, it is clear, because of the context and the fact that the verb is a verb of motion, that we are dealing with *jn-jw + emphatic sdm.n.f*. See also the ambiguous question in the very late text published by H. Goedicke, "Psammetik I und die Libyer," *MDAIK*, XVIII (1962), 35, 5, where it is possible, although not definite, owing to the ambiguity of the context, that *jn-jw* also introduces emphatic *sdm.n.f*. In a late papyrus in the Cairo Museum (CG 58040), we see *jn-jw rdj.n.k*. *Jn-jw* also occurs in the Pey stela, line 6 (*Urk.* III, 6), and line 24 (*Urk.* III, 14).

<sup>410</sup> Cf., however, T. Logan and J. Westenholz, "*Sdm.f* and *Sdm.n.f* Forms in the Pey (Piankhi) Inscription," *JARCE*, IX (1971-1972), 115, [= *Urk.* III, 22 (67)], who considered the verb after *jn jw* to be emphatic in *jn jw hm.n.k šwyt ntr hr.j n whj n.f sp.j* "Don't you know that the spirit of the god is upon me and that my deed(s) have not failed because of him?" It is clear that there are two clauses following the verb, both of which function as the object of *hm.n.k*; it is, therefore, probable that we are dealing with a non-emphatic question, *jn + jw sdm.n.f*.

to the problem concerning questions which were written *jn jw sdm.f*.<sup>411</sup> We have already discussed one of the ways of analyzing this question, *jn + jw sdm.f*, and we will now concentrate on those examples which look the same, but should be segmented after *jw*. We face the same problem here, however, as in the preceding section, i.e., the difficulty of finding a suitable number of examples predating the New Kingdom with which we can work. We have made the attempt to limit our study so that it did not extend beyond the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but for comparative purposes it seems best to include some examples composed in later periods which appear to be utilizing Middle Egyptian grammar. Such texts, as we have admitted before, are susceptible to the influence of Late Egyptian grammar, and they, therefore, cannot be considered reliable evidence.

Our first step in isolating early examples of the compound interrogative is to determine whether the context permits segmenting after *jn*, in which case we would expect the verb to express continuity or generality, since *jw sdm.f* would be the underlying form.<sup>412</sup> If the action seems limited to a single time, it is more likely that *sdm.f* is the actual verb form and that *jw* must be understood to be part of the interrogative expression. It is this second possibility which we will study in this section.

If the verb geminates, it is clear that the interrogative is *jn-jw*, since *jw* cannot be compounded with a geminating *sdm.f*. If the verb is not mutable, and it is clear that *jw sdm.f* would not suit the meaning of the passage, we must determine by the context whether it is the action of the verb which is questioned or the adverbial adjunct, i.e., whether or not the verb is emphatic.

One of the earliest passages which appears to contain an example of the pattern *jn-jw + sdm.f* comes from a literary papyrus of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>413</sup>

**Example 1 Peasant B2, 65-70**

*jw šdw.k m šht jw fḳ'w.k m d'tt jw 'ḳw.k m šn' jw srw ḥr  
rdjt n.k jw.k ḥr jt jn jw.k [rf]m 'w'y jn-jw<sup>414</sup> st'.tw n.k skw  
ḥn'.k r psšt šdwt*

Your plots are in the field. Your endowments are in the estate.  
Your provisions are in the storehouse. The magistrates give to  
you; [yet] you rob. Are you really a robber?<sup>415</sup> Is it to be with  
you at the division of ground plots that troops are ushered in?

The verb *st'* is strong, and, therefore, it cannot be proved definitively that it is emphatic, but it does appear that the circumstances at the division of the ground plots are being questioned, rather than the actual division, since it is clear from the first statement that the plots are

<sup>411</sup> See above, p. 15 and n. 91.

<sup>412</sup> See above, pp. 28-33.

<sup>413</sup> One cannot consider here a question from the Coffin Texts, CT V 109 h, *jn jw tr šhm.k m tm jn n.k*, since this variant is erroneously written, according to repetitions of this passage. Cf. CT V 110 e, 112 d, and 114 j, where the question is written *jn jw.j tr šhm.kwj*. For a discussion of this example, see above, p. 36, n. 201.

<sup>414</sup> In the variant text, B1, 302, *jn* is omitted before *jw st'.tw*, and this omission appears at first to be evidence for analyzing the question as *jn + jw sdm.f*. The context does not seem to warrant such a form, however, and it is likely that the *jn* from the previous question was to have been repeated and allied with the *jw* standing before *st'.tw*. Cf. W. Westendorf, *Der Gebrauch des Passivs in der klassischen Literatur der Ägypter* ("APAW," vol. XVIII; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1953), p. 84, n. 9.

<sup>415</sup> For a discussion of the first question, see above, p. 53, Example 7.

already in the possession of the High Steward. It would also appear that a particular occasion, not a customary one, was being referred to.<sup>416</sup>

In the *Instructions of Amenemhet I*, a text obviously of Middle Kingdom origin, there is a series of questions, the first three of which have already been discussed in Chapter I.<sup>417</sup> These expressions are then followed by an ambiguous passage which begins in some variants with *jn jw*. We have generally chosen to follow *P. Millingen* as the best text, but this particular manuscript does not use *jn jw*. Even though it is possible that a question, and very probably an emphatic one, was being expressed,<sup>418</sup> an example as ambiguous as this would not be reliable for our study.

We find a better example from the late Middle Kingdom, where the pattern *jn-jw sdm.f* occurs in one of the problems of calculation in a mathematical papyrus. The text is written in a fairly cursive hand, and the text often seems to be somewhat garbled.

**Example 2 Moscow Mathematical Papyrus,<sup>419</sup> p. 106, no. 23, 1-7**

tp n jrt b'kw t<sub>2</sub>bw mj dd n.k b'kw t<sub>2</sub>bw jr wd'.f n hrw.l  
10 jr db'w.f n hrw.l 5 jn-jw <w> d'w.f db'.f n hrw.l jw.f r  
wrr . . . mk 3 1/3 pw n hrw.l gm.[k nfr]

Example of accounting the work of a sandal-maker: According as it is said to you: The work of a sandal-maker—if he cuts ten in one day, and if he adorns five in one day; if it is for only one day that he [both] cuts and adorns, how many will it be?<sup>420</sup> . . . Behold, it is three and one third in one day. You have found it well.

The words which follow *jr* and *jn-jw* are somewhat ambiguous, since, after *jr*, we have *wd'.f* which appears to be a verb and *db'w.f* which appears to be a noun or a relative form. After *jn-jw*, we see the reverse, *<w> d'w.f* and *db'.f*. We have understood all of the forms to be verbs, whereas Peet has considered them all to be relative forms.<sup>421</sup> He furthermore treats *jn-jw* "as if it were simply *jr*." If we interpreted the two constructions with *jr* as did Peet, we would be dealing with a nominal sentence of the type *jr* noun A noun B, "as for noun A [it is] noun B,"

<sup>416</sup> If the question were analyzed as *jn + jw sdm.f*, it would provide the only good Middle Kingdom example of this pattern with a verb other than *wn*. See above, pp. 30-32, Examples 39-43. It does not appear as if a sense of continuity or generality is present in this question or in any of the preceding expressions.

<sup>417</sup> See above, p. 13, Example 22, and p. 31, Example 42.

<sup>418</sup> The passage (*P. Millingen* 2, 9) is *<jn jw> sh'.tw ndsw hr jryt.sn*, and it may be a question owing to the presence of *jn jw* in some of the variants (see Helek, *Der Text der Lehre*, p. 64). Since *jn jw* is absent in our variant, it is possible that, aside from its being understood as a statement, it might be interpreted as an implied question. If this were the case, then it might support segmenting the variants where *jn jw* is present after *jw*. Since *sh'* is a strong verb, we cannot say for certain if it should be interpreted as an emphatic or non-emphatic form, but the "emphatic" translation would certainly suit the context, "Is it because of what they are going to do that citizens are made fools of?" See also the ambiguous example in *P. Berlin* 14374, 3 (p. 31, n. 171 and p. 48, n. 272).

<sup>419</sup> V. V. Struve, *Mathematischer Papyrus des Staatlichen Museums der Schönen Künste in Moskau* (Berlin: J. Springer, 1930), p. 8, has dated the text paleographically to the second half of the Middle Kingdom. See also T. E. Peet, review of *Mathematischer Papyrus*, by V. V. Struve, in *JEA*, XVII (1931), 154-60.

<sup>420</sup> We have understood *wrr* to be an infinitive belonging to the class of Ilae gem. verbs after a prepositional *r*. For a discussion of *wr*, see Peet, review, p. 159; Gardjner, *EG*, pa. 502; Erman, *NG*, pa. 746, and Černý and Groll, *Grammar*, p. 136.

<sup>421</sup> See Peet, review, p. 159. It might also be possible to understand the words as infinitives. One might have expected the forms to be feminine, if they were relatives.

a pattern not well attested until the New Kingdom.<sup>422</sup> Moreover, a construction which serves to emphasize noun A, but which is introduced by *jn-jw*, is not otherwise attested. We have chosen, therefore, to understand as verbs both  $\langle w \rangle d'w$  and  $db'w$ , as well as  $w d'$  and  $db'$ . We have then two conditional clauses followed by a question which seems best translated as a condition, since the final sentence, the question beginning with *jw.f r wrr*, seems to act as an apodosis. We have seen questions with *jn* at the head interpreted as conditions, and it appears here that *jn-jw* functions in a similar manner.<sup>423</sup>

It is clear from the context that it would not be appropriate to segment *jn jw*  $\langle w \rangle d',f$  after *jn*; we are dealing with the pattern *jn-jw* + *sdm.f*. This question is followed by another one which indicates the type of mathematical problem which has to be solved, since it asks the question, "How much?" The clue to the solution of the problem lies, however, in information given in the adverbial expression of time *n hrw* I which occurs in all three conditions and precedes the direct object in the two *jr* clauses. If we consider  $\langle w \rangle d'w$  and  $db'$  to be emphatic verbs, we can bring the desired stress to the adverbial phrase in our question. It is apparent that the sandal-maker will both cut and decorate the sandals; the only questionable element is the time, and we can direct the interrogation toward this aspect only by analyzing the question in the pattern *jn-jw* + emphatic *sdm.f*.<sup>424</sup>

During the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty we begin to find more examples of *jn-jw*, but, by this time, elements of the grammar of the New Kingdom were appearing already quite regularly. It is, therefore, to be expected that instances of *jn-jw* would be more numerous.

#### Example 3 *Paheri*, pl. III

dd.sn    jn-jw wrš.n hr ft jt hn' bdt hdt šnwt mh hr ngsgs 'h'w n  
r.sn

They say: Must we spend the whole day carrying grain and white emmer now that the granaries are filled to overflowing, and the heaps are at their limits?

This wall scene is composed of four men carrying sacks of grain, and these workers are complaining about still having to bear their burden, when it is apparent that the granaries can store no more. It is evident that it is the circumstance that is being stressed in their complaint.<sup>425</sup> That the pattern *jn* + *jw sdm.f* would not be a likely analysis for this question was

<sup>422</sup> Peet, *ibid.*, pp. 158-59, considered the problem of such a nominal sentence without *pw*. See S. Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 22, who does show a Late Egyptian example in this pattern from a literary text. Professor Wente has pointed out that this pattern probably occurs already in the Coffin Texts. See CT VII 340 c, *jr rh sn gmm w't.sn* "As for the one who knows them, it is he who finds their paths," the variants for which have a participial statement introduced by *jn*, *jn rh sn gmm w't.sn*. Cf., however, the parallel in CT VII 519 f. For a less certain example, see also CT VII 400 c-401 a. The presence of these examples, however, does not have any real effect on our interpretation, since our passage is introduced by *jn-jw*.

<sup>423</sup> The conditional aspects of questions will be discussed again in Chapter IV.

<sup>424</sup> It appears that *jn-jw* was used here simply because conditional *jr* cannot introduce an emphatic verb form. Conditional *jr* seems to be followed by the circumstantial *sdm.f*. See Gardiner, *EG* pa. 454, 5, who pointed out that only when *jr* introduced verbs could it have conditional meaning, and all of the verbs which he gives appear to be circumstantial forms.

<sup>425</sup> Cf. the previous examples with the verb *wrš*, p. 25, Example 27, and p. 27, Example 31.

pointed out by Gardiner, who felt that we "should hardly expect the *ju sdm.f* form, a particular occasion being referred to."<sup>426</sup>

Although the tomb is dated to the middle part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, classical Middle Egyptian prevails in most of the texts. The emphasized circumstantial adjunct in our question is not introduced by *ju* which might have been expected in Late Egyptian. The use of the demonstrative pronoun *pn*,<sup>427</sup> the appearance of the negative words *nn*<sup>428</sup> and *n*,<sup>429</sup> the use of the possessive suffixes,<sup>430</sup> as well as the classical spelling of most words, all indicate that the grammar of the text is still predominantly that of the Middle Kingdom. There are, however, some elements of Late Egyptian in the scenes of daily life such as the negative imperative *m jr*,<sup>431</sup> the possessive adjective *t'y.t*,<sup>432</sup> and the articles *p'*, *t'*, and *n'*.<sup>433</sup> Since the grammar of both stages of the language was used in this text, it would be difficult to attribute *ju-jw* to either Middle or Late Egyptian usage. It is clear, however, that the pattern here, as in that of the previous examples, is *ju-jw* + emphatic *sdm.f*.

A text which was written slightly later in the Eighteenth Dynasty also falls into the same category as the last, in that we find Middle Egyptian as well as Late Egyptian expressions.

**Example 4 Urk. IV 649, 14-650, 5**

dd.n.sn hft hm.f . . . ju-jw wnn t' h't n.n.jmj hr 'h' ju n' n  
[phwy] 'h' " m "rwn' n 'h'.n.sn

They said before His Majesty<sup>434</sup> . . . : Shall our own vanguard  
fight,<sup>435</sup> while the rear guard is here in Aruna, unable to fight?

We have already discussed the pattern *ju* + *wnn.f* + a pseudo-verbal construction,<sup>436</sup> and it appears that we have here an analogous construction with *ju-jw*<sup>437</sup> at the head rather than *ju*. *Wnn* in Example 4 is an emphatic form, in this case introducing a sentence with an adverbial predicate. It is hardly likely that we are dealing with a compound verb form \**ju wnn*, since only *wn* is attested after *ju*.<sup>438</sup> This text contains Late Egyptianisms such as the interrogative *js*,<sup>439</sup>

<sup>426</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 492, 5.

<sup>427</sup> J. Tylor and F. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* ("Memoires of the Egypt Exploration Fund," vol. XI; London: EEF, 1894), pl. V.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid., pl. VII.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., pl. III.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid., pl. VII.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid. and plates III and V. The pronominal compound occurs in a scene in pl. III.

<sup>434</sup> *Dd.n.sn* is clearly emphatic with the emphasis on the following prepositional phrase.

<sup>435</sup> The emphatic verb *wnn* is used here to point out the logical predicate.

<sup>436</sup> See also above, p. 22, Examples 16 and 17, and p. 23, Example 22.

<sup>437</sup> Cf., however, A. Spalinger, "Some Notes on the Battle of Megiddo and Reflections on Egyptian Military Writing," *MDAIK* 30 (1974), p. 222, who considered *ju-jw* to be indicating an unfulfilled condition of the future as is the case with Coptic  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ . It is necessary, however, to distinguish between the two particles written  $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$  in Coptic. One is an interrogative whose spelling varies according to dialect, while that which indicates irrealis is more or less consistent in most dialects. See also Černý, *Dictionary*, p. 36, who indicates two different origins for the words.

<sup>438</sup> *Ju ju wnn* occurs in *BD* 42 (see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, p. 219); however, later versions (See Allen, *Book of the Dead Documents*, pl. XXI) have simple *ju ju 'wn*, and earlier ones also have *ju ju* + subject + adverbial predicate (see below, p. 51, Example 3). See Gardiner, *EG*, pa 107.

<sup>439</sup> *Urk.* IV 650, 3.

the negation *bn*,<sup>440</sup> the definitive article,<sup>441</sup> and circumstantial *jw*.<sup>442</sup> The forms of most verbs, however, are clearly Middle Egyptian,<sup>443</sup> and we see that *jn* has not died out, since it introduces the question: *jn jw ḥm.f wḏ' ḥr ky mṯn jw.f w' r snḏ n.n* "Has His Majesty proceeded upon another course, having become fearful of us?"<sup>444</sup> Despite the occasional use of Middle Egyptian forms in this text, we cannot minimize the obviously strong influence which the colloquial idiom exerts.

During the reign of Amenhotep II, the noble Ken-Amun had inscribed on a wall of his tomb a hieroglyphic inscription recording his appointment to office.<sup>445</sup> Although we would expect, since the text belongs to a class of formulaic rituals and was written in hieroglyphs, that the grammar would tend more toward the classical language of the Middle Kingdom, we do find interrogative *jn-jw* in a series of questions rather than *jn*. For the most part, the spellings of words and the syntax can be considered to be good Middle Egyptian.

**Example 5 Ken-Amun, pl. VIII, 13-14<sup>446</sup>**

*jn-jw sšm.tw Ḥr jmy pt r sḏwt m-m ḥrt jn<sup>447</sup> -jw dd.tw tp-rd n  
rḥ n Ptḥ špsy ḥrj-tp ḥmw jn-jw sb'.tw Dḥwtj r mdt . . .*

Is it regarding sailing through heaven that Horus who is in the sky shall be guided? Is it to Ptah, the august one, who is master of skill, that one shall give instructions for knowledge? Is it concerning speech that Thoth shall be taught . . .?<sup>448</sup>

That we are dealing with *jn-jw* + an emphatic verb form rather than with *jn* + a compound verb form appears to be evident from the presence of the geminated verb *dd* in the second

<sup>440</sup> Ibid.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid., 5, 6, and 11. Although the articles *p'*, *r'*, and *n'* seem to be used fairly regularly throughout the text, we still find instances of the early demonstratives *pn* and *pf* (ibid., 648, 14, and 649, 15).

<sup>442</sup> Ibid., 650, 6, 651, 12, and 657, 13. The Late Egyptian word  is also found (ibid., 655, 5), and we even see the pronomial compound *tw tw* which must have preceded a pseudo-verbal construction (ibid., 656, 5).

<sup>443</sup> See, for example, *Urk.* IV 649, 14 (from our Example 4), where *sḏm.n.f* is used.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid., 651, 11-12. Despite the presence of some Late Egyptianisms, the verbal constructions are for the most part classical Middle Egyptian. Rather than analyzing this question as *jn-jw* + a pseudo-verbal construction, an otherwise unattested pattern, we have chosen to understand the pattern to be *jn* + *jw* noun + the old perfective of a verb of motion, with the tense of the question being the perfect. It seems that in Late Egyptian, moreover, *n'* or *n* is the preferred interrogative for direct questions with pseudo-verbal predicates, when the subject is not a suffix pronoun introduced by *jw*. See Erman, *NG*, p. 739, and M. Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du Neo-Égyptien* (Moscow: Département de la Littérature Orientale, 1973), p. 165-pa. 166. See also Černý and Groll, *Grammar*, p. 554 for non-literary examples. For another Middle Egyptian usage, see *Urk.* IV, 649, 17, where non-circumstantial *jw* is used before *tw* + adverbial predicate.

<sup>445</sup> This text is similar to the installation texts, not uncommon in the tombs of the high nobles of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it is probable that they were based on earlier models. See Helck, "Die Berufung," p. 107, who felt that these texts had roots in the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>446</sup> N. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1930).

<sup>447</sup> Only the second question uses the later form of *n*  in spelling *jn*, while the other two use . See, however, P. Vernus, "Un fragment du Moyen Empire," *RdE*, XXV (1973), 256 note b, who indicates the relative frequency with which the crown *n* is used in hieroglyphic texts of the Middle Kingdom. See also D. Silverman, "Late Egyptian Features in Middle Kingdom Non-Literary Inscriptions, Progress Report, April 1974," *ARCE Newsletter*, XC (1974 Summer), 5, where the fairly common substitution of  for  in Middle Kingdom stela is noted.

<sup>448</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, p. 421 (1), has included an English translation of this passage in one of his exercises, where it is clear that he interpreted the questions as *jn* + *jw sḏm.f*.

question. It is true that this form is used in Late Egyptian hieratic texts to indicate the non-geminated *sdm.tw.f* of *rdj*<sup>449</sup> when the subject is nominal. It would seem unlikely, however, that we would find such a spelling in a hieroglyphic text whose grammar is quite consciously Middle Egyptian. If we did accept *dd* as a non-geminated form, we would then have to analyze the question as either *jn + jw sdm.f* or *jn-jw + non-emphatic sdm.f*. In the former type we would be dealing with a Late Egyptian verb form in a construction most commonly found in the Middle Kingdom—a construction which, moreover, would not really suit the context. If we accept the second alternative, we would then be faced with an initial *sdm.f*, a form which indicates in Late Egyptian the perfect tense—a time period which is not implied in our passage. In addition to these reasons, we do see in the text the Middle Egyptian form *dj.k* after *jr* in two cases, as well as the full form of the infinitive *rdjt*.<sup>450</sup> We have, therefore, considered *dd*, despite the New Kingdom date of the tomb, to be the emphatic form of the verb *rdj*. Since the construction of each of the three questions is similar, it is likely that the analysis which we have made for the second question can be made for the others. Certainly, there is no evidence to the contrary in the context; they all appear to be best understood as emphatic questions.<sup>451</sup>

Within the chronological limits that we have set for ourselves, there is only a small group of questions in the pattern *jn-jw + sdm.f*, and it appears that the pattern is quite restricted in that all of our questions appear to be *jn-jw + emphatic sdm.f*. Our results cannot be considered conclusive evidence for the existence of such a pattern in classical Middle Egyptian, since one can argue in some cases, where the verb is clearly emphatic, that the interrogative *jn-jw* was influenced by Late Egyptian and in others, where the verb is immutable, that the distinction between *jn + jw sdm.f* and *jn-jw + sdm.f* is ambiguous. However, it is possible to infer from texts of the Second Intermediate period and the early New Kingdom, when there was an attempt to write Middle Egyptian, that interrogative *jn-jw* was probably felt to have been a Middle Egyptian form, used in contexts where an “emphatic” translation seems to be the most appropriate.<sup>452</sup> This analysis which we have made concerning the probable emphatic nature of the verb following *jn-jw* coincides with our findings in the previous section concerning *sdm.n.f* introduced by *jn-jw*.

### Jn-Jw Introducing Sentences with Pseudo-Verbal or Adverbial Predicates

There are no examples of questions written *jn jw + subject + pseudo-verbal or adverbial*

<sup>449</sup> Professor Baer has pointed out Late Egyptian examples, such as those in *Horus and Seth*, 14, 2 and 3; 15, 4; and 16, 4. See also *P. Mayer A* 4, 16 and 8, 21, among many others. See also Černý and Groll, *Grammar*, p. 243, as well as P. Frandsen, *An Outline*, pp. 27-31.

<sup>450</sup> Davies, *Ken-Amun*, pl. VII, 15, 35 and 7 respectively.

<sup>451</sup> Each of these questions is a rhetorical question with an implied answer of “no.” It is also possible to have all these questions in parallel, if *n rhy* were the emphasized adjunct of the second question.

<sup>452</sup> We have also pointed out that the negation of the nominal verb by *tm* appears to be introduced by *jn-jw*. Unfortunately, the text (*Carlsberg NN VIII, I [13]*) is destroyed after *tm*. It can be assumed, however, that if a complementary infinitive followed the verb, the interrogation would have been directed toward the adverbial adjunct, while the negated verb would remain declarative. Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, p. 346, 1, who observed that *tm* did not occur after *jn*. See also the problematic phrase *n' n jw tmmt* referred to above, p. 52, n. 293. See also above, p. 67. For examples of *jn-jw + sdm.f* in texts of the later New Kingdom, see Chapter IV.

predicate which have to be segmented after *jn-jw* rather than after *jn*.<sup>453</sup> It seems that even when this pattern does occur in later times, it probably was still segmented *jn + jw*.

### Jn-Jw Introducing Sentences with Adjectival Predicates

We have found only one question composed before the New Kingdom with an adjectival predicate where *jn-jw* appears to stand at the head. It occurs in more or less the same form in several texts and seems to be, therefore, a fairly well established formula. These questions are problematic, since, aside from grammatical difficulties, they all date to the Old Kingdom, a time when *jn-jw* would hardly be expected. There are several parallel expressions, and we have included them all under one example.

#### Example 1

- a. *Urk.* I 205, 2  
(j)n<sup>454</sup> -jw mry.tn ḥzy tn nswt
- b. *Urk.* I 205, 12  
jn-jw mry.tn ḥz tn<sup>455</sup> nswt
- c. *Urk.* I 217, 16  
jn-jw mry n.tn ḥz tn nswt
- d. *Urk.* I 218, 16  
jn-jw mry n.tn ḥz tn nswt

Do you want the king to favor you?

Edel has understood *mry* to be a passive participle rather than as either the *sdm.f* or *sdm.n.f* form,<sup>456</sup> and indeed the *y* stands as evidence in favor of this interpretation. This analysis was first suggested by Dows Dunham, who stated that *mry* could be a "passive participle functioning as an adjectival predicate."<sup>457</sup> Edel has treated the expression *jw mry n.tn ḥz tn nswt* under the general topic of nominal sentences without *pw*, where *jw* introduced a participle (predicate) standing before a substantive (subject).<sup>458</sup> He gives no other examples of such a

<sup>453</sup> We have already discussed several examples (see above, p. 49, Example 1, and pp. 54-55, Examples 9-11) where it is probable that the analysis is *jn + jw + adverbial predicate* (with the subject omitted) rather than *jn-jw + adverbial predicate*. See also *jn jw ḥm.f wd'*, which we have previously mentioned (see above, p. 62) should probably be analyzed as *jn + jw ḥm.f wd'*. See also below, Chapter IV, where it is pointed out that *jn-jw* even in the New Kingdom does not introduce questions in this pattern. See the discussion of segmentation in the Appendix.

<sup>454</sup> See Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. I, 100, VIII, who had already indicated that *n jw* was a "summary writing of *jn jw*."

<sup>455</sup> For a discussion of the form *ḥz* here and in the next two parallels, see Edel, *AAG*, pa. 509, and pa. 527 Amn.

<sup>456</sup> See *ibid.*, pa. 951 BB, for a discussion of variants c and d. See also Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, vol. I, 100, and T. G. H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika Called Ikhekhi* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1953), p. 65, who understood the forms as finite verbs.

<sup>457</sup>D. Dunham, "Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo," *JEA*, XXIV (1938), 5, n. 11.

<sup>458</sup>See Edel, *AAG*, pa. 951 BB.

construction, but he does illustrate a few other cases of a participle before a substantive, where there is no introductory *iw*.<sup>459</sup>

The major reason for Edel's analysis lies in his considering similar phrases in *Urk.* I 218, 2 and 8, where forms of the verb *wn* occur after the particles *dr* and *jr*, to be parallels to our Example I d, *wn* and *wnn* being employed ostensibly because *iw* could not follow either of these words.<sup>460</sup> There are, however, several problems with this interpretation. Despite the fact that there are both verbal and pseudo-verbal constructions where an introductory *wn* (*wnn*) appears to replace *iw* after certain words, we are dealing here with a construction where it is apparent that *iw* is not really necessary, and its very existence at the head of a nominal sentence with adjectival (participle) predicate is questionable. The analysis of *dr wnn mr n.tn* is ambiguous, and it is even possible that *wnn* stood before the passive participle to indicate the future sense of the condition.<sup>461</sup> It is the meaning of the passage, not the construction of it, which is parallel to our question. With *jr wn mry.tn*, we are faced with an apparent problem owing to the use of the ungeminated form *wn*.<sup>462</sup> Sethe had at one time considered it to be an error for *wnn* and even published it thus.<sup>463</sup> If it really were a mistake for *wnn*, it might be possible to understand the clause as a *sdm.f* construction after introductory *jr*, *jr wn(n) sdm.f*<sup>464</sup> with a meaning similar to, but with a construction distinct from, our question. It would also be possible to consider that *wn* is a correct form and that it was used as an abbreviation for *iw wn*, the *iw* being dropped after *jr*.<sup>465</sup> The result would be the translation, "If it is that . . ." <sup>466</sup> Such a condition would then contrast with the direct question introduced by *jn-*iw** in our Example I.

Our analysis of Example I as a question introduced by *jn-*iw**, is still uncertain despite the fact that it now seems a possible alternative. The example is unique, no matter which interpretation is accepted, and each suggestion contains its own problems. We can only point out that, if we do analyze these parallel questions as *jn-*iw** + rather than as *jn* + *iw*, the underlying clause following the interrogative is actually a nominal sentence.

Although we have previously indicated that we would not examine texts which were composed in a period later than the early part of the New Kingdom, it is informative to include here an example from the Ramesside period which appears to fit into the pattern which we are discussing.

<sup>459</sup>Ibid. In sentences where the predicates were adjectival and the subjects were substantive forms, *iw* would not be expected. See Sethe, *Der Nominalsatz*, pp. 29-36, who shows no examples where *iw* is present. The examples which Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 949 BB, shows for *iw* + adjective + noun are ambiguous in many instances in that the adjective is susceptible of being interpreted as a verb.

<sup>460</sup>Ibid., pa. 951 BB. See also *ibid.*, pa. 899 a, where Edel shows examples of *wnn sdm.f* being used after *n*, since *iw sdm.f* could not occur after that preposition. For the conditional use of *dr*, see *ibid.*, pa. 1037. Professor Johnson has suggested that *dr* may be temporal like *m-dr*.

<sup>461</sup>It might also be possible that we are dealing here with the construction *wnn sdm.n.f* (cf. CT I 307 h and 308 a, c and d, examples pointed out by Professor Wente, where this construction apparently does occur, but without any introduction). The phrase after *dr* might even be *wnn* + *sdm.f* (passive) (see Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 900) with omitted subject.

<sup>462</sup>See also the early Middle Kingdom parallel pointed out by Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 899, *jr wnn jrr.t(w)*.

<sup>463</sup>K. Sethe, "Ein bisher unbekannte enklitische Negation im Altägyptischen," *ZÄS*, LIX (1924), 64; however, the second edition of *Urk.* I 218, 8, has simply *wn*.

<sup>464</sup>For a parallel, see James, *Heḳanakhte*, II, 35, *jr grt wnn mr Snfrw*.

<sup>465</sup>We have already mentioned above, p. 76, n. 424, that *jr* is followed by the circumstantial *sdm.f*, and *wnn*, not *wn*, therefore, would be expected. It may be best to consider *wn* as an abbreviation for *iw wn*. See also, Gardiner, *EG*, p. 427 and *Additions and Corrections*, p. 4 (pa. 107 obs.). See below, pp. 107-108.

<sup>466</sup>Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 899, has in fact rendered another example of *jr wn* as "Wenn es der Fall ist . . ."

## Example 2

a. *Kadesh poem*, 314<sup>467</sup>  
jn-jw nfr p'y.k ḥdb n'y.k b'kw

b. *Sallier III* 10, 6 (variant)  
n' nfr p'y.k ḥdb n'y.k b'kw

Is your killing your servants good?

There is no doubt that we are dealing with *jn-jw* here, as the variant text has simply *n'* to interrogate the phrase *nfr p'y.k ḥdb n'y.k b'kw*. Considering the late date, it is expected that *jn-jw* would be used. It is possible, although less likely than understanding *nfr* as a verbal adjective, that it is an adjective verb and that the analysis should be *jn-jw* + emphatic *sdm.f*.<sup>468</sup> In either analysis, however, we find that *jn-jw* appears to introduce a nominal sentence, whether interpreted as a verbal emphatic one or a non-verbal adjectival one. It is also clear here that *n'* is being used as a variant for *jn-jw* rather than for *jn*.<sup>469</sup>

In this section we have attempted to prove the existence of a question pattern *jn-jw* + sentence with adjectival predicate in comparison to the pattern *jn* + sentence with adjectival predicate. Unfortunately, our first example, although capable of being analyzed as *jn-jw* +, is far from conclusive, and our second example is literary Late Egyptian and follows Late Egyptian usage of *jn-jw*. Even if we analyze Example 1 as *jn* + *jw* + adjectival sentence, a less likely solution for reasons given above, it would not greatly affect our findings thus far, since *jw* constructions, as shown in Chapter I, when transformed into questions, are introduced by *jn*. Such an analysis would, however, reduce in number our early examples of interrogative *jn-jw*.

### Jn-Jw Introducing Nominal Sentences

For the sake of consistency and clarity, we will divide this section into two parts, despite the scarcity of examples: one devoted to nominal sentences without *pw* and one devoted to those with *pw*; thus using the same format as we did in the first chapter.

#### Jn-Jw + Nominal Sentences Without Pw

Our examples are few, and none of the texts predate the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>470</sup> The first

<sup>467</sup> C. Kuentz, "La bataille de Qadech," ("MIFAO," vol. LV; Cairo: l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1928).

<sup>468</sup> Cf. the emphatic adjective verb discussed above, p. 21, Example 15. The circumstantial clause which follows our question would function as the emphasized adjunct, *jw ḥr.k ḥs'w jm.sn im 'n.k* "Is it while your face is savage toward them, mercilessly . . .?" This question is rather ironic and appears to be rhetorical with an implied response of "no." The difficulty in distinguishing whether *nfr* is to be understood as a verbal adjective or as an adjective is apparent in a discussion which Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 374, gives.

<sup>469</sup> For a further discussion of *n'*, see Chapter IV and the Appendix.

<sup>470</sup> Although Gilula, review, p. 209, considered *Sinuhe* B 114, *n jnk tr sm'.f*, to be a question because the Ashmolean variant has *jn jw jnk p' wn sm'*, we have felt that both are probably understood as negative statements, since *jn jw* is also used for a variant negative *n* in other instances (see Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe*, vs.

question is from the *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, a text which, as we have already said, utilizes predominantly Middle Kingdom grammar, even though the manuscript was written later.

**Example 1 M.u.K. 2, 6-10**

ḥmt-r . . . t<sup>471</sup> wršt ḥr sḥt dbt n jt.s Wsjr t' ddt r jt.s  
 Wsjr 'nh.f m d's ḥr bjt špw 'mt tn jjt ḥr ḥ'st Nḥsyw [j]t ḥr  
 mrw jn-jw ntt ḥmt [m]j m bšw jn-jw ntt špsst mj m  
 wsšwt.f m[j] m snḥt nt šrt.f mj m fdt nt wt.f

Magic Spell: . . . Oh, you who spends the day molding bricks<sup>472</sup> for her father, Osiris! Oh, you who says concerning her father, Osiris: He lives on the d's plant and honey.<sup>473</sup> Depart,<sup>474</sup> oh Asiatic woman<sup>475</sup> who comes from a foreign land and Nubian woman who comes from the desert! Are you a serving woman? Come [out] by means of spittle! Are you a noble woman? Come [out] through his urine. Come [out] in the phlegm of his nostril. Come [out] in the sweat of his limbs!<sup>476</sup>

It is clear that the interrogative in these two questions is *jn-jw*, but it is possible that its appearance here is attributable to the late date at which the manuscript was written, though the grammar is mostly that characteristic of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>477</sup> The only other example of a

34 and 54). There is a case where *jn jw* in the Ashmolean text (*ibid.*, ro. 22) is used as an interrogative. If a question were meant in the other examples of *jn jw*, where the variants had negative *n*, it is likely that the interrogation was implied, while the negation was graphically indicated (cf. *ibid.*, p. 32).

<sup>471</sup> T' is used here as the Late Egyptian vocative (see Erman, *NG*, pa. 177) in comparison to the similar use of *pw* in Middle Egyptian (see Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 112). The same use of *t'* occurs in the next sentence. See also Lefebvre, *GEC*, pa. 101. Klaus Baer has pointed out the Middle Kingdom example, *p' msw* (*Heḳanakhte* I, vs. 15). See also Edel, *AAG*, pa. 647, for the Old Kingdom example, *p' mry* "Oh, beloved" (Junker, *Giza*, IV, Abb. 9 and p. 39).

<sup>472</sup> The "fashioning of bricks" must have been done for a prophylactic magico-medico purpose. Cf. von Deines and Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin*, VI:598-99.

<sup>473</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 593, "Bemerkenswert ist eine Erwähnung in dem Zauberspruch für Mutt. u. Kind D gegen eine Krankheit, die als böse Frau, ihren Vater veranlasst, in der Wüste von d's und hönig zu leben."

<sup>474</sup> It is probable that the *w* in *špw* was written to indicate the plural imperative, a spelling which, although correct Middle Egyptian, is hardly used in texts of the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>475</sup> Apparently *m* is being used as a vocative here, in comparison to *t'* (see above, n. 471). The same use of *m* is seen in *M.u.K.* 5, 3 (see above, p. 42, n. 231). Despite the usual Middle Egyptian preference for *pw* as a vocative, see above, p. 51, Example 3, for an example of *pn* being used as a vocative in the Coffin Texts.

<sup>476</sup> It is probable that this entire passage, which begins with the phrase "a magic spell," was followed by *nt[t?]* *jt(sic!)yw* "you are a sovereign [protector]." The spell then goes on to describe the attributes of the person invoked (obviously a daughter of Osiris) who will protect the child against the evil diseases, which appear to be personified in this spell by women from two of the traditional enemies of Egypt, *'mw* and *Nḥsyw*. The protectress calls for the disease, whether a noble or a lowly one, to proceed forth from the child in any one of the fluids which the body emits. Cf. S. Schott, *Altägyptische Liebeslieder* (Zurich: Artemis, 1950), p. 87, who did not consider *jn-jw ntt* as a question.

<sup>477</sup> See above, nn. 474 and 475. *špw* and *m* are forms which, although rare in Middle Egyptian, are attested, and they, therefore, illustrate some knowledge of Middle Egyptian grammar. Although *t'* as a vocative may be an indication of the influence of Late Egyptian, such a use of the demonstrative may also occur earlier (see above, n. 471). Since the words *p'*, *t'*, and *n'* were used in texts considerably earlier than the New Kingdom (see below, p.

positive question that fits into this pattern is from a text which was written even later in the New Kingdom than the preceding example.<sup>478</sup> Because of the date and colloquial nature of this text, we would have expected *jn-jw* to be used.

The last example which we will discuss in this section dates to the first part of the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>479</sup> and the text consists of two letters in which it is clear that the syntax and idiom are closer to that of the New Kingdom.<sup>480</sup> We have included the example in this section, even though it is a negative one, since the number of negative questions introduced by *jn-jw* is even less than those with *jn*, and it would seem unnecessary to have a separate category for a single example.

**Example 2** *JEA* XII, pl. XVIII, 1-3<sup>481</sup>

ddt.n ḥ-ms-pn-j'ty n nb.f jmj-r sd'wtjw T'y ḥr-m p' nḥm t' b'kt  
 wnt ḥn'.j rdj.tj n ky jn-jw nn jnk p'y.k b'k ḥr sḏm wpwt.k m grḥ  
 mj hrw

What Ahmose of Peniaty said to his lord, the overseer of the treasurers, Tay: Why has the female slave who was with me been taken away, being given to another person? Am I not your servant, responsive to your messages during the night as well as [during] the day?

It is clear that we have in this passage a negative counterpart to the first example, i.e., a two element nominal sentence consisting of independent pronoun and noun. One might have expected, however, that *js* would have been inserted between the first two elements of the negative question as Gunn has already suggested.<sup>482</sup> It was the opinion of Gunn that *nm* was used rather than *n* from the end of the Twelfth Dynasty on.<sup>483</sup> Gilula has pointed out recently, however, that the *nm . . . js* in the examples which Gunn uses is certainly a mistake for *n . . . js*.<sup>484</sup> Gilula suggests that *nm* could stand before a nominal sentence, but that it then "negates the existence of the idea expressed by it. It is not the negation of the predicative nexus. . . ."<sup>485</sup> None of the examples to which he refers, however, are *nm* + independent pronoun + noun; they are *nm* + substantive + *pw*. Since his analysis does not fit our example, it is necessary to find an explanation for the pattern of our question. The apparent absence of *js* in our Example

86, n. 490) the scribe of the manuscript may have made the assumption that the vocative use of these words was also common during earlier periods.

<sup>478</sup> For the hieratic transcription, see E. Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, 2nd series (London: British Museum, 1923), pl. XLI, Col. I, 3. A. Hermann, *Altägyptische Liebesdichtung* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1959), p. 138, dates the text to the end of the Amarna period, since it was found together with a *Song of the Harper*, and this song was copied in a tomb of the Amarna period. Since the composition of the latter is probably at least as early as the Middle Kingdom (see M. Lichtheim, "The Songs of the Harpers," *JNES*, IV [1945], 187-92; E. Wente, "Egyptian 'Make Merry' Songs Reconsidered," *JNES*, XXI [1962], 118, n. 3, points out that it is likely that the papyrus from which the songs and poems are copied is probably a school-boy's text), its proximity to the *Love Song* should probably not be considered as a factor in dating the *Love Song*.

<sup>479</sup> Cf. T. E. Peet, "Two Eighteenth Dynasty Letters, Papyrus Louvre 3230," *JEA*, XII (1926), 70.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.* Suffix pronouns as well as the possessive adjective *p'y.k* are used.

<sup>481</sup> Cf. W. Spiegelberg, "Ein Brief des Schreibers Amasis aus der Zeit der Thutmosiden," *ZÄS*, LV (1918), 85, who had published this letter earlier.

<sup>482</sup> Gunn, *Studies*, p. 171. See also Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 44, who apparently agrees with this observation.

<sup>483</sup> See Gunn, *Studies*, p. 169, and Satzinger, *Die negativen*, p. 44.

<sup>484</sup> Gilula, review, p. 209.

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid.*

2 has a parallel in Late Egyptian grammar, in that *jwn'*, the morpheme frequently found in New Kingdom nominal negations, and a word which seems to take over some of the functions of earlier *js*,<sup>486</sup> is usually omitted in negative questions of the pattern *bn jnk noun A*.<sup>487</sup> Our question, then, is neither an erroneous writing nor a grammatical mistake; it is the antecedent of the Late Egyptian negative nominal question pattern; whereas *jwn'* is omitted in the later construction, *js* is omitted in the earlier one. The interrogative *jn-jw* is retained in our example, however, while the negative nominal questions of standard Late Egyptian omit *jn-jw*.

Whether or not this pattern of question had its roots in the standard grammar of the Middle Kingdom is not possible to determine, since we have no comparable question earlier than our Example 2. It is clear that we are dealing here with a pattern of question which is not yet in its common Late Egyptian form.

The two examples we have examined in this section can, without objection, be analyzed as *jn-jw* + nominal sentence. Unfortunately, neither of them can be used with any certainty to substantiate the use of *jn-jw* before a nominal sentence without *pw* in the Middle Kingdom. Example 2 is written in the colloquial language of the New Kingdom, and Example 1 was written late enough in the Eighteenth Dynasty to allow for some infiltration of Late Egyptian forms. We have included them here only to show that despite the time period in which these texts were written, the pattern *jn-jw* + nominal sentence seems to be the dominant pattern of question when *jn-jw* stands at the head. Moreover, *jw* does not stand before nominal sentences in Middle Egyptian. With Example 1, there is some possibility that the pattern may reflect a usage of the Middle Kingdom.

### Jn-Jw + Nominal Sentences with Pw

Unlike those in the preceding section, the two examples which conform to this pattern are from texts which do predate the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is clear, nonetheless, that we are dealing with *jn-jw* and not *jn* + *jw*, since *jw* would hardly introduce a corresponding declarative nominal sentence with *pw*.<sup>488</sup>

#### Example 3 P. Westcar VIII, 12-13

dd.jn.ḥm.f jn-jw m"t pw p' dd jw.k rh.tj ts tp ḥsk

Then His Majesty said: Is it true that you know how to restore a severed head?<sup>489</sup>

That we are faced here with a good Middle Egyptian text is not debatable; however, it could be argued, because of the appearance of words such as *p'*, *t'*, and *p'y.s*, that the idiom of Late Egyptian was certainly an influence on the language. Since our passage is part of a dialogue, it would be more likely to reflect the spoken language and contain more elements common to Late Egyptian than the narrative passages. *P'* and *t'*, however, do occur with some regularity in colloquial texts of the early Middle Kingdom and even earlier, so their presence here is hardly indicative of a strong influence from Late Egyptian.<sup>490</sup>

<sup>486</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 210, for a discussion of the relationship between *js*, *jwn'*, and  $\Delta N$ .

<sup>487</sup> See Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns*, p. 101.

<sup>488</sup> See Sethe, *Der Nominalsatz*, pa. 107, and Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 492.

<sup>489</sup> The passage is translated literally, "Is the saying [that] you know how to restore a severed head the truth?"

Our only other example which conforms to this pattern is from an early Middle Kingdom literary composition.<sup>491</sup>

**Example 4 *Lebensmüde* 17-21<sup>492</sup>**

b'.j wh' r sdḥ 'hw ḥr 'nh jḥm wj r mwt n jjt.j n.f snḏm n.j  
jmntj jn-jw ḳsnt pw pḥrt pw 'nh

Oh, my ba, too stupid to ease misery in life,<sup>493</sup> who restrains me from death before I come to it. The West becomes pleasant for me.<sup>494</sup> Is it something unpleasant?<sup>495</sup> Life is a transitory state!

Although this text is a dialogue between two parties, it is, for the most part, written in classical Middle Egyptian grammar. We find far fewer colloquialisms in comparison to those which were present in Example 3. It is, therefore, less expected to find a Late Egyptian *jn-jw* in this text than it was in the previous example. Despite this fact, our analysis of the pattern is evident.

What we have seen in our examination of the examples from the last two sections of this chapter is that the existence of the interrogative *jn-jw* before the advent of the New Kingdom can be demonstrated without question only in the question pattern *jn-jw* + nominal sentence with *pw*. *Jn-jw* + sentence with adjectival predicate is attested by only one example, albeit pre-Middle Kingdom, the interpretation of which is far from certain. For our pattern *jn-jw* + nominal sentence without *pw*, we must rely on texts written later than the Middle Kingdom, and this type of evidence can never be accepted without reservation.

Because we do have two examples of *jn-jw* + nominal sentence with *pw*, we can see that *jn-jw* was indeed employed in the Middle Kingdom. It is likely, therefore, that *jn-jw* in other texts written later than the Middle Kingdom, where the grammar was predominantly Middle Egyptian, was understood as a valid Middle Egyptian interrogative. The common factor in all of these examples is that the pattern is always *jn-jw* + nominal (either verbal or non-verbal) sentence.

<sup>490</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 196, and p. 83, n. 471. For *p'* and *n'* in tombs of the late Old Kingdom, see P. Montet, "Les tombeaux dits de Kasr-el-Sayad," *Kemi*, VI (1937), 91, 97 and 117. In the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Mehu at Saqqara, there appears to be a *p'* before the name of a boat. Professor Wente has pointed out a parallel to this in a partially damaged scene from the tomb of Mereruka (P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka II* ("OIP," vol. XXXIX; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938, pl. CXLI). See also CT V 94 c and e for an early appearance of *p'*. We have already mentioned the use of *p'y* in a Twelfth Dynasty papyrus from Kahun, and James, *Heḳanakhte*, pp. 107-8, points out the fairly common use of *p'*, *t'*, and *n'* in the letters of Heḳanakhte. These words are not uncommon in Middle Kingdom tombs (see, for example, Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, plates VII, XI and XII) or stelae (see CG 20733).

<sup>491</sup> See W. Barta, *Das Gespräch eines Mannes mit seinem Ba* ("MÄS," vol. XVIII; Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1969), p. 11, who considers that this type of text belongs to the class of pessimistic literature of the First Intermediate period. The paleography, however, dates to the late Middle Kingdom.

<sup>492</sup> For the hieroglyphic transcription of this text, see R. Faulkner, "The Man Who Was Tired of Life," *JEA*, XLII (1956), 22-26.

<sup>493</sup> We have relied here on the translation given by R. Faulkner, "The Man Who Was Tired of Life," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed.: W. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 202.

<sup>494</sup> This statement undoubtedly means that dying would make the man happy, an impression which seems to contrast sharply with his previous statement about death coming too early. It is possible to retranslate these earlier lines, 11-13, so that they and the later passage are closer in meaning, *m-tḥ b'.j ḥr tht.j n sdḥ.n.j n.f ḥr st'.j r mwt n jjt.(j) n.f ḥr ḥ'.* (j) ḥr ḥt r sm'mt.j "Behold, my ba leads me astray, but I do not obey, introducing myself to death before [I] come to it and putting [myself] upon the flame in order to consume myself."

<sup>495</sup> *ḳsnt* here and also previously, in line 15, must be a reference to dying, and *pw* in our question must refer back to *mwt*. The man then is questioning whether dying is really a misfortune, while life is so transitory.

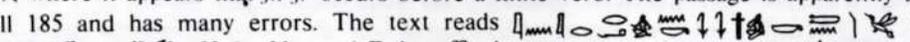
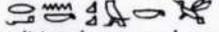
### CHAPTER III

#### The Use of the Enclitic Particles RR, RF, and TR In Questions Introduced by JN

As we have already seen in Chapter I, the interrogative *jn* + a main clause is the pattern of the majority of questions where the interrogative nature is not simply implied. The non-enclitic particle *jr* occasionally occurs after *jn*, and this construction is an exception. James has analyzed the significance of the collocation *jn jr*,<sup>496</sup> and it is clear that the expression which follows *jr* is always a noun phrase. He has considered that this construction, however, does function "as an independent sentence. The force of the *jn* must be interrogative and that of the *jr* must be to stress what is questioned."<sup>497</sup>

When we find enclitic particles in questions introduced by *jn*, the passage following the interrogative is always clearly an independent sentence. The particles *rr*, *rf*,<sup>498</sup> and *tr* seem to occur more frequently in such questions than other enclitic particles.<sup>499</sup> Although grammarians have noticed the use of these words in questions, they have mainly discussed how to translate them; they have not studied or analyzed the function or significance of these particles in relation to the interrogative which stands at the head of the sentence.<sup>500</sup>

<sup>496</sup> James, *Heḳanakhie*, pp. 102-3. See also Baer, "An Eleventh Dynasty Letter," p. 5, n. 27, and Baer, "A Letter of Endowment," p. 5, note m, (P. Boulaq 8, 2, 5).

<sup>497</sup> James, *Heḳanakhie*, p. 103. It is also possible that we have in these expressions further examples of a question pattern previously attested by only one example (see above, p. 62, Example 5), where a single element is questioned, since in all cases *jn jr* stands before a substantive form. E. Brovarski of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, has pointed out an unpublished coffin (Naga ed Deir Tomb 361, Boston Museum Departmental Negative EG 955), where it appears that *jn jr* occurs before a finite verb. The passage is apparently a garbled version of part of Spell 185 and has many errors. The text reads  for which CT III 87 a has . If the Naga ed Deir coffin is correct, we must segment the passage into two questions, *jn jr rdj.j n.k nn* and *wmm.k in*, the second of which asks, "Where do you eat?" The passage follows the negative statements made by Osiris; the gods then ask, "On what do you live?" Osiris answers, whereupon the passage beginning with *jn jr* follows. It would seem that *jn jr* introduces *rdj.j*, a finite verb, and this interpretation of the passage would be in contradiction to the other examples of the constructions utilizing *jn jr*. It is possible to treat *rdj* as an aberrant spelling of the infinitive (see Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 690), in which case the question would be translated, "What about my giving this to you?" Unless we understand *rdj* as such, we would be forced to emend part of the passage, and it might even be possible to suggest that *jr* was written for *rr*.

<sup>498</sup>It appears that it is only invariable *rf*, rather than a combination of *r* with any other suffix, which occurs after *jn*. See below, Examples 7-10. See also Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 252, 3.

<sup>499</sup> The particle *grt* may occur in one case (see above, p. 39, Example 7) and the particle *hm* infrequently occurs in questions directly after *jn* (see below, p. 89, n. 516).

<sup>500</sup> E.g., Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 252, 3b, pa. 256, and Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 842 and pa. 843.

## Jn + Rr

The enclitic particle *rr* had a short existence, in comparison to *tr* and *rf*, since it has not been attested later than the period in which the Coffin Texts were written.<sup>501</sup> Edel is of the opinion that already in the Old Kingdom *rr* was gradually being replaced by *(j)r.f.*<sup>502</sup> *Rr* appears to have been used mainly in sentences introduced by *jn*, but it can also be found in statements after a participle and a dependent pronoun subject,<sup>503</sup> after verbs,<sup>504</sup> after *jw*<sup>505</sup> and also after the particle *tr*.<sup>506</sup> Both Sethe<sup>507</sup> and Edel<sup>508</sup> have translated the particle as "wirklich." A study of the use of the word in specific questions, however, appears to provide a more definite meaning for it.

*Rr* occurs in almost all cases directly after *jn*; there is one case, however, where it appears after *jn jw*.<sup>509</sup> We will also see that the clause which follows *rr* in all instances is a positive sentence.

Baer, in his discussion of P. Boulaq 8, has considered the phrase *jn rr* as an introduction to a rhetorical question which should be understood as an affirmative statement.<sup>510</sup> It has already been shown in this study of the interrogatives *jn* and *jn-jw* that, even though expressions with these words at the head are occasionally best rendered in English as expressions other than questions, they are in fact questions in form.

## Example 1 ZÄS XCIII, 2, 10-14 (P. Boulaq 8)

nh n bjt jšd swt pw dbḥw.n ḏr [n b'k.(j) sn.nw [jmj-ḥt] pr " Jr-n-  
'ḥt ḏd.n.j mdt.f n jpwtj n ḥm.k r rdjt.f m sš pn n z' n mrt Nfr-z'-  
Ḥr jw.f dry jm n šwt ṯz n jpwtj n ḥm.k jm jn rr ḏj Mrrj nb.j  
ndm r.f nbt b'kt nt pr ḏt

However, *jšd* fruit and some honey are what the relative<sup>511</sup> of my fellow servant, the assistant of the palace *Jr-n-ḥtj*, asked for. It was in order to appoint him as this scribe of the phyle of the *Mrt* chapel of *Nfr-z'-Ḥr* that I have related his plea to the messenger of your excellency. He was removed therefrom because of what was missing from the assignment orders<sup>512</sup> of the messenger of

<sup>501</sup> See, however, *Urk.* IV 1870, 4, where *wnn.k rr* (sic!) occurs in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of the official Kheruef. Professor Wente has pointed out this example, which, according to him, is a copy of an ancient text.

<sup>502</sup> Edel, *AAĜ*, pa. 838, apparently based his conclusion on a comparison of two passages of the *M* version of the Pyramid Texts: PT 855 c *wnn.f rr m [rhj] n R'* and PT 856 c *[wnn] M jr.f m rhj n R'*. Sethe, *Pyr., Übers.*, IV:119-20, however, has suggested, since the *N* text has no particle in PT 856 c, that it may be the correct version. He also points out that *jr.f* in PT 856 c (*M*) is incorrectly placed in the sentence.

<sup>503</sup> PT 855 a.

<sup>504</sup> PT 855 c and 856 c, and CT I 280 c.

<sup>505</sup> CT I 227 d.

<sup>506</sup> PT 248 b (*W*).

<sup>507</sup> Sethe, *Pyr., Übers.*, IV:119-20.

<sup>508</sup> Edel, *AAĜ*, pa. 838.

<sup>509</sup> See below, p. 92, Example 6. See also above, p. 29, Example 35.

<sup>510</sup> Baer, "A Letter of Endowment," p. 8, note aa. See also Goedicke, "Ein Brief," p. 7, note q, and Simpson, "A Late Old Kingdom Letter," p. 59, note c.

<sup>511</sup> Baer, "A Letter of Endowment," p. 7, note u.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8, note z.

your excellency. Won't *Mrrj* my lord cause the mistress of the maid servant of the estate to be pleased concerning it.

This letter concerns, among other problems, the fact that *Jr-n-ḥtj* has lost his position in the temple and wishes to be reinstated. The plea on his behalf is written to *Mrrj*, and special emphasis is placed upon granting the request through the use of a specific type of question introduced by *jn rr*. If *rr* were omitted, we would translate the passage as, "Will *Mrrj* my lord cause the mistress . . . to be pleased?" It is clear that this meaning does not fit the context. Surely, *Mrrj* does want to please the mistress, i.e., his wife,<sup>513</sup> by aiding the unfortunate person. In order to understand such an implication, it is necessary to treat the question as if it were rhetorical,<sup>514</sup> one in which there is an inherent answer. It appears that it is the presence of the particle *rr* directly after the interrogative *jn* which distinguishes a simple question from a rhetorical one. As can be seen from the translation of the interrogative passage, it is necessary to render the phrase in English negatively, since a positive answer is expected; it is, however, a positive expression in Egyptian.

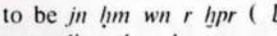
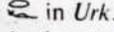
**Example 2 *Urk. I 60, 16-61, 6***

jw m'.n ḥm.j md't.k tn jrt.n.k r rdjt rḥ ḥm.j ḥt nb ntt jr.n.k . . . jn  
rr jw wn m' snḏm jb.j jm n wnn ḏd ḥt js pw m snḏm jb n Jssj  
jmj rḥ ḥm.j bw m' jrj ḥr-'wj . . .<sup>515</sup> ṯwt ḏd mrrt Jssj r s'ḥ nb ḥpr m  
t' pn

My Majesty has seen this your letter which you wrote in order to inform My Majesty of every thing which you have done . . . Isn't

<sup>513</sup> Ibid., p. 8, note bb.

<sup>514</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 491, 3, who felt that if there was no negation, the question was made without any prejudice, or else a response of "no" was expected. With particular rhetorical questions as that in Example 1, we find, however, that there is an expected answer of "yes." In the discussion of the Chester Beatty Papyrus (A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd series [London: British Museum, 1935], I:29), Gardiner however, pointed out in regard to rhetorical questions in this New Kingdom text, "They are regularly couched in the affirmative form, but being equivalent to exclamatory statements, require the insertion of a negative in English to make their force intelligible." None of the questions to which he refers has an enclitic particle after *jn*.

<sup>515</sup> The passage omitted in the text appears to be *jn ḥm wn r ḥpr* (  ); the first part of which Edel, *AAG*, pa. 839, reads as *jj n.j*, understanding the phrase as an otherwise poorly attested imperative of the verb *jj*. He treats the following verb *wn* as an imperative "hurry!" and translates the whole expression, "Assuredly, come to me! Hurry that it may happen." *ḥm* is well attested in statements, but it usually occurs before a nominal subject in a participial statement introduced by non-interrogative *jn* (PT 711 a, c, PT 123 d, and CT II 265 b). It also occurs before a nominal subject in anticipatory emphasis followed by the *sdm.f* form of the verb, with non-interrogative *jn* at the head of the whole expression (CT IV 333 e). Although Edel's suggestions do involve an otherwise unattested form (note, however,  in *Urk. I 137, 16* which is apparently to be read *jj.n r.f*; see also Edel, *AAG*, pa. 586), the text, if left as it stands, is extremely unclear. It does not appear to be an interrogative sentence, even though *ḥm* is found in a few questions. There is not yet enough evidence to determine whether the position of *ḥm* has any effect on the nature of the interrogation. *ḥm* occurs after *jn jw* in two clear questions (*Ḥekanakhte II*, ro. 42, and *Hieratische Papyrus III*, pl. VI, Str Cb3), in the second of which (*jn jw ḥm*) occurs in a damaged text. Although it seems clear that these two cases are in fact questions, a third example is ambiguous. In this passage (Rocatti, "Una Lettera," pl. IV, 17) which has been discussed previously (see above, pp. 18-19, n. 107) *ḥm* directly follows *jn*, *jn ḥm s'[w.j]* *ṯw n srw jw.(j) r jrt r ḥbd.k*. If the passage is understood as a question, then it hardly seems likely that it is a rhetorical one with an expected response of "yes." If there is any expected response at all, we would anticipate one of "no," since it makes more sense to render the passage, "Shall I protect you for the officials? Then, I would act according to your displeasure." Despite its position, *ḥm* seems to have no effect on the nature of the interrogation (if in fact the passage is a question).

it truly so that my heart is gladdened thereby? It is not that there is merely saying a thing to gladden the heart of Isesi.<sup>516</sup> Inform my majesty of the [whole] truth about it immediately. . . . You are one who says what Isesi loves better than any functionary who exists in this land.

It is evident from the tone of this letter that the king is extremely pleased with what *Sndm-jb* has written and done. The context demands a rhetorical question with an expected response of "yes" so that the full impact of the king's remark can be felt. It is distinguished from a simple question by the presence of the word *rr* after *jn*.

**Example 3 CT I 244 g-h**

nṯrw m" n jtn sbḥ.n ḳ' jh zp.4 jn rr wnn.j w'.k[wj] n wnt  
sn.j z'.j<sup>517</sup>

Oh, gods! Lead us! Oh, disk, we cry out greatly four times *jh*!<sup>518</sup>  
Shall I not be alone, without my brother or my son?

Unfortunately there are no parallel texts, and the context is not complete enough to give the entire meaning of the passage. Since the negative expression following the question indicates that there was no brother or son with the individual, it appears that he is alone. A question with an expected response of "yes" would substantiate this implication. The position of *rr* is the same here as it was in the last two examples, and the sentence following *jn rr* in all three cases is positive.

Faulkner, in his recent translation of the Coffin Texts, has translated *rr* as "indeed."<sup>519</sup> Even though the text is broken, which accounts for much of the ambiguity in the passage, it seems that his interpretation does not really suit the sense of the whole passage. He has used *jh zp 4* as the cry "alas," which is to be uttered at the beginning of the question. Although his interpretation of the question might imply that the man is alone, it makes it seem to be asking for information. Our translation makes the solitude of the individual definite.

**Example 4 CT I 168 d-169 a**

jn rr ḏd.tn jn.t(w).j r st nt jt.j pf . . . jsk rh.n.j ḳd.tn m'.n.j ḥnw.tn

Isn't it since I know your character and I have seen your intention<sup>520</sup> that you say that I should be brought to the place of that father of mine . . . ?

Since this spell deals with the recognition of the new Osiris and his being joined with his father in the West, it can be assumed that the deceased is indeed cognizant of why he is being spoken about.<sup>521</sup> Several other questions similar to Example 4 appear in these texts, but none

<sup>516</sup> Some of the repetition of phrases is due to the puns on the name *Sndm-jb*. For the *n . . . js*, see Gilula, review, p. 208.

<sup>517</sup> See the earlier discussion of this emphatic question, p. 22, Example 17.

<sup>518</sup> Cf. Faulkner, *AECT I*, 53.

<sup>519</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>520</sup> This phrase which means literally, "what is inside you," has been pointed out above, pp. 22-23, Example 20.

employs the enclitic particle *rr*.<sup>522</sup> It was already disappearing from use in the Old Kingdom, and it is possible that the other cases which do not employ *rr* were rhetorical by context or intonation.<sup>523</sup>

In some cases where the context is neither available nor clear, we can assume, owing to the evidence from the previous examples, that, if *jn rr* introduces a question, the question is rhetorical.<sup>524</sup>

**Example 5** *JEA* LVI, pl. XLVI, 2-3 (N 3500)

jn rr jw m'.n.k nn n jww[t] jw.tn " sk jkr.k js n.k

Haven't you seen these remonstrances? You [two] are there,  
while it is [only] for yourself that you are diligent.<sup>525</sup>

It seems that a rhetorical question is indicated here, even though there is some ambiguity in the context. It is a likely assumption that the dead persons to whom the letter is addressed were expected to read it, and the tone of the letter implies that this is not the first plea that has been made to the deceased to intervene. Obviously, since the recipients have seen the remonstrance, there is really an inherent question about whether any action has been taken on behalf of the writer of the letter. This connotation can be best brought out by interpreting the passage as a rhetorical question with an expected response of "yes." Simpson, however, has translated, "Have you really seen . . .?" implying a negative answer. If this were the correct rendering, we might have expected the passage to have been written \**jn jw rr m'.n.k . . .*.<sup>526</sup>

In each of the examples discussed thus far in this chapter, we have seen that each question consisted of the phrase *jn rr* followed by a positive clause. None of these questions is seeking information, but it is clear that each one is in fact a question.

It has been assumed in the past that all grammatically positive rhetorical questions in Egyptian expected the answer "no," while all negative ones expected the answer "yes."<sup>527</sup> Our examples with *rr*, however, which are syntactically positive, imply an expected response of "yes." *Rr* does not transform a positive question into a negative one; it merely indicates by its position after *jn* that the question is to be understood as a rhetorical one and that the underlying statement is true. However, the only means of rendering such a question is to make it a negative one in English.

<sup>521</sup> Faulkner, *AECT* I, 32, has not treated the verb *dd* as an emphatic form, and it is clear from his translation that he has simply omitted *rr*. In addition, he has considered *jsk rh.n.j* as an independent clause rather than as a dependent, circumstantial clause, capable of functioning as an emphasized adverbial adjunct.

<sup>522</sup> See above, p. 23, nn. 132 and 133.

<sup>523</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 489 and pa. 490. The expected response, however, according to Gardiner, would be "no." Cf. above, p. 89, n. 514.

<sup>524</sup> See also P. Posener-Kriéger, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 5th series (London: British Museum, 1968), pl. LXXX, 3 (bottom), where it appears that *jn rr* is written just before a break in the text. In the accompanying plate, Posener-Kriéger has transcribed *jn hr*, but it seems that *h* is consistently written rounder in this text. Moreover, the word in question resembles the ligatured *rr* in the word *mrr* in line 1 of the text. In her recent translation (P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du Temple Funéraire de Néferkarê-Kakai* (les Papyrus d'Abousir) ("Bibliothèque d'Étude," LXV; Cairo: Institut Français Archéologie Orientale, 1976), p. 691, she revised the reading to *jn rr*, and now understands the passage as a rhetorical question (Ibid. p. 453 and 458, notes l and m). See the earlier note by Baer, "A Letter of Endowment," p. 8, note aa.

<sup>525</sup> See the earlier discussion of this example, p. 10, Example 16.

<sup>526</sup> See below, p. 92, Example 6.

<sup>527</sup> See above, p. 89, n. 514.

We find one case where *rr* does not follow the interrogative *jn* directly.

**Example 6 CT I 226 d-227 f**

jmj.k šm ḥr w't m Ds kh'w ḥrw ddw sḏb j'nw n.k jmj jtn jr  
 šhrw m nṯrw<sup>528</sup> jn jw rr wn dj n sn.f m-ḥt mnj " mk Sth ijw  
 m ḥprw.f

You shall not walk upon the road in *Ds*. Oh, you who raise the voice! Oh, you who grant restoration! Greetings to you, who are in the sun disk, who govern among the gods. Is there really one who is given to his brother after dying here?<sup>529</sup> Behold, Seth is come in his forms.

In this section of Spell 50, it appears, owing to the mention of both Seth and a brother, that there may be some reference to the myth of Horus and Seth. The question may imply, therefore, that of course the brother would not be given to Seth. If we then understand this question to be rhetorical, we would expect an answer of "no," and the underlying statement in the question would not be true. It is also possible, since the phrase beginning with *mk Sth* does supply us with some information, albeit indirectly, in regard to the question preceding it, that we actually have a question which seeks information. Whichever interpretation is accepted, it is clear that the question is not rhetorical with an implied positive response, and it would seem, therefore, that when *rr* occurs within the sentence (after *jn jw*), it does not function in the same manner as when it occurs between *jn* and the sentence.

Edel has translated CT I 227 d, *jn jw rr*, as a statement, and he considers this passage to illustrate a special function of *jn* as "fürwahr;" he does not translate the particle *rr*.<sup>530</sup> This example, as well as the others he includes to prove the existence of such a function of *jn*, can easily be understood as questions.<sup>531</sup> The issue is confused even further when Edel translates CT I 227 b, *jn rrw wmm*, as a question,<sup>532</sup> but does not comment on the distinction between this example and that from CT I 227 d, our Example 6. Both passages come from the same spell of the Coffin Texts; *jn rrw wmm,j " w'.kwj* occurs in only two of six coffins, the only two which do not contain *jn jw rr wn*. These two passages, which are similar in some respects, employ the particle *rr* in different positions. In the question from Example 6, the clause *jw rr wn* is introduced by the interrogative *jn*, whereas in CT I 227 b, *jn rrw wmm,j " w'.kwj*, the clause *wmm,j " w'.kwj* is introduced by the collocation of particles *jn rr*.

A distinction was obviously being made between the two questions. Since in CT I 227 d, *jn jw rr wn* occurs in four variants, while a fifth omits *rr*, it is likely that the particle in these cases may not have been felt to be an essential element of the sentence, in contrast to its importance in a rhetorical question expecting a positive response. *Rr* is probably to be understood in CT I 227 d as a simple sentence adverb modifying the verb *wn*. The use of this particle in questions

<sup>528</sup> There is a question after *nṯrw* which we have omitted in our example, since it occurs in only two of the six variants. For a discussion of the passage (CT 227 b), see below, pp. 92-93.

<sup>529</sup> Cf. the discussion of this passage by Faulkner, *AECT* I, 49, nn. 26-28.

<sup>530</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 838.

<sup>531</sup> The limited number of examples given by Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 843 a, can better be understood as cases of interrogative *jn*. The defective *n* for *jn* which occurs in PT 823 a, PT 782 a, and PT 783 a precedes the *sḏm.n.f* form of the verb, and, therefore, can be treated as emphatic *sḏm.n.f* introduced by interrogative *jn*. See the discussion of these examples above, pp. 7-8, Example 10-12.

<sup>532</sup> Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 838. See above, n. 528. See also above, p. 22, Example 16.

directly after *jn*, however, is intended to convey the impression that the clause following it is “really” true and is to be understood as a implied answer, and we have borrowed, therefore, the word “really” to express the meaning of *rr* when it is used as a sentence adverb, not in a position directly after *jn*.

CT I 227 b, *jn rrw wnm.j* ” *w'.kwj* “Shall I not be alone here?” must be rhetorical, since the following passages do not contain an answer for it. We can only assume, however, that the expected response would be “yes” because this question follows the pattern which we have seen in Examples 1 through 5 above. In addition, CT I 227 b is almost identical to the question shown in Example 3.

We have seen, therefore, that although *rr* is usually placed in the second position in a question with *jn* at the head, it can also be found within the sentence which follows the interrogative particle. It is the position of *rr* which clearly determines whether the question is rhetorical and whether the clause which follows it is true.

### Jn + Rf

The particle *rf* seems in some cases to serve the same purpose as *rr*. The possibility that *rf* was already gradually replacing *rr* in the Old Kingdom has been pointed out before, but we have found only one rhetorical question in which *rf* is used directly after *jn* during the Middle Kingdom; it is in a literary text. There are, however, a few earlier examples from the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts. *Rf*, as we will see below, is used before both positive and negative sentences with *jn* at the head, in contrast to *rr*.

The use of *rf* directly after interrogative *jn* can be seen in a clear passage from the Coffin Texts, where the underlying statement is negative.

#### Example 7 CT III 86 e-j

*jn rf n wnm.j ḥs 'nh.k jr.f m jst s'm.k jr.f m jst j.n.sn*  
*nṛw 'nh.j m ht pw bnr jmj k'r nṛ*

I certainly haven't eaten excrement, have I?<sup>533</sup> On what then do you live? From what then do you drink? So say the gods. It is from this fruit tree which is in the shrine of the god that I live.

There is no doubt as to the expected response in this passage, and it seems that, when a negative answer was to be expected, *jn* introduced the particle *rf* + a negative sentence. *Rf*, like *rr*, indicates by its position in the sentence that the question is rhetorical and that the

<sup>533</sup> Cf. the translation of this question by D. Mueller, “An Early Egyptian Guide,” p. 120, n. 2. He felt that it was to be understood as a statement. He also has gone into some depth as to the significance of passages of this type and provides several similar texts (ibid., pp. 119-20), none of which, however, appear to be interrogative. Faulkner, *AECT* I, 155, has also translated this passage as a statement. He, however, feels that *jn* means “because,” an unlikely possibility, since this spell regularly uses *n nnt jnk js* to begin such a clause. It is more likely that our passage is to be understood as a rhetorical question, and the context demands that the implied response be negative. To treat *jn* as the full form of the preposition *n*, as Faulkner has done, seems unnecessary, since the rhetorical question with an implied negative response suits the context better. The writing *jn* for *n* is a much rarer practice than is *n* for *jn*. One of the two examples which Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 164, shows of *jn* for *n* is somewhat ambiguous and has been discussed above, p. 14, n. 82.

sentence following it is true. A negative rhetorical question with *rf* after *jn*, then, would expect the answer "no."

The use of *rf* was not limited to rhetorical questions with an implied answer of "no;" it can also be found in questions which parallel those in which *rr* was used. A clear example of a rhetorical question with an implied positive answer, where *rf* is placed after *jn*, occurs in a text of the Middle Kingdom.

**Example 8 Peasant B1, 224-26**

4-nw sp ' m spr n.k jn rf wrš.j r.f jw.jn r.f šty pn r spr n.f 5-  
nw sp

The fourth time of appealing to you. Am I not spending all day  
only at it? Then this peasant came to appeal to him a fifth time.

The peasant has just made the fourth appeal, and his frustration and irritation at the situation is evident from his sarcastic remarks. Obviously, if he has not succeeded, he will be petitioning for a long time, and the emphatic rhetorical question<sup>534</sup> with an implied answer of "yes" expresses his feelings about the whole affair.

Examples 7 and 8 illustrate clearly that *rf* functioned similarly to *rr*. There are two other cases where, although *rf* follows *jn*, the obscurity of the context or the damaged condition of the inscription makes it difficult to ascertain for certain whether the passages are to be understood in the same manner as Examples 7 and 8.

**Example 9 PT 1953 b-1954 b**

dr.f znbwt šr.f znbwt<sup>535</sup> m-ḏr.<k><sup>536</sup> Nt pw št' swt jn rf n  
<d>r.n.tn n šr.<n>.tn

He destroys the ramparts, and he removes the ramparts away  
from you. Oh, Nt, hidden of seats! You cannot destroy nor  
remove, can you?<sup>537</sup>

Aside from the damage and errors in the text, the context is far from clear. It is apparently a spell concerning the resurrection of the dead king who is being protected by the goddess Meskhenet from the destruction which may be being wrought by the god Shu.<sup>538</sup> There is a confusing alternation of suffix pronouns, and it is not clear to whom *tn* in our passage actually refers. It could be a rather rare writing of the second person feminine suffix, in which case it would refer to Meskhenet,<sup>539</sup> and it would then be clear that a response of "no" would be expected. *Tn* might, however, also refer to *sn* which occurs in the following passage, *j.dr.sn znbwt šr.sn znbwt* (PT 1955 b), but the condition of the passage does not make it possible for us to come to a definite conclusion.

<sup>534</sup> See also above, p. 25, Example 27.

<sup>535</sup> We must rely here on the *N* text, since the *Nt* text, which is followed from here on, has simply *jr.f znbwt*.

<sup>536</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 812, has suggested reading *m-ḏr* as a compound preposition in PT 1955 c. It is likely that *k* is to be restored in our passage, since it does seem to be parallel in many ways to PT 1955 c. Faulkner, *AEPT*, p. 283, however, has chosen to read *mḏr* "Turn yourself about."

<sup>537</sup> See also above, p. 64, Example 1.

<sup>538</sup> See Faulkner, *AEPT*, pp. 282-83.

<sup>539</sup> See Edel, *AAG*, pa. 160 bb.

Another problematic passage is complete and undamaged; the context, however, is quite ambiguous.

**Example 10 CT VII 163 j-m**

jnk Hwnt<sup>540</sup> hntt pr-wr Nsrt hntt pr-nsr h'.n.j d'.j.j drpw jr.t(w)  
n.j s[nt]wt.j m Nsw n mk.j zp jn rf jw wn mk.j zp.f

I am *Hwnt* who is in front of the Upper Egyptian shrine, the *Nsrt* royal serpent who is in front of the Lower Egyptian shrine. It is while I controlled offerings and my foundations were made for me in *Nsw* that I appeared in glory. I have not guarded [for myself] a portion. Is there not my protecting his portion?

The passage cited comprises the whole spell which unfortunately has no parallels or variants. It is clear that the question can have no answer, and that it is likely that it is to be treated as a rhetorical question rather than as a question seeking information. It seems to imply that there was no selfishness on the part of the speaker because the only portions of the offerings which were protected were those of the individual to whom the *f* in *zp.f* refers. There is a slight possibility that negative *n* in the passage preceding the question was used for the preposition *n*.<sup>541</sup> Such a suggestion might clarify the meaning of the passage: "My foundations were made for me because I protected a portion. Isn't there my protecting his portion?"

Neither Example 9 or 10 can be used as evidence in support of our suppositions concerning the particle *rf* because of the ambiguities involved in interpreting them. Since they follow the pattern of the two previous examples, however, the interpretation of which was clear, it is likely that they too are rhetorical questions with particular expected responses, despite the confusion of their texts.

Aside from Example 8, we have not found any other cases of *rf* employed in a rhetorical question directly after *jn* in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>542</sup> If *rf* was gradually replacing *rr* toward the end of the Old Kingdom, as has been suggested, it seems strange that there are so few examples of *rf* so used in the Middle Kingdom. In contrast to the scarcity of questions where *rr* does not follow *jn* directly, there are several instances of *rf* being used in such a manner. Since *rf* seems to be employed like *rr* in rhetorical questions to indicate that the following sentence was "really" the expected response, we will translate the particle *rf* as "really" even when it does not occur directly after *jn*.

**Example 11 Peasant B1, 148-50**

jn jw mh't hr rdjt hr gs jn jw rf Dhwty sfn.f jh jr.k jyt<sup>543</sup>

Does the scale put to [one] side? Is Thoth really merciful? Then you will commit crime.

<sup>540</sup> *Hwnt* may be either the female child or a reference to a goddess. See *Wb*, III:54, 2. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus*, mentions both *Hwnt* (p. 285) and *Nsrt* (p. 279); she treats *Hwnt* as a designation of *W'ḏt* (p. 36). It is likely that *Nsrt*, although associated with *Shmt* (p. 195), also refers to *W'ḏt* (p. 195).

<sup>541</sup> Occasionally such cases can be found: CT IV 214 a, CT VI 283 a and h. CT VI 283 f, a parallel passage, actually has *nm*. See also Gunn, *Studies*, pp. 83-84, and Gardiner, *EG*, p. 571. See also the earlier discussion of this question above, p. 29, Example 36.

<sup>542</sup> See the suggested restoration of *Hekanakhte*, II, 4, above, p. 39, n. 214.

<sup>543</sup> See also the discussion of these questions above, p. 30, Example 40, and p. 48, Example 25.

In this passage it is evident that the scale will balance, and Thoth is not lenient at the weighing of the soul. These questions do not seek information, but are rhetorical, with implied responses of "no." They seem to follow Gardiner's rule that a positive question would expect a negative answer.<sup>544</sup> The questions are parallel, and *rf* is present in the second apparently only as a weak modifier; it does not appear to have any influence on the nature of the interrogation.

**Example 12 Peasant B1, 15-18**

jw.j grt rḥ.kwj nb n d'tt tn n(j)-s(j) jmj-r pr wr Mrw s'  
Rnsj ntf grt ḥsf 'w' nb m t' pn r dr.f jn 'w'.tw.j rf m d'tt.f

Now I know the lord of this estate. It belongs to the high steward Rensi, son of Meru. Moreover, it is he who represses every robber in this entire land. Is it really in his estate that I will be robbed?<sup>545</sup>

We know from the events which follow that the peasant is indeed going to be robbed, and we might, therefore, expect a positive response to the question, despite the presence of *rf* elsewhere than directly after *jn*, in contradiction to Gardiner's rule. The question is, however, emphatic, and the interrogation is directed toward the adverbial adjunct, not the verb. The peasant is not questioning whether or not he will be robbed; that is a foregone conclusion. He does, however, seem to be surprised that Rensi will allow such an action to take place in his district. In this case the rhetorical question expresses the peasant's astonishment that he is being robbed at just this place.

**Example 13 Peasant B1, 5-9**

nfr [m]ṯn.j jḥmt ḳ'.tj mṯn ḥr šm'w ḥn.k r.f w't.n m ḥbsw.k  
jn nn rf dj.k sw'.n ḥr w't

My way is good; the bank is high; and the road is under barley. It is with your clothes that you obstruct our road. Won't you really allow us to pass upon the road?<sup>546</sup>

The peasant is at a loss, since no matter which way he turns, he is blocked. The only thing he can do is to ask *Nmtj-nḥt* for permission to pass along the road. Obviously, the peasant has seen the problem building up, but until now he has attempted to avoid a confrontation. Even though he may assume that there will be an implied negative response to this question, owing to his knowledge of the behavior of *Nmtj-nḥt*, he still seems to be seeking permission to pass.

Both Examples 12 and 13, as we have indicated, seem at first to contain implied responses, given our understanding of the story. The answers, however, are opposite to what we would expect according to Gardiner's rule, and *rf* in neither one of these questions occurs directly after *jn*.<sup>547</sup> It is possible, since we have only one good example from the Middle Kingdom where *rf* immediately follows *jn*, that the practice of indicating rhetorical questions with

<sup>544</sup> See above, p. 89, n. 514. See also p. 31, Example 41, where the rhetorical question also expects a negative response, and the particle *rf* comes after *jn jw*.

<sup>545</sup> See the earlier discussion of this example, p. 24, Example 25.

<sup>546</sup> See also above, p. 66-67, Example 6.

<sup>547</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 493, 1 and 2, has understood these passages not as rhetorical questions, but as questions for corroboration.

particular responses by placing the particle *rf* after the interrogative *jn* was already dying out in that period,<sup>548</sup> and owing to the eloquence of the peasant the older practice was retained in at least one case (Example 8) for stylistic variation.

It seems clear that *rf*, when not used directly after *jn*, functions as a sentence adverb, a weak modifier of words or phrases which cannot be used as a predicate, and that if the question is rhetorical, it is the context which makes it so, not the particle. In Old and Middle Egyptian, the sentence adverb is used in both statements and questions.<sup>549</sup> While the letter *r* can be bound with any of the other suffix pronouns to form the sentence adverb,<sup>550</sup> it is only invariable *rf* which occurs in rhetorical questions after *jn*. In contrast to *rr*, which was used primarily in rhetorical questions, *rf* and its derivatives are equally important as weak modifiers. It is not likely that there were two distinct words both written *rf*, one functioning in rhetorical questions, and the other acting as a sentence adverb, but we have shown that there is a particle *rf*, although not particularly common, which parallels the use of *rr*. We have found it before both positive and negative sentences, while *rr* occurs only before positive ones.

What is most distinctive about the questions which use the combination *jn rr* or *jn rf* is that the translation of the construction is opposite to that to which we are accustomed in European languages, where questions with a negation usually expect an answer of "yes," and those which are positive would expect an answer of "no." There are, in Egyptian, rhetorical questions which do not employ either of the two particles, but they are rhetorical by context or tone, not by form.<sup>551</sup> When a question has *rr* or *rf* after *jn*, it is the position of the particle which indicates the presence of a rhetorical question; but perhaps even more important is the fact that either of these particles indicates that the statement following it is true.

### Jn + Tr

The actual function of the enclitic particle *tr* has not yet been determined. Lefebvre suggests that *tr*, when used in statements, is employed in the manner of a protestation, "en vérité," and that in questions "done" appears to be the best rendering.<sup>552</sup> Gardiner proposed "I wonder" or "forsooth" for statements, and for questions he leaves *tr* untranslated, or he employs "pray."<sup>553</sup> Edel has suggested similar meanings for both *rr* and *tr*, since they are used in variant Coffin Texts.<sup>554</sup> Coffins T2C and T1C (from Thebes) in CT I 280 c have *wr.tj rr .tj rr*, while Sq3C (from Saqqara) has *wr.tj tr .tj tr*. It appears that T9C (from Thebes) has only *wr.tj rr tr*, where the scribe may have missed *.tj*. Even though the geographic separation may suggest the possibility of dialectical differences, there is not enough evidence to prove such a theory. It is definite, however, that *rr* and *tr* are two distinct words, although possibly synonymous, and not

<sup>548</sup> In favor of this interpretation is *Peasant B2*, 67-68, *jn jw.k rf m 'w'y*, where the variant B1. 302, omits *rf*. This question appears to be rhetorical with an expected response of "yes," despite the absence of *rf* after *jn* in one variant and the placement of it after *jw*, not *jn*, in the other variant. See also above, p. 89, n. 514.

<sup>549</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 821, and Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 252.

<sup>550</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 244.

<sup>551</sup> See also Gardiner, *EG*, pp. 489. Generally, such questions, at least in Old and Middle Kingdom inscriptions, will follow the rules which Gardiner (*ibid.*, pa. 491) has proposed.

<sup>552</sup> Lefebvre, *GEC*, pa. 560.

<sup>553</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 256.

<sup>554</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 838.

two orthographically different renderings of the same word. Examples such as CT I 280 c, *wr.tj rr tr* (T9C), and PT 248 b, *jw.k tr rr* " *jw.k tr rr jm*, indicate that they were two distinct words.

We will see below that *tr*, in contrast to the particles *rr* and *rf*, is attested only once in a question after *jn*. In the Old Kingdom, *tr* is employed in statements and in questions, where it does not immediately follow *jn*,<sup>555</sup> and it is used essentially in the same manner in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>556</sup> Despite the fact that *tr* does not usually occur directly after *jn* in either the Old or Middle Kingdoms, its similarity to *rr*, as indicated above, suggests that it may serve in a manner similar to *rr*, when it does appear directly after *jn*.

**Example 14** *Urk. I, 129, 5-8*

*jn tr rh.w(y)tw jrt mrrt hzzt nb.k jn wrš.k sdr.k hr mh m jrt  
mrrt hzzt wdt nb.k jw hm.f r jrt s'rw.k 'š'w jkrw*

Aren't you the one who certainly knows how to do what your lord loves and praises?<sup>557</sup> If you [continue to] spend the day and night taking care in doing what your lord loves, praises, and commands, His Majesty will grant your many excellent wishes.<sup>558</sup>

This example has been explained by Edel as a case of the particle *jn*, "fürwahr," introducing a statement, and he did not feel that it was possible for interrogative *jn* to introduce the phrase.<sup>559</sup> He felt that the particle *w(y)*, which he reads after *rh*, indicated that the expression could not be interrogative. It is true that this particle, which usually follows an adjective or a participle, is translated as "how."<sup>560</sup> However, it is merely an exclamatory particle, and, although the rendering "how" would not fit into a question in English or German, it does not preclude its use in Egyptian. We have rendered *w(y)* "certainly" in order to illustrate its emphatic effect, without losing the interrogative nature of the expression. The question is rhetorical, expecting the answer "yes," and has *tr* directly after *jn*, parallel to the pattern *jn rr* or *jn rf* followed by a positive sentence. The interpretation of the passage is apparent from the context.

Although it is clear that the only questions which are marked as rhetorical are those which are introduced by *jn + rr*, *rf*, or *tr*, questions implying a "yes" or "no" answer do exist as well, but their responses are implied by context, not by form. In addition to these two means of expressing a particular idea, there are, of course, statements which convey a similar sense, e.g.,

**Example 15** *Urk. I, 63, 4*

*rh.w(y) ztw tr dd mrrt Jssj r ht nb*

You really know how to say what Isesi loves better than anything.<sup>561</sup>

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*, pa. 842, pa. 1006, pa. 1010, pa. 1012.

<sup>556</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 256, pa. 495, pa. 496, pa. 497.

<sup>557</sup> See also above, p. 58, Example 3.

<sup>558</sup> See also above, p. 27, Example 31.

<sup>559</sup> Edel, *AAG*, pa. 843 l, a.

<sup>560</sup> *Ibid.*, pa. 834, and Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 49.

<sup>561</sup> See also *Urk. I, 179, 17-18*, *rh tw tr dd mrrt hm.j r ht nb twt tr n.j dd.k r ht nb* "you certainly know how to say what My Majesty loves better than anything. Certainly pleasing to me more than anything is your speaking."

When we found the particles *rr* and *rf* in questions, but not directly after *jn*, we rendered them as “really” owing to their function of determining that the sentence following *jn* + particle was “really” true. In Example 14, *tr* seems to be used in a manner similar to *rr* and *rf* when they follow *jn* directly, and we, therefore, have considered the meaning “really” (or “certainly”) to be applicable to *tr* when it occurs rather as a sentence adverb as in Example 15. The similarity between such statements and rhetorical questions has already been implied by Baer in his discussion of the collocation of particles *jn rr*.<sup>562</sup>

Not only do we find *tr* in statements, but we also see it in questions, not directly after *jn*, but in the sentence following *jn*, i.e., in the third position, directly after *jw*.

**Example 16 CT I 227 c-e**

jn jw tr jt.(j) " ḥn'.(j) jn jw wn jty sn.f m-ḥt mnj "

Is my father really here with me? Is there one who would seize his brother after dying here?<sup>563</sup>

Since no direct answer to the first question is either given or suggested, it is likely that the question is rhetorical. There is another question, however, which precedes ours (CT I 227 b). It has been discussed previously, and it seemed likely that the individual was alone.<sup>564</sup> It is, therefore, probable that the expected response to our question should be “no.” This question, where the particle *tr* is not immediately after *jn*, then, is in essence an affirmation that no one else is there, and it, therefore, follows Gardiner’s rule. The second question in our example does not contain a particle after either *jn* or *jw*, but the question is clearly rhetorical with an expected negative response, since there is, later in the text, a reference to Seth, whose brother would surely not have been given to him.

**Example 17 CT V 110 d-g**

mk wj jj.k(wj) jn jw.j tr šhm.k(w)j m tm jn n.k Ḥk'y  
pw dpt tn pw n wnt ḥ'hw.s. . . .<sup>565</sup>

Behold, I have come. Am I really powerful over the one who has not fetched for you? Oh, Ḥk'y! It is this boat; it does not have its spars. . . .

A variant text substitutes *nm tr šjm.f* for the interrogative expression beginning with *jn jw* and asks, “Who actually is powerful over . . . ?” This variant suggests that the identity of the “powerful one” is not really known, and it may be the original text<sup>566</sup> which was later changed to a question with *jn* at the head. The use of the sentence adverb *tr* seems to accentuate the indefiniteness which is implied by the interrogation.

**Example 18 P. Ebers 2, 3-5**

jn jw tr šh'.n.k jt.tw Ḥr ḥn' Stḥ r jst 't nt Jwnw m nd.tw ḥrwy Stḥ

<sup>562</sup> See above, p. 88, n. 510.

<sup>563</sup> See also above, p. 52, Example 4, and cf. p. 29, Example 35.

<sup>564</sup> See above, pp. 92-93.

<sup>565</sup> CT V 109 h-j, 112 d-f, and 114 j-k are parallel to our passage. See also above, p. 36, n. 201.

<sup>566</sup> For a discussion of other questions and archaisms in this spell, see above, pp. 37-38.

ḥn' Ḥr wn.ḥr.f w'd mj wnn tp t'

Have you really thought about Horus and Seth being taken to the great palace of Heliopolis when Horus was interrogated about the testicles of Seth? He becomes healthy like one who is upon earth.<sup>567</sup>

This text comes from a medical papyrus, and it concerns the drinking of remedies. It is said that such prescriptions are strong because of magic, and the magic is strong because of the prescription. The question in Example 18, which refers to an episode from the myth of Horus and Seth concerning the mutilation of Seth, is presumably being used to show the efficacy of the magic and the remedies. There are no parallel passages from any other medical papyri, and it is difficult to find an answer to the question. It is probable that the question was rhetorical with an implied negative response, otherwise it would not have been necessary to include the following phrases if the individual had recalled the episode to which the text refers. It is also possible that no answer is expected. In either case the question follows the general rules for questions, and it is clear that *tr* merely functions as a sentence adverb.<sup>568</sup>

We have seen that *tr*, like *rf* and *rr*, had more than one role depending on its position in a particular type of sentence. It could function as a sentence adverb, where, like both *rr* and *rf*, its presence in the sentence does not seem to be of very great significance, and the translation "really" for each of the particles in such cases seems to be appropriate. Despite its frequent use in questions of all types, *tr* could never have been considered, as has been suggested, "an Egyptian question mark."<sup>569</sup> If such an appellation can be ascribed to any Egyptian word, *jn* should probably be the one selected. *Tr* is often used in statements to affirm the declarative nature of the sentence, and such expressions seem to be similar in meaning to rhetorical questions. When *tr* appears directly after *jn*, it, like *rr* and *rf*, indicates that the question in which it occurs is rhetorical and that the statement which follows the particle is true; a positive sentence implies the answer "yes" and a negative one, the answer "no."

This type of question with a self-contained answer appears to have been fairly popular in the Old Kingdom, but, by the Middle Kingdom, it was disappearing from use. It is clear that other sentence patterns were used concurrently with the rhetorical question introduced by *jn* + *rr*, *rf*, or *tr* with only a slight, if any, difference in meaning. It is possible that these less restrictive patterns, i.e., questions which were rhetorical by context and affirmative declarative statements, eventually became the more popular method and replaced the pattern *jn* + enclitic particle + main clause. Later, in the New Kingdom, negative rhetorical questions were again clearly indicated. The rhetorical particle was not used, however; a construction introduced by the Late Egyptian interrogative *js* followed by the negation *bn* was utilized.<sup>570</sup>

We have only a few examples of rhetorical questions introduced by *jn* + an enclitic particle, in comparison to questions which are rhetorical by context and questions which seek information. It is possible that the use of both types of rhetorical questions, however, may be

<sup>567</sup> See J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (Liverpool: University Press, 1960), pp. 36-37. See also above, p. 12, Example 21.

<sup>568</sup> There are two other questions which are similar to our last few examples in that *tr* occurs in the underlying sentence, not after *jn*. Although the text from which the questions come dates paleographically to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the grammar is that of the Middle Kingdom. See Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, pl. XVIII B1, 6, and pl. XX D1, 8.

<sup>569</sup> Gilula, review, p. 209, d.

<sup>570</sup> See Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, p. 172.

responsible for the scarcity of questions which contain a negative. The positive rhetorical question, with *rr*, *rf*, or *tr* after *jn*, expects an answer of "yes," and this is the same response that we would expect if there were a negative question without these particles. Moreover, affirmative declarative statements would also convey the same sense as the positive rhetorical question with an enclitic particle after *jn* or a negative question without particles.

We have referred to this chapter several times in our discussion of the problems of segmenting either *jn* + *jw* or *jn-jw* + in questions conforming to the pattern *jn jw* subject + adverbial or pseudo-verbal predicate. As we have shown, the position of the particle in the question is significant, and it is clear, when *rr*, *rf*, or *tr* occur after *jn*, that they do divide *jn* from *jw*. When they occur in the third position (in the question pattern *jn jw* enclitic particle), it is still possible to segment after *jn*; the particle then is simply a sentence adverb, and as such, does not affect the segmentation or interrogation in any way. For diachronic evidence regarding segmentation, see the Appendix.

## CHAPTER IV

### Conclusions

#### Conclusions Concerning *Jn* and *Jn-Jw*

Polotsky has proved in his studies of the Egyptian verbal system that sentences with initial nominal (emphatic) verb forms had the effect of stressing an adverbial adjunct.<sup>571</sup> Gilula, in his review of Satzinger's work on negations, pointed out that the negative counterpart to such sentences could negate either the verb or the adverbial adjunct, depending on the type of negation used.<sup>572</sup> It seemed, therefore, no less likely that questions should also have the possibility of interrogating either the verb or the adverbial complement. Polotsky had already shown that emphatic verb forms are used with adverbial interrogatives.<sup>573</sup> Our evidence has shown, in the case of interrogative *jn*, that it is the verb form which dictates the type of interrogation. If an emphatic verb form follows *jn*, then the adverbial adjunct is questioned, whereas if a non-emphatic verb form follows *jn*, the action of the verb is questioned. In contrast *jn-jw* was restricted in the time periods we have examined in that it always introduced nominal sentences. Therefore, when *jn-jw* stood before a sentence with a verbal (emphatic) predicate, the adverbial adjunct was questioned.

This *jn-jw* is not to be confused with the *jn jw* which stands before a subject and an adverbial or pseudo-verbal predicate.<sup>574</sup> *Jn-jw* was a specific question particle, occurring possibly as early as the Old Kingdom and appearing sporadically in the Middle Kingdom. During these periods and even in the early part of the New Kingdom, it was only used before nominal sentences.

In contrast, the interrogative particle *jn* occurs in the earliest texts of the Old Kingdom and continues in frequent use throughout the period we have examined. *Jn* was not as restricted in its use as *jn-jw*, for any declarative sentence could be converted into a question by putting *jn* at the head.

Moreover, it is only the particle *jn* which could be used in conjunction with the enclitic particles *rr*, *rf*, and *tr* to form a rhetorical question where the answer is implied by the underlying statement. *Jn* is used also in conjunction with the non-enclitic particle *jr* in order to question and emphasize a noun phrase. No examples of *jn-jw* being so used have yet come to light. Table 1 illustrates the sentences and words before which *jn* and *jn-jw* can stand.

<sup>571</sup> See Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, pp. 43-51 ("The Emphatic *Sdm.n.f* Form," pp. 109-17) and pp. 71-96 ("Egyptian Tenses," pp. 71-96).

<sup>572</sup> Gilula, review, pp. 207-10.

<sup>573</sup> Polotsky, *Collected Papers*, pp. 33-37 ("Une regle," pp. 241-45).

<sup>574</sup> See the second section of the Appendix.

TABLE 1  
Uses of JN and JN-JW

Uses	<i>Jn</i>	<i>Jn-Jw</i>
Non-emphatic verbal sentences	x	
Emphatic verbal sentences	x	x
Sentences with pseudo-verbal predicate	x	
Sentences with adverbial predicate	x	
Sentences with adjectival predicate	x	x
Nominal sentences	x	x
Negated sentences	x	x
Before <i>rr</i> , <i>rf</i> , and <i>tr</i>	x	
Before <i>jr</i>	x	

Since *jn-jw* appears during the same period as *jn* and duplicates some of the functions of *jn*, it appears to be somewhat redundant. When we examine the nature of the texts where *jn-jw* first occurs, we find that the range is as broad as those in which *jn* is found. Questions with both *jn* and *jn-jw* are from secular, religious, hieratic, hieroglyphic, literary, and non-literary texts. We cannot conclude a priori that *jn-jw* developed from the colloquial language, while *jn* was the classical form. If such were the case, we would have expected to find *jn-jw* occurring first in non-literary hieratic texts and for it to be used with increasing frequency as the idiom of Late Egyptian became more popular; such is not the case. *Jn* remains the more common and less restrictive of the two throughout the time period we have investigated. Our early instances of *jn-jw*, then, cannot be considered as a contamination by Late Egyptian. Clearly, even the later sources such as the *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind* and the appointment to office of the noble Kenamun are texts whose grammar is Middle Egyptian and whose date of composition is Middle Kingdom and thus *jn-jw* was used in these texts as a valid Middle Egyptian word. Since *jn-jw* is so distinct from *jn*, owing to its restriction to heading nominal sentences, it is unlikely that it could have been simply an orthographic variant of *jn*.<sup>575</sup> The use of *jn-jw* in *Urk. I*, Coffin Texts, and later in *Peasant* and *Lebensmide* also supplies evidence for *jn-jw* as a valid Middle Egyptian interrogative. In regard to graphic variants for *jn*, we find that  is often substituted for *jn* throughout Old and Middle Egyptian and that this abbreviation seems as versatile as the full writing. James, as well as Gunn and Satzinger,<sup>576</sup> have already gone into detail concerning this contraction, but it is necessary to point out that when  stands before , it is not a shortened form of *jn-jw*, but simply an abbreviated version of *jn* before a *jw* construction. We have observed *n* frequently in hieratic letters, but it

<sup>575</sup> There are isolated examples of names where some variants use *jn-jw* rather than *n* (see H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), 206, 21; and 170, 27 and 28), where, however, the spellings can also be attributed to group writing or an attempt to indicate pronunciation. We cannot assume that the pattern *jn-jw* + nominal sentence derived from *jn jw* Noun + adverbial predicate, where *jw* was obligatory. As has already been mentioned (see above, p. 49, n. 277), *jw* Noun + adverbial predicate and Noun + adverbial predicate were distinct constructions, each answering a different question, and it is likely, therefore, that *jw* was required in the question, since it was part of the underlying statement. In support of this analysis is the evidence from the discussion regarding segmentation in the Appendix.

<sup>576</sup> James, *Heḳanakte*, p. 103, Gunn, *Studies*, Chapter XXI, and Satzinger, *Die negativen*, pp. 33-34.

is found as well in hieroglyphic texts of all types, secular, religious, and literary. It does occur before verb forms, as well as before constructions headed by *iw*. Many of the texts where *n* is written for *in* also have *in* written out fully in other passages.<sup>577</sup>

We have also seen that negative *n* (𓂏) can be used when interrogative *in* was meant, and again, the texts which show this writing are quite varied. It is not a particularly common variant, but in all save one instance, wherever 𓂏 stood before 𓂏𓂏, it was to be considered a writing of (*i*)*n* + *iw*, thereby virtually eliminating any examples of a negative construction beginning with 𓂏𓂏.

It is hardly likely that *in-*iw** was a dialectical variant of *in*, since all of the evidence we have indicates that *in-*iw** did not possess all of the functions of *in*. *In-*iw** is merely an interrogative particle which, possibly owing to its restriction to heading nominal sentences, never really became an essential element in the language during the period which we have studied.

### The Interpretation of Questions as Conditions

Throughout this examination of questions, it has frequently been suggested that a question introduced by *in* or *in-*iw** might best be rendered as a condition. Despite the fact that there was no morphological distinction between questions and questions interpreted as conditions, it seemed in some cases that the context suited translating a condition rather than a question.<sup>578</sup>

Although almost any pattern of question can be translated as a condition, the greatest number appear in the pattern *in* + *sdm.f* (including also *in* + *iw sdm.f*).<sup>579</sup> Examples can be found, however, where *sdm.n.f* is introduced by either *in*<sup>580</sup> or *in-*iw**,<sup>581</sup> and we find two likely possibilities in the pattern *in* + *iw* subject + pseudo-verbal predicate.<sup>582</sup> Some sentences with adjectival predicates introduced by *in*<sup>583</sup> or *in-*iw**<sup>584</sup> are susceptible to interpretation as conditions, and the same is true for nominal sentences headed by *in*<sup>585</sup> and *in-*iw**.<sup>586</sup> In one case, we found *in-*iw** + emphatic *sdm.f* used as a condition.<sup>587</sup>

In contrast to these conditions, which are questions by form, are true conditional sentences which follow the pattern *ir* + a circumstantial verb form.<sup>588</sup> Whenever substantives or nominal constructions are introduced by *ir*, the particle is rendered "as for," and its function is to bring

<sup>577</sup> The abbreviation *n* is not limited to interrogative *in*; it can also be a variant for emphasizing *in*. See, for example, CT II 83 c.

<sup>578</sup> See Edel, *AAG*, pa. 1038, who also pointed out that there were "Beispiele für Fragesätze, die also Konditionalsätze fungieren."

<sup>579</sup> See above, p. 16, Example 1; pp. 16-17, Examples 2, 3, and 4; p. 20, Example 11; p. 26, Example 29; p. 27, Example 31; p. 30, Example 40.

<sup>580</sup> P. 14, Example 24, is an extremely ambiguous case.

<sup>581</sup> Pp. 70-71, Example 2.

<sup>582</sup> P. 43, Example 19, and p. 48, Example 25. See below p. 108, n. 613.

<sup>583</sup> P. 59, Example 4.

<sup>584</sup> P. 80, Example 1.

<sup>585</sup> P. 60, Example 1; p. 60, Example 2; p. 62, Example 6; p. 63, Example 8.

<sup>586</sup> P. 83, Example 1.

<sup>587</sup> P. 75, Example 2.

<sup>588</sup> See above, p. 76, n. 424. Professor Wente has pointed out *ir iw.k* (CT VII 418 c), where the prospective form is used after *ir*, but the use of this form may be due to the presence of *sdm.k.f* as the verb in the apodosis (CT VII 419 b and c). Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 434, has stated that *sdm.k.f* is used only in religious texts or temple inscriptions. See also Griffith, *Kahun*, pl. VI, 27, where *ir iw* occurs in a damaged portion of a medical text.

emphasis to the whole phrase which follows it. It is perhaps because of this particular function of *jr* that we find *jn* and *jn-jw* before nominal sentences, both verbal and non-verbal, where the question is best translated as a condition. We can see this transference from *jr* to *jn* best in the example from the Moscow Papyrus,<sup>589</sup> where we concluded that *jn-jw* was used before an emphatic (nominal) verb and that this question was preceded by two conditions introduced by *jr*. It seems that *jn-jw* was used here to introduce a "conditional question" because the emphasis was to be placed on the adverbial adjunct. *Jr* introducing such a verb would not indicate a condition (owing to the presence of a nominal rather than circumstantial verb form), but it would function as an emphasizing particle, and the whole nominal sentence would be stressed. The presence of a following clause which could function as an apodosis may indicate in many cases that a question can be understood as a condition. In two cases, we find the particle *jh* introducing the apodosis,<sup>590</sup> and Gardiner has already pointed out that *jh* followed by *sdm.f* expresses a desired future consequence, and the particle is often rendered "then" or "therefore."<sup>591</sup> The apodosis in some cases is expressed by *jw.f r sdm*, indicating a future consequence,<sup>592</sup> and in the letter to Harkhuf we find a parallel in that a condition introduced by *jr* is followed by *jw.f r sdm*.<sup>593</sup> Many of our questions are followed by imperatives,<sup>594</sup> a fact which may also imply an interpretation as a condition.

Although it seems clear that *jn* or *jn-jw* before nominal sentences performs a function which *jr* could not, many of our "conditional questions" are not nominal constructions, and the appearance of these constructions, introduced by *jn* and interpreted as conditions, might seem redundant considering that *jr + sdm.f* seems to perform the same function. When we examine our examples, however, it appears that the action of the "conditional question" is almost never set in the future, but in the present.<sup>595</sup> There is a sense of continuity regarding this action, and there does not appear to be any implication of an unfulfilled condition.<sup>596</sup> Conditions with *jr*, in contrast, seem to refer either to future or unfulfilled actions. The distinction between the condition and the "conditional question" can be seen in two passages from the letter to Harkhuf:<sup>597</sup> whereas the former (a condition) is rendered "If you will reach the residence . . . My Majesty will make something great for you . . .," the latter (a question) is translated "If you [continue] spending the day and night . . . My Majesty will grant your many excellent wishes . . ." It appears that the uses of the "conditional question," introduced by *jn* and *jn-jw*, may be complementary to those of the condition introduced by *jr*.

In the periods we have examined, we have not seen any visible distinction between questions and "conditional questions," and either *jn* or *jn-jw* could introduce both. It may be possible, however, that a graphic variant of *jn* indicating a condition was used in Late Egyptian. Recently, Osing has attempted to prove that *jn* is the ancestor of Late Egyptian ,

<sup>589</sup> P. 75, Example 2.

<sup>590</sup> P. 30, Example 40, and p. 43, Example 19.

<sup>591</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 228.

<sup>592</sup> P. 26, Example 29; p. 27, Example 31; p. 75, Example 2.

<sup>593</sup> *Urk.* I 130, 16-131, 1: *jr spr.k . . . jw hm.(j) r jrt*.

<sup>594</sup> Pp. 16-17, Example 4; p. 16, Examples 1 and 2; p. 62, Example 6; pp. 70-71, Example 2; p. 83, Example 1.

<sup>595</sup> There are exceptions to this rule, but the cases are limited to constructions which clearly define the tense. See above, p. 14, Example 24 (*sdm.n.f*), p. 43, Example 19 (*jw.f r sdm*), and pp. 70-71, Example 2 (*sdm.f*). The use of the third future after *jn* can be explained on the grounds that *jw* does not follow *jr*.

<sup>596</sup> Professor Wente has suggested this aspect of "conditional questions." Note that despite the similarity between the Coptic interrogative and conditional particle in Sahidic,  $\epsilon\text{N}\epsilon$ , the lack of examples where either *jn* or *jn-jw* stands before an unfulfilled condition is strong support for a separate origin for each of the particles. See Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, p. 36.

<sup>597</sup> For the question, see above, p. 27, Example 31, and for the condition, see *n.* 593.

contrary to Černý's suggestion.<sup>598</sup> Osing has suggested that *jmn* is simply a variant writing of *jn*, and he bases his conclusions primarily on phonological evidence.<sup>599</sup> Early in his discussion, he points out that interrogative *jn* could also introduce the protasis of a conditional sentence,<sup>600</sup> and it, therefore, could function in a manner similar to that of Late Egyptian *jmn*.

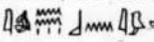
In English, as well as other languages, a question may often be interpreted as a condition, and the distinction between the two may not be very clear, especially if there is no response to the question and the speaker continues his speech.<sup>601</sup> Perhaps the same ambiguity existed in the older stages of the Egyptian language, and questions were with equal clarity understood in many cases as conditions.<sup>602</sup>

We have already pointed out the relative lack of restrictions which *jn* imposed on the type of construction which it introduced, and when we examine the examples which Černý collected of conditional *jmn*, we find that most constructions can occur after it as well, both emphatic and non-emphatic.<sup>603</sup> Despite the fact that "conditional questions" and true conditions appear to be complementary in both Old and Middle Egyptian, constructions introduced by *jn* or *jn-jw* still were ambiguous in the sense that they could be interpreted as conditions as well as questions in many cases. The later variant *jmn* for *jn* may have come about then as a conscious attempt to differentiate between the conditional and interrogative uses of questions. Whether there ever was any distinction in the pronunciation between interrogative *jn* and conditional *jmn* is debatable, and Osing suggests that  is only a graphic variant and that it was probably pronounced as was *jn*, despite its spelling.<sup>604</sup>

It is likely, therefore, that there was no distinction between conditions and questions with *jn* at the head in the spoken language, unless it was one of stress or tone.

Although we have mentioned the occasional parallel uses of *jn* and *jr*, it seems appropriate here to point out some conclusions concerning certain conditional sentences introduced by *jr*, which are by-products of our investigation. It is generally assumed that *wmn* occurs after *jr* in the place of *jw*, since *jw* could not occur after *jr*. We have previously suggested that when *wn*

<sup>598</sup> J. Osing, "Die Neuägyptische Partikel  'if,' 'whether,'" *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultur*, I (1974), 267-74. A. Gardiner has made a similar observation in "Miniscula Lexica," in *Ägyptologische Studien*, ed.: O. Firchow ("VIO," vol. XXIX; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955), 1. Cf. Černý, "Inn," p. 111.

<sup>599</sup> Osing, "Die Partikel , pp. 267-74, feels that *jn* and Coptic ΔΝ and ΕΝ were unstressed forms. He clearly proves that *jmn* could not have derived from *jn wn*, the second element of which would have been stressed, and he prefers to compare *jmn* to the orthographically similar first person plural independent pronoun . This pronoun in Late Egyptian conceals both a stressed and unstressed form, as indicated by Coptic ΔΝΟΝ and ΔΝ(̄)Ν, where the unstressed form shows a collapsing of two *n*'s. Osing suggests a similar explanation for  "if," which would have its ancestor in earlier *jn*. In addition, he shows that the late Egyptian negative future construction used in the protasis of a condition, , has the Coptic analogue Β ΔΝΝΕΚ and Μ ΕΝΝΕΚ.

<sup>600</sup> Osing, "Die Partikel , p. 267. One of his references (*ibid.*, n. 4), CT I 296 c, may show a correspondence between *jn* and *jr*, but the example is not clear, since in the one case where *jr* is written *nd* follows, while in the other two variants *jr* is omitted and *jn jnd* is written. It is possible that the two variants without *jr* confused the full writing of the verb. In favor of this interpretation is the fact that interrogative *jn* never uses  which is, however, present in both variants. Cf. a similar passage, PT 1161 b, where only *jnd* is written.

<sup>601</sup> Compare the phrases, "Are you going home? Do me a favor," and "If you are going home, do me a favor."

<sup>602</sup> For a discussion of the conditions in Demotic, see J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System* ("SAOC," vol. 39; Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1977), pp. 234-60, and "Conditional Clauses in 'Onchsheshonq,'" *Serapis* 2 (1970), pp. 22-28.

<sup>603</sup> Černý, "Inn," pp. 106-12. In contrast to *jn*, *jmn* could stand before the first present construction headed by *tw,j*, etc. See below, Table 2. *Jmn*, however, does not occur in direct questions, and it seems, therefore, to be more a variant of Late Egyptian *n* or *n'*.

<sup>604</sup> Osing, "Die Partikel , p. 273.

occurs after *jr*, it is not an error for *wmn*, but rather an abbreviated writing for the existential *jw wn*, the *jw* being omitted after conditional *jr*.<sup>605</sup> If this explanation is accepted, it becomes necessary to re-examine the cases where *wmn* is introduced by conditional *jr*. James, following Gardiner, has suggested that *wmn sdm.n.f* is used after *jr* in the *Ḥeḡanakhte* letters because *jw sdm.n.f* could not follow *jr*.<sup>606</sup> Since conditional *jr* does seem to take a circumstantial form after it in most cases, it would hardly seem likely that the predicative initial form *jw sdm.n.f* would have been the appropriate form; the circumstantial *sdm.n.f* would seem to be the likely candidate, and there are in fact examples of *jr sdm.n.f*.<sup>607</sup> *Jr wmn sdm.n.f* must have been used for a different purpose. Although James has stated that *wmn sdm.n.f* after *jr* does not project the sense of the future perfect as it does when *jr* is absent,<sup>608</sup> it is clear from his examples that we are dealing with a hypothetical situation set in the past, and it is the future perfect which would probably express the desired nuance.<sup>609</sup>

A similar explanation might be made for the pattern *jr wmn sdm.f*, where considering *wmn sdm.f* merely as a substitute for *jw sdm.f*,<sup>610</sup> seems to be an oversimplification. Despite the fact that *jw* could not occur after *jr* in Old and Middle Egyptian, *jw sdm.f* is a predicative construction expressing generality or repetition. In the examples shown by Edel and Gardiner,<sup>611</sup> a sense of the future or of an unfulfilled condition is implied,<sup>612</sup> and such a nuance was not expressed by *jw sdm.f*. Moreover, we have seen that a sense of continuity is expressed in "conditional questions." It is likely then that *jr wmn sdm.f* was used to indicate a hypothetical situation; it was not a substitute for *\*jr jw sdm.f*.

This discussion is not meant to cast doubt on the explanation for the appearances of *wmn* after *jr* being due to substitution for *jw* in all cases. It would seem that constructions with pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicates whose subjects were introduced by *jw* would probably substitute *wmn* for *jw* after conditional *jr*.<sup>613</sup>

<sup>605</sup> See above, p. 80, Example 1, and the following discussion.

<sup>606</sup> James, *Ḥeḡanakhte*, p. 104.

<sup>607</sup> See Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 151, and Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin VIII*, pa. 242, 1; however, for *jr šsp.n.j*, cf. Lopez, "Le Papyrus Millingen," pp. 29-35. It is also possible that these examples can be analyzed as *jr* + a nominal form in which case the *jr* would function not as a conditional particle, but as a particle bringing emphasis to the following nominal construction.

<sup>608</sup> James, *Ḥeḡanakhte*, p. 104.

<sup>609</sup> See CT I 307 h-308 h, where *wmn sdm.n.f* occurs without an introductory particle, but it is still possible that it is to be understood as a condition, "If it should be the case that he has heard." See also Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin VIII*, pa. 242, 8, for another example of *wmn sdm.n.f*. It is possible that *wmn sdm.n.f* was used after *jr* simply because *jr sdm.n.f* was ambiguous.

<sup>610</sup> Gardiner, *EG*, pa. 150, and pa. 474, and Edel, *AÄG*, pa. 973.

<sup>611</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>612</sup> Although there are only a few examples of this construction, each of them has a nominal subject.

<sup>613</sup> Note that although *jn* + *jw* subject + pseudo-verbal predicate can be interpreted as a condition, there are no examples of *jn* + *jw* subject + adverbial predicate which can be thus used.

## APPENDIX

### Evidence From Later Periods

#### Diachronic Evidence Regarding Jn and Jn-Jw

Until the early part of the New Kingdom, *jn* was the most versatile and frequently used interrogative particle. During the same period, *jn-jw* appears rarely and is restricted to introducing nominal sentences; but, according to most grammars, it does appear more regularly later in the New Kingdom.<sup>614</sup> In discussing *jn-jw* in the later periods, as is true also for the early stages of the language, we cannot use for examples cases where *jw* belongs to the following construction, since such questions have in actuality *jn* at the head.<sup>615</sup> In a survey of texts from the New Kingdom,<sup>616</sup> where it is clear that *jn-jw* was used, i.e., in non-verbal nominal sentences or sentences with nominal (emphatic) verbs, it appears that most of the examples come from literary sources.<sup>617</sup> The restriction of *jn-jw* to nominal sentences (both with noun predicates and emphatic [nominal] verbs) appears to hold true in most instances even in these texts; however, there is some likelihood that where *sdm.f* is concerned, *jn-jw* may introduce non-emphatic verbs. It is possible that *jn-jw* before non-emphatic *sdm.f* in Late Egyptian, which is restricted to literary texts, may have been formed on the basis of false archaisms. *sdm.f* in literary Late Egyptian can be either present (possibly derived from *jw sdm.f* in literary Middle Egyptian) or past (from *jw sdm.n.f* in Middle Egyptian).<sup>618</sup> It may have been felt that the *jw*—ordinarily dropped as a marker of independence because of its overwhelming circumstantial usage in Late Egyptian—was permitted here owing to a remembrance of its frequent appearance in classical Middle Egyptian after *jn* in a variety of constructions: nominal (verbal and non-verbal), verbal, pseudo-verbal, adverbial and adjectival sentences. A similar explanation may be valid for *jn jw sdm.n.f*. Questions from the later periods, however, are not

<sup>614</sup> Erman, *NG*, pa. 739, and Korostovtsev, *GN*, pa. 165 and pa. 166.

<sup>615</sup> See the next section of the Appendix.

<sup>616</sup> Among the sources used were: J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* ("BAe," vol. IX; Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1939); Erman, *NG*; Korostovtsev, *GN*; P. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1974); J. Černý, "Lectures on Late Egyptian Grammar at Brown University," privately distributed, 1954; A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* ("BAe," vol. I; Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* ("BAe," vol. VII; Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937); S. Groll, *Non-Verbal Sentence Patterns in Late Egyptian*; and S. Groll, *The Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), and Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*.

<sup>617</sup> See the examples below, n. 619.

<sup>618</sup> See S. Groll, "The Literary and the Non-literary Verbal Systems in Late Egyptian," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica: Miscellanea in Honorem Josephi Vergote*, 6/7 (1975/76), pp. 239-42.

the most reliable sources for examples of Middle Egyptian usage. Nominal *sdm.f* often does not geminate; the negation *n...js* is rare; and *jn-jw* appears before *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f*.<sup>619</sup>

*Jn*, however, persists as the major interrogative, even during this time period, and it retains most of its versatility.<sup>620</sup> It is not *jn-jw* which replaces *jn* in many cases, but *n'*, a word which apparently could also be used for *jn-jw*.<sup>621</sup> We find that the variant *n* for *jn*, which continues in usage in literary texts, appears to be required in most non-literary texts, especially those of the latter part of the New Kingdom. In contrast, *jn-jw* appears infrequently and then is limited to literary texts; it never occurs in non-literary texts. Its use may be attributed in many cases to a misguided attempt to write Middle Egyptian. During that time, *jw* frequently appeared after *jn*. It is possible that the scribes erred in assuming that this *jw*, which was the first element of the underlying statement, was rather part of the interrogative.<sup>622</sup>

The function of these interrogatives in Late Egyptian can be seen in Table 2.

<sup>619</sup> For *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* in the Ethiopian period, see Logan and Westenholz, "*Sdm.f* and *Sdm.n.f* Forms," pp. 11-20. A. Spalinger has made a preliminary study of the negatives in the Pey stela and has not found *n...js*. See p. 73, n. 410. Note the use of *nn* + prospective *sdm.f* after *jn-jw* in Massart, "Leiden Magical Papyrus," ro. VI, 7, *jn-jw nn rh.k wj* "Will you not know me?" Other questions from literary sources are not so easy to distinguish between an emphatic or a non-emphatic usage, since the verbs are strong, and there is an adverbial adjunct. See for example, *Astarte* 2x + 19, *Sallier*, IV 3, 2, and *Horus and Seth* 9, 6. In literary texts, we also find clear examples of *jn-jw* before emphatic verbs such as *j.šm* (*Lieb. Harris* 1, 3 and 4) and *j.dj* (*Doomed Prince*, 6, 10). See also the later emphatic question, *Urk.* III 70, *jn-jw jj.sn r 'lj' jn-jw jj.sn r b'k* "Is it to fight or work that they have come?" The same analysis can be made for a question in the Pey stela, 52 (*Urk.* III 19), *jn-jw js h'wj pt m šsr* "Is it arrows that heaven rains?" *Jn jw* also occurs several times in the Chester Beatty Papyri (A. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3rd series II [London: British Museum, 1935]). Clearly the questions with adverbial predicates are to be analyzed *jn + jw* (IV vs. 3, 5 and 3, 7) and the same analysis is valid for the questions with pseudo-verbal predicate (IV 3, 6, 3, 8, and 7, 13). When the predicate is *sdm.f*, the analysis is ambiguous, since the verb is strong and there is an adverbial adjunct (IV 3, 7 and 9, 5). The two examples of *sdm.n.f* (IV 9, 3 and 9, 4) should be analyzed as *jn-jw + emphatic sdm.n.f*. For *jn-jw* before a Late Egyptian non-verbal nominal sentence, see *Lieb. Harris* 1, 3 (see above, p. 84, n. 478).

<sup>620</sup> Note that the emphatic question which occurs in a letter (*Late Ramesside Letters*, 24, 9), (*j)n j.jr.k djt*, is not introduced by *jn-jw*. See also Table 2. See Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 385 and 555. In the story of Wenamun, questions are frequent, but the majority of them are introduced by *nn* (𓏏𓏏) for *jn*. See 1, x+8; 1, x+9; 1, x+20; 1, x+22; 1, x+23; 1, x+23; 1, x+23; 2, 11; 2, 11; 2, 12; 2, 13; 2, 27; 2, 49; 2, 65; 2, 66; 2, 77; 2, 81; 2, 82. In the same text, *n* is used for interrogative *jn* (translated as whether) in 1, 17, and for apparently non-interrogative *jn* in 1, x+5. See J. Barns, "Some Readings and Interpretations in Sundry Egyptian Texts," *JEA*, LVIII (1972), 159-66, who first pointed out the variant *nn* for *jn*. See also the emphatic questions after the interrogative *nn* for *jn* in Wenamun discussed by C. F. Nims, "Second Tenses in Wenamun," *JEA*, LIV (1968), 161-64. His translations, however, reflect his understanding of *nn* sometimes as a negation.

<sup>621</sup> See also above, p. 78, n. 444. For *n'* as a variant for *jn-jw*, see above, p. 82, Example 2. Erman, *NG*, pa. 739, however, concluded that "Wo das 𓏏𓏏 nicht vor 𓏏𓏏 steht, ist es offenbar stark verkürzt gewesen, denn man schreibt es 𓏏𓏏 oder 𓏏𓏏𓏏." As we shall see, however, both *n* and *n'* do stand before *jw* (see below, Examples 3, 4, and 5). *N'* is also used for *jn* in the collocation *n' jr* in the inscription of Mes 9, as James, *Heḳanakte*, p. 103, has already pointed out. See also Korostovtsev, *GN*, pa. 166.

<sup>622</sup> See Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 552-554 and Korostovtsev, *GN*, pa. 166. It seems that there may have been some differences between *jn* and *n*, since it was usually the latter that could introduce an indirect question (translated as whether). While *jw* after *jn* could be at the head of several types of underlying statements, the *jw* after *n* or *n'* appears always to be the first element of a third future construction (see below, Examples 3 and 4). See also Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 260-61 and 554. A further difference among the interrogatives is the use of *n* rather than *jn* before the positive and negative first present (*ibid.*, p. 554). Such variations are reflections of the type of text, either literary or non-literary, and the nature of the grammar used therein.

**TABLE 2**  
**Uses of Late Egyptian Interrogatives**

Uses	<i>Jn</i>	<i>N'</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Jn-Jw</i>
Direct questions	x	x	x (rare)	x
Indirect questions		x	x	
Before first present		x	x	
Before <i>jw</i> subject + pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicates	x	x (only 3rd future)	x (only 3rd future)	
Before emphatic verbal sentences	x	x <sup>623</sup>	x	x
Before non-emphatic verbal sentences	x	x	x <sup>624</sup>	x (?)
Before nominal sentences			x	x

In Demotic, however, *jn-jw* does not seem to occur at all. *Jn* appears before emphatic as well as non-emphatic verbs, nominal sentences, sentences with pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicate.<sup>625</sup> Occasionally, however, *n* will replace *jn*.<sup>626</sup> We even see *jn* used before indirect questions during this period.<sup>627</sup>

Diachronic evidence from Coptic appears at first to confuse our understanding of the interrogatives, since *ENE* is usually considered to be the successor of earlier *jn-jw*, and this contradicts our findings that *jn* is the major interrogative in Egyptian. *ENE* is, however, limited to Sahidic, where the variant *EN* may also occur.<sup>628</sup> *NE* is hardly ever used in this

<sup>623</sup> Note that one example has been found where *n'* appears before an active verb that seems to be emphatic; see above p. 82, Example 2.

<sup>624</sup> Černý and Groll, *ibid.*, indicate that both *n* and *n'* can precede a non-initial prospective *sdm.f*. It is also possible that these verbs are initial prospectives, if the examples with *tm* are understood as positive and translated as "cease." See also E. Wente, review of *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System*, by P. Frandsen, *JNES*, 36 (1977), 311, and M. Gilula, "A *tm.n.f sdm* Sentence?" *JEA*, LX (1970), 250, for similar suggestions regarding *tm*.

<sup>625</sup> Spiegelberg, *DG*, pa. 485-pa. 490. See also the second section of the Appendix and above, p. 17. In Demotic, *jw* is the circumstantial converter, except in some portions of the paradigm of the first present tense construction and all of the third future paradigm. See also J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 32, n. 1.

<sup>626</sup> See for example Spiegelberg, *DG*, pa. 489.

<sup>627</sup> *Ibid.*, pa. 492.

<sup>628</sup> W. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), p. 56, shows only one case (*Acts* 10, 18) of *EN*. His example (only one manuscript) *ENEPE CIMWN OXHQ MTEIMΔ* could, however, also be an illustration of the practice which is common in Coptic of dropping duplicated vowels; \**ENEPEPE* > *ENEPE*. An example such as *ENEKCOOΔN* seems ambiguous, since it is possible to interpret it either as *EN EKCOOΔN* or *ENE KCOOΔN*. While Bohairic uses the first present after *ΔN*, Sahidic consistently has either the circumstantial or the second present, both of which are graphically identical.

dialect, and since it does occur after  $\Delta E$ ,<sup>629</sup> it may be an attempt to distinguish questions from hypothetical conditions, the particle for which is also  $E NE$ .<sup>630</sup> It would seem likely, however, as far as Sahidic is concerned, that  $E NE$  was the major interrogative, and this fact presupposes a link to earlier *jn-jw*. It is possible, since many questions introduced by *jn* are followed by a construction headed by *jw*, that this closeness of the two words was interpreted in the Sahidic dialect in one word  $E NE$ . However, the etymology of  $E NE < jn jw$  in Sahidic is not supported by the evidence from the other dialects. Bohairic uses only  $\Delta N$ .<sup>631</sup> Akhmimic employs  $\Delta N$ ,<sup>632</sup> but  $N \Delta$  is used in special circumstances.<sup>633</sup> In these dialects we see the oldest, most frequently used, and most versatile interrogative reflected in the Coptic interrogatives  $\Delta N$  and  $NE$ . We can, then, trace a direct line from Old Egyptian to Coptic in the case of the interrogative *jn*, and it is likely that Sahidic  $E NE$  is also derived from *jn*.

### Diachronic Evidence for Segmenting the Question Pattern Jn Jw Subject + Pseudo-Verbal and Adverbial Predicate

Since questions whose predicates are either pseudo-verbal or adverbial are consistent in that their subjects are always introduced by *jw*, it is difficult to assume a priori that they should be segmented *jn + jw* rather than *jn-jw +*. Unlike questions in the pattern *jn jw sdm.n.f* or *jn jw sdm.f*, where the context or the form of the verb might determine segmentation after *jn* or *jn-jw*, we do not have such helpful criteria when the predicate is pseudo-verbal or adverbial. Our investigation of the answers to these questions has shown that a response is usually written with what appears to be the declarative analogue, i.e., *jw* subject + predicate, but most of this evidence comes only from questions with pseudo-verbal predicates. Our examination of the particles *rf*, *rr*, and *tr* has indicated that these particles, when they occur in the sequence *jn* particle *jw*, do support segmenting after *jn*.

The pattern *jn jw* subject + pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicate is used not only in Old and Middle Egyptian, but also in Late Egyptian and Demotic.<sup>634</sup> A few Late Egyptian examples are presented below,

<sup>629</sup> See Crum, *CD*, p. 56. A variant to *Acts* 10, 18, has instead of  $E NE PE$ ,  $NE PE$ .

<sup>630</sup> Professor Baer has pointed out, however, that it is likely that  $NE$  is rather an indication of the past and not the interrogative.

<sup>631</sup> Crum, *CD*, p. 56, and A. Mallon, *Grammaire Copte* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1926), p. 190.

<sup>632</sup> Crum, *CD*, p. 56. See also W. Till, *Koptische Dialektgrammatik* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1961), p. 75, and *Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1928), p. 219.

<sup>633</sup> Till, *Achmimisch-Koptische Grammatik*, p. 219 B, points out that  $N \Delta$ , however, is a common contraction of  $NE$  before the perfect and the future II tenses. G. Steindorf, *Lehrbuch der Koptischen Grammatik* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 209, has included  $E N$  as the writing in Akhmimic.

<sup>634</sup> For the Demotic examples, see F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London: Clarendon Press, 1904-1909), pl. VI, 30-31, *jn jw.j dd n.k* "Am I speaking to you?" and Spiegelberg, *DG*, p. 488. See also J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, pp. 32, n. 1 and 70. It would appear that the trend in Demotic derives from that of the literary, rather than non-literary texts, of the New Kingdom, where the interrogative first present is *jn + jw.f*. Unlike the tradition in Late Egyptian non-literary texts, the pronominal compounds are not used.

**Example 1** *JEA* XIV, pl. XXXIII, fig. 2, 3-4 (B. M. 10103)<sup>635</sup>

dj.sn n.k ḥst mrwt spd-ḥr m st.k nbt ḥn' dd ḥy ḳd.k sp 2 jn  
 jw.k mj-šš mk tw.j mj-šš

May they give praise, love, and alertness to you, wherever you are. Further: How are you? How are you?<sup>636</sup> Are you well? Behold, I am well.

The answer to this question is a typical Late Egyptian construction, the first present,<sup>637</sup> while the underlying statement in the question introduces the pronominal subject with *jw*.

**Example 2** *P. Orbiney* 9, 4

jn jw.k dj w'.tj

Are you alone here?

This question follows a pattern that occurs in literary texts of the New Kingdom and also in the Demotic period,<sup>638</sup> i.e., despite the frequency of the pronominal compound before pseudo-verbal and adverbial predicates in statements, the pronominal subject in questions referring to the same time, when introduced by *jn*, is always preceded by *jw*, and the questions follow the pattern *jn jw* suffix subject + predicate. *Jn* does not seem capable of introducing a pronominal compound. In contrast, during the New Kingdom we do find *n*, the variant of interrogative *jn*, which, as we have previously mentioned, was frequently used in both the Old and Middle Kingdoms, at the head of a question followed by the pronominal compound.<sup>639</sup> It does not appear to share this New Kingdom restriction of *jn*. Since *n* functions, at least in non-literary texts of the New Kingdom, as a variant writing of *jn*, it would seem likely that the use of the pronominal compounds after only *n* would be indirect evidence for segmenting after *jn*.

Since all our examples of questions in the present tense with *jn* at the head are limited to the second person, it is possible to suggest that we are dealing here with a formulaic expression which might have routinely been understood as *jn-jw*, an introductory particle to which the suffix subject could be appended. The fact that Example 2 is from a literary text and that the

<sup>635</sup> S. Glanville, "The Letters of Aaḥmōse Peniati," *JEA*, XIV (1928), 294-312. The same questions are also present in P. Louvre 3230 (T. Peet, "Two Eighteenth Dynasty Letters," *JEA*, XII (1926), pl. XVII, 4). See also J. Barns, "Three Hieratic Papyri in the Duke of Northumberland's Collection," *JEA*, XXXIV (1948), pl. IX, 2-3, where the question also occurs. M. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography* ("BdÉ," vol. XLVIII; Cairo: l'Institut Français Archéologie Orientale, 1970), p. 76, includes other examples of these questions which are apparently formulaic expressions.

<sup>636</sup> Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, p. 76, interprets *ḥy ḳd.k* as a question. Peet, "Two Eighteenth Dynasty Letters," p. 71, and Glanville, "The Letters," p. 304, however, rendered the phrase "Hail to thee!" Barns, "Three Hieratic Papyri," p. 38, 2, rendered the phrase in another letter as a question. Caminos, *LEM*, pp. 336 and 342, also discusses this phrase. *Hy* as an interrogative also occurs in the Kamose stela, 30 (see Gardiner, *EG*, p. 427).

<sup>637</sup> In the letter published by Barns, "Three Hieratic Papyri," pl. IX, 3, the answer is *r nty tw.j m šš*.

<sup>638</sup> We cannot include here examples from the New Kingdom, where the grammar appears to be predominantly that of the Middle Kingdom. See for example, *jn jw n.ḥn R'* "Do you have Re?" (A. Gardiner, "A Stele in the MacGregor Collection," *JEA*, IV (1917), pl. XXXVII) and *jn jw.j tr m šhm jm* "Am I really a powerful one there?" (Caminos, *Literary Fragments*, pl. XX, D 1, 8). See also above, n. 619, for similar examples from the Chester Beatty Papyri. See also University Museum (Philadelphia) 29-87-474, where the phrase, *jn jw.k m pt jn jw.k m t'*, occurs. (Note the similar questions on p.51.)

<sup>639</sup> See the examples shown by Korostovtsev, *GN*, pa. 166. See also above, n. 622, and Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 552-54.

context of that passage is not analogous to that of the letters might, however, be an argument against interpreting *jn jw.k* as a totally formulaic expression.

We do, however, find the suffix *j* used in an interrogation of the third future tense.<sup>640</sup>

**Example 3 *Late Ramesside Letters*, 68, 3<sup>641</sup>**

(j)n jw.j sšp.w n.f m t'y wnw

Shall I put up with it from him now?

We also find the second person singular being used in this type of question.

**Example 4 *Late Ramesside Letters*, 4, 5**

(j)n jw.k jnt.j (sic!)<sup>642</sup>

Will you bring him [literally, me]?

Despite the absence of answers for Examples 3 and 4, it does seem that they should be analyzed as *jn + jw*, since we find the writing *n* for *jn*, which may indicate that (*j*)*n* was the interrogative and that it stood before a construction headed by *jw*. It seems less likely that we have here *\*n-jw* as a variant of *jn-jw*, since we would expect to see such a construction frequently; but it seems to be limited to only Examples 3 and 4.<sup>643</sup> In support of understanding the segmentation *jn + jw* is another question which is also in the same tense. The subject here, indefinite *tw*, is introduced by *n' jw* rather than by *jn jw*.<sup>644</sup>

**Example 5 *OMRO* XLI, fig. 11, 11**

n' jw.tw r jnt.w jw.sn r ḥ't n'y rmtt m mjtt

Shall one bring them, they likewise being before these people?

This question clearly indicates that an interrogative word stood before the sentence beginning with *jw*. Since it is known that *jn* was interchangeable with *n'* in the New Kingdom,<sup>645</sup> it would seem that in this example only the first word functioned as the interrogative.<sup>646</sup> The existence of a compound interrogative *\*n'-jw* parallel to *jn-jw* is hardly likely, since *n'* is known also to have been used parallel to *jn-jw*.<sup>647</sup>

Although the tense of Examples 3, 4, and 5 is that of the third future and statements

<sup>640</sup> See P. Frandsen, *An Outline*, pa. 31, who understood this example to be in the third future tense.

<sup>641</sup> J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, p. 68.

<sup>642</sup> For the translation, see E. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* ("SAOC," vol. XXXIII; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 20.

<sup>643</sup> We might have expected to find *\*n-jw* before an emphatic verb, but we find only *jn-jw* (see above, n. 619) or *n jir.f sdm* (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 24, 9, and Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 385 and 554. See above, n. 620). The fact that it is *n*, not *\*n-jw*, which appears before the few examples of direct questions where the pronominal compound follows the interrogation, would further support segmenting *jn + jw*.

<sup>644</sup> J. J. Janssen, "Nine Letters from the Time of Ramesses II," *OMRO*, XLI (1960), fig. 11, 11.

<sup>645</sup> See Korostovtsev, *GN*, pa. 166. Cf. Erman, *NG*, pa. 739. See Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, pp. 552-53.

<sup>646</sup> *N'* occurs two other times in these letters (Janssen, "Nine Letters," fig. 9, vs., 3 and 4) where it introduces indirect questions in the manner of *n*.

<sup>647</sup> See above, p. 82, Example 2.

analogous to these questions, even in the New Kingdom, would be introduced by *ju*, they do, because of the use of the variants *n* and *n'*, indicate that an interrogative stood before a construction headed by *ju*. It is likely that other questions of similar patterns (*ju ju* suffix + pseudo-verbal or adverbial predicate) should be analyzed similarly.

Evidence which would also support segmenting after *ju* occurs in later texts from the Demotic period. When the first present tense construction is interrogated in Demotic, most of the pronominal subjects are preceded by *ju*, i.e., *ju + ju + suffix subject + infinitive*.<sup>648</sup> For noun subjects and third person plural, the construction is, however, *ju + subject + infinitive*.<sup>649</sup> One might have expected if *ju-ju* were used that it would have occurred before all subjects, but such is not the case. From the evidence of our few Late Egyptian examples and the later questions from Demotic, it seems clear that constructions formed with the independent first present (*tw.j*, *tw.k*, etc.) could not occur after *ju*. Whenever a declarative statement which utilized the pronominal compound was to be interrogated by *ju*, the construction with two exceptions (third person plural and noun subjects, according to the Demotic evidence) was transformed into the pattern *ju + ju + suffix + predicate*.<sup>650</sup>

The first three elements of questions with pseudo-verbal and adverbial predicates introduced by the full writing *ju* are listed in Table 3.<sup>651</sup>

TABLE 3  
Questions With Pseudo-Verbal and Adverbial Predicates

Subject	Old/Middle Kingdom	New Kingdom	Demotic
1 singular	<i>ju ju.j</i>	<i>ju ju.j</i>	<i>ju ju.j</i>
2 singular	<i>ju ju.k (t)</i>	<i>ju ju.k</i>	<i>ju ju.k</i>
3 singular	<i>ju ju.f (s)</i>		
1 plural			
2 plural	<i>ju ju.tn</i>		
3 plural			<i>ju st</i>
Indefinite	<i>ju ju.tw</i>	<i>n' ju.tw</i>	
Noun	<i>ju ju N</i>		<i>ju N</i>

<sup>648</sup> J. Johnson, "Demotic Verbs and Dialects" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1972), p. 40, n. 2, has made this observation and includes several examples to illustrate her conclusions. She also has included (ibid., pp. 224 and 226) linguistic suggestions to support her analysis that *ju* was prefixed to an independent statement. Unfortunately, there are no examples of a third person singular subject after *ju*, but, since Demotic uses *ju.f* rather than Late Egyptian *sw* in statements, we might assume that *\*ju.f* would also occur after *ju*.

<sup>649</sup> See Spiegelberg, *DG*, p. 438, for some examples.

<sup>650</sup> Johnson, "Demotic Verbs," p. 40, notes that "a form indistinguishable from the circumstantial was used after the question particle *ju*." See J. Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, p. 32, n. 1.

<sup>651</sup> Only the subjects which actually have been attested are included in this table. For the sources of the Late Egyptian examples see n. 616.

Table 3 indicates the consistency with which this type of question was formed. Despite the comparative lack of examples in the New Kingdom, we can see that the pattern established in the earliest periods of the language was maintained in most cases into the Demotic period. The only change appears in the preference in Demotic for the independent present construction with the third person plural and noun subjects. Unfortunately, we cannot determine whether Late Egyptian followed this pattern. We have seen, however, that when there were answers to this type of question in Late Egyptian, the pronominal compound was used, and the same alternation between the construction of question and answer is also followed in Demotic.<sup>652</sup> It would seem, therefore, that the Demotic usage was based on an earlier pattern.

Even though it is possible that questions with pseudo-verbal and adverbial predicates, where *jn jw* stood before a subject, may have become merely formulaic expressions, the absence of *jw* before the third person plural and nominal subjects in Demotic suggests that *jn* alone was the interrogative and that *jw* was not part of the interrogation. In support of this interpretation is another Demotic question, *jn jw jw.k r rh ȝy.t.f r-db' [p'] dr n sh nfr* "Will you be able to take it through the strength of a good scribe."<sup>653</sup> Here, on the analogy of the use of the circumstantial first present after *jn*, the circumstantial converter was used before the independent third future construction.<sup>654</sup>

Although concentrating primarily on the problems of segmentation here, it should be mentioned that we have grouped together examples from both literary and non-literary sources. While the conclusions reached regarding segmenting after *jn* (rather than after *jn jw*) appears to be valid in the majority of cases, the collection of examples also helps to point out some distinctions between the two genres. As in earlier periods, non-literary texts prefer (*j*)*n*; *jn-jw* does not occur in such texts; and *jw* after (*j*)*n* appears to be limited to the Third Future. Literary texts allow *jw* (followed by subject + adverbial or pseudo-verbal predicate) for the interrogation of the First Present tense, while non-literary texts ordinarily use (*j*)*n* + the pronominal compound (Cf., however, Example 1, above). Demotic prefers the pattern of the former (except for third person plural and noun subjects) and thus follows mainly the literary tradition.

<sup>652</sup> See for example, Griffith and Thompson, *Magical*, XVI, 26.

<sup>653</sup> Dr. Johnson has pointed out this example from Setna IV, 27 (Spiegelberg, *DG*, pa. 489), and the accompanying translation and interpretation. See now, J. Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, p. 166.

<sup>654</sup> See also above, Example 5, which may be susceptible to this analysis, if *n'* = *jn jw*. A Late Egyptian question which comes from a damaged text may also fit into this category, *jn jw jw.f [III]* (*Astarte* 1, x + 13 = A. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* ["BAe," vol. I; Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique de la Reine Élisabeth, 1932], p.77).

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