

Linguistic Dating of the Netherworld Books Attested in the New Kingdom*

A Critical Review

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Abstract

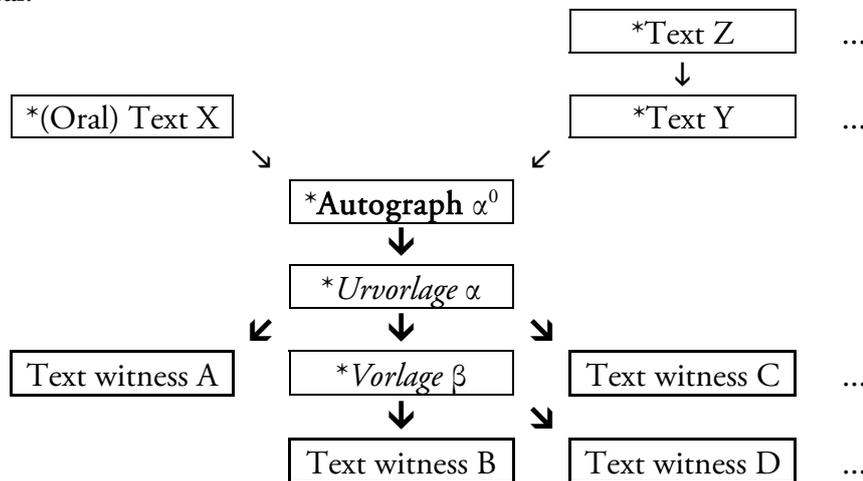
This contribution first reviews linguistic features that have been put forward as arguments for an Old Kingdom date of particular theological compositions first attested in the New Kingdom: the Netherworld Books (Amduat, Book of Gates, Book of Caverns, Book of the Night, Books of the Earth), the Book of the Day, the Book of Nut, as well as the Litany of the Sun. In this context, the adverbial use of *jw*/*jw**tj*, the proclitic use of determiners (*pn* NP), the attestation of ‘old prospective’ forms (*sḏm.w=f*, *nj sḏm.w=f*, *sḏmm=f*, *nj sḏmm=f*), the lack of certain periphrastic tempora (*jw=f r sḏm*, *jw=f hr sḏm*), the proclitic pronoun construction *sw sḏm=f*, and the nominal sentences with *twt* (*js*) and *swt* (*js*) are discussed in some detail. The review concludes that it is indeed plausible to date at least some of these compositions as attested in the New Kingdom to the New Kingdom (or to the Second Intermediate Period), testifying to the profound philological and linguistic competence of certain Egyptian literates at that time. Therefore, besides the *Urkunden* IV and some medical texts, the Netherworld Books can serve as another landmark for the linguistic dating of pieces of literature attested not earlier than in the New Kingdom.

1 The background: textual history and linguistic strata

Various Netherworld Books¹ that are first attested in the New Kingdom have been dated to much earlier times based on their content, their state of preservation, and/or some

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particular grammatical features they exhibit.² More sophisticated discussions differentiate between the date of the *urvorlage*, which can be reconstructed by the means of text critical methods, the date of the potentially older (lost) autograph, and the date of even older pieces of text that the author of the autograph might have worked into his new text. In the case of the Netherworld Books we observe a very ‘reproductive’ way of transmission in the New Kingdom, whereas, from the Late Period on, we see cases in which the copyist has moderately worked on the grammar (Werning 2011: cf. ch.IV.E.6) or even has augmented or remodelled the text (cf. the example of the sarcophagus of Tjihorpto: Manassa 2007: 377–386; Werning 2011: ch.II.O with tab.4). Nevertheless, there are often enough reproductive text witnesses to confidently reconstruct an *urvorlage*. Subsequently through *examinatio* and very cautious *emendatio*, we can derive a hypothetical wording of the autograph. The ideas and wordings laid out in the autograph might itself partially come from earlier, written or orally transmitted texts (cf. Müller-Roth 2006: 542–544; Stauder forthc.: §6.1 with fn.). However, we often have no positive evidence attested, so that earlier texts that have been worked into a new text remain purely hypothetical.



Potentially, the text witnesses contain linguistic elements introduced in any of the different steps of textual (re)production, beginning with the inspirational text pieces X/Y/... and ending with the actual production of the text witness. But actually – If not archeologically evident –, the only justification for a reconstruction of a wording or for a dating of the autograph different from the one of the *urvorlage* or for the hypothetical recon-

1 For the sake of convenience the term Netherworld Books (NBs) in this article is meant to include not only NBs proper, i.e. (the) Amduat, (the Book of) Gates, (the Book of the) Night, (the Book of the) Day, (the Book of) Caverns, the scenes traditionally called (the Book of the) Earth, and the Enigmatic Netherworld Books, but also (the Book of) Nut and (the) Litany (of the Sun).

2 For the linguistic arguments for an OK date or OEG. ‘archaisms’, respectively, cf. especially Quack (1997: 179f. [Night]), Baumann (1998: 451f., but cf. 450f.), Zeidler (1999: I, 208, but cf. 207f. [Gates]), Rößler-Köhler (1999: 74f., 91f. [Amduat]), Quack (2000: 545–558 [Gates, Caverns], 559 [Litany]), von Lieven (2007: 251–253 [Nut]) to be reviewed here. I need to stress that the possible earlier date of the underlying astronomical raw data in Nut (*op.cit.*: 223) do not imply that the composition as a whole is to be dated earlier. Recent summaries of opinions: Wiebach-Koepke 2003: 23–29; Müller-Roth 2006: 541; Manassa 2007: 3, fn. 9; Jansen-Winkeln forthc.: introduction.

struction of earlier text pieces that have been worked into the autograph is a complete mismatch between different parts of the reconstructed *urvorlage* as far as the date of either particular grammatical features, intellectual ideas, or mentioned artifacts, persons, or otherwise is concerned.

The identification of mismatching strata within a text is a real challenge for the egyptological linguist. The task becomes even more complicated since Egyptian authors evidently produced new texts in a language different from their contemporary chronolect using features of much earlier chronolects. Depending on the amount of diachronically distinct linguistic features, we are used to classifying the language of the text as ('perfect') Classical Middle Egyptian, Classical Middle Egyptian with 'archaizing' Old Egyptian features, Classical Middle Egyptian with 'modern' Late Egyptian features (Late Middle Egyptian), *Égyptien de tradition* (Late Middle Egyptian or Neo-Middle Egyptian), Late Egyptian with archaizing Middle Egyptian features, or the like. The crucial point for the question of linguistic dating of whole texts is to differentiate between genuinely older text parts worked into later texts on the one hand (von Lieven 2007, 247: "(b) tradierte [alte] Texte mit nachträglichen Hinzufügungen, c) Patchworktexte") and old or 'archaizing' features in texts that were produced as a whole at a certain time on the other hand. Often the decision between the two is a matter of plausibility, subject to hermeneutic reckoning (e.g. Occam's Razor).

This contribution operates on the assumption that a thorough investigation of linguistic features and orthography that are subject to change in the history of the Egyptian language can potentially reveal parts of the textual history and the dating of a text (cf. among others Vernus 1990b, 1996; Winand 1995; von Lieven 2007: ch.2.2). The approach differs from the most detailed explication of a method by von Lieven (2007: ch.2.2.1) in that it does not exclude the idea that well educated Egyptian literates were not only able to but also wanted to emulate a close to original earlier chronolect from scratch (cf. *op.cit.*: 247–249).³ Crucial are the presuppositions about the amount and the conspicuousness of differences between the language of genuinely old texts and the language of emulated texts from the New Kingdom(!).⁴ Actually, the following review shows that the deviations of the language of the Netherworld Books from that of genuinely old chronolects as well as the (seeming) similarities require a quite subtle evaluation and that a superficial look can be misleading. (Actually, I would not even exclude the possibility that the emulation of an earlier text was so successful that we don't find revealing features – especially in shorter texts as admitted also by von Lieven – or that these features escape our detection in the present state of our knowledge.)

3 Von Lieven (2007: 249): "Tatsächlich ist der meines Erachtens entscheidende Punkt, daß die Ägypter nicht deshalb nicht in der Lage gewesen seien, alte Sprachstufen zu imitieren, weil sie dazu wesentlich unfähig waren, sondern daß sie sich gar nicht darum bemühten, weil es ihnen – anders als die heutige Forschung annimmt – wenig bedeutete." This assumption and her arguments are not fully convincing though; see Stauder (forthc., §10.1–2), and the detailed discussion of Jansen-Winkeln (2011).

4 Von Lieven (2007: 247): "Würde in seltenen Fällen doch einmal versucht, einen von der gesprochenen Sprache differierenden Sprachzustand durch Orientierung an älteren Vorbildern zu schaffen, so gibt sich dieser Versuch durch mangelnde Korrektheit der ‚klassischen‘ Sprache zu erkennen."

In the following, I will first review linguistic arguments, step by step, that have been put forward for the case of particular Netherworld Books to justify the hypothesis of an autograph or of text pieces worked into the autograph that have to be dated much earlier than the first attested text witness.⁵ I will try to evaluate the evidence concerning the question of a hypothetically long textual history of the texts before their first attestation. In a second step, I will discuss linguistic evidence that hints at a (SIP)/NK chronolect as the background for the NBs. Very useful for a proper judgment are Andréas Stauders notions of ‘accessibility’ of linguistic elements and the distinction between ‘continued’, ‘remobilized’/reactivated, and ‘artificial’ linguistic features (Stauder forthc.: §§3.3, 7–9).

The evidence put forward for the dating of (parts of) the Netherworld Books can first be divided in two major groups: positive evidence, i.e. positively attested (early/late) features, and negative evidence, i.e. missing (early/late) features. Both these types of features can either be interpreted simply as features of older/younger pieces of text worked into a younger/older text, or as archaizing/modern features intentionally used in a predominately modern/archaizing text. The statistically predominant linguistic features of the Netherworld Book can certainly be classified as a type of Earlier Egyptian (rather than as Late Egyptian). It is a matter of dispute, though, whether this Earlier Egyptian is to be identified as a genuine Old Egyptian (early dating), a Classical Middle Egyptian, or a Late-Middle Egyptian (late dating) (– in each case potentially with older features and/or with secondary later features).

Since many of the arguments put forward for the dating of particular Netherworld Books concern others of these books as well, the arguments are reviewed not book by book but rather feature by feature.

2 Review of linguistic arguments for an OK(/FIP) dating

2.1 Positive evidence

Orthography and phonology

[1] ***k* vs. *ṯ*** • One text witness of the Litany exhibits a spelling of the toponym *knz.t*[⌘] (*Wb.* V, 133f., OK–Gr.-Rom.) with \equiv where other text witnesses have \curvearrowright *k*: *ṯnz.t*[⌘] [*So.Lit.* 157, ThIII] : *knz.t*[⌘] [γ] (mentioned by Quack 2000: 559). Both spellings could possibly be assigned to the *urvorlage* α.

Taken seriously, the *hapax* spelling *ṯnz.t*[⌘] would date this phrase of the Litany to the 1st dynasty (Kammerzell 2005: §4)! But the possibility of the fluctuation could also have been inferred by the Egyptian author in later times through the observation of the lemma(ta) *jsk* : *jsṯ* (*Wb.* I, 133f.). Compare also the possible cases of the pronoun *-kw* instead of *-tw* below [2]. But the case of *knz.t*[⌘] vs. *ṯnz.t*[⌘] in Litany is probably not very striking. The *ṯ* instead of *k* in the tomb of Thutmose III might very well just be an individual scribal error.

5 For the case of the Amduat see as well Jansen-Winkel forthc. quoted throughout this article.

[2] **kw** • There are a couple of instances where NBs seem to attest the Old Egyptian form of the enclitic personal pronoun 2SG.M, i.e. *-kw* instead of the usual later, palatalized form *-tw* (Edel 1955/1964: §193). This form is also attested in Coffin Texts (*DCT*. 671) and pRamesseum B (cf. Vernus 1996: 188–196). It also seems to be attested in passages from other texts from after the NK, which might have been inspired by older texts (cf. Junge 1973: 197, Vernus 1996: 196, Rothöhler 2006: 191; the date of these attestations is questioned by Quack 2000: 555 fn.27; for the Memphite Theology see now the summary in Rothöhler 2006: 184–202 and von Lieven 2007: 255–257).

One of the possible cases from the NBs is from Gates:

$st^3\Delta.w=n^i$ **-kw** *mdw*<...> *we will drag thee *corrupt** : [Pfb. 344a, RVI]
 $st^3\Delta.(y)w^i(?)$ **-kw** <*w*> $d^3\{w\}$ *m- št^3w=f* [SIs]

(Zeidler 1999: II, 288f. with fn.3; Quack 2000: 555 fn.27). And another very questionable one comes from Caverns:

m- s.mn^{||} **-kw** *jt(j)*^{||}=*k* *your father letting thee become 'firm'* : [Hb. 49.15, β]
m- s.mn=k jt(j)^{||}=*k* *you letting your father become 'firm'*; [γ/RVI = LdQ. XLVI.3]
 (The latter is the more reasonable reading in context.)

Note that both these cases have 'remarkable' cotexts: $st^3\Delta.wn^i$ instead of $*st^3w^{\Delta}n^i$ as well as an unclear following cotext in Gates; and a pragmatically unusual *m-* + *sdm=f* in Caverns.

[3] **p'** and **pj** • Especially in the 'earlier' NBs the morpheme *-pw* */pV/ is not only spelled *-pw* as usual in Middle Egyptian but also *-p* or *-pj* (or *-pjj*) like in Old Egyptian (Edel 1955/1964: §193) and occasionally in the Coffin Texts (*DCT*. 126, 129f.): e.g. Pfb. 367a (*-pj*; mentioned by Quack 2000: 547); for the numerous attestations in the Amduat (mentioned also by Rößler-Köhler 1999: 92) see Jansen-Winkel forthcoming: §C, footnotes with a critical evaluation of its usage. In Caverns besides *-pw*, the spellings *-pj* (1×), *-py* (4×) and $*pwy$ ^{||} (1×: tO py ^{||}, Pet pwy ^{||}, RVI pyw ^{||}) occur (Werning 2011: §74). The latter two, *-py* and $*pwy$ ^{||}, resemble the spellings pwy */pVj/ found from MK until Gr.-Rom. times (*DCT*. 131; Malaise & Winand 1999: §179; Westendorf 1962: §94, fn.2; Jansen-Winkel 1996: §232; *Ptol.Lex.* 348); and these are, as far as the morphology (but not always syntax) is concerned, probably to be connected to Late Egyptian p^3i */pVj/ rather than to *-p'* - *-pw* */pV/ or *-pj* */pV/ (or */pVj/?).

[4] **mytw** • In the Litany and in the Amduat the phonological part of the word $m(w)t.w$ ^{||} (*the* *dead*) is occasionally spelled 𓄏𓄏𓄏 : **mytw**^{||} [So.Lit. 13, 1/U] : **mywtw**^{||} [x/γ]; **mytw**^{||} [Amd. 135, 521], **mytw**^{||} [Amd. 643], **mytw**^{||} [Amd. 780]. Quack (2000: 559) points out that a spelling of the corresponding verb is once attested with 𓄏𓄏 in the Pyramid Texts: $n(j)/n(n)$ *mjjt=k* [Pyr. 657e, T] : $n(j)/n(n)$ *m(w)t=k* [M] : $n(j)/n(n)$ *m(w)t*^{||}=*f* [N] *you(he) will not die*.

The spelling *mjjt=k* is quite obscure. It is rather not to be understood as a spelling for an *ultima*(!) *infirm*ae posterior form $*n(j)$ *m(w)tjj=k* (cf. Edel 1955/1964: §516). Quack (2003: 172) mentioned it again in the context of his discussion of verbal roots *mediae*

infirmæ √KyK, but maintaining the traditional reconstruction of the root as √mw̄t (cf. ^SMOOYT, ^BMFOYT, ^{AF}MAYT < resultative *māūt̄; ^{SBAF}MOY, ^SMOYOY < infinitive *māūt̄).

It is probably interesting to notice that the NK form *mytw*[Ⓜ] resembles the occasional spellings of the nisbe *jmnt.i*[Ⓜ] *westerner* with an additional, so far unexplained y in Caverns (*jmnyt(i)w*[Ⓜ], *jmnyt(i)t*[Ⓜ]) and Earth (*jmnyti*[Ⓜ]) (Werning 2011: §37). The spelling with [Ⓜ] in the form *mytw*[Ⓜ] in copy *χ* of *So.Lit.* 13 is probably a secondary ‘mistake’? Compare, on the other hand, the occasional spelling [Ⓜ] of the nisbe ending ...*tyw* in Caverns (Werning 2011: §37). Are *mytw*[Ⓜ] and/or *mytw*[Ⓜ] in Litany therefore spellings of a nisbe **m(w)t.yw*[Ⓜ] **m̄u(-)t̄w* (*the*) *dead-like*? But also note yet another obscure spelling *m(w)t*[Ⓜ]*y*[Ⓜ] (*the*) *dead*^{sic} on a stela from the 12th dynasty (DZA 23.995.320 = New York, MMA 12184, 4; Ransom 1918: 16).

But the more simple, more traditional solution is still that the spelling y is a reflex of an assimilation of the *med.-w* to a following vowel **i*: neutral participle mask. Sg. ***māūt̄* *the dead one* : Pl. ***māūt̄w* (***māūt̄ū*) *the dead ones* > ***māyīt̄w* (***māyīt̄ū*) (– potentially as an ‘artificial’ NK form of declination). One could even understand the y in *mytw*[Ⓜ] as a *mater lectionis* for **i* in ***māyīt̄ū* (cf. Werning 2011: ch.IV.E.1.c/e). Whether a comparable explanation can explain the form *mjjt=k*, probably posterior ***m̄yīt̄uk* > ***m̄yīt̄uk*, is somewhat speculative.⁶

Anyhow, given that *mjjt(=k)* is another grammatical form than *mytw*[Ⓜ] and only a single attestation, its value for the dating of *mytw*[Ⓜ] is probably not to be overestimated. The only safe conclusion that can be drawn is that Litany and Amduat share an unusual, idiosyncratic spelling [Ⓜ] and that their *urvorlagen* are therefore probably to be appointed to the same ‘school’ and time. Both have a *terminus post quem non* in the times of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III (– for the Amduat cf. Mauric-Barberio 2001: 333f.).

[5] imperative *mj n=k* • In Gates, the imperative phrase *mj(w) n=tn*[Ⓜ] *take (for) you!* is spelled without the usual *sandhi*-spelling (Wb. II, 60.2–4): [Ⓜ] {*m*}*mj(w)*[Ⓜ] *n=tn*[Ⓜ] {*mj*^c} < ^c*m(w)* > [Ⓜ] (Pfb. 279a) instead of *[Ⓜ] *m(j-)n=tn*[Ⓜ] ^c*m(w)* [Ⓜ] *Get you the devourer!*. Quack (2000: 547) takes this spelling as a sign for an old date of the text (passage).

Besides examples from the Pyramid Texts however, there are some attestations of spellings of the singular version *mj n=k* as [Ⓜ] (or similar) form MK until Gr.-Rom. times (DCT. 151; Wb. II, 36.2, DZA 23.902.590-730: CT, Ritual Golenischeff, Abu Simbel, Philae). The spelling is therefore no clear sign for a genuinely old spelling.

6 This is not the place to justify my hypothetical reconstruction of the posterior in detail (*KVKíKu / *ult. inf.* *KVKí(i)u > *KVKíw or *KVKyu / 2rad *KVKíu > *KVKíw or *KVKyu / 1st person singular *KVKíKu=*i* > *KVKíKwī or eventually *KVKíKu=*i* > *KVKíKiy > *KVKíKī). Note, however, that Schenkel (2000b: 51f.) favors a totally different reconstruction based on the type of the following subject (*-āw / *-āw=KVK / *-āw=VK > *-āy=K). But the latter reconstruction does not easily allow for an explanation for the facts that the spelling y seems to have a strong affinity to *verba ult. inf* and forms with a 1st person suffix pronoun (*op.cit.*: tab. 1–2), and that the alleged ending *aw is effectively not represented by a w in the case of strong verbs with more than two strong consonants, which – following the general egyptological ideas about spellings of diphthongs – should have been the case.

Also in contrast to the Pyramid Texts, ‘determinatives’, i.e. semantic classifiers, grammato-indices like 𓂏 [PL] and 𓂏 [1SG], and the semogram-index 𓂏 [SEMOGRAM],¹⁰ are commonly used. And the system of semantic classifiers is not always equal to the one used in other texts (Werning 2011: §§3–7).

It is hard to imagine that the Egyptian scribes would have changed an OEg. spelling from a genuinely old copy as far as sound-shifts, initial ‘phonetic complements’, and the ‘determinative’ system is concerned, while leaving only the analytic style untouched (cf. von Lieven 2007: 248; but Quack 2000: 550).

Actually, it seems to me that the specific way of spelling in the NBs is a kind of ‘alienating’, scholarly spelling – rather than a kind of ‘archaizing’ spelling, not to speak of genuinely old orthography. Note that mono-consonantal spelling is also a common, alienating feature of aenigmatic spellings and cryptographic spellings in the NBs (Werning 2008a: 128, 130).

(Grammatical) Lexicon

[8] *twt/swt* • Not rarely, NBs attest the use of *twt* and *swt* besides *ntk*, *ntt*, and *ntf* (and *-pw*) (e.g. *So.Lit.* 16; *Amd.* 164; *Pfb.* 107, 131f.; *LdN.* 89f–91f; Caverns: Werning 2011: §§72, 121; *Earth* R6.A.3.35.26,21, R6.A.4.72.31,8). It has been suggested that this hints to an early date of these compositions or parts of them (e.g. Quack 1997: 179; Baumann 1998: 452; Rößler-Köhler 1999: 74, 91; Quack 2000: 547, 558 fn.39, 559 with fn.40).

However, given the use of *twt* *thou* and *swt* *he* also in the Coffin Texts, in the Book of the Dead, and in other texts from the NK and later (*Wb.* V, 360.5–9, *DZA* 31.221.750–800; *Wb.* IV, 76.12, *DZA* 29.071.140; *DCT.* 753f., 714, 466f.; Hornung 1976: 103 en. 43; Kurth 2007/2008: §§63, 64, 68), one cannot strictly argue that the attestations imply a genuinely old text. The lemmata and – to a varying degree, cf. [34] below – their general meaning must have been known to Egyptian theologians at any time. Actually, the use of *twt* (and not OEg. *tmt*; Edel 1955/1964: §173) also for feminine referents in Caverns (*Hb.* 59.44 \equiv *LdQ.* LVIII,7) hints at a post-OK date of at least this composition. Rather the use of these pronouns is a feature to make the text appear older (i.e. ‘archaizing’ in a narrow sense) or to simply signal the higher register of the texts (i.e. ‘elevated language’). The same conclusion has been drawn by Zeidler (1999: I, 185), Stauder (forthc.: §6.2–3) and others.

[9] *jwt/jwti* • Some of the NBs regularly make use of an uninflected morpheme *jwt* 𓂏 (*jwti* 𓂏) instead of *n(j)*, *nn*, or *tm* for negated, semantically circumstantial(!) clauses (e.g. *Amd.* 134f., 641; *Pfb.* 75, 166, 245, 316b, 346c; *Nutb.* §137; *Hb.* 15.12, 18.20, 55.18, 73.17f.; *Earth* R6.A.1.25.3,15, R6.A.4.30.29,3, R6.A.4.31.30,5f., R6.A.2.3.33.39,9,10). It is written 𓂏 [Amduat, Gates, Caverns^{sic}] or 𓂏 [Gates], or 𓂏 [Earth, occasionally Gates, Caverns]; or, very rarely, 𓂏 , 𓂏 , or

tions eventually refer to the same theological ‘entity’ (cf. Minas-Nerpel 2006: 464) – which has consequences for the choice of the semantic classifiers 𓂏 , 𓂏 , 𓂏 , 𓂏 and/or 𓂏 – is a separate issue.

10 For this typology of ‘determinatives’ cf. Werning (2011: §6).

𓂏 (cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2004: 217). The closest parallel repeatedly mentioned in the literature is the use of an uninflected *jwt* 𓂏 for negated complement clauses in OEg. (Edel 1955/1964: §§1027, 1053f.; pointed out by e.g. Rößler-Köhler 1999: 74, 91; Quack 2000: 559; von Lieven 2007: 253, fn.1383).

The function of *jwt* (*ljwti*) in the NBs, however, is different from the function of *jwt* described for Old Egyptian (and later). In the NBs it helps to form a (virtually) adverbial clause *while not / so that not ...* but not to form a complement clause *that not ...* as in the other case (cf. Barta 1986, Baumann 1998: 73f., Jansen-Winkeln 2004: 215f., Werning 2011: §97 with footnotes; but cf. also: Zeidler 1999: I, 186–188, Jansen-Winkeln 2004: 208–215).

Actually, there are some texts from the NK and later that seem to attest the same use with the invariable form *jwti* 𓂏 (– admittedly other readings are often possible; but cf. the morphology, the distance between *jwti* 𓂏 and the alleged antecedent, and the context carefully):

You shall not repeat any gossipy affair (?) (jmi 𓂏 =k whm(.w) 𓂏 ms[kj] 𓂏 n(.i)- md.t 𓂏¹ °)
without you(rself) having experienced it. (jwti 𓂏 sdm=k -sw °)

[Ptahhotep 350f., pBM EA 10509, 6,3, Caminos 1956: pl.28a; 18th dyn.]

Note that the antecedent is (very likely) undetermined; and compare the MK reading:

You shall not repeat any gossipy affair (?), (jmi 𓂏 =k whm(.w) 𓂏 mskj 𓂏 n(.i)- md.t 𓂏)

if you have not experienced it. (n(j)- sdm=k -sw)

(Parkinson 1997: 257: “[...] something you did not hear direct”;

but Quirke 2004: 95: “Do not repeat slander and do not listen to it”;

Junge 2003: 197, 240: “du solltest [...], ja, sie nicht einmal vernommen haben”,

Žába 1956 : 90: “tu ne dois (même) pas l’écouter”)

[DZA 24.394.080 = Ptahhotep 350f., pPrisse 11,5, Žába 1956: 44; 12th dyn.]

Send your statues (?) to a foreign country far away, (zbi 𓂏 tw(.w) 𓂏¹ =k r- h3s.t 𓂏¹ °)

without them (who?) giving a summary thereof (jwti 𓂏 dd=sn¹ shwi 𓂏 jri °)

(Quirke 2004: 115: “Your prayers go to the distant hill-land, without their gathering being given by them (?)”;

but cf. Parkinson 1997: 221: “your images, of which [jwti(.w) 𓂏 <𓂏𓂏>, D.W.] they can make no compilation, will spread to a far foreign country”;

Leitz 1996: 138: “welches seine Zusammenstellung (der Abgaben o.ä.) nicht gibt”;

Quack 1992: 40f.: “Schicke deine Statuen in ein fernes Ausland (?)

Von dem [iw.t{i}<t>, J.Q.] man keine Zusammenstellung gibt (??)”;

Brunner 1988: 146: “Sende deine Statuen auch in ein fernes Land

dessen Beschreibung man nicht geben kann” [marking by H.B.]

[DZA 24.588.970 = Merikare E 67, pPetersburg 1116A, Quack 1992: 178; 18th dyn.]

..., one who answered to a question (mdwi¹ r- wšb 𓂏¹)

without evasion (jwti w^cr 𓂏¹ =f)

(Davies 1932: 287: “[...] free of irascibleness, a spoken guarantee without evasion”)

[DZA 24.589.140; from TT 110, l.9, Davies 1932: pl.39 (after p.284); 18th dyn.]

He goes forth and returns together with the gods (jw=f pri^h=f h³i^h=f hn^c ntr.(w)³°°°)
without getting refused from them. (jw^{tī} hsf(.w) (=f) jm=sn°°°)

[DZA 24.591.350 = Naville 1886: II, 24, Ba; BD 15B]

He gains power among the gods of the netherworld (jw=f shm^h=f m-m^h ntr.(w)^h°°°-dw³.t^h)

without getting refused <from> it(?). (jw^{tī} hsf(.w) (=f) <jm>=s{i}?)

[DZA 24.590.900 = Naville 1886: II, 24, La; BD 15B]

Hail to you, Ra-Harakhte, ...!

I gave(/give?) you into my heart (dj=(j) <tw>-tw^h m-jb^h=(j))

without getting weary (jw^{tī} b(3)gg^h [= (j)]; rather than ... [=f?])

[DZA 24589770 = stela BM 160, HTMB 10, pl. 4f; 18th dyn.]

[s]wt[wt]^h=(j) m- s.t^h nb(.t) mrr(.t) k³^h=(j)

j³-tī^h hsf(.w)=(j) m- p.t t³^h dw³.t^h

[DZA 24.590.890 = stela BM 645, 15; Jansen-Winkeln 2005: 129; 22nd dyn.]

(so) that I can [wa]lk ab[out] at any place that my self would like,

without getting refused from heaven, earth, or netherworld.

(cf. Jansen-Winkeln 2005: 132, with en. 15: “Durchziehen der Unterwelt [...],

daß ich mich ergebe an allen Orten, die mein Ka wünscht,

daß ich nicht abgewiesen werde im Himmel, auf der Erde und in der Unterwelt”).

(Note that there is no resumptive element in the clause.)

He assumed power over this land when he came forth from the water,
and he cloaked himself with fire (tm^h.n=f m- sd.t^h),

so that it (i.e. the land?) could **not** approach him (jw^{tī} cr^h.n=f -sw),
in this his name ‘vervet.’

(cf. Assmann 1975: 268: “keiner kann zu ihm dringen”;

Barucq & Daumas 1980: 296: “et nul ne le a élevé”).

[DZA 24.589.970 = pBerlin 3055, XVIII,9f.; 22th dyn.]

..., who raises *without* getting weary. (wbn^h jw^{tī}) [wr^h] wrd^h.n=f)

(Assmann 1975, 298: “aufgehend, ohne zu ermüden”;

Barucq & Daumas 1980, 325: “se levant sans jamais se fatiguer”).

[DZA 24.590.030, Davies 1953: pl.32, mid., l.32; Hibis temple, Kharga; 27th dyn.]

Also note that in the Late Period and in Gr.-Rom. times the construction jw^{tī} NP can have the meaning *without* NP (e.g. pBrooklyn 47.218.135: II,20; EDG 25; cf. also Jansen-Winkeln 1996: §735).

But there might be even an attestation in the late 11th/early 12th dynasty (for the date cf. Willems 1985: 102) and another one in the Coffin Texts with the form jw^t /jw^t (or jw^t(j) /jw^t(j)?):

$\epsilon nh jw^t$ [𓄎 𓄏 𓄐] ski^* .n=f [Pyramid Text spell 758, *Pyr.* 2288b, Nt; Faulkner 1969: suppl.: 87]
who lives, without perishing

(Allen 2005: 328f.: “[*who*] ends his thirst with sustenance, lord of live who cannot perish”;

Faulkner 1969: 318: “[*who*] quenches his thirst with the water of life, who will never perish” ;

Edel 1955/1964: 552: “*der lebt und der [jwjt, E.E.] nicht vergeht*”).

Cf. *Wb.* IV, 89,7:

$wnm(j)$ $n(j)$ s.b(j)n.n=f [pBerlin 9010, x+7; *HPB* III: pl.1, 7, cf. Sethe 1926: 77, fn.2]

$wnm(j)$ $n(j)$ s.b(j)n.n=f [Tomb Siut I; Griffith 1889: pl.6, 272]

Difficult to understand is the following passage:

$d(j)=tn$ jš.t=f m- nw rdi.n n=tn j[t(j)=t]n Gb(b)

$jwjt$ [𓄎 𓄏 𓄐] $hqr.n=tn$ hr=s

$jwjt$ [𓄎 𓄏 𓄐] $hw^3.n=tn$ hr=s

[Pyramid Text spell 576; *Pyr.* 1513c, P]

you^[A] shall give (him^[B]) his (share of) food from that, what yo[ur fat]her Geb has given to you,

so that you^[A&B?] will never get hungry having it,

so that you^[A&B?] will never rot having it.

(Allen 2005: 182f.: “*with which you cannot hunger, with which you cannot decay*”;

Faulkner 1969: 231f.: “*possessing which you will not be hungry, possessing which you will not rot*”;

Edel 1955/1964: 553: “*bei dem [jwjt, E.E.] (= nw) ihr nicht hungert, bei dem (= nw) es euch nicht schlecht geht*”;

Erman ⁴1928: §525: “*seine Speise nach der [iw.t, A.E.] ihr nicht hungert*”.

It seems that we can trace back the (virtually) adverbial/circumstantial use of *jwjt* back from the NK (*jwiti* / *jwjt(i)*) into the (early) MK, the FIP, and the OK (*jwjt* / *jwjt(j)?*). While the meaning *so that not* and the use as virtual relative clause after undetermined or weakly determined antecedent *one ... who (does) not / one without (doing)* can be found already in the OK, the use as general adverbial/circumstantial clause *while not*, as attested in the NBs, is paralleled only in texts from the NK and probably from the MK. Therefore, this evidence might actually rather point to a date of the NBs later than the OK.

[10] $dp.i^{-c}(w) / dp.i^{-c}(w).wi$ • Quack (1997: 180) takes it that in Night the passage *m-ht* Δ $\text{'sr}(w)$ *m-b3h* Δ $\text{'sr}(w)$ $m- dp.(i)w^{-c}(w).wi=f$ [RV1a] : *m- dp.(i)w^{-c}(w).w(i)* Δ $\text{'sr}(w)$ [JdE 48446/7] (*LdN.* 129) attests a spatial meaning of a preposition $dp^{-c}(w) / dp^{-c}(w).wi$ *ahead*, which is only comparatively rarely found after the OK. And Müller-Roth (2005: 543) adds a case from the Book of the Day: 'jcr.w^t $[d]p[.(iw)]t^{-c}(w)$ 'mhn^t $jz.wt$ $jm.(i)t-ht$ $wj(3)$... [RV1a] : 'jcr.t 'mhn^t $jz.wt$ $jm.(i)t-ht$ $wj(3)$... [RV1b] (Müller-Roth 2005: 121: “*Die Uräen, die vor der Ringlerschlage sind, die Mannschaft im Gefolge der Barke, [...]*”).

A spatial meaning of $dp^{-c}(w) / dp^{-c}(w).wi$ is also attested quite some times in the Coffin Texts (*DCT.* 719), in the Book of the Dead (*TLA.*: e.g. spells 17, 39, 78, 110, 172), on a monument of Senenmut (cf. [23] below), and again in Gr.-Rom. times (*Ptol.Lex.* 1135). Given that Egyptian educated literates very probably understood the BD spells, this possible spatial meaning of the preposition must have been known also in the NK.

This notwithstanding, a reading of the Night passage like *behind Osiris and in front of him, amidst his ancestors* is to be preferred – note the preposition *m-* and the plural inflection in the phrase (cf. also Roulin’s 1996: I, 279 with en. I: *comme ses ancêtres*). A

reading *behind Osiris, in front of him, and {as} ahead{s} of him* ($\{m-\} dp\{w^i\}^{-c}(w)^{\dagger}.wi=f$) does not make better sense. As to the passage from Day, RVIa might as well be translated as *The uraei of old, the encircler, and the crew following the bark, giving praise when The God appears*. (RVIb needs emendation, but the  might have derived from the same spelling *, as to be reconstructed for RVIa , by graphic confusion of  and , and  and , respectively.)

[11] **dr** • Zeidler (1999: I, 185, II: 84f. with fn.3, 258f. with fn.3) and Quack (2000: 547) state that the preposition *dr* is once used with a static spatial meaning *at* in Gates (*Pfb.* 100, 310) only rarely found after the OK. This meaning might be attested in the Memphite Theology (*dr bw*; doubted by Peust & Sternberg 2001: 171 [col. 8, 10a, 11a]: *bis dorthin*, and Rothöhler 2006: 191 [col. 53, 54, 56], 146: *von ... an*) and once in Gr.-Rom. times (*Ptol.Lex.* 1239).

Actually in Gates, a meaning *at the edge of* for *dr* would fit the context pretty well. This is comparable to the suggested meaning in the Memphite Theology *dr bw as far as to (the place)* or the like. Both are taking a borderline into perspective, a meaning that could at any time have been inferred from other lemmata of the root *dr*, which exhibit this meaning (*dr.w border, r-dr to its limits/all*).

[12] **cf – cn** • Quack (2000: 559) links two opposed spatial adverbs **cf**  and **cn**  in Litany (*So.Lit.* 143) to *Wb.* I, 183.6, 206.5 = *Pyr.* 1023b, P (*cfj*, *cntj*) and *Wb.* I, 183.7 (*cf.t* , MK–NK). The pair *cfj/cntj* in the Pyramid Texts is now classified as pair of proper names in the *TLA* (lemmata no. 37430, 38990: “ghost words”). Obviously, the meaning of these two words is not at all clear. Among the attestations of *cf.t*  there is at least one other meaning (*Amd.* 95a) and the meanings of the other attestations are again not certain (*DCT.* 71 without translation, Faulkner 1978 [2004: III]: 131 en.1, but cf. Barguet 1986: 625 fn.20 with reference to a hypothesis of Schott; Berlin no. 13272 [MK inscription, *DZA* 21.714.860]; BD spell 136B = *CT* VII 278c).

The link between the PT *cfj/cntj* without certain meaning and Litany **cf** /**cn**  is obviously not striking enough to draw certain conclusions.

[13] **=tn 2SG.F** • Baumann (1998: 452) states that in Earth (*CDS.* XXIII.2 = *Earth* R6.A.1.25.2,2; cf. Roberson 2008: 664) the [Pre-]Old Egyptian singular(!) suffix pronoun 2SG.F **=tn** instead of **=t** (Edel 1955/1964: §160bb) is attested:

addressees. On the other hand, given the overall frequency of unusual spellings and errors in Earth, one should not exclude the possibility that the *n* is an error, e.g. $\overline{\text{nw}}$ for $\overline{\text{nw}} = \text{s}$:

$j^{\text{h}} \overline{\text{h}}^{\text{t}} \overline{\text{t}}^{\text{h}} \overline{\text{nw}}^{\text{w}} \overline{\text{jm}}^{\text{(i)}} \overline{\text{t}}^{\text{t}} \overline{\text{srq}}^{\text{t}} \overline{\text{fd}}^{\text{(w)}} \overline{\text{b}}^{\text{z}} \overline{\text{jm}}^{\text{(j)}} \overline{\text{w}}^{\text{tj}} \overline{\text{nj}} \overline{\text{s}}$
O corps of Nun in the earth, who lets the four manifestations around him breathe.

(An interesting feature, though, is the spelling of the particle $\overline{\text{m}}^{\text{t}}$ instead of $\overline{\text{m}}^{\text{t}} = \overline{\text{tn}}$ later in this text. The form $\overline{\text{m}}^{\text{t}}$ is to become a simple variant of $\overline{\text{m}}^{\text{k}}$, cf. an example quoted by Jansen-Winkel 1996: §346, as well as Kurth 2007/2008: 789 [§159]. The Earth case is probably an early example.)

Morpho-syntax

[14] *sdm.w=f* and *nj sdm.w=f* • Repeatedly, scholars argue that, besides the subjunctive *sdm(=f)*, the NBs attest the affirmative and negated use of the Old Egyptian active posterior/‘prospective’/‘future’ *sdm.w(=f)*: Baumann (1998: 451); Zeidler (1999: I, 142f., 154, 208); Rößler-Köhler (1999: 74, 91); Quack (2000: 547, 548, 558 fn.39, 459). To identify this form, they trust either in the indicative power of an accompanying negation spelled $\overline{\text{nw}}$ (but not $\overline{\text{nw}}$). Or they take predicative forms of the suffix conjugation of verbs *Ilae gem.* with all three consonants spelled out such as *wnn* and *m33* and forms with an ending *-w* as an adequate sign for the identification of a separate, genuinely old posterior paradigm.

But actually both the spelling and use of the negations *n(j)* and *nn* and the use of subjunctive *sdm(=f)* and posterior *sdm.w(=f)* are subject to complex changes in Egyptian language history.

In the OK, two negations – conventionally transcribed *n(j)* and *nn* – can be differentiated between, one of them spelled $\overline{\text{nw}}$, i.e. *n(j)*, and the other one spelled $\overline{\text{nw}}$, $\overline{\text{nw}}$, $\overline{\text{nw}}$, or simply $\overline{\text{nw}}$ too, i.e. *nn* (cf. Moers 1993: 55). In the MK, these are taken to be systematically spelled $\overline{\text{nw}}$ *n(j)* and $\overline{\text{nw}}$ *nn*, respectively (cf. e.g. Schenkel 2000b: 30–32). In Middle Egyptian from the NK and in early or ‘archaizing’ Late Egyptian texts from the NK and later, there is a statistical preference for the spelling $\overline{\text{nw}}$ – but within the same syntactic environments the spelling $\overline{\text{nw}}$ also occurs. It seems that $\overline{\text{nw}}$ and $\overline{\text{nw}}$ both can stand for *nn* (\equiv L.Eg. *bn*), while it is not so clear whether *n(j)* was always spelled $\overline{\text{nw}}$ (\equiv ? L.Eg. *bw*), or whether it could be spelled $\overline{\text{nw}}$ as well. Generally, scholars take both spellings to be more or less exchangeable at least from the NK on (cf. Westendorf 1962: §§357, 207 with fn.3, cf. also 348.2; Kroeber 1970: 59–62; Ritter 1995: 183–185; in L.Eg.: Davis 1973: 163–167, tab.1–4; and post NK: Jansen-Winkel 1996: §338; cf. the uses in Der Manuelian 1994: 172f., 256, 259f.; Kurth 2007/2008: 788f. [§159]).

As far as the question of subjunctive and posterior is concerned, in Old Egyptian, there was a systematic distinction between a modal ‘subjunctive’ *sdm(=f)* (*sdm*; *mr(y)*; *3m*; *m3n*, *jwt*, *jnt*, *dī*) and an indicative posterior/‘prospective’ form *sdm.w(=f)* (*sdm(w)*; *mr(y.w)*; *3mm*; *rdī*) (cf. Schenkel 1985: 485f.; cf. also *id.* 2005: 199 in ch.7.3.1.1). Some scholars share an analysis, according to which, at some time in the first half of the 2nd mill. BCE, the functional difference was reorganized or became blurred (e.g. Loprieno 1995: 81–83, Malaise & Winand 1999: §592; cf. also Ritter, 1995: 173f.). In rhematic

environments generally, the subjunctive forms seem to have become the usual forms (affirmative, negated, complement clauses). Nevertheless, the posterior forms still seem to have been used in thematic environments (future Cleft Sentence; initial thematic clause) and occasionally with the particles *kʿ* and *hʿ*. (One must admit, however, that there are some different views on the details of this development.) In Late Egyptian, there is only one functional paradigm left, traditionally called ‘prospective’ *sḏm(=f)* (*sḏm*; *mr(y)*, *jnṯ*; *ʿmm/ʿm*, *wnn*, *mʿʿ*; *jwt/jw*; *dṯ*; Winand 1992: §§348, 390, 393, 399–401). Looking from an OK perspective, this seems like a hybrid set of older subjunctive (*sḏm*; *mr(y)*; *ʿm*; *jwt*, *dṯ*) and posterior forms (*ʿmm*, *wnn*, *mʿʿ*; *jnṯ*, *jnṯ*), as well. And indeed, it has been largely overlooked that Middle Egyptian texts/text witnesses from the NK and later very often show the very same single ‘Late Egyptian’ paradigm, as well – cf. the more detailed discussion with many references in Werning (2011: §88 with footnotes).

The history of the posterior and subjunctive and the negations *n(j)* and *nn* might be summarized as follows:

	Old Kingdom	Middle Kingdom	New Kingdom	
Posterior	<i>sḏm(.w)</i> <i>mr(j.w)</i> <i>ʿmm: wnn</i> , <i>mʿʿ</i> <i>rdṯ</i>	(<i>sḏm(.w)</i>) (<i>mr(y.w)</i>) <i>ʿmm: wnn, mʿʿ</i> (<i>rdṯ</i>)	(<i>sḏm(.w)</i>) (<i>mr(y.w)</i>) <i>jnṯ</i> , <i>jnṯ</i> <i>wnn, mʿʿ(!)</i>	
Subjunctive	<i>sḏm</i> <i>mr(j)</i> <i>ʿm: wn, mʿ(n)</i> <i>jwt, jnt</i> <i>dṯ</i>	<i>sḏm</i> <i>mr(y)</i> <i>ʿm: wn, mʿ(n)</i> <i>jwt, jnt</i> <i>dṯ</i>	<i>sḏm</i> <i>mr(y)</i> (<i>mʿ, wn</i>) (<i>jwt, jnt</i>) <i>dṯ</i>	
Indicative negation <i>n(j)</i>			 ‘elevated sp.’:	
Future negation		() 	 ‘elevated sp.’:	
Modal/adjectival negation <i>nn</i>	 (!)	 	 ‘elevated sp.’:	

Table 1: Subjunctive and posterior, and negations diachronically

Looking at the attestations of clauses with posterior, future, or modal meaning in the NBs, there are some instances that seem to me to be indicative for the state of language. Occasionally, there are combinations of spellings that – according to the hypotheses outlined above – should not be genuinely from the OK or MK, e.g. a form of *rdṯ* + ‘old posterior form’ or + ‘old posterior form’: *nn tkn.w*¹=*k* [Pfb. 77]; *nn wnn=tn*¹ [Hb. 28.13 ≡ LdQ. XXV,4]; *dṯ=(j)*¹ *mʿʿ=k* [Hb. 38.22]; *dṯ=(j)*¹ *mʿʿ* NP [Hb. 46.55, β/Pet ≡ LdQ. XLV,1; more likely reading for α] : *mʿ* NP [β/tO]; cf. also + ‘old subjunctive form’: *n(j) mʿ=tn*¹ [Pfb. 41; α: ; SIs, RIV unspecific]; *n(j) wn=tn*¹

[*Pfb.* 320, α] : *nn wnn=tn* [Ms1].¹¹ Scholars have tended to read or even emend these non-classical combinations in one or the other way to make it (more) classical.¹² Without emendation, the natural conclusion would simply be, though, that these texts are from the New Kingdom. There does not seem to be any functional difference between *s_dm(=f)* and *s_dm.w(=f)* forms (Zeidler 1999: I, 153f.).¹³ Also in the negated future sentences, there does not seem to be a semantic difference between $\overline{\text{mnm}}$ and $\overline{\text{m}}$ (Baumann 1998: 231; Gates: Zeidler 1999: I, 171; Caverns: Werning 2011: §§ 99, 101; Amduat: Jansen-Winkel forthcoming, §E; cf. also the mistrust in the attested spellings expressed by von Lieven 2007: 256).¹⁴ The preferred use of the spelling $\overline{\text{m}}$ in the NBs as opposed to other texts from the NK, then, seems to be a means of archaizing or a sign of elevated speech.

[15] *s_dmm=f* and *nj s_dmm=f* • More interesting is the attestation, in some NBs, of distinctive posterior (or modal passive) forms built not by an additional morpheme *-t(w)* ('tV-passive') but by vocalic inflection ('V-passive') plus, in certain cases, partial reduplication (cf. Stauder 2008): i.e. the posterior passive *s_dmm(=f)* (mentioned by Quack 1997: 179f.; Baumann 1998: 370–381; Zeidler 1999: I, 143, 308; Quack 2000: 547) or a posterior/subjunctive passive *s_dm(.w)* NP (Baumann 1998: 353–370: "[adverbial] prospective passive" [= subjunctive!, D.W.]; (*j.*)*d_d*, *s_dm(.w)*).

Both, the V-passive without partial reduplication and the one with partial reduplication, seem to be fully productive in future contexts in the OK and MK, the latter being restricted to religious, elevated speech (Stauder 2008: 179f.). Doubtless, an inherently passive form of the suffix-conjugation occurs in sentences with future or modal meaning also after the MK. The exact identification of the form is quite uncertain, though. Westendorf (1962: §249) seems to assume that there is only one paradigm of passive *s_dm.w(=f)* left in MEG. medical texts (*d_dl/d_dd[!]*, *s_dm(.w)*, *3mm/3m*, *mr(y.w)*). He takes forms of 2*rad* verbs with partial reduplication as optional variants (*op.cit.* 180, fn. 1). Jansen-Winkel (1996: §519) notes an unmarked passive *s_dm(=f)* (*s_dm*, *mr_i*) in anterior, posterior, and simultaneous contexts after the NK. Not few of the alleged attestation of a distinctive posterior/modal *s_dm(=f)* in the NBs are actually not so clear as far as tense and

11 Note that the spelling $\overline{\text{mnm}}$ in Caverns ($4 \times n(j) m^3=tn^1/=tn^1=sn^1$) is quasi logographic. It can stand for $m^3^3 */mVIVI/$ or $m^3^3 */mVIV/$. A spelling $\circ\circ$ in Amduat is similarly unclear (*Amd.* 785/6: $n(j) m^3^3(?)=tn^{\circ\circ}$). Indeed I would tend to analyze those instances as $n(n) m^3^3=$ or $n(j) m^3^3=$, with the NK-subjunctive (= LEg. 'prospective') form and an archaizing spelling/form of the negation. Cf. Werning (2011: §§99, 101, 110).

12 E.g. Zeidler (1999: I, 153): "*nn tkn{w}^{<jw>}=k*" [sic!]; Quack (2000: 548): "*nn tkn{w}=k*" / "*n{n} tkn.w=k*". Zeidler (1999: I, 154, 313) also allows for posteriors of verbs *Ilae gem.* written without gemination: "*n m^3.u=tn*" [for $n(j) m^3(\beta)=tn$, D.W.] (Zeidler 1999: II, 42), "*n wn=tn*" [for $n(j) wn(n)=tn$, D.W.] (266).

13 Baumann's (1998: ch.3) consequent distinction between an adverbial/circumstantial [sic!] 'prospective' [= subjunctive] (*s_dm(.y)* [sic!], *mr_i(.y)*, *3m*, *d_i*) and a 'nominal-prospective' [= posterior, D.W.] (*s_dm(.w)*, *mr_i(.w)*, *3mm*, (*r*)*d_i* [!]) seems largely only justified by his conception of the theory of circumstantial vs. nominal forms, in which he does not want to allow for exceptions of the adv./nom. couple pattern.

14 This seems to undermine the value of the cases with negation quoted above. But given that this indistinctiveness of the spelling of the negation does not fit an MK date, and an OK(/FIP) date turns out to be ruled out for other reasons, there is little or no space for a dating other than to the SIP/NK.

mood are concerned – I myself very often would have preferred a past or even tenseless ('generalis')¹⁵ translation in the given contexts. In other instances alternative analyses of the whole passages or of the form have been suggested or can be suggested.¹⁶ Nevertheless, there are a few cases that are morphologically quite convincing (e.g. *Pfb.* 132 [jpp^{||}=tn r=(j)^{||}], 345b [w^{||}y^{||} c^{||}pp^{||} dy dw.t^{||}=f; but cf. Baumann 1998: 363]; *LdN.* 78 [n(j) c^{||}mm^{||}=f; but cf. Roulin 1996: I, 211]; *Earth* R6.A₂.3.33.39,6f. [tmm^{||} nn-ni hm^{||}.yw^{||}{t^{||}}]). Anyhow, the data from the NBs are not sufficient to allow for a certain identification of fully functional genuinely OEg. paradigms such as posterior-perfective (or tenseless-perfective) *sdmm*(=f) (*ddd*, *sdmm*, *3mm*, *ndrr*) vs. posterior-perfective or tenseless-perfective *sdm.w*(=f) (*dd(w)*, *sdm(w)*, *3mm*?, *mr(y.w)*, *ndr(w)*) [cf. Edel 1955/1964: §§556–568; Reintges 1997: ch.7.4.1; Malaise & Winand 1999: §674; Schenkel 2004/2005] or a possible single posterior paradigm *sdmm*(=f)/*mr_i.w*(=f) (*ddd*, *sdmm*, *3mm*, *mr(y.w)*, *ndrr/ndr(w)*, *r_i(w)*) [cf. Allen 1984: §515; Schenkel 1985: 490f.; Allen 2000: 286, ch. 21.2.2; Allen 2002: 91f.; Schenkel 2005: 218–220, ch.7.3.1.2.4f.; Stauder 2008: 185–188]. Rather it seems that the morphology and use of a passive *sdm*(=f) in posterior/modal contexts in the NBs correspond either to a single, 'hybrid' posterior-passive paradigm *ddd*, *sdm(w)*, *mr(y.w)*, or to a single perfective-passive paradigm (*sdm.w*(=f)) plus a residual, posterior-passive form *ddd*.¹⁷

[16] **cleft sentence with agreement** • Quack (2000: 547 with reference to Zeidler 1999: I, 185, [208]) lists the attestation of cleft sentences exhibiting agreement of the participle as a sign for an old date of the composition. Besides many instances without agreement, the only potentially interesting example mentioned by Zeidler (1999: I, 313f.) is the sentence *nttn^{||} s.h^{||}3^{||}i.yw^{||} jmn.t^{||}* 'You are the ones who revealed the hidden' (*Pfb.* 322). In Amduat, sentences of the pattern *jn*-NP^{pl}/*ntsn* AdjP (3PL) display no agreement, but those of the pattern *nttn* AdjP (2PL) do show agreement (Jansen-Winkeln forthc., §H). Obviously in these cases of the 2nd person, an analysis as cleft sentences is morpho-syntactically not mandatory. It is rather a normal nominal sentence. The remarkable distribution can probably be explained with reference to pragmatic considerations. When addressing a person face-to-face, the situation does not – I understand – in the authors' view demand a topicalization of the 2nd person pronoun referring to the addressed and therefore does not demand a cleft sentence pattern.

15 Cf. the tenseless passive of Allen (2000: 292, ch. 21.10). But Westendorf (1953: 46), Reintges (1997: 374f.) and Stauder (2008: 180), on the other hand, are skeptical about or even reject the possibility of any imperfective meaning for V-passives.

16 E.g. in *Hb.* 54.15f. (cf. Baumann 1998: 357). For *LdN.* 142 (Quack 1997: 180 "n šn^{cc}=sn") cf. Roulin (1996: I, 303): *n(j) šn^c=sn*. For a different analysis of the sentences *swt -js sdm* NP (Baumann 1998: 366–369) cf. the excursus [34] below. The *j.nd hr=k* mentioned (Baumann 1998: 358) is just a fixed common phrase.

17 Stauder (2008: §7) holds it that the productivity of V-passives with partial reduplications is directly connected to the productivity of the OEg. posterior form. This does not necessarily need to be the case in the NK anymore. Whatever the base of this posterior *tmm*(=f) is, its morphology is so distinct that it could have been learned as a separate form in the NK and later, c.f. the neutral passive participle *ddd.t* (Stauder 2008: 190f.) and the active participle masc. plural *j.dd.w* (Werning 2011: §27).

(Note that the repeated use of *wn* also makes a nice word play (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 ... 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 ... *𓏏𓏏𓏏 ... 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 – the sentence would as well have done at least without *wnn=sn* – or is it future tense?)

Passages quoted from Gates read

*rh.yw*¹ *R^c(w)*¹ *dp.(i)w*¹(!?) *t*³¹ ≈
*wn.w*¹ *wdn*¹ = *sn*¹ *n=f htp.w*¹ = *sn*¹ *m- s.t*¹ = *sn*¹
 3*h(j).(w)*¹ = *sn*¹ *r- bw-dsr*¹ *ni-jmn.t*¹ [Pfb. 148f]

The ones who used to experience Ra (as they were) on earth, who used to give him their offerings at their (respective) places, their akhs are at the Sacred Place of the west,

*wn.w*¹ *njk*¹ = *sn*¹ *dw₁dw₂*¹ < 𓏏𓏏 > - *dp*¹ *shr*¹ = *sn*¹ *hft.(i)w*¹ *ni.w*¹ - *R^c(w)*¹
*ntsn*¹ *ndr.(i)*¹ *sbj*¹ *dd.(i)*¹ *pri*¹ *dp.(w)*¹ < 𓏏𓏏 > *jm.(i)w*¹ = *f* [Pfb. 210f]

The ones who used to punish the one with evil head and overthrow the enemies of Ra (sc. on earth), they hold the rebel fast and make the head < s > in him come out,

and

*wnn.(yw)*¹ *dw*³ = *sn*¹ *R^c(w)*¹ *dp*¹ - *t*³¹
*wnn.(y)w*¹ (v.l. *wn.w*¹) *hk*³ = *sn*¹ *c₃pp*¹
*wnn.(y)w*¹ *wdn*¹ = *sn*¹ *htp.w*¹ = *sn*¹ *jri*¹ = *sn*¹ *sntr*¹ n- *ntr.(w)*¹ = *sn*¹
*sn*¹ *r*¹ = *sn*¹ *m-ht htp.w*¹ = *sn*¹ [Pfb. 15f]

The ones who used to praise (I who keep praising?) Ra on earth, who used to cast spells (I who keep casting spells?) on Apophis, who used to present (I who keep presenting?) their offerings and incense to their gods, they have (I will have?) their (own) offerings at disposal

Hornung translates the participle phrases from Gates with *wn.w* with (German) present perfect, those with *wnn.(y)w* with simple present (Hornung 1980: 123, 156, 47). Roulin and Zeidler, to the contrary, render the phrases with *wn.w* with a simple or habitual present, respectively (Roulin 1996: I, 301; Zeidler 1999: II, 115, 163; 1999: I, 183f.) and those with *wnn.(y)w* with an habitual past (Zeidler 1999: II, 25). A present tense reading of *wn.w sdm(=f)* is neither in concord with the OK examples, nor the first-choice rendering of the neutral participle form 𓏏𓏏. (In the light of the spelling 𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏, one could argue that the spellings in Night should be read *wnn.(y)w*, though.) The contexts do not necessarily demand for a present habitual meaning in any of the cases. I, therefore, take the function of *wn.w sdm(=f)* in the NBs to distinctively denote a habitual past as in the OK (Vervloesem 2007: 178 in ch. 3.9.4). More difficult to motivate is the distributive participle form in *wnn.(y)w sdm(=f)* – a construction not attested in the OK, by the way (*op.cit.*: 170 in ch. 3.9.3.4); if past habitual, *wn.w sdm(=f)* would have been more clear; if present habitual, a simple *sdm.yw* would probably have done. Or is there an even more subtle nuance to it (e.g. *who kept doing*)?

Anyhow, to use more elaborate, more distinctive constructions is first of all a matter of the expressive needs felt by the author rather than a matter of a diachronic development of the language. Old and Middle Egyptian texts alike exhibit the construction (form of) *wnn* + predicative/‘adverbial’ phrase, like *wnn* + prepositional phrase, *wnn* + *sdm.ø* (resultative), *wnn* + *hr sdm*, and also *wnn* + *sdm(=f)/sdm.n(=f)* (Edel 1955/1964: §650 & add.; Vervloesem 2007: 153–177 = ch. 3.9.3, tab. 6.6 on 242; Van der Molen

2005: 395–399; Gardiner ³1957: §396; Malaise & Winand 1999: §§776, 1019; Westendorf 1962: §303 e; Jansen-Winkel 1996: §§180, 673). Given the syntactic construction itself is not unusual, the only interesting thing about the cases from the NBs is that *wn/wnn(.i) sdm(=f)* is used instead of (more modern) *wn(/wnn(.i)) hr sdm*. This is indeed in concord with other evidence from the NBs. At least in Gates and Caverns, *hr sdm* is barely attested in general – cf. the discussion of ‘negative evidence’ below [31].

[21] NP NP *pw* • In Nut occasionally, a tripartite nominal sentence NP NP *pw* occurs. Von Lieven (2007: 251) takes this as “typisch altägyptisch”. The indubitable cases read

ḥnh-knm.t ḥn^c ḥb-štw(.w)³ ḥnh-Hr(w) pw [Nutb. §15, S]

and

j^cḥ n(.i)- 3bd(w) Hr(w) p³ : [Nutb. §144, S]

j^cḥ n(.i)- 3bdw Hr(w) pw . [PC1]

(Whether the 𓏏 that is attested in some more, similar sentences in S is supposed to stand for *p(w)* /*pV*/ or *p³(i)* /*pVj*/ is not obvious.)

There is also a case in Amduat (mentioned by Barta 1985b):

tz n(.i) nh3-hr m- dw3.t mh 440 -p' m- 3w=f [Amd. 548]

Scholars normally analyze the NP NP *pw* pattern as bipartite nominal sentence with topicalized theme/‘subject’: (*jr*) NP : NP *pj/pw/p³i* (Barta 1985b; cf. Sethe 1916: ch.II.7; Edel 1955/1964: §972; Doret 1990: 48; Loprieno 1995: 105; Schenkel 2005: 325 [ch.9.2.1 a], 329 [ch.9.2.2 a]).

The life of Kenmet and Ab-Shetjiwu – that is the life of Horus.

(von Lieven 2007: 52: “Das Leben von Kenmet zusammen mit Ab-Schetui ist das Leben des Horus”;

Note that no balanced sentence **ḥnh* NP *ḥnh* NP' has been used here.)

The moon of the Abedu-feast – that is Horus.

(von Lieven 2007: 95: “Der Mond des zweiten Mondmonatstages ist das Fest des Horus”)

The sandbank of the Fierce face – that is 440 cubits in length.

It does, occasionally, occur without *jr* in the OK, in the MK, in the NK and later (Edel 1955/1964: §972 [Pyr. 133f, W]; Barta 1985b: 7 [Pyr. 240, 548b; CT IV 276c–d; Sailor 152; Dem. Chronik 5,10; Setne 4,24]; Quack 1994: 37 [Ani B 22,15]; Malaise & Winand 1999: §§466, 474 [CT VI, 235a; Urk. V, 8,11]; Satzinger 1981: 485 [oDM 437 rt., 2f.]; Kurth 2007/2008: §199). Again, the employment of this pattern is probably more a matter of pragmatics than of language history.

[22] *mrr* NP *-pw* • Baumann (1998: 451) mentions a case from Gates, in which the non-second position of *pw* in athetic statement is supposed to be remarkable:

His sandbanks are present in heaven;

h33[<] Δ[>] mtw.t^{{<f>}<f>=f -pw m- jmnt.t[~].} [Pfb. 392b, RVI]

(But) it is the case that his poison runs down into the west.

Indeed, Loprieno (1995: ch. 5.3) and Westendorf (1962: §404,6 [pEbers]) quote some examples of thetic statements with *pw* in non-second position also from the MK and NK. Another thing is that a text-critical analysis suggests that the case in Gates is very probably an individual reading in the copy for RVI (or μ/λ). Based on O and TS, the *urvorlage* α seems to have read

His sandbanks are present in heaven;
h³.w¹-mtw.t^f→i¹=f-pw m- jmnt.t[∞], [O, TS]
(but) it is the case that the issues(?) of his poison are in the west.

which is a normal bipartite nominal sentence. (Note that Zeidler's 1999: II, 356 reconstruction with *h³i* – as found only in SIs – is not in concord with his stemma.)

[23] *dr sdm.t=f* • Von Lieven (2007: 251) mentions the use of the construction *dr sdm.t(=f)* with the meaning *before (he) has heard* in Nut. The passage reads

n(j)- dd(.w) rⁿ→s⁷ m- m³w.t-^rntr.(w)³ dr- ms_i.t^{→s}=sn. [Nutb. §103, S]

Von Lieven's translation (2007: 81/85) "*Man sagt nicht ihren Namen als ‚Gottesmutter‘, bis sie sie (erneut) gebiert*" seems to demand a *sandhi ... dr- ms_i.t^{→s}=s(-s)n*. Her transliteration (251: "čr ms.t=sn"), on the other hand, suggests a passive analysis *dr- ms(y).t^{→s}=sn*, though.

The construction *dr- sdm.t(=f)* is otherwise well attested only until the MK (Zonhoven 1997: 88). But there is also at least one attestation using 'old' forms/elevated speech in the 18th dynasty (cf. Zonhoven 1997: 21–23):

mw=(j) m- t³→¹ -pn hr- wd¹→f
dr- hpr.t mnj→ dp¹-c(w).(wi)²r=f [Urk. IV, 405,7f.; Berlin statue of Senenmut]
... when I was in this country under his command, before 'landing' (i.e. death) appeared before him.

(Zonhoven 1997: 17: "[...] before death occurred 'in days past'(l'upon his hands?).")

There is also a possible case in two Ptahhotep manuscripts from the 18th dynasty:

sb³ jr=k -sw r- md.t^{→i} hr-h³.t¹ ° [Ptahhotep 37f., L2 = pBM EA 10509]
dr- hms_i.t^{→k}=k ° (similarly C, not in P); Žába 1956: 18]

You shall teach him in the sayings from the past, before you retire.

(Zonhoven 1997: 17: "teach him (now) in the sayings of the past, before/until you settle down";

Žába 1956: 71: "Eh bien, apprends-lui tout d'abord à parler avant de te retirer.")

This text was very probably known to literates of the 18th and 19th dynasties (pChester Beatty IV vs. 3,10, 4,6, 4,9; cf. Dorn 2009).

The case in Nut is quite tricky: The meaning *before* does probably fit a *dr sdm.t(=f)* better than a *dr* + infinitive (Zonhoven 1997: 17–21; Malaise & Winand 1999: §584). One could also think of a *dr sdm.tw(=f)*. But any passive *sdm(=f)*, *dr- ms(y).t^{→s}=sn* as well as *dr- ms_i.t(w)^{→s}=sn*, seems pragmatically unlikely. Why would the author have preferred to leave the *agens* out of the phrase? An active wording **dr- ms_i.t^{→s}=s -sn* (or **dr- ms_i.t^{→s}=s -sn*) would have produced a much smoother reading. The combination of morpho-syntax and semantics of the passage, therefore, speaks a little more in favor of an

127; *DZA* 31.225.280 = BD 57; *DZA* 31.225.290 = BD 127b; cf. also Oréal 2011: 169 in ch.3, §7.4) and later (*DZA* 31.225.230 = Piankhi stela, *Urk.* III, 23,11). Cf. also the excursus below [34].

Baumann (1998: 541) mentions two uses of a “subordinating particle *sw*” in Caverns that he classifies as “archaic”. Oréal (2011: fn.58 on p. 428), on the other hand, states that initial *sw* is not attested “à époque ancienne” and suggests that the initial particle spelled *sw* is indeed an innovation in *Égyptien de tradition* of the 18th dynasty. It is probably just a ‘defective’ spelling *sw(t)* for *swt* (cf. Oréal *loc.cit.*)?!

But anyway, one of the cases mentioned by Baumann is obviously a mistake, a confusion of a cursive *𓏏𓏏 *jw* [Pet/β: 𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏] with a cursive 𓏏𓏏 *sw* [RVI/γ] in the adverbial sentence *jw Jnpw m- z33(.i) (-st)* [*Hb.* 87.7 ≡ *LdQ.* CXXII,9]. And in the other instance mentioned, *sw* is very probably an element of a post-classical, elliptic sentence pattern *swt -js ∅ NP (For) (I/You/wel...) amlislare NP*, unrecognized until recently (– for this see the excursus [34] below): *sw(t) ∅ Hr(w) <.yw> 𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏 pri.(w) 𓏏𓏏 m- h^c(w) 𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏 f (You) are forms of Horus, which have come forth from my body* [*Hb.* 94.13, RVI ≡ *LdQ.* CXXX,5; other text witnesses: tO [///] 𓏏𓏏 pri.w 𓏏𓏏 ..., Pet *sw...?*?¹⁸ ..w 𓏏𓏏 ...].

Various scholars take specific uses of the particle(s) *jst*, *jsk*, and *sk* in certain NB as old uses.

Quack (2000: 559 with fn.42) mentions a coordinating function of *jst* in Litany. The use that he refers to is a postpositional use to coordinate nominal or prepositional phrases, originally (Oréal 2011: 177: “de même”). *jst* (OK; Edel 1955/1964: §829), in the MK besides *jst/jst/st* also *sk/jsk*, (and *-js*) (Vernus 1996: 183–187; *DCT.* 562), in Gr.-Rom. times *sk/jsk* (and *-js*) (*Ptol.Lex.* 112; Kurt 2007/2008: 806 [§165], 778–781 [§159]), occurs after the second of the coordinated phrases. In the NK there is at least the case of *Urk.* IV 561,7/563,8 (*d̄i.n(=j) n=k NP₁ NP₂ hr.t=k -jst m- 3w.t-jb c̄nh.tj mj-R^c(w) d̄.t*), but Oréal (2011: 253f.) mentions that it is attested in the BD as well.

The passages from Litany read:

wn(.w) 𓏏𓏏 sb3.w 𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏 jm.(i)w 𓏏𓏏 dw3.t 𓏏𓏏
wpi(.w) 𓏏𓏏 t3 𓏏𓏏 qr(r).(w)t 𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏 =f -jst
(j)n- shm^l-R^c(w) 𓏏𓏏 jm.(i) c̄(w)^l=(j) 𓏏𓏏 j33>.t 𓏏𓏏 jm.(i)t hf^c 𓏏𓏏 =(j) 𓏏𓏏, [So.Lit. 194]*
Opened were the gates in the netherworld,
and opened were the earth and its caverns, as well,
by the power of Ra in my hand, the staff in my fist.

[hy 𓏏𓏏 n=tjw=(j) 𓏏𓏏 dw3^l=(j) 𓏏𓏏 -tn *wn(.w) 𓏏𓏏 n=(j) 𓏏𓏏 c̄3.(w) 𓏏𓏏 =t št3.w 𓏏𓏏]*
hy 𓏏𓏏 n=t jw=(j) 𓏏𓏏 dw3^l=(j) 𓏏𓏏 -tn *qr(r).(w)t 𓏏𓏏 𓏏𓏏 =t št3.(w)t 𓏏𓏏 -jst,*
[So.Lit. 261]

Hail to you! I praise you! Opened are your mysterious doors for me, ...

Hail to you! I praise you! ... and your mysterious caverns, as well.

and

18 Unfortunately, the photos from Pet that I have at hand do not cover the middle part of the sentence.

jnk ^h *grt* ...
jdn ^o .n n=f *shr* ^h =f m'w.t ^h m- *hnt* ^h *jt(j)* ^h *hr*- ...
sb ^h .n bj(3).t ^h =f mj- *h{d}r<d>* ^h *hpr* m^c- *jt(j)* ^h [Fitzwilliam Museum E 9.1922, l.3f.;
jw sk <-w>(j) ^h *gr.t* w³i^h.k(w) ^h r- *nmh* ^h Petrie 1925: pl.XXIII f.]
I was ...,

one whose own conduct replaced him a mother at home and a father ...,

one whom his own character taught, like a child having grown up with a father.

Indeed, *I was* (therefore), actually, far¹⁹ from being an orphan.

(Oréal 2011, 208: “**Alors que** j’étais ainsi devenu orphelin, j’ai [...]” [boldface, E.O.];

Lichtheim 1988, 69: “[...], but **behold**, I had become an orphan.” [boldface, D.W.];

Gardiner in Petrie 1925, 19: “**Now** although I was become an orphan, I aquired [...]” [boldface, D.W.]

Note that in the first case from Litany, the *jw* should not itself belong to the balanced sentence, since *jw* does not normally occur in nominal sentences. So it does probably not in the second case either, which could then be an Emphatic Construction as in the example from pRhind (and probably also in the one from pBrooklyn 35.1446). It seems that *jw sk/jst/jsk* is an autonomous, (elliptic) phrase with a pragmatic function. Note, on the other hand, that, other than in *So.Lit.* 120f., the *sk* on the MK stela at least seems to ‘support’ the following (partially emended) pronoun. Also note that the spelling *jsk* like in Litany (other than *sk* and *jst*) is not attested in the OK (Edel 1955/1964: §852).

Anyhow, besides in Litany (*jw jsk* + [sentence]), the pattern *jw (j)sk/(j)st* + [sentence] is attested in the MK and SIP (*jw sk/jst* + [sentence]), but no comparable example from the OK has yet been found.

Von Lieven (2007: 251; and p.c.) points out a passage in Nut, in which **sk* seems to be used to subordinate a clause:

*s.qdd ^o =f m-hnw=s	* sk nn-n(.i) sb ³ .(w) ³ m-h ^t ^h =f	[Nutb. §69, α]
{tj}<s.>qdd ^o =f {m}{w}-hnw=s	[s]k nn-n(.i) sb ³ .(w) ³ m-h ^t ^h =f:	[S]
s.qdd ^o =f (j)m s	{n}<s> k nn-n(.i) sb ³ .(w) ³ <m-h ^t ^h =f>	[R]

When he traverses inside of her, (then at the same time) the stars do follow him.

(Remark: I understand the rheme is not on *m-hnw=s* but on the clause with *sk*; cf. Oréal 2011:188.)

(von Lieven 2007, 275: “er fährt dahin in ihrem Inneren, indem diese Sterne in seinem Gefolge sind”).

This use is attested in the OK (Edel 1955/1964: §852–855; Oréal 2011: ch.4, §4), in the MK (*DCT.* 562, Van der Molen 2005: 1617–1619), in pEbers (Grapow 1958: 158f. [Eb 198c, 199b]), in the NK (Gardiner ³1957: §119.3, 230f.; Oréal 2011: 255), and after the NK (Jansen-Winkeln 1996: §§355, 658; cf. also Kurth 2007/2008: 778–781 [§159]).

[27] **pn NP** • To a variant degree, the NBs attest the use of a preposed demonstrative pronouns of the *n*-, *f*-, and *w*-series (e.g. *Amd.* 404f., 668, *So.Lit.* 6, 236; *Pfb.* 207, 285;

19 Cf. Quack 1993: 62: “während ich doch fern davon war, verwaist zu sein”. Note that the emendation {*jw*} *sk* ... <*jw*> *hrp* ^h .n=(j) ^h, suggested by Gardiner (in Petrie 1925: 19, note 3) and accepted by Quack (*loc.cit.*), is not necessary in the light of the evidence above (– as now also agreed to by Quack, p.c.).

Hb. 19.32 \equiv *LdQ.* XIII,1 and many more; *Earth* R6.B.1.38.45,12–18, R6.51.captio 3/O.51.captio 3). Since Edel (1995/64: §185) has mentioned seemingly similar cases in his Old Egyptian grammar, this has been taken as a possible sign of old language (e.g. Baumann 1998: 452).

But actually, the use mentioned by Edel is a very specific one. Pronouns of the *n*- und *f*-series appear preposed only if they denote a direct contrast between opposite elements *this one ... the other one*, *this one ... that one*, or the like (*pf* NP – *pn* NP', *pn* NP – *pf* NP', occasionally with missing/non-overt partner; initially pointed out to me by Frank Kammerzell, p.c.; cf. now also Jenni 2009: 131–135 with footnotes 51f., Jansen-Winkel forthcoming., §B).

The use attested in the NBs, on the other hand, is of a very different kind. The function of these preposed demonstratives is that of anaphoric demonstratives (*this*), that of determinatives(!) (*the one (which/that ...)*), i.e. of cataphoric determiners, before relative phrases), and rarely even that of a simple definite article (*the*).²⁰ The closest parallel to this use is the use of the demonstratives of the β -series in colloquial Middle Egyptian or the β -series and βi -series in Late Egyptian. The preposed uses of demonstratives in the NBs are therefore very probably cases of translations of (imagined) colloquial MEg. phrases ($p\beta$ NP; cf. Allen 2002: 88–91) or – more likely – of standard LEg. phrases ($p\beta$ NP; $p\beta i$ NP) into an artificial 'elevated speech' (*pn* (*lpf*/*pw*) NP).

As a hint on a NK chronolect as the background for the translation, I take the but rare, somewhat superfluous use with a god's or a goddesses proper name: *tn-T β jt* [☐ **t β -T β jt*] (*the*) *Tait* (*Hb.* 54.13 \equiv *LdQ.* XLVIII,6). This parallels the use in $p\beta$ -*R^cn* (*the*) *Ra* attested only from the NK on (*Wb.* II, 401.8). The same use is also once attested in *Earth* with an additional change of sequence: *R^c(w)* [☐ **p β -R^c(w)*] (*Earth* R6.A.4.17.27,4). – Note that it is neither the 'phoric' use of demonstratives with proper names (Shisha-Halevy 1989: 8f.) nor the use in vocative contexts (Grapow 1939–1943: 18–24) that is at issue here! – In this context one must add that postposed demonstratives are attested after proper names of kings and non-royal persons earlier: *Nmti-nht* *-pn* (Peasant B1 21ff.; cf. also Allen 2002: 90, fn.32). This case can be understood as a phoric use (Shisha-Halevy 1989: 9, no.2): *the (mentioned) Nemtinakht*. The use of demonstratives with the deceased's name in the Pyramid Texts, e.g. > 150 \times (*Wnjs*) *-pn*, as well as in the Coffin Texts ([proper name] *-pn*) is probably to be interpreted on the background of the situation of a ritual: (*the/this*) *Unis here* (Frank Kammerzell, p.c.). Anyhow, really unique gods' names like *R^c(w)* and *T β jt* found with demonstratives – outside phoric and vocative contexts! – are probably yet another case.

Cf. also the in some respects more detailed discussion with more references to preposed demonstratives in the NBs in Werning (2011: §§112–119).

In this context, two texts passages in Caverns are also remarkable. One is the phrase

pn *hd.y[⊙]=(j)* [*Hb.* 90.17 \equiv *LdQ.* CXXV,7]
my illuminating (disk) (rather not *this my illuminating (disk)*).

It is a non-etymological hybrid of

20 For the linguistic background cf. Diessel 1999: 94f., 106–109, 135–137; Himmelmann 2001: 833f.

MEg. * $h\bar{d}(\bar{i})^{\circ}=(j)$ -pn and
 LEg. * $p^3y=(j)$ NP,

with *pn* for and in the syntactic slot of LEg. $p^3-/p^3y=$.

The other one is the nominal sentence

$hft.(\bar{i})w^{\circ} nn n(\bar{i})-jmn \downarrow -rn=f$ [Hb. 85.17 ≡ LdQ. CXVII,9f]
 (For) these are the enemies of the one Who hides his name.

It is probably as well a hybrid of

MEg. * $hft.(\bar{i})w^{\circ} -pw n.(\bar{i})w^{\circ} jmn \downarrow -rn=f$ and
 LEg. * $n^3- hft.(\bar{i}w) n(\bar{i})-jmn \downarrow -rn=f n^3i$,

with *nn* for LEg. n^3i , but in the syntactic slot of MEg. *pw* (cf. Sethe 1916: §§94, 96). Note that nominal sentences of the pattern NP *nn* are extremely rare, and that other examples in Earlier Egyptian quoted have singular NPs (cf. Sethe 1916, §88); cf. also a comparable example $m^{\circ} =k rnp.t^{\circ} n^3 n.(\bar{i})t-jrr z(j) n- nb =f$ in the Heqanakht papyri (pMMA 22.3.516 vs. 9; Allen 2002: 90). But Sethe (*loc.cit.*) mentions another LEg./MEg. hybrid example with *nn* for LEg. n^3i probably from the Late Period: $n^3-(j.)sr=k n=(j) nn$ *These are the things that you have foretold me* (cf. Sethe 1910: 148).

[28] **subjunctive $jm\bar{i}^{\circ} =f$** • Baumann (1998: 451, 206f., 233f.) mentions the use of $jm\bar{i}^{\circ} =f sdm.(w)$ instead of $tm=f sdm.(w)$ in purpose clauses. Among the cases cited, one is very probably corrupt. Both readings of this passage that are attested do not seem to make sense in context:

$jp^{\circ}=(j) d.\{\circ\} <t> [^{\circ}=(j)] j^3 \wedge=(j) hft.(\bar{i})w^{\circ} :$ [Hb. 84.28, tO/β]
 $jp^{\circ}=(j) d.t^{\circ}=(j) jm\bar{i}^{\circ}=(j) hft.(\bar{i}w)^{\circ}$ [ζ/β ≡ LdQ. CXV,9]

Two of cases with $jm\bar{i}^{\circ}$ quoted by Baumann are main sentences ‘*You shall not ..*’ [Pfb. 167, quoted above; Hb. 97.24f.].

The only interesting case quoted is from Litany:

$jm\bar{i}=(j) j.hm.(w)$ *so that I will not be ignorant.* [So.Lit. 178]

(Note that a Negatival complement with *j*-augment is completely unexpected; Edel 1955/1964: §742,1; Schenkel 2000a: 15f.; Gardiner ³1957: §341.)

The use of $jm\bar{i}^{\circ} =f sdm.(w)$ as a main sentence is attested until the NK (Ritter 1995: ch. 1.3.2; Erman ²1933: §786) and later (Jansen-Winkel 1996: §341; Kurth 2007/2008: §154). The subordinate use/meaning, on the other hand, is attested predominantly in the OK, but occasionally also in the MK (Satzinger 1968: §88; Malaise & Winand 1999: §649 with an example from CT VI, 295g; Allen 2000: 256 [§19.11.2] with a possible example from Peasant B1, 162). And some of the examples from papyrus Ebers seem to attest this use as well (Eb 766f, 871c, 766a mentioned in Westendorf 1962: §368, cf. also §370). On the one hand, the paucity of attestation in later texts is remarkable. But on the other hand, given that subjunctive $sdm(=f)$ always used to be used as main sentence as well as (virtual) circumstantial clause, the case from Litany is probably not necessarily surprising. (Or is this use a case of a translation $*tm=f sdm \rightarrow jm\bar{i}^{\circ} =f sdm$? Cf. below.)

Phraseology

[29] *Pyr.* 412b und *Pyr.* 517a • A sequence form Litany looks like a 1SG adaption of a passage form the PTs; compare Litany

$mrr=(j) \text{ } \text{ } jrr=(j) \text{ } \dots msdd \text{ } \text{ } n(j) \text{ } \text{ } jrj \text{ } \text{ } n=(j) \text{ } \dots$: [So.Lit. 251f., $\alpha/mThIII$]
 $mrr=f \text{ } jrj=f(!) \text{ } \dots msdd \text{ } \text{ } n(j) \text{ } \text{ } jrj \text{ } \text{ } n=f \text{ } \dots$ [secondary redaction α/γ ; cf. Werning 2007: 1938f.]

with PT

$mrr=f \text{ } jrr=f \text{ } msdd=f \text{ } n(j) \text{ } \text{ } jrj \text{ } \text{ } n=f$. [PT 274, *Pyr.* 412b, W/T]

Another pair of passages that are comparable (cf. Morenz 1999) is Litany

$psd \text{ } \text{ } b \text{ } m \text{ } \text{ } srf \text{ } \text{ } t \text{ } \text{ } htp \text{ } \text{ } t \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } hr \text{ } \text{ } (i) \text{ } t \text{ } \text{ } bqs \text{ } \text{ } w \text{ } \text{ } ni \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } (W) \text{ } sr \text{ } \text{ } (w)$ [So.Lit. 199, $\alpha/mThIII$]

and PT

$jni \text{ } n \text{ } \text{ } (Wnjs) \text{ } sfr \text{ } \text{ } t \text{ } \text{ } htp \text{ } \text{ } t \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } hr \text{ } \text{ } (j) \text{ } t \text{ } \text{ } psd \text{ } (W) \text{ } sr \text{ } \text{ } (w)$. [PT 321, *Pyr.* 517a, W]

Quack (2000: 559) suggests that this might be a hint that the Litany dates to the OK.

Another possibility is of course that the author(s) of the Litany had a copy of the PT spells (from Unas pyramid?) or the like at their disposal, which inspired them (cf. Morenz 1999: 107–109; for the tradition of other PT spells: Gestermann 2005: ch. 4.2.2.1; Kahl 1999: 91f., 312f.; cf. as well Stauder forthc.: §10.1). But also note that the PT spell 321 is still once attested in the MK (Allen 2006: 296) and that phraseology comparable to PT 274/*So.Lit.* 251f. is attested in the Coffin Texts, as well: $jnk \text{ } \text{ } mrr=f \text{ } jrr=f \text{ } jt(j) \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } ntr \text{ } \text{ } (w) \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } [CT III 386b, spell 261]$, $mrr=j \text{ } \text{ } jrr=j \text{ } nh=sn$ [*CT VI*, 268l, spell 647].

[30] $sdm \text{ } sdm \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } sdm$ NP • Baumann (1998: 451, 130–132) hints at another phraseological parallel between NBs and Pyramid Texts: a pair of clauses $sdm \text{ } sdm'$: sdm NP, in which the initial sdm forms are forms of the suffix conjugation (or participles?), and the second sdm' is a participle of the same verbal root. Often this pattern comes in the shape $sdm \text{ } (sdm) \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \dots : sdm \text{ } R^c(w) \text{ } \dots$ (*So.Lit.* 125f., *Pfb.* 350, *Hb.* 105.5f., similarly *Amd.* 843). A comparable, simpler variant $msj \text{ } msj : hpr \text{ } hpr$ is attested in *Amduat* [*Amd.* 810].

Besides in the PT (Firchow 1953: 197f.), there are also some attestations of this and similar patterns in the BD and on Gr.-Rom. temples (from *Wb.* III, 437.8: e.g. *DZA* 28.626.870 [BD 45], 28.626.910 [BD 39], 28.627.050 [Edfu]; cf. also 28.626.960 [TT 85, Amenemheb], cf. also 28.626.970 = *pBerlin* 3055, XIV,8). A direct connection between the PTs and the NBs is therefore not mandatory.

2.2 Negative evidence

Syntacto-pragmatics

[31] missing $jw=f \text{ } hr/r \text{ } sdm$ • Repeatedly, scholars mention the striking lack of the ‘pseudo-verbal construction’ with the infinitive in certain NBs, i.e. the $jw=f/(jw)$ SP $hr/r \text{ } \text{ } sdm$ (Baumann 1998: 447; Zeidler 1999: I, 207f.; Quack 2000: 548). Taken at face-value this would hint at a linguistic stage in which neither NP $r \text{ } \text{ } sdm$ nor NP $hr \text{ } \text{ } sdm$

were being used, i.e. a *terminus post quem non* in the later Old Kingdom (cf. Vernus 1990: 5, 191).

Actually, at least both Gates and Caverns each attest a single instance of SP *hr- sdm*, respectively (*Pfb.* 263, RVI; *Hb.* 37.58 \equiv *LdQ.* XXXV,7). Also, both make abundant use of the final ‘adverbial’ clause *r- sdm*. Given that the positive evidence partially excludes an OK origin of the NBs (see above and below), there must be another explanation for the close-to-complete lack of the main clause constructions for the benefit of *jw=f/ (jw) SP sdm=f* (imperfective) and *sdm=f/SP* (subjunctive/posterior), respectively (– as well as for the circumstantial clause construction *hr- sdm* for the benefit of imperfective *sdm=f/SP*). One could think of semantic differences between NP *sdm=f* and NP *hr- sdm* in the earlier MK (i.e. quantity: possible habituality vs. non-habitual progressive; cf. Vernus 1990: 191; *id.* 1990b) or between *sdm* NP (or even *sdm.w* NP) and NP *r- sdm* at certain times (i.e. mood; cf. *op.cit.* 26f.), which made the authors prefer the non-periphrastic constructions. This would open up the possibility of a dating into the (earlier) MK. But at least from the later MK on, NP *sdm=f* and NP *hr- sdm* seem to be semantically equivalent (imperfective vs. periphrastic imperfective). For the possibility of a NK dating of the NBs, there is yet another explanation to find. And indeed, there is a possible pragmatic explanation: that the lack of both periphrastic imperfective and periphrastic future in NBs might be due to the classification of these infinitival phrase constructions as ‘modern’ speech by the authors, and the subsequent avoidance of it. Consequently, they regularly made use of the (supposedly semantically equivalent) non-periphrastic imperfective NP *sdm=f* (main sentence) and *sdm=f* (circumstantial clause), and subjunctive/posterior *sdm* NP (Zeidler 1999: I, 207f.; Werning 2011: ch. V.D ‘Datierung. Sprachgeschichte’; cf. also Stauder forthc.: §4 ‘filtering’).

[32] *varia missing* • Some scholars expressed their astonishment that certain specific constructions are not attested in the NBs: e.g. **n(j)-zp[⊗] sdm=f* (Zeidler 1999: I, 208) and various passive constructions: **jw=tw sdm.tw=f* (NBs use *jw sdm.tw=f*), **n(j)-sdm.tw=f* (NBs use *n(j)- sdm(.w)=f*), and **(jw) sdm(.w) ∅* (NBs use *(jw) sdm.tw ∅*) (Baumann 1998: 451f.), **sdm.n.tw(=f)* (NBs use *sdm(.w)=f*; Baumann *loc.cit.*, Zeidler *loc.cit.*).

The first question is whether there was actually a demand for some of the respective semantic/pragmatic propositions: ‘something has yet never been done’ (*n(j)-zp[⊗] sdm=f*), and a passive preterit as theme or complement clause (*sdm.n.tw(=f)*; whether *sdm(.w)=f* is definitely nominal is not certain).

jw=tw sdm=tw NP and especially *jw=tw sdm.tw=f* are rare constructions, anyway (cf. Baumann 1998: 405 fn.230, 419 fn.255; Ritter 1995: 145 has one example *jw=tw sdm=tw* NP; Stauder forthc.: §8.1). There is no urgent need not to prefer the semantically equivalent *jw sdm.tw(=f)*. As for the use of imperfective *(jw) sdm.tw ∅* instead of **(jw) sdm(.w) ∅*, an affirmative, passive, tenseless-habitual meaning has usually been expressed by imperfective *sdm.tw* in MEg. (Gardiner ³1957: §39, but cf. §422,3; Schenkel 2005: ch. 7.3.1.2), but not in OEg. (Edel 1955/1964: §891; but cf. Allen 1984: §486B quoted by Zeidler, in which the second example could be future as well). Note

that the construction *jw sdm.tw(=f)* used in the NBs is only attested after the OK (Edel *loc.cit.*; Baumann 1998: 419, 452). The use of the imperfective *sdm.tw*, therefore, might actually be an argument against an OK date of the respective NBs.

Also, the use of *n(j)- sdm(.w)=f* instead of **n(j)- sdm.tw=f* in tenseless contexts is not necessarily surprising. Whether *n(j)- sdm(.w)=f* (neg. Old Anterior Passive) or *n(j)- sdm.tw=f* (neg. Old Anterior) was the most usual choice in tenseless/general contexts in MEg. is not so clear (cf. Satzinger 1968: §18; Werning 2008b: 280f., tab.6 with fn.57). Note that the semantically similar construction *n(j)- sdm.n.tw=f* (neg. Anterior), attested in the NK (Ritter 1995: ch. 1.2.2.2), probably was understood as having the specific connotation of inability and it, therefore, was probably not directly in functional concurrence with *n(j)- sdm(.w)=f* (/ *n(j)- sdm.tw=f*).

2.3 Review summary

The result of the review of linguistic arguments for a very early date of these compositions can be summarized as follows.

Many of the features mentioned are actually still attested in the New Kingdom (and partially even later): the imperative collocation *mj n=* spelled  (but not  [5]; the imperative form/spelling  /  (but not  [6]; the personal pronouns *twt/swt* [8]; *sdm(=f)* forms with gemination or with an ending *-w* in active posterior/modal contexts [14]; the negation of future/modal forms with a negation spelled  [14]; the posterior-passive form with partial reduplication *ddd(=f)* at least for verbs *II.gem.* [15]; a non-enclitic particle *m*  used before indicative sentences (headed by an enclitic pronoun of the 1st person) [19]; the past habitual participle construction *wn(/wnn.i) sdm(=f)* [20]; the construction *dr- sdm.t(=f)/dr- jr.i.t(=f)* with the meaning *before (he) has heard* (but not *since (he) has heard*) [23]; the adjectival phrase construction *jw.t.i sdm.n(=f)* [25]; the nominal sentence *twt -js NP* (with *-js!*) [26]; and circumstantial clauses introduced by the particle *sk* (> *(j)sk/(j)st*) [26]. All these features are probably to be classified as part of a continued tradition (cf. Stauder forthc.: §5) of earlier linguistic features.

Further features are attested at least until the MK and again after the NK: the enclitic pronoun 2SG.M spelled *-kw* (?) [2]; the nominal sentence with topicalized theme NP : NP *-pw* [21]; the coordination of NPs using *jst* (NP NP *jst*; later NP NP *(j)sk/js*) [26]. Other features are attested at least until the MK: a demonstrative pronoun spelled *p*, *pj*, or *pjj/py* [3]; the semantically circumstantial use of *jm.i*  *=f sdm(.w)* [28]; the phraseology from PT 321 [29]. The phrase *jw jsk* in Litany is comparable to *jw sk* and *jw jst* found in the MK and SIP [26]. The attestations of these features in the NBs can easily be understood as the missing NK link or NK successor, respectively, in a continued tradition.

Due to the very early date of the phenomenon, the spelling of *knz.t*  with  /*c*/, Pre-OEg. /*k*/, instead of  /*k*/ as a *hapax* in one of the text witnesses of Litany is either the result of a clever inference from the observation of the particle(s) *jst/jsk* (and *-tw/-kw?*), or – more likely – a mistake [1].

Remarkable are some cases of PT phraseology which seem to have been ‘reactivated’ after a (possible) break in the tradition: *mrr=fjrr=f : msdd=f n(j)- jrī.n=f* *If he wants, he acts; if he does not want, he does not act* [29]; and the sentence pair pattern *jjī[△] jjī[△] ... : jjī[△] NP ... (Here) comes someone ...; (here) comes NP ...* [30]. (The latter is also attested in other texts from the NK.)

Actually, I would guess that even some of the possibly ‘continued’ features listed above are not really continued but indeed ‘reactivated’ tradition, as well (e.g. *p³/pj, -kw(?)*, *dr- sdm.t(=f)*).

Also remarkable are some cases of alleged ‘old’ features in the NBs that, taking a close look, turn out to be different from the corresponding old features as far as syntax, semantics, and/or pragmatics (as well as morphology) are concerned. The different use (‘form–function mismatch’) is therefore actually an argument not for but against a contemporary, i.e. a genuinely old origin of the phrases. One such case is the circumstantial/adverbial use of *jwt/jwtī* in the NBs as well as in other texts attested in the NK not only with the translation equivalent *(one) who not* (virtual relative clause) or *so that not*, but the expansion of its use to general circumstantial clauses with the meaning *while not / without (that)* [9]. Another one is the use of a non-enclitic particle *m[⌊]* before(!) imperatives [19]. In other cases, the uses are rather a product of a tried ‘reactivation’, which failed to perfectly mirror the original use. In some cases, I argue, the author(s) did not even try to actually mirror an old use, but ‘simply’ used an old lemma as translation equivalent for a different, recent lemma (e.g. **p³ NP → pn NP* [27]; possibly **tm=(j)* *hm(.w) → jmi[⌊]=(j)* *j.hm(.w)* [28]). The result, anyhow, is an innovative use of an old(er) element, a somewhat different ‘reinvention’ (cf. Stauder forthc.: §8–9).

Some of these features might not have made it into other texts, e.g. the cases of a (non-etymological) root augmentation of *2.rad.* verbs by the means of a *j*-augment (a Negativ Complement in Litany; an Old Anterior Passive in Nut) [17, 28]. Another feature was at least also used in one other religious book first attested at the same time: the form/spelling *mytw[⌊]...* in Amduat and Litany [4]. Yet another successful feature spread and flourished in most of the NBs: the preposed(!) use of the demonstratives *pn/tn(lnn)*, occasionally also *pw/tw(lnw)* or *pf(l*tf)*, as determiners in the function, especially, of cataphoric determinatives (*the one, (who/which/that ...)*), or – more rarely – of deictic demonstratives (*this; that*) or articles (*the*) [27].

3 Linguistic arguments for a (SIP/)NK dating

Orthography and vocabulary

Orthography and vocabulary are quite low on the accessibility scale (cf. Stauder forthc.: §§4.2, 6.2). They could potentially have quite easily been ‘updated’ during the process of copying of an old text. And since orthography can be shown to be a topic of ancient reckoning (cf. e.g. the principles of ‘syllabic’ and aenigmatic spellings; Junge 1984: 268–272, Werning 2008a) and since we can assume that certain Egyptians were able to read and understand the vocabulary of older texts, we must, *vice versa*, also allow for the possibility that older orthography and vocabulary could have been emulated or reactivated, re-

spectively, in later times by a well educated literate comparatively easily (– this concerns the cases [1–14, 26–28, 33–34]). It follows that without further argument only new lemmata/loanwords and innovative meanings of traditional lemmata can easily serve as a convincing indication for a rough *terminus ante quem non*, i.e. for a late dating.

The checking of the vocabulary of a given text and its meaning against the attestation in other texts is a quite time-consuming task. However, it has recently become a little easier and more reliable through the publication of – amongst others – Rainer Hannig's *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch* series, Van der Molen's *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, and the online-database *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. Nevertheless, I feel that the effort needed to review the vocabulary of the NBs²¹ is not in a proper relation to its potential to convince scholars as to an early or late date of the compositions (cf. e.g. Quack 2000: 551; von Lieven 2007: 247f.; Stauder forthc.: §22).

Morpho-syntax and syntacto-pragmatics

While some of the features mentioned in the preceding chapter speak against an OK date of the NBs (for the case of Amduat cf. also Jansen-Winkeln forthc.), it can additionally be stated that some of the other alleged old features turn out rather to be hints of a late date of the respective compositions (or phrases): the use of *jmi/tm* NP *jri.t* (with infinitive) instead of *jmi/tm jri(.w)* NP (with negatival complement) in Amduat and Gates [24] (cf. also the use of *jwt while not* in [9]). Eye-opening is also the use of a *s_{dm}.w(=f)* after *ꜥꜣ* in Gates and the use of geminated forms of the suffix conjugation even as a complement clause after *rdi to cause* and after *ꜥꜣ* in Caverns, i.e. a complete merge of the older subjunctive with the older posterior paradigm as found in the LEg. subjunctive-posterior paradigm ('prospective'), and, at the same time, the frequent negation of this paradigm not by *ꜥꜣ* but by *ꜥꜣ* [14]. (This analysis seems to be applicable to most of the NBs.) Also, the use of a postposed *js_t* not only for the coordination of NPs but also of sentences in Litany seems to be an early glimpse of an expansion of the use of the particle group *(j)st/(j)sk/js*, used without restriction in Gr.-Rom. times *((j)sk, js)* [26]. The occasional idiosyncratic preposed position of the determiners *pn/tn*, *pftf*, and *pw/tw* in Amduat, Litany, Gates, Caverns, and Earth have their closed equivalent in the fully developed LEg. determiners *p³* and *p³i* [27].

[33] *sw sdm=f* • Another feature that has been discussed repeatedly is the 'proclitic pronoun constructions' *sw [s_{dm}=f/s_{dm}.ø/PrepP]* / *sn (r=sn) [s_{dm}=sn/s_{dm}(.w)/PrepP]* commonly used in the NBs, as well as their possible pre-NK attestations.²² The most recent study by Roberson (2010) lists four groups of cases. Some alleged attestations should

21 Cf. Rößler-Köhler (1999: 75, 92–95 [Amduat, 1st–2nd hour]) as a review of a sample from Hornung (1963: *passim* [Amduat]); Zeidler (1999: I, 245f. [Gates]) with a reply by Quack (2000: 552 [Gates]); Müller-Roth (2006: 543 [Day]); von Lieven (2007: 252f. [Nut]); Werning (2011: §§15f. [Caverns]).

22 Barta 1985, Zeidler 1999: I, 150–152, 208 with a reply from Quack 2000: 548f. (for this cf. also Stauder forthc.: §6.1 with fn.); Jansen-Winkeln 2004: 219–223; Roberson 2008: §5.3 = id. 2012: §4.3; Roberson 2010; Werning (2011: §125); Jansen-Winkeln forthc.: §D; Stauder forthc.: §6.6.

still be excluded, after which no examples with 1SG or 1PL pronouns are left.²³ A filtered and slightly changed list of cases looks as follows:

(1a) CTs: (...) NP + [-*sw*/-*si*] + [*s_dm*=*f*/PrepP];

(1b) CTs: *jnk* + -*wj* + [*s_dm*=*j*/PrepP];

(1c) Caverns: *jn* (long) NP : *sn d_i=sn* (*Hb.* 101.9f. ≡ *LdQ.* CXXXVII,3f.);

(2a1) *varia*: *sw* + [predicate phrase];

(2a2) Nut: *si* + [predicate phrase];

(2b) *varia*: *tw* + [predicate phrase] (for this cf. Stauder forthc.: §8.1);

(2c1) NBs: *sn* (+ *r=sn*) + [predicate phrase];

(2c2) NBs: *tn* (+ *r=tn*) + [predicate phrase].

Group (1) is apparently of a different kind (cf. Roberson 2010: 187f.). The enclitic pronoun is definitely neither initial nor does it follow another clause (except for one of the four plus one cases). The choice of an enclitic pronoun might be licensed or even triggered here by the nominal antecedents (but cf. Schenkel 2008). For case (1c), which is comparable to group (1b), I have elsewhere suggested analyzing it as an innovative, imperfective cleft sentence (Werning 2011: §133).

The use of *sw* in group (2a1) examples is directly comparable to the LEg. Present I (– some apparent examples are actually different constructions: particle *sw(t)* + clause, or nominal sentences with the pronoun *sw(t)*, cf. below [34]). The groups (2a2) and (2c1) are a natural inference, comparing group (2a1) with the Present I (*st* → *si*; *stⁱ* → *snⁱ*). Case (2b) is a further inference within the group of 3rd person sg. pronouns (*sw*/**st* → *tw*). Only the group (2c2) has no direct counterpart in LEg. morpho-syntax. It does definitely expand the LEg. construction [‘enclitic’ pronoun, 3rd person] + [(*hr*-)*s_dm*/*s_dm*.ø/PrepP] to the pattern [‘enclitic’ pronoun, 3rd,sg.-pl./2nd,pl. person] + [*s_dm*=*f*/*s_dm*.ø/PrepP].

If it holds that the ‘proclitic pronoun construction’ is only used with *sw*, *si*, *tw*, *tnⁱ*, and *snⁱ*, one could even imagine an explanation for this distribution: Starting with the LEg. Present I, the next step is a translation of the ‘modern’ pronouns into traditional MEg. pronouns (– the only remarkable case being the case of *tw one*). Then the ‘modern’ LEg. Present I base morpheme *tw* is to be deleted. From what is left, the cases with pronouns of too little phonological and orthographical substance are not used.

23 From Caverns: Barta’s (1985) exx. j/1 = *Hb.* 19.47 ([//]w(j)[Ⓢ]), j/2 = *Hb.* 22.50 (jw=(j)[Ⓢ]), j/4: *Hb.* 42.13 (Pet: <wnn>=sn), j/6: *Hb.* 65.12 (only RVI: dittography =tnⁱ {=tnⁱ}), j/7 = *Hb.* 87.7 (RVI: *sw* instead of **jw* as found in Pet; cf. above [26]), j/8 = *Hb.* 94.14 (*sw(t)* ...; cf. above [26]), j/9 = *Hb.* 94.27 (RVI: <n>tnⁱ). For j/1, j/2 cf. also Barta (1995: 97); for j/9 cf. Quack (2002); for j/7, j/8 (suggesting the emendation **jw*) cf. also Jansen-Winkel (2004: 221); for j/1, j/4, j/5, j/7, j/8 cf. also Roberson (2010: 190 and fn. 62). What remains in Caverns is only the pattern *tn r=tn* AdvP (3×): j/3 = *Hb.* 40.39f., j/5 = *Hb.* 57.68. The very special case of j/10 = *Hb.* 101.9f. (*jn* NP -*sn s_dm*=*sn*) should be treated separately.

From Earth: Roberson’s (2010) en.71 example: The passage reads *srqⁱ=snⁱ m* (←) -*w(j)*[Ⓢ] *c_q[△]=[Ⓢ](j)*[Ⓢ] -*snⁱ* (Hornung 1999: pl.93), and the most plausible emendation is ... *tj* (↔) -*w(j)*[Ⓢ] ... *They breath, when I enter(?) them* (with very close phraseological parallels in *Hb.* 22.36f., 24.27f. ≡ *LdQ.* XIX,3, XXI,2: *srqⁱ=tnⁱ tj -w(j)*[Ⓢ] *c_p[△]=[Ⓢ](j)*[Ⓢ] *hr=tnⁱ*).

<i>Present I</i>				<i>'proclitic pronoun construction'</i>
$tw=(j)^{\text{sg}}/=(j)^{\text{pl}} \rightarrow$	$*tw=(j)^{\text{sg}} \rightarrow$	$*(j)^{\text{sg}} */\bar{i}/$	\rightarrow	(too 'weak'; $tw=(j)^{\text{sg}}$ used instead)
$tw=k$	$tw=k \rightarrow$	$*k */(V)k/$	\rightarrow	(too 'weak'; $tw=k$ used instead)
$tw=(t)^{\text{pl}} \rightarrow$	$*tw=\underline{t} \rightarrow$	$*\underline{t} */(V)c/$	\rightarrow	(too 'weak'; $tw=\underline{t}$ used instead)
sw	sw	$sw */sV(w)/$	sw	
$st \rightarrow$	$s\ddot{i}$	$s\ddot{i} */sV/$	$s\ddot{i}$	
$tw=tw$	$tw=tw (!) \rightarrow$	$tw */\bar{t}V/$	tw	
$tw=n^{\text{pl}}$	$tw=n^{\text{pl}} \rightarrow$	$*n^{\text{pl}} */(V)n/$	\rightarrow	(too 'weak'; $tw=n^{\text{pl}}$ used instead)
$tw=tn^{\text{pl}}$	$tw=tn^{\text{pl}} \rightarrow$	$\underline{tn}^{\text{pl}} */cVn/$	$\underline{tn}^{\text{pl}}$	
st^{pl}	$\rightarrow sn^{\text{pl}}$	$sn^{\text{pl}} */sVn/$	sn^{pl}	

This scenario is of course purely hypothetical; but still it is an explanation that correctly predicts the patterns positively attested.

Anyway, the clause initial use of 'enclitic' pronouns attested in the NBs has no direct parallel in texts from before the NK. The use can hypothetically be motivated as an innovative inference through the comparison of the LEg. Present I and MEg. sentence patterns – being a hybrid of the LEg. Present I, MEg. pronoun morphology, and MEg. predicate phrase morpho-syntax (cf. Stauder forthc.: §6.6, end; and more generally §§8–9). A NK date of the NBs would explain the 'proclitic pronoun constructions' most easily.

– Excursus –

[34] *swt (-js) varia* • Speaking of *sw*, two more morphemes that are occasionally spelled *sw(t)* demand to be mentioned: the pronoun *swt* and the pragmatic particle *swt*. The pronoun as well as the particle can appear sentence-initial in the NBs (e.g. *Hb.* 28.13, 29.6; Werning 2011: §161). It is very probably the pronoun, which is used in a family of sentence patterns, some members of which have, until recently, not yet been adequately analyzed. As argued at greater length elsewhere (Werning 2011: §§121f. = ch. IV.F.3), many NBs attest a nominal sentence pattern that could be described as elliptic: the construction

(3) *swt (-js/-rf) ∅ NP* with the meaning '(For) (*I/you*^{sg./pl.})[!] *am/are NP*'.

Only occasionally, a fuller pattern

(2a) *swt (-js) jnk NP* '(For) *I am NP*' or

(2b) *swt -js NP NP* '(For) *NP is NP*'

is attested. To this must be added the quite common, traditional sentence pattern

(1a) *swt (-js) NP* '(For) *he(/she) is NP*'

(1b) *\underline{t}wt (-js) NP* '(For) *you*^{m./f.sg.[!]} *are NP*',

(cf. above [8, 26]). And, actually, occasionally there are even uses of

(4) *\underline{t}wt (-js) ∅ NP* with the meaning '(For) (*he/we/you*^{pl.})[!] *is/are NP*',

and there is even a unique case from Litany/BD spell 180

(5a) $\underline{tn}^{\text{pl}}$ *swt -js (∅) NP* '(For) *you*^{pl.} *are NP*' :

(5b) $\underline{tn}^{\text{pl}}$ *\underline{t}wt -js (∅) NP* '(For) *you*^{pl.} *are NP*'.

Attestations, e.g.: (1a) *Pfb.* 131f., 282f., *Hb.* 90.46, 90.48; (1b) *Pfb.* 107 [𓂏𓂏𓂏], *Hb.* 59.44 [𓂏𓂏], 90.44–49 [𓂏𓂏𓂏 ~ 𓂏𓂏]; (2a) *Hb.* 22.34, 24.25, 26.25, 92.32; (2b) *Hb.* 9.15f.; (3) *So.Lit.* 245, BD 180 = Lapp 2002: 44b–c, Neb1, *Hb.* 21.44, 46.65, 56.23, 96.35, 99.16; (4) *Pfb.* 282 [𓂏𓂏], 282f. [𓂏𓂏], BD 180 = Lapp 2002: 44b–c [𓂏𓂏𓂏, 𓂏𓂏], *Hb.* 48.16 [𓂏𓂏 ~ 𓂏𓂏 sic]; (5a) *So.Lit.* 254; BD 180 = Lapp 2002: 52d–53b, Neb1 [𓂏𓂏𓂏 sic] (5b) BD 180 = Lapp 2002: 52d–53b, Pa [𓂏𓂏].

I have suggested that this uses were innovations, somehow triggered, initially, by a comparison of the traditional sentence pattern *swt* (-*js*) NP with the traditional patterns NP -*pw* / NP -*pw* NP, i.e. the (ancient) inference

$$[\text{NP } -pw] \equiv [\textit{swt} (-js) \text{ NP}] \quad (1a) \rightarrow [\text{NP } -pw] [\text{NP}] \equiv [\textit{swt} (-js) \text{ NP}] [\text{NP}] \quad (2a/b).$$

This would explain at least (2a) and the missing of -*pw* in (2b). The use of *swt* -*js* NP for any person/number (1a&3) is a real innovation, though. In the light of the fuller versions (2a/b), the respective construction could be explained as elliptic *swt* -*js* \emptyset NP with *swt* as a kind of nominal copula; or it could be explained as simple *swt* -*js* NP with *swt* as a person/number-neutral pronoun. (In cases of *swt* NP NP without -*js*, by the way, one cannot exclude that *swt* is the pragmatic particle.) The equation of *swt* and *twt*, explaining the patterns (4) and (5b), is yet another step. (Note that this chain of inferences could as well be dated to the MK as to the NK.)

Of a different kind is the pair of balanced sentences attested in some NBs (*So.Lit.* 104, *Pfb.* 368f.):

$$\text{NP}_1 \textit{swt} \text{NP}'_1 : \text{NP}_2 \textit{swt} \text{NP}'_2 \quad \text{NP}_1 \textit{is} \text{NP}'_1; \textit{as much as} \text{NP}_2 \textit{is} \text{NP}'_2'$$

Since balanced sentences generally do not make use of a nominal copula (not *NP -*pw* NP', but simply NP NP'), the *swt* in these cases is very probably the pragmatic particle *swt*, connecting the two balanced sentences.

– End of excursus –

4 Conclusion

The review of alleged linguistic arguments for an Old Kingdom date of the Netherworld Books and the Litany of the Sun (or parts of them) brought about the result that none of the features definitely rules out a later dating. Most features could be easily explained, assuming a Middle Kingdom, a Second Intermediate Period or an early New Kingdom date. At a first glance therefore, much seems to speak for an MK/SIP date – one can add vocabulary, phonology, and orthography, not discussed here in detail.

But actually, there are also some features that are most naturally explained assuming a New Kingdom (or probably Second Intermediate Period) date of the final redaction of the texts:

- (a) the use of *jmi/tm* NP *jri.t* with infinitive instead of *jmi/tm jri(.w)* NP with negational complement [24; Amduat and Gates];
- (b) the use of a *sdm.w(=f)* after 𓂏 [Gates] and *m33(=f)* after *rdi* [Caverns], giving a hint that it is a later single subjunctive/posterior (trad. ‘prospective’) paradigm, which is used (– the common negation with 𓂏, then, comes as a deliberate sign for ‘archaic’/elevated language) [14];

- (c) the semantic and syntactic use of the demonstratives of the *n*-series (rarely *f*-, and *w*-series) just like and indeed, I argue, as a ‘translation’ of the *ʒ*-series [27; Amduat, Litany, Gates, Caverns, Earth]:

pn NP (*/pw* NP/*pf* NP) ← **pʒ* NP / **pʒi* NP ,
nn(-ni) NP ← **nʒ* (*n*-) NP / **nʒi* NP , and once
 NP *nn* ← *NP *nʒi* .

For direct attestations of the *ʒ*-series in Nut cf. von Lieven 2007: 251.

- (d) the use of the ‘proclitic pronoun construction’ *sw* + [*sḏm=f/sḏm.ø*/PrepP], which is most easily explained as an adaptation of the New Kingdom periphrastic Present I *sw* + [(*hr*-)*sḏm/sḏm.ø*/PrepP] [34; Amduat, Litany, Gates, Nut, Caverns, Enigmatic Netherworld Books, Earth];
- (e) the use of particles and pronouns, which does not always perfectly mirror the use in genuinely old texts; cf. e.g. *jwt* [⚡] [9; Amduat, Gates, Nut, Caverns, Earth], *-jst* [26; Litany], *swt/twt* [34; Litany, Gates, Caverns].
- (f) the paradigmatic sets and the pragmatic distribution of paradigms, which do not always seem to mirror those of any genuinely old chronolect, indeed, being hybrid compilations of parts of sets from different chronolects as well as artificial features. Cf. the glimpses mentioned in this article:

pj : *p*^{2Amd.} : *pʒ*^{Nut} : *pw* : *pw*^{Gates} [3, (21)],
n(j) : *nn* : *jwt* : *jm*_̇ : *tm* [9, 14],
 passive *sḏm(.w)(=f)* : *ḏḏḏ(=f)* [15],
 NP *pn* : *pn* NP : *pʒ* NP^{Nut} [27],
 NP *sḏm=f* : *NP *hr sḏm*, *sḏm=f* / *sḏm.w=f* : *NP *r sḏm* [31],
twt : *swt* : *ntk* : *ntf* (: copula *pw* : *pj* : ...) [8, 34];
 for the case of sentence and clause paradigms in Caverns cf. Werning (2011: §175 = ch. IV.F.9).

The specific patterns of mixtures of ‘young’, ‘old’ and ‘oldest’ features found in the NBs are rather not a result of different, unsystematic editorial steps but a result of a compilation of features of different linguistic strata during the creation of the autograph. For the general issue cf. Stauder forthc.: §8.2.

The cases (a), (b), (e), and parts of (f) are obviously quite low on an ‘accessibility scale’ (– for an Egyptian in the NK, as well as for the modern scholar; cf. Stauder forthc.: §6.1). Therefore the non-classical use can easily be explained as a rather unconsciously ‘imperfect’ adaptation.

The cases (c) and (d), on the other hand, are probably more accessible and they demand another assessment. They are both hybrids of traditional and modern features: traditional morphology (*pn*(*/pf/pw*)), but modern syntax and semantics ([determiner] + [noun], like in LEg. determiner phrases); traditional morphology (*si*, *sn* [besides *sw*, *tn*] and *sḏm=f* [besides *sḏm.ø*, PrepP]), but modern syntax ([‘proclitic’ pronoun] + [predicate phrase], like LEg. present I). Obviously, the authors did not object to the modern syntax;

they did not try to perfectly, authentically mirror an older chronolect. The traditional morphology of its constituents was sufficient to give the construction as a whole a traditional ‘flavor’ (Stauder forthc.: §9.4: “patine superficiellement archaisante”) – at least enough so as not to seriously undermine the impression of traditional, elevated language evoked by the overall context.

The possibility of a linguistic dating of at least most of the Netherworld Books, among them definitely Gates and Caverns, into the New Kingdom is in concord with its archaeological attestation²⁴ as well as with provisional judgments about the theological content (for Gates cf. Zeidler 1999: I, 234–237; for Gates and Caverns cf. Werning 2011: ch.V.C ‘Datierung. Geistesgeschichte’)²⁵.

Based on the present knowledge, a dating of at least Amduat, Litany, Gates, Caverns, Earth, and the Enigmatic Netherworld Books in their attested wording into the New Kingdom is therefore plausible. What results is that the Egyptian theologians prove to have had profound awareness of most of the differences between traditional/‘classical’ Middle Egyptian and their contemporary, spoken language varieties in the 18th dynasty and even in the 19th dynasty. In this way, they were able to emulate a very special kind of Middle Egyptian, which comes so close to genuinely old Classic Middle Egyptian that it provoked a long debate as to its assessment.

Looking from here onto non-theological texts from the New Kingdom (e.g. *Urkunden* IV), the traditional and the modern features attested in those texts definitely deserve a subtle treatment as to their possible pragmatic function (cf. Stauder forthc.: §§5.3, 7.3).

As to the question of the dating of some ‘classical’ literary works that are so far attested only in New Kingdom manuscripts, I conclude that the specific philological and linguistic competence demonstrated by the authors of the Netherworld Books can serve as landmarks of elevated language from the times of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III (Amduat²⁶, Litany), to the late 18th dynasty (Gates), and to the 19th dynasty (Caverns) that can help scholars to argue for or against a dating into the New Kingdom. A detailed study of the set of traditional linguistic features attested as well as of the patterns of suppression of ‘modern’ features in *Urkunden* IV²⁷, in spells from the Book of the Dead, in the Amduat²⁸, in the Litany of the Sun, and in other texts²⁹ from the middle of the 2nd millennium BCE is, of course, a prerequisite for a proper judgment about the linguistic potential of Egyptian authors from this period.

24 For the question of possible earlier archeological evidence cf. Stauder forthc.: §6.1 with fn. with reference to an investigation by Matthias Müller; cf. also Müller-Roth (2006: 542–544).

25 It is, of course, not sufficient to argue that the content of certain parts of the NBs would hypothetically nicely fit an earlier date (as e.g. in Röbner-Köhler 1999). To effectively argue for an early dating, one has to discredit a later historical context; to further support a dating close to the first attestation one would have to discredit an earlier historical context (as exercised in Zeidler 1999 and Werning 2011, *loc.cit.* above).

26 For the *terminus post quem non* in the reign of Hatshepsut cf. Mauric-Barberio (2001: 333f.).

27 Cf. Ritter (1995) (verbal system); Stauder forthc.: §6.1.

28 Cf. Jansen-Winkel forthc. (selected features).

29 E.g. Westendorf (1962).

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