

LANGUAGES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST



*A Grammar of the
Ancient Egyptian
Pyramid Texts*

Volume I: Unis

James P. Allen

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*GRAMMAR OF THE
ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PYRAMID TEXTS, VOL. 1:
UNIS*

LANGUAGES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

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*Grammar of the
Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts,
Volume 1: Unis*

JAMES P. ALLEN

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Winona Lake, Indiana

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PREFACE

FORTY YEARS AGO, I researched, wrote, and subsequently published a PhD dissertation on the verbal system of the Pyramid Texts (Allen 1984). The present study is expanded to the entire range of Pyramid Texts grammar, including not only the verbal system but also orthography, phonology, word formation, and non-verbal statements. I have begun by concentrating solely on the texts of Unis (Dyn. V, ca. 2325 BC), not only because they are the earliest, most complete, and most accessible of all the Old Kingdom sources but also because in-depth analyses of single sources can eventually reveal diachronic changes that might otherwise go unobserved in a more comprehensive work. It is my hope to continue this series with individual studies of each source, once the hieroglyphic texts of each are fully and properly published (as they have been, for example, for the texts of Pepi I: Leclant 2001).

This inaugural study is based on a complete database of Unis's texts, including not only grammatical constructions but also individual words and hieroglyphic signs. That approach has made it possible to provide hard statistics about usage that would otherwise be merely educated guesswork. Individual texts, or parts of them, are cited in accordance with Allen 2013b: thus, for example, PT 213.1 rather than Pyr. 134a.

This study is also based on an understanding of the verbal system radically different from that of my 1984 work. The latter was done within the parameters of the then-prevailing model of Egyptian grammar, the so-called "Standard Theory." Even at that time, however, I felt uncomfortable about its assumptions: "In fact, having worked through the material of the Pyramid Texts with this analytical model, I am not at all confident that the descriptions it has produced are either complete or necessarily correct" (Allen 1984, xvii–xviii). In subsequent decades, I have gradually come to the realization that our analysis of the ancient Egyptian language—Old and Middle Egyptian in particular, and later stages to a lesser extent—has been warped by the unconscious biases that our translations impose on the material. We have, for example, divided the single written form of the Late Egyptian *sdm.f* into two inflected forms, preterite and prospective/subjunctive, because it regularly has one or the other meaning. In doing so, however, we impose on the data inflectional categories that exist in modern Western languages without realizing that they might not have been inflectionally distinct in that stage of Egyptian at all, any more than they are in Chinese.

Accordingly, the present study makes no assumptions about grammatical categories that are not adequately represented in the written data. Readers familiar with more traditional studies of Egyptian grammar will find a number of innovations here.

In the lexicon, the category “adjective” is restricted to the qualifier *nb* “any, each,” because all other attributives belong to other categories, such as demonstrative pronouns, or have verbal antecedents. For verbs, this study recognizes only nine root classes in place of the sixteen first codified by Sethe (1899–1902). Reduplicated forms and the *s*-causatives, which Sethe classified as distinct root classes, are here considered to be stems of primary roots, and the same is true for some stems formed by the affixation of *n* or *h* to a primary root: thus, for example, *hbnnbn* “bounce” and *shbnnbn* “make bounce” as *h*-stem redup. and *h*-stem redup. caus. of 2-lit. **bn* “swell” rather than 5-lit. and caus. 5-lit. Gemination is also considered a lexical feature, as well as an inflectional one: the former, in the case of 2ae-gem. roots (e.g., *qbb* “cool”) and the geminated stem of some other roots (e.g., 3ae-inf. *mrr* “love”); the latter, in the case of the 2-lit. passive participle and the *sdmm.f* passive and its active counterpart. This brings the classification of Egyptian verbal lexemes more in line with that of the Semitic languages to which Egyptian is clearly related.

In keeping with the written evidence, *z* and *s* are treated as separate phonemes while *h* and *š* are considered different realizations of a single phoneme, *h*, with *š* transcribed only when written with —. This study also recognizes that hieroglyphs encode not only etymology but a spoken language as well. Phonetic reconstructions, marked as * [...], are based on Coptic and established or demonstrable orthographic and phonological principles, as well as common sense: for example, the particle transcribed *jw* as representing simply **[u]* rather than something like **[yaw]*. The primary phonological principles assumed in this study are the following: words may begin or end with a vowel as well as a consonant; syllables within words generally begin with a single consonant and end with either a single consonant or a vowel (i.e., –CV– or –CVC–), although –VV– (or –V'V–/–V'V–) sequences are also possible (e.g., **[piriák]*/[piri'ák]/*piri?ák*); syllable-final unstressed vowels are elided whenever possible (e.g., **[sadamák]* > **[sadámák]*). Orthographically, doubled consonants without an intervening vowel are regularly, though not invariably, written only once, so that **[pírit]* and **[píriat]* are both written *prt*, and *prr-* must represent *pVrVr-*.

The texts are transcribed here according to traditional conventions. Post-lexical affixes, but not grammatical gender/number endings, are set off by dots: e.g., 166.1 *j.nsbt.n.sn* “which they have licked,” feminine singular attributive form of *nsbj* “lick,” with prefix reflecting syllabic metathesis (**[ni-]* > **[in-]*) and suffixes denoting completion (*n*) and third-person plural pronominal subject (*sn*). Transcriptions reflect the hieroglyphic text, and phonemes not represented in hieroglyphs are generally not supplied, except for the first-person singular suffix pronoun (*j*): thus, for example, 219.49    *n.(j)* rather than *ms.n.t(j)* *n.(j)* and 273–74.50    as *j.f sbn.(j)* rather than *j(w).f sbn.(j)*.

As the focus of this study is grammar, the translations adhere as closely as possible to lexical rather than contextual interpretation. A number of terms are rendered with conventional vocalizations of the Egyptian original rather than with circumlocutions: these include *ȝbj* “akh” (the deceased’s spirit in its relationship with the living), *ȝht* “Akhet” (the liminal zone between the netherworld and the day sky), and *dȝt/dwȝt* “Duat” (the netherworld). Conversely, proper names consisting of epithets are translated lexically rather than with conventional vocalizations: for example, *wp-wȝwt* “Paths-Parter” rather than Wepwawet, *nȝbw-kȝw* “Ka-Allocator” rather than Nehebkau, and *ȝntj-jmnjw* “foremost of Westerners” rather than Khentiamentiu.

Unis’s Pyramid Texts consist of two basic genres, ritual and personal. The first is the libretto of spells pronounced by an officiant as accompaniment to various rituals, such as the presentation of offerings. In these, the deceased either is addressed directly (“Unis,” “Osiris Unis,” “you”) or is referred to by name or third-person pronouns. Unis’s texts contain evidence that some if not all of these were personalized from an original with *nswt* “the king” or *mn* “insert name” in place of the king’s name. Since the original term usually cannot be determined, these spells are translated as preserved in the pyramid. The officiant, the king’s son, Horus, speaks in the first person: e.g., 38.2 *wp.j n.k r.k* “I part your mouth for you.” This is also assumed to be the case in ambivalent passages, particularly those in which the deceased, as passive participant in the ritual, was probably not envisioned as taking a proactive role: thus, for example, 57.2 *m-n.k jrt hrw htm.(j) tw jm.s* “here for you is Horus’s eye: I provide you with it” rather than *htm tw jm.s* “provide yourself with it.”

The second genre is that of texts meant to be recited by the deceased’s spirit. There is abundant evidence that these were composed in the first person and subsequently personalized, by substituting the king’s name or a third-person pronoun, before or as they were inscribed in the pyramid. These texts are translated in this study with the original first-person pronouns, marked by an asterisk (“★I,” “★me,” etc.) except where the original has been (intentionally or accidentally) preserved.

I am grateful to James Eisenbraun, for undertaking to publish this study, and to Gonzalo Rubio, who accepted it in the LANE series, of which he is editor. I am also indebted to Andréas Stauder, for reading and perceptively commenting on the initial draft of this work; the present incarnation is much better for his input. And lastly, I am grateful to Susan Allen, who not only made it possible for me to write this book but also put up with me while I was doing it.

Providence, July 2016

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1. ORTHOGRAPHY

1.1 EPIGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

Unis's Pyramid Texts are all inscribed vertically, in columns. The columnar organization in some cases has influenced the use and arrangement of signs. Spellings and the placement of signs tend to be more generous in the upper half of columns and less so in the lower half.

Arrangement in the latter is also dictated by the principle that words are not divided between columns. For example, the default spelling of *psdtj* "Dual Ennead" and *psdwrt* "Enneads" is six and nine groups, respectively, of ; for *psdtj*, however, a variant with three groups of  followed by  appears at the end of F/Eg 14 (205.9) so as not to break the word between two columns. Similarly, the word *sfljt.f* "his seven" appears as Fig. 1.1a in 318.2 near the top of C/E 2 but as Fig. 1.1b in 318.2 at the bottom of C/E 1, for lack of space. The desire to conserve space, or to prevent an extended string of hieroglyphs, also results in spellings such as Fig. 1.1c for *sḥ.k* (255.7) alongside the more usual sequence in Fig. 1.1d (224.10).

The principle of word integrity is demonstrated twice in Unis's texts by corrections made on the wall. In F/E 9–10 (Fig. 1.1e–f), 220.8 *ms.n tm* was originally carved twice, with the first dependent pronoun divided between columns; the error was corrected by erasing *ms.n t* at the bottom of F/E 9 and leaving the *m* of the first dependent pronoun as an initial phonetic complement of the second *ms*. PT 247.4 *qm³.n* was originally arranged with the phonograms at the bottom of A/Wg 3 and the determinative and suffix at the top of A/Wg 4 (Fig. 1.1g); this was emended (Fig. 1.1h) by erasing the signs at the bottom of A/Wg 3 and recarving the first group at the top of A/Wg 4.

These corrections, as well as the bulk of Unis's text columns, indicate that the principle of word integrity was rigidly observed. That principle, in turn, dictates the interpretation of morphology in some cases. F/N ii 6–7 (77.2: Fig. 1.1i) must be

read *tn j.wn.t* rather than *tnj wn.t*, despite the fact that 2ae-gem. *wn* is not otherwise attested in a prefixed *sdm.f*, and F/Eg 1–2 (204.1: Fig. 1.1j) must be read *j.lfj j.hnnw* rather than *j.hfjj hnnw* (vocative *j.hfjj hnnw* is less likely in the context).

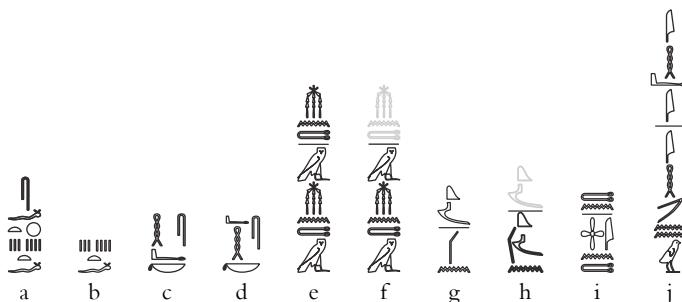


Fig. 1.1

1.2 CALLIGRAPHIC FEATURES

Besides arrangements of signs influenced by columnar grouping, Unis's Pyramid Texts exhibit two further orthographic peculiarities, metathesis and omission.

As elsewhere in Egyptian, graphic metathesis can arise out of respect for the second element ("honorific transposition"): for example, 83.3  *htp-nswt* "king's offering," 200.1  *sntr* "incense," 136.1  *(j)m(w)-ht-sts* "Seth's followers." More often, however, it involves the transposition of a bird-sign from first to second position:

-  for *ȝj* (81.2)
-  for *ȝb* (301.34)
-  for *ȝh* (52.3, 254.42, 279.1)
-  for *wȝ* (222.26, 272.4', 301.1, 301.34, 301.36)
-  for *wb* (222.28, 222.34, 222.36)
-  for *wh* (168.3)
-  for *ws* (144.1, 224.17)
-  for *bȝs* (165.1)
-  for *mȝ* (271.1)
-  for *ms* (23–24.2 a, 79–80.7, 91.3, 147.3, 215.33', 215.33, 216.1, 222.35, 252.7, 254.23, 262.26, 307.11, 311.6)
-  for *nh* (229.1)
-  for *gb* (127.1).

These all involve the transposition of a bird and a tall sign within a group. It is extended occasionally, however, to the vertical arrangement of the two signs (↓ followed by ♂ for *gb* in 214.2 and 215.15). The reason for the metathesis is not evident, but it probably involves a preference for tall signs at the front of the group rather than the end, also visible in the arrangement of the abbreviation for *dd-mdw* "recitation" as ⌂ when the signs are arranged in a group rather than vertically (always ⌂ followed by ↓). The same transposition appears in spellings of ⌂ *wd* "command" and ⌂ ⌂ *mdw* "speak," but these reflect the orthography of the complementation of biliteral and trilateral signs (see below, § 1.6) rather than (or in addition to) the preference noted here.

Transposition also occurs with birds and small signs. Most examples involve ⌂, but ⌂, ⌂, and ↓ can also trigger the transposition:

-  for *ȝt* (42.2, 43.4, 44.4, 216.7, 254.38, 301.14; note also 271.1 ⌂ ⌂)
-  for *ȝq* (271.6)
-  for *ȝyt* (256.4, 267.12, 273–74.7)
-  for *wt* (76.3, 81.4, 210.8, 215.16, 221.6, 221.10, 221.12, 242.1, 245.9, 246.3, 247.6, 254.19, 254.48, 256.4, 258.10, 263.15, 267.14, 270.6, 270.8, 272.1, 273–

74.12, 273–74.27, 273–74.37, 273–74.65, 273–74.67, 301.6, 301.8, 301.32,¹
 302.10, 307.6, 307.14, 317.11; note also  for *wtt* in 254.3)

 (273–74.63, 273–74.67)

 for *b3t* (212.1)

 for *mt* (77.7, 93.6, 219.68, 246.9, 270.9, 318.3)

 for *m(j)* “come” (83.3)

 for *mwt* (232.2, 271.3, 271.4, 273–74.5, 273–74.6, 297.5, 307.3)

 in *hjmt.n.f* (156.1)

 for *z3t* (219.91).

Calligraphic and spatial concerns can take precedence over sequentiality in the arrangement of signs. Representative instances are Fig. 1.2a–b for *j.lmht* (91.2 and 142.1), 1.2c for *j.shn.w* (146.1), 1.2d for *sn hw* (154.1), 1.2e–f for *s3t hdt* and *s3t w3dt* (161.3 and 162.3), and 1.2g for *tpht* (240.2). Sequentiality also differs from the norm in the case of split columns, as in Fig. 1.2h (38.3), to be read  and ; other examples occur in 43.4, 87.3, 92.3, 94–95.3, and 110.3, all in the labels of offering spells. Two further instances may underlie the irregular word order in Fig. 1.2i–j (205.5–6, reproduced in all Middle Kingdom and later copies), which could reflect an original (in the first person) with split columns somewhat as in Fig. 1.2k–l.

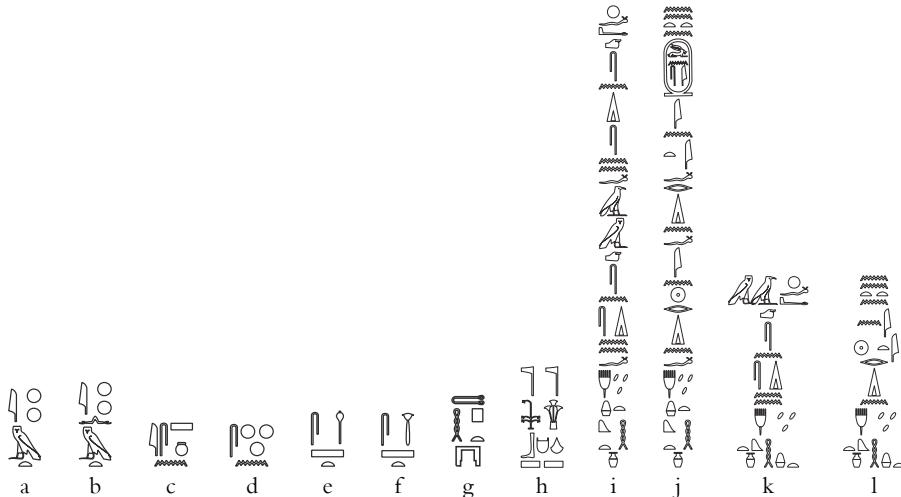


Fig. 1.2

1.3 KINDS AND USES OF SIGNS

Unis’s Pyramid Texts contain 28,007 hieroglyphic signs (including those later emended or erased: see Chapter 2). Of these, 24,097 (86%) are used as phonograms, 1,692 (6%) as

1 With the normal arrangement of  followed by  in the same passage.

ideograms, and 2,218 (8%) as determinatives. The relative paucity of the last two categories largely reflects scribal practice rather than decorum. Except for the absence of full-figure human signs (Gardiner's categories A and B), Unis's texts show no evidence of the exclusion or mutilation of signs evident in later pyramids.²

Unis's texts represent a sign inventory of 556 different glyphs, of which 204 are used as phonograms, 148 as ideograms, and 349 as determinatives. Of these, 254 signs are used only as determinatives (e.g., Y2 𢃓), 136 only as phonograms (e.g., S29 𢃔 s and S34 𢃔 𢃓 𢃓), and 42 only as ideograms (e.g., G26 𢃔 𢃓 𢃓). The remainder have multiple functions: 56 as ideogram or determinative (e.g., N5 𢃓 for *r̥w* “sun” and *hrw* “day” and in 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 *hrw* “day”), 18 as phonogram or determinative (e.g., F46 𢃓 in 𢃓 𢃓 *p̥hr* “go around” and 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 *dbn* “circle”), 29 as phonogram or ideogram (e.g., E23 𢃓 in 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 *hrw* “voice” and 𢃓 𢃓 *rw* “lion”), and 21 used in all three functions (e.g., D4 𢃓 in 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 *jrw* “deeds,” 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 *m33* “see,” and 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 𢃓 *jrt* “eye”).

In terms of use, ideograms are least common, both in the inventory as a whole (27%) and in the total of all signs (6%); determinatives constitute nearly two thirds of the sign inventory (63%) but only 8% of all signs; and phonograms represent 37% of the inventory but account for 86% of all signs. The distribution of ideograms and determinatives is not consistent throughout the pyramid.

On the basis of orthography as well as content, Unis's Pyramid Texts comprise seven distinct corpora:³

F/Wg — PT 226–243

Offering Ritual (F/N, F/E 34–38, F-A/N–F-A/S 1) — PT 23 ... 200, 223–224, 244

Resurrection Ritual (F/S–F/E 33, F-A/N 2–19) — PT 213–222, 245–246

F/Eg — PT 204 ... 212

A/W-S — PT 247 ... 272

A/Eg—A/E 25 — PT 273–74 – 299

A/E 26 – C — PT 300–321.

These contain a sufficient number of spelling variants to indicate distinct orthographic traditions, including the use of ideograms and determinatives:

2 Note, for example, the consistent spelling of *sts* “Seth” as 𢃓 or 𢃓 𢃓 versus the wholly phonological spelling 𢃓 adopted by later pyramids. In 282.4 (A/E 5), the bull sign E1 has been hacked out, but this is an isolated instance and undoubtedly secondary: the sign is reachable from the floor (at the height of the passage to the serdab), while the same sign in A/E 1 (277.1), near the top of the wall, is untouched.

3 An ellipsis signifies a discontinuous sequence: e.g., the sequence on F/Eg begins with PT 204 and ends with PT 212 but omits PT 206 and 208.

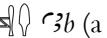
	Ideograms	Determinatives
OR	11.7%	6.2%
RR	5%	3.6%
F/Wg	4.8%	10.6%
F/Eg	5.1%	12.1%
A/W-S	4.8%	10.6%
A/Eg–A/E 25	3.7%	10.8%
A/E 26 – C	5.5%	10.4%.

The percentage of ideograms is highest in the Offering Ritual, probably due in part to the need to conserve space in the three registers of offering spells on the F/N wall, lowest in the apotropaic spells of A/Eg–A/E 25, and fairly consistent elsewhere. That of determinatives is lowest in the Offering and Resurrection rituals, fairly consistent in the texts of the antechamber and corridor, and highest in the spells of F/Eg.

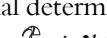
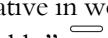
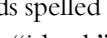
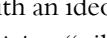
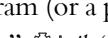
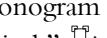
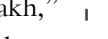
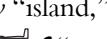
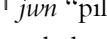
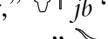
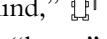
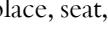
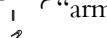
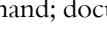
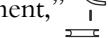
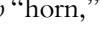
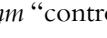
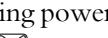
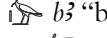
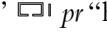
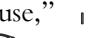
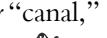
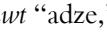
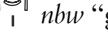
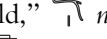
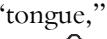
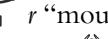
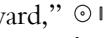
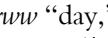
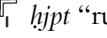
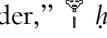
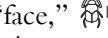
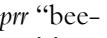
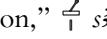
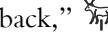
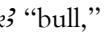
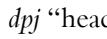
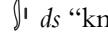
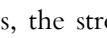
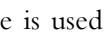
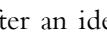
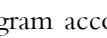
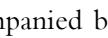
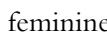
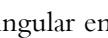
1.4 DETERMINATIVES

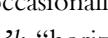
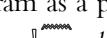
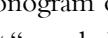
Determinatives usually occur at the end of a word and before a suffix pronoun, but they can precede a gender/number ending or follow a suffix pronoun: 219.67  *tztj* “of the chest” (ms nisbe), 222.28 and 222.36  *wbn.k* “you rise,” 234.1  *rjt.f* “his coil,” 254.20  *sk3t* “plowing,” 254.55  *znwt* “passing,” 255.9  *nknt* “what was injured,” 256.4  *nsr* “flame” (calligraphic:  over  over ), 260.2  *fndw* “fourth” and  *fdw* “four,” 260.14  *dndw* “rage,” 263.2 and 263.4  *zhtj* “of the Akhet” (ms nisbe), 263.7  *hnzktjw* “braid-wearers” (mpl nisbe), 268.15  *qblw* “Cool Waters” (see § 1.2), 270.6  *gs.f* “his side,” 273–74.12  *ptrt* “who looks,” 281.5  *nγ* “glide,” 284.2  *rn.n.f* “coiling,” 288.1  *w3t* “path,” 304.2  *hnkt* “dedicated,” 305.13  *jw̄w* “heir,” 306.3 *št.f* “his incisiveness,” 319.9 *qd.n* “built.” Word-internal determinatives are standard in *m33* “see” and *sdm* “hear.”

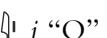
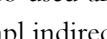
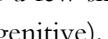
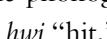
Most words that have determinatives have only one, but a few have two or more. The determinatives  or  are standard in the word *k3* “bull” and  in *sm3/sm3t* “wild bull/cow.” Other two-determinative words are PT 205.11  *sf* “yesterday,” 230.15  *3bw* “Elephantine,” 247.2  *3t* “knife” and 298.3  *j.3f* “he cuts off,” 255.11 and 261.9  *nšnj* “tempest,” 262.24  *msqt* “beaten path” and  *shd* “Sehedu,” 263.6  *b3* “leopard skin,” 268.2  *nbwtj* “Ombite,” 268.15 *sqd* “sail,” 273–74.34 *dw3t* “morning,” 273–74.37 *k3pt.f* “his firewood,” 273–74.51 *hsb.n.f* “he has broken up,” 275.3 *lynswj* “two opposite doorleaves,” 288.1 *hkrt*, 301.31 *szmt* “Malachite-land,” 302.3 *mshtjw* “Striker,” 303.11 and 305.14–15

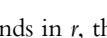
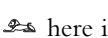
 *z̥* “write,” and 304.13  *ȝb* (a plant). The three-determinative plural group  (with variation in the arrangement of signs) is standard in words denoting food: *jstt* “set of meals” (205.8), *ht* “meal” (207.1–2, 273–74.64), *htpt* “offerings” (210.14, 254.42), *ȝbt* “feast” (210.15, 258.14), *ȝwt* “spread” (212.7, 273–74.22), *mswt* “supper” (254.48), *hmt* “fare” (262.23); it is expanded by an additional determinative in 223.5  *htp-ntr* “god’s offering.”

1.5 THE STROKE

The single stroke has numerical value as an ideogram for *wr*- “one” and as determinative in the same word when it is spelled with phonograms. Apart from this function, the stroke is used as a final determinative in words spelled with an ideogram (or a phonogram used as an ideogram):  *ȝly* “akh,”  *jw* “island,”  *jvn* “pillar,”  *jb* “mind,”  *jnb* “wall,”  *jrt* “eye,”  *jst* “place, seat,”  “arm, hand; document,”  *ȝb* “horn,”  *ȝb3* “baton” and *sȝm* “controlling power,”  *b3* “ba,”  *pr* “house,”  *mr* “canal,”  *mdw* “staff,”  *nwt* “adze,”  *nbw* “gold,”  *ns* “tongue,”  *r* “mouth,”  *rw* “lion,”  *h* “courtyard,”  *hruw* “day,”  *hjpt* “rudder,”  *hr* “face,”  *hprr* “beetle,”  *hj* “depression,”  *sȝ* “back,”  *k3* “bull,”  *dpj* “head,”  *ds* “knife,”  *dw* “hill.” In some cases, the stroke is used after an ideogram accompanied by phonetic complements or the feminine singular ending *t*:  *ȝv* *jb* “mind,”  *jrt* “eye,”  *jst* “place, seat,”  *ȝ3* “doorleaf,”  *wȝt* “path,”  *wff* (a snake),  *bd* “ball,”  *mȝ* “kiln,”  *nȝw* “glider,”  *ngȝw* “steer,”  *rnñ* “shoulder,”  *hnw* “cup,”  *hnn* “penis,”  *ht* “belly,”  *sȝrt* “roast,”  *smȝ* “temple,”  *smn* “Nile goose,”  *gs* “side,”  *ds* “knife,”  *dt* “cobra.”

In either case, the use of the stroke was evidently optional: a number of the words listed above also appear without it, sometimes in the same passage (e.g., PT 239.2 *ns*, 270.8 *smȝ*, 271.4 *dw*). The primary use, after a single ideogram, is occasionally extended to uses of the ideogram as a phonogram or determinative:  *ȝk* “horizon,”⁴  *hr* “on” (preposition),  *zbnjt* “crawl place,”   *trwru* “redden,”  *dp* “atop” (preposition).

The stroke is also used after a few single phonograms, mostly optionally:  *j* “O” and “say,”  *nw* (mpl indirect genitive),  *hwj* “hit.” In this case, the stroke’s function is apparently to signal that the phonogram represents a distinct word rather than part of another. Like the ideogram-stroke combination, this use is occasionally extended to appearances of the phonogram as part of a word:  (PT 228.3) *j.nsb.n.f* “the one it has licked,”  *hnw* “disturbance.”

4 For *ȝkr* > *ȝk'* (cf. pSmith 19, 18 *ȝkrj*). Since the word ends in *r*, the  here is a determinative; other spellings in Unis’s texts are 261.5  and 314.1 .

Four anomalous uses of the stroke occur in PT 211.3  *ntjw* “who are present,” 255.13  *znbt* “bulwark,” 263.7  *hnzktjw* “braid-wearers,” and 315.3  *h³tjw* “youngsters.” In the case of PT 255.13  *znbt*, the stroke conceivably represents the absent determinative (present, without stroke, in Teti’s copy). The other three instances, all with the *tjw* bird, are puzzling.⁵ PT 263.7 occurs at the bottom of a column, where the stroke could conceivably be merely a space filler; similarly perhaps, though less convincingly, in PT 315.3, which occurs at the end of a spell, before a dividing line, though within a column. No such explanation is possible for PT 211.3 , however; it may reflect the independent use of the word, without a following clause.

1.6 COMPLEMENTATION

Ideograms can be complemented by a single preceding or following phonogram, including in the latter case the feminine singular ending *t*:  *j³t* “mound,”  *jb* “mind,”  *jmnt* “west,”  *jmntjw* “westerners,”  *jrtj* “eyes,”  *wj* “arms,”  *w³t* “path,”  *psdt* “Ennead,”  *njt* “town,”  *ntr* “goddess,”  *rn* “weeping,”  *hwt* “compound,”  *hr* “face,”  *sntrj* “divinization,”  *kbuj* “soles,”  *t³w* “air.” In most cases, however, complementation involves only phonograms.

The phonograms in Unis’s texts comprise 25 uniliteral signs,⁶ 112 used as biliterals, and 63 as trilaterals. Both biliterals and trilaterals can be used without accompanying complements: e.g., PT 81.7  vs. 222.30  *wp.k* “you part” and 217.22  *db³* “arrayed” (3ms stative) vs. 252.3  *db³* “array” (pl imperative).

There are 1,973 instances of multiliteral complementation in Unis’s texts,⁷ with from one to four complements. Of these, 1,432 (73%) have a single complement; 434 (22%), two complements; 99 (5%), three complements; and 8 (fewer than 1%), four complements. These instances involve 347 complement groups, of which 168 (48%) have one complement; 130 (37%), two complements; 43 (13%), three complements; and 6 (1%), four complements.

Of the 168 two-character groups, 125 have a biliteral phonogram and 43, a trilateral one. The biliteral instances involve 82 biliteral signs, of which 37 occur only in first position (e.g.,  *pr-r*), 16 only in second (e.g.,  *r-rv*), and 29 in both (e.g.,  *wp-p* and  *w-wp*). Complements are usually uniliteral signs, but an initial biliteral can also be complemented by a following one when the latter adds the phoneme *w*: e.g.,  *dr-rv* and  *mn-nw*. The 43 trilaterals involve 33 signs, of which 18 appear only

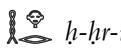
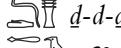
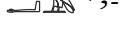
⁵ No other examples of a word-final *tjw* bird, of which there are 28, have the stroke.

⁶  considered a digram for *y* (see § 4.4), both  and  used for *g*. The uniliteral representing *n* is regularly  but is carved as a horizontal line in some cases (see § 1.7, below).

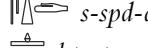
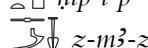
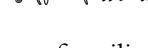
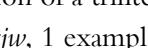
⁷ Not counting the 781 instances of *wn-n* in Unis’s name.

in first position (e.g.,  *htp-p*), 9 only in second (e.g.,  *s-shm*), and 6 in both (e.g.,  *wd-r-r* and  *w-wd*). As with biliterals, complements are usually uniliteral signs, but a triliteral in second position can be complemented by a preceding biliteral (e.g.,  *w3-w3d*); a triliteral in first position is complemented by a following biliteral only when the latter adds the phoneme *w*: e.g.,  *jvn-nw*.

Of the 130 two-complement groups, 78 have a complemented biliteral and 52, a triliteral. The biliterals involve 58 signs, which have both phonemes complemented, in three patterns, with a preference for the biliteral in medial position:

PATTERN	INSTANCES	EXAMPLE
121	37	 <i>h-hr-r</i>
112	17	 <i>d-d-dd</i>
211	12	 <i>r3-r3</i>

A biliteral sign can also be appended to a biliteral or a group with a complemented biliteral in order to add the phoneme *w*, resulting in the additional patterns 122 ( *j-jr-rw*, 1 example), 212 (e.g.,  *dr-r-rw*, 6 examples), and 221 (e.g.,  *wn-nw-w*, 5 examples). Triliterals are complemented either by two uniliteral signs, representing two of the three phonemes, or by a uniliteral and biliteral, representing all three, in seven patterns:

PATTERN	INSTANCES	EXAMPLE
113	16	 <i>h-p-lpr</i>
131	18	 <i>s-spd-d</i>
311	9	 <i>htp-t-p</i>
123	3	 <i>z-m3-zm3</i>
132	1	 <i>h-ltm-tm</i>
213	1	 <i>w3-3-w3d</i>
231	3	 <i>w3-w3d-d</i>

an eighth pattern, 313, results from the addition of a triliteral to a complemented triliteral to add a fourth phoneme ( *hnt-t-tjw*, 1 example).

For both one-complement and two-complement groups, the order and choice of complements do not always correspond to the order of phonemes in the complemented sign.⁸ In some cases, a biliteral or triliteral sign is complemented by a following uniliteral representing the first phoneme:  *tm-t* for *tm*,  *rd-r* for *rd*,  *ndm-n* for *ndm*,  *r3b-r* for *r3b*. Similarly, a triliteral sign can be complemented by a following uniliteral representing the second phoneme:  *htp-t* for *htp*,  *h-ltm-t* for *ltm*,  *s-shm-h* for *shm*. The medial phoneme of a triliteral sign can also be omitted:  *pr*-

8 Cf. Kahl 1992.

$\text{c-}r$ for cpr , $\text{—}\text{H}$ $\text{s-}hms$ for hms , $\text{—}\text{H}$ $\text{hkr-}\text{s-}r$ for hkr ; related to this practice is the omission of the medial phoneme of a triliteral root before a determinative: $\text{—}\text{H}$ $\text{c-}\text{s}$ for ch , $\text{—}\text{H}$ $\text{h-}p$ for both hp and hzp . In most of these cases, the phoneme or phonemes represented by complements are those with the most phonetic strength in the word. Labials and/or nasals, particularly m and n , often seem to be viewed as weaker than stops or fricatives, which may also explain related phenomena such as the consistent spellings of $\text{—}\text{H}$ $j-d$ for jnd and $\text{—}\text{H}$ $c-d$ for cnd .

Three complements are usually a feature of triliterals: the 44 groups include only 8 with complemented biliterals. Of those, most involve the addition of the phonemes w or j to those represented by the biliteral: $\text{—}\text{H}$ $wr-r-w-rw$ (in PT 215.11 *nwrw*), $\text{—}\text{H}$ $m-mt-tj-j$ (PT 232.1), $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h-hn-n-nw$ (in PT 251.4/7 *hnwt*), $\text{—}\text{H}$ $j-jr-rw-w$ (PT 260.11), $\text{—}\text{H}$ $mn-n-nw-w$ (in PT 306.16 *jnnw*), $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h-t-ht-tjw$ (PT 311.5); the only exceptions are PT 270.6 $\text{—}\text{H}$ $g-s-gs-s$, with the second phoneme repeated, and 310.7 $\text{—}\text{H}$ $n-nw-nw-w$, a variant of the more common $\text{—}\text{H}$ $nw-nw-w$.⁹

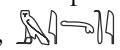
Triliterals appear in eleven patterns. By far the most frequent is 1131, with 14 instances (e.g., $\text{—}\text{H}$ $d-b-db\bar{b}-\bar{b}$), followed by 1113 and 1311 (5 instances each: e.g., $\text{—}\text{H}$ $j-\bar{b}-b-j\bar{b}$ and $\text{—}\text{H}$ $s-shm-b-m$). Three patterns appear in two examples, and five are unique:

- 1132 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h-r-hrw-rw$ (32.6c, 32.6c', 32.6d, 308.5) and $\text{—}\text{H}$ $z-h-z\bar{h}n-nw$ (263.1–4)
- 1312 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h-htm-t-tm$ (95.2, 222.22) and $\text{—}\text{H}$ $w-wsr-s-rw$ (254.44)
- 2113 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $nn-n-t-njt$ (218.24) and $\text{—}\text{H}$ $w\bar{b}-\bar{b}-h-w\bar{b}h$ ([255.15])
- 1123 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h-t-tm-htm$ (245.5, 262.6, 302.5)
- 1321 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h-htm-tm-t$ (36.6)
- 3111 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $hkr-\bar{s}-k-r$ ([221.11])
- 3112 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h\bar{r}w-h-r-rw$ (32.6a, 32.6a', 32.6b, 32.6b')
- 3121 — $\text{—}\text{H}$ $bnt-n-tj-j$ (306.18).

Three of these involve the addition of the phonemes w or j to the triliteral: 1132 $\text{—}\text{H}$ $z-h-z\bar{h}n-nw$, 1312 $\text{—}\text{H}$ $w-wsr-s-rw$, and 3121 $\text{—}\text{H}$ $bnt-n-tj-j$.

Of the five examples of a group with four complements, two involve the triliteral htm and one the triliteral $z\bar{h}n$ with an additional phoneme: $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h\bar{t}-tm-m-htm$ (95.2, a combination of a complemented triliteral and biliteral), $\text{—}\text{H}$ $h-t-tm-m-htm$ (258.3, with — an intrusive determinative of tm), $\text{—}\text{H}$ $z-h-n-z\bar{h}n-nw$ (303.2). The remaining two,

9 PT 241.2, 268.9, 300.4. The initial — in 310.7 may be a remnant of the original 1s dative $n.(j)$.

from a single spell, involve complemented biliterals complementing one another:  *m-mj-mt-tj-j* (232.1),  *m-j-mt-tj-j* (232.2).

1.7 SPELLING ERRORS

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain a number of instances in which one sign is substituted erroneously for another:

-  for  — 81.5  for 
-  for  — 301.4  for 
-  for  — 222.21  for 
-  for — — 227.4, 258.2; 268.9 and 273–74.60  for 
-  for — — 230.4  for 
-  for — — 299.3
-  for — — 300.4  for  , also 230.11  and 234.3 
-  for — — 249.2  for 
-  for — — 252.3
-  for — — 310.8  for 
-  for — — 204.2  for 
-  for — — 275.2  for  (S )
-  corrected to  — in 247.2  
-  corrected to  — in 285.3  .

The errors involving , / , and  could reflect the misreading of a hieroglyphic original in an underground chamber lit dimly by lamplight. The others, however, point to an original in hieratic. All of the instances of  for other signs most likely derive from the misreading of signs similar to hieratic —: — (—), — (—), — (—), and — (—); also — (—). Similarly, for — (—) and — (—),  () and  () ,  () and  () . In 275.3, Unis has  for the 

1.8 SPELLING IRREGULARITIES

Several anomalies in the orthography of Unis's texts derive not from misreadings but from other causes. In two cases, a uniliteral sign is written twice where only one is expected: 41.2  for *mnd* and 219.78  for *nhpf.f*. Similarly, the final radical is repeated after the determinative in 258.17  *zlnf* and 270.6  *gs.f*. In four cases, the final *t* of a feminine noun is repeated before a suffix pronoun, probably for phonological reasons (see § 3.12): 219.51 

318.2–3 $\text{¶} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\circ} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\alpha} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\beta} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\gamma} / \text{¶} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\circ} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\alpha} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\beta} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\gamma}$ *sflt.f*; the passive suffix *t*, however, also exhibits this behavior in 273–74.41 $\text{—} \text{¶} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\circ} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\alpha}$ *ssr.t*. Superfluous determinatives appear in 278.2 $\overset{\curvearrowleft}{\circ} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\alpha}$ *tf* “that” and 315.12' $\text{¶} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\circ} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\alpha} \overset{\curvearrowleft}{\beta} \overset{\curvearrowright}{\gamma}$ *s3* “back” (see below).

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2. EDITING

2.1 SIGNS OF EDITING

Unis's Pyramid Texts show evidence of extensive proofreading after they were inscribed in his pyramid. The process has resulted in 131 changes to the texts, made either in paint, or by insertions into uncarved space, or by plastering in the original signs to erase them or, in most cases, to carve new signs over them. The editorial changes are of three kinds: orthographic, insertions, and rewording. These account for, respectively, 52, 32, and 47 of the alterations.

2.2 ORTHOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Most editorial changes involve an original spelling altered on the wall by recarving, erasing, or adding one or more signs:

37.2 (F/N i 26)	>
38.2 (F/N i 27)	>
43.3 (F/N i 37)	>
44.4 (F/N i 39)	>
44.5 (F/N i 40)	>
53.2 (F/N i 51)	> (Nt S)
74.2 (F/N ii 2)	>
85.2 (F/N ii 31)	>
157.1 (F/N iii 41)	>
158.1 (F/N iii 42)	>
159.1 (F/N iii 43)	>
219.91 (F/E 3)	>
219.98 (F/E 5)	>
219.101 (F/E 6)	>
220.7 (F/E 9)	> erased (see § 1.1)
221.1–2 (F/E 11)	> (4 times)
222.10 (F/E 15)	> (← erased for an uncarved ←)
222.15 (F/E 23)	>
222.22 (F/E 26)	>
223.5 (F/E 35)	>
245.4 (F-A/S 3)	>
247.2 (A/Wg 3)	>
247.4 (A/Wg 3–4)	> erased at bottom of A/Wg 3 and recarved at top of A/Wg 4: see § 1.1)

247.5 (A/Wg 4)	>
249.10 (A/Wg 18)	>
250.5 (A/Wg 19)	>
250.7 (A/Wg 20)	>
254.34 (A/W 8)	— > — (in paint)
254.44 (A/W 13)	>
267.5 (A/S 25)	>
268.5 (A/S 28)	> and >
268.6 (A/S 28)	>
269.4 (A/S 33)	>
271.4 (A/S 41)	> (i.e., zz hh > zh zh)
271.8 (A/S 42)	>
272.1 (A/S 42)	>
272.2 (A/S 43)	>
273–74.34 (A/Eg 17)	> (in paint)
273–74.36 (A/Eg 17)	> (in paint)
281.5 (A/E 3)	>
285.3 (A/E 8)	>
297.3 (A/E 21)	>
298.4 (A/E 23)	>
301.14 (A/E 31)	>
305.11 (A/N 16)	>
310.7 (A/N 38)	>
313.6 (C/W 4)	>
315.2 (C/W 6)	>
317.4 (C/W 14)	>
317.8 (C/W 17)	> .

Several motivations underlie these changes: the wrong order of signs (e.g., 223.5), missing signs (e.g., 305.11), and grammar (e.g., 268.5–6). In some cases, however, such as 272.2, the rationale is not clear. Instances such as 310.7 , where the erroneous was intended as the righthand sign of an aborted group, indicate that some changes were made as the signs were being carved.

2.3

INSERTIONS

The secondary addition of omitted text can involve as little as a single word or as much as a whole passage. The 32 cases are as follows, with original text marked by {...} and inserted text by (...), with text originally omitted in **bold**.

47.4 (F/N i 44) *{mnw hd 1} > (jrp mnw hd **H3ts** 1)*

- 48.3 (F/N i 45) {*mnw km 1*} > **(jrp mnw km h̄ts 1)**
 49.3 (F/N i 36) {*mnw km hnt 1*} > **(hnqt mnw km hnt 1)**
 54.4 (F/N i 52) {*mnw hd hnt*} > **(jrp mnw hd hnt 1)**
 55.3 (F/N i 53) {*mnw km hnt*} > **(hnqt mnw km hnt 1)**
 56.4 (F/N i 54) {*bj̄z hnt*} > **(hnqt bj̄z hnt 1)**
 57.3 (F/N i 55) {*htm*} > **(hnqt htm) hnt 1**
 199.1 (F-A/N 1) {*h̄z*} > **(h̄z jsjr) WN[JS]**
 205.8 (F/Eg 13–14) {*jr djt j̄stt*} > **(n ntt WNJS js jr 5t j̄stt)**
 215.12 (F/S 10) *nj n{kn pn}* > **nj n{kn pn t̄z pšr}**
 215.16–20 (F/S 11) *nj mtw(t) {t ntr zj.t nj.f nj zj.k nj.f nj dj kw r̄ tm n jsjr nj jp.f jb.k nj sh̄m.f}* > *(ntr zj.t nj.f nj zj.k nj.f nj dj kw r̄ tm n jsjr nj jp.f jb.k nj sh̄m.f m h̄t.k nj dj kw r̄ tm n hrw nj jp.f jb.k nj sh̄m.f) m h̄t.k*
 215.31–33 (F/S 14) {*wj.k hp dw̄-mwt f dbh.k pr.k jr pt prr.k rdwj k jinst qbh-snw.f db*} >
(jbhw.k spdj.hm-sk wj.k hp dw̄-mwt.f dbh.k pr.k r pt prr.k rdwj.k jinst qbh-snw.f d)bh.k h̄t.k jr nwrt h̄t.k
 end-of-spell line added in paint
 215.35 (F/S 15)
 219.30–33 (F/S 43–44) *WNJS {pn nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nhp.f nhp WNJS pn dhwrtj}* > *(pn nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn nhp.f nhp WNJS pn dhwrtj)*
 219.68–69 (F/S 63) *WNJS {pn nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn} > (pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn)*
 219.98 *nj sk.(f)*
 222.19 (F/E 26) *ntrw (šm̄w) 3gjw.sn j̄st*
 224.19 (F/E 39) *hr.{sn} > hr.(sn zp 4)*
 245.8 (F-A/S 6) *hw {m̄} .k > hw (3 m̄) .k*
 248.1 (A/Wg 11) *WNJS {3} > WNJS (pj̄ 3)*
 249.3 (A/Wg 15) *{szp WNJS} > {szp WNJS jn} jr jst.f*
 250.1 (A/Wg 18) *WNJS {hr} > (p hr) k̄w*
 268.15–16 (A/S 31) *qbh{w} > qbh(w mn̄b) WNJS mn̄ht*
 269.8 (A/S 34) *m̄st {j pr} > m̄st (hrw) j pr*
 271.1 (A/S 40) *dd-mdw {WNJS} mhj > dd-mdw (WNJS pj̄) mhj*
 271.6 (A/S 41) *jt.(f) r̄*
 271.9 (A/S 42) *wd n.f (z̄) tw*
 273–74.21 (A/Eg 13) *WNJS {pj̄} > (p nb h̄pt) t̄z q̄z*
 301.6 (A/E 28–29) *{šw p} hn̄ tfnwt*
 306.1 (A/N 18) *j{n sn} > j(n sn jn) ntrw*
 311.8 (A/N 40) *{n fdw} > (dd-mdw zp 4 dd n) 4*
 312 (A/N 43) *r { } { } { } > ()*

Most of these emendations appear to be the result of signs or texts omitted in the original inscription, either inadvertently or, in the four cases of 215.12–219.69, through homoioteleuton. A number, however, are the product of a less than careful editing of a first-person original into the third person:

- 248.1 $\star jnk \text{ } \zeta > WNJS \zeta > WNJS pj \zeta$
 249.3 $\star \check{sz}p \text{ } wj \text{ } jr \text{ } jst.(j) > \check{sz}p \text{ } WNJS \text{ } jr \text{ } jst.f > \check{sz}p \text{ } WNJS \text{ } jn \text{ } jr \text{ } jst.f$
 250.1 $\star jnk \text{ } hr \text{ } k\bar{3}w > WNJS \text{ } hr \text{ } k\bar{3}w > WNJS \text{ } p \text{ } hr \text{ } k\bar{3}w$
 271.1 $\star jnk \text{ } mlj > WNJS \text{ } mlj > WNJS \text{ } pj \text{ } mlj$
 271.6 $\star jt.(j) \text{ } r' > jt.f \text{ } r' > jt.f \text{ } r'.$

2.4 REWORDING

The 47 passages in Unis's Pyramid Texts where changes have been made in wording are the following, with {...} marking excised text and (...), new text:

- 23–24.2 b (F-A/N 7) $ms\ddot{d}dw \{nswt nbw\} > ms\ddot{d}dw \{WNJS nbw\}$
 23–24.3 b (F-A/N 9) $md \text{ } m \text{ } rn \text{ } n \{nswt \underline{dw}\} > md \text{ } m \text{ } rn \text{ } n \{WNJS \underline{dw}\}$
 32.6 a (F/N i 13) $\underline{dd}-mdw \text{ } zp \text{ } 4 \text{ } m \text{ } pr.tj \text{ } n.k \text{ } \underline{hrw} \{m \text{ } pr.t \text{ } n.k \text{ } \underline{hrw}\}$
 32.6 b (F/N i 36) $\underline{dd}-mdw \text{ } zp \text{ } 4 \text{ } m \text{ } pr.tj \text{ } n.k \text{ } \underline{hrw} \{m \text{ } pr.tj \text{ } n.k \text{ } \underline{hrw}\}$
 32.5–6 c (F/N ii 27) $\{\underline{hr.s} \text{ } \underline{dd}-mdw \text{ } zp \text{ } 4 \text{ } m \text{ } pr.tj \text{ } n.k \text{ } \underline{h}\} \{rw \text{ } m \text{ } prt.tj \text{ } n.k \text{ } \underline{hrw}\} > \{\underline{hr.s} \text{ } dd-mdw \text{ } zp \text{ } 4 \text{ } m \text{ } p\} r.(tj \text{ } n.k \text{ } \underline{hrw})$
 46.2 (F/N i 42) $htp-\{dj\}-nswt \text{ } n \text{ } \{k\bar{3}\}-WNJS > htp-(dj)-nswt \text{ } \{n \text{ } k\bar{3}\} \text{ } n \text{ } WNJS$
 50.4 (F/N i 48) $n \text{ } k\bar{3} \text{ } \{n\} \text{ } WNJS$
 115.1 (F/N ii 54) $d.\{n.(j) \text{ } jr.tk \text{ } n \text{ } \underline{hrw} \text{ } dpt.k\} > d(j.n.(j) \text{ } jrt.k)$
 170.3 (F/N iii 54) $\underline{hnwt} \text{ } 2 > hnwt \text{ } 1$
 204.2 (F/Eg 2) $jb \text{ } \{n\} \text{ } \underline{frls}$
 204.4 (F/Eg 5) $\underline{db}' \text{ } \{n\} \text{ } WNJS$
 215.10 (F/S 10) $ms \text{ } n.k \text{ } p\{n\} > ms \text{ } n.k \text{ } p\{f\}$
 218.6 (F/S 30) $m \text{ } kw \text{ } \{jr.k\} \text{ } b\bar{3}.tj$
 222.36 (F/E 31) $h\bar{3}. \{k \text{ } h\bar{3}w.k\} > h\bar{3}(w.k \text{ } pr).k$
 245.8 (F-A/S 7) $w\bar{d}. \{k\} \text{ } mdw > w\bar{d}.(f) \text{ } mdw$
 251.3 (A/Wg 23) $ntr \text{ } \{\zeta\}$
 252.2 (A/Wg 26) $m\bar{3}.tn \text{ } \{WNJS\} > m\bar{3}.tn \text{ } \{sw\}$
 252.5 (A/Wg 28) $w\bar{d} \text{ } WNJS \text{ } mdw \text{ } \{n\} \text{ } \zeta n\bar{h}w$
 252.7 (A/Wg 30) $shm \text{ } WNJS \text{ } \{jr \text{ } dpj \text{ } WNJS\} > shm \text{ } WNJS \text{ } \{jr \text{ } dpj.f\}$
 267.10 (A/S 26) $\underline{hnj.} \text{ } \{k\} > hnij. \{f\}$
 268.9 (A/S 29) $n \text{ } k\bar{3} \text{ } n \text{ } WNJS \text{ } pn \text{ } \{d\} t.f > \{n \text{ } \underline{d}\} t.f$
 268.10 (A/S 29) $\check{sz}p.f \text{ } \{WNJS \text{ } pn \text{ } psd \text{ } t\bar{3}wj\} > \check{sz}pw.f \text{ } ps\bar{d} \text{ } t\bar{3}wj$
 268.11 (A/S 30) $k\bar{3} \text{ } n \text{ } WNJS \text{ } pn \text{ } \{n\} \text{ } \underline{dt.f}$
 268.16 (A/S 31) $\zeta wj.k > \zeta wj.f$
 269.7 (A/S 33) $mr \text{ } \{WNJS \text{ } tn\} \text{ } ntrw \text{ } mr. \{tn \text{ } WNJS\} \text{ } ntrw > mr. \{tn \text{ } WNJS\} \text{ } ntrw \text{ } mr \text{ } \{sw\} \text{ } ntrw$
 269.12 (A/S 35) $n\bar{d}rw \text{ } n.fjt \text{ } WNJS \text{ } \{\check{sz}p\} \text{ } \zeta n \text{ } WNJS > n\bar{d}rw \text{ } n.fjt \text{ } WNJS \text{ } \{tm\} \text{ } \zeta n \text{ } WNJS$
 270.12 (A/S 39) $\{wd.f.s\} w > \{d.f.s\} w$
 281.2–3 (A/E 3) $\{pt\{tj\} \text{ } mj \text{ } n.(j)\} > \{pt(t \text{ } WNJS) \text{ } mj \text{ } n.(j)\} > \{ptj \text{ } mj \text{ } n.(j)\}$
 283.1 (A/E 6) $\underline{dd}-mdw \text{ } \{jky \text{ } rr\} > dd-mdw \text{ } \{jk \text{ } rr \text{ } WNJS\}$
 283.2 (A/E 6) $d.\{j\} \text{ } sht > d.(f) \text{ } sht$
 287.3 (A/E 10) $m\{\bar{3}-h\bar{z}\} > m\{\bar{3}\}$
 296.3 (A/E 20) $mt \text{ } jt.\{j\} \text{ } \underline{d\bar{C}m\bar{j}w} > mt \text{ } jt.\{k\} \text{ } \underline{d\bar{C}m\bar{j}w}$
 301.8 (A/E 29) $r\bar{d}.n \text{ } \{WNJS \text{ } n.tn\} \text{ } p\bar{3}wt.tn > r\bar{d}.n \text{ } \{n.tn \text{ } WNJS\} \text{ } p\bar{3}wt.tn$

301.9 (A/E 29)	<i>dʒ.(j) {l̥r}.f > dʒ.(f l̥r).f</i>
302.3 (A/N 1)	<i>{w' b.n n WNJS} psdtj > (w' b.n n.f) psdtj</i>
302.12 (A/N 3)	<i>nj r{dj.(j) s} > nj r(dj.f s)</i>
302.13 (A/N 3)	<i>pr{r.f} r.f WNJS > pr(y) r.f WNJS</i>
302.22 (A/N 5)	<i>jt.n WNJS 'wj{.f} m smn</i>
303.4 (A/N 7)	<i>dʒ.(j) {jr} qbhw > dʒ.(f jr) qbhw</i>
306.6 (A/N 19)	<i>{j n.(j)} ntrw > (j n.f) ntrw</i>
306.7 (A/N 20)	<i>jr.s{n n.k w}tzw WNJS > jr.(sn w)tzw (n) WNJS</i>
306.8 (A/N 20)	<i>pr.{k r} WNJS > pr.(k r.k) WNJS</i>
307.7 (A/N 27)	<i>mdr {l̥r} WNJS r.k > mdr (l̥r n) WNJS r.k</i>
308.8 (A/N 34)	<i>mʒ.n.{tn} n WNJS mj {jr sbk} n njt > mʒ.n {n.t}n mj (mʒʒ) sbkw n njt</i>
310.8 (A/N 38)	<i>jn.{tj} WNJS {n.j zy} mhnt > jn.(t n. lk) WNJS (zy) mhnt</i>
311.3 (A/N 39)	<i>{j.rh.k jr pr nb.(j)} > (j.rh sw jr pr nb.f)</i>
311.7 (A/N 40)	<i>{j.}w{d w r.k.j.}w{d} w {j.}w{d} w > w{d WNJS r.k) w(d s)w w(d s)w</i>
315.3 (C/W 8)	<i>{hms.(j)} mm.tn > (hms.f) mm.tn.</i>

Most of these involve either the addition or deletion of an indirect genitive (8 instances) or errors in personalization of a generic original (2 instances) or an original in the first person (24 instances).

2.5

ALTERATIONS INVOLVING PERSONALIZATION

Of the 131 alterations in Unis's pyramid, 29, involving either insertions or rewording, were meant to correct the erroneous personalization of a generic or first-person original. PT 23–24.2–3 b show that Unis's name in the Offering Ritual replaces an original *nswt* “king,” indicating that the ritual was a royal one. The uncorrected vocative *mn* “(insert name)” in 215.23, for which other copies have the deceased's name,¹ indicates that the spells of the Resurrection Ritual were also generic in origin.

The remainder of the alterations concern spells originally written in the first person and first inscribed in the pyramid either unedited or wrongly converted to third person: e.g., 283.1–2' *jky ... d.j*, 301.8 **rdj.n.(j) n.tn pʒwt.tn > rdj.n WNJS n.tn pʒwt.tn > rdj.n n.tn WNJS pʒwt.tn*. These are ample evidence that both the apotropaic spells and the personal spells originally contained first-person singular pronouns where the texts now have either the king's name or a third-person pronoun referring to him.

2.6

ERRORS

Despite the care taken by Unis's proofreaders, they missed 46 instances of errors requiring emendation, apart from the unaltered *mn* “(insert name)” in 215.23, noted in the previous section. These involve omissions of signs or words, erroneous use of signs, or errors in personalization. Most of these can be detected both from context and from other copies that have the correct text:

1 PN, and all Middle Kingdom copies except M1C, which repeats Unis's *mn*.

44.4 (F/N i 39)	<i>htp</i> for <i>htpt</i>
77.3 (F/N ii 7)	<i>wn.t m hrw</i> for <i>wn.t m h3t hrw</i>
77.6 (F/N ii 9)	<i>k</i> for <i>nb</i>
77.7 (F/N ii 9)	<i>k</i> for <i>nb</i>
81.5 (F/N ii 15)	<i>kjw.sn</i> for <i>ksw.sn</i>
204.2 (F/Eg 2)	<i>ts</i> for <i>rs</i>
216.2 (F/S 15)	<i>hr.t</i> for <i>hr.k</i>
219	6 instances of <i>hp</i> for <i>nhp</i> : 23 (F/S 41), 24 (F/S 41), 35 (F/S 45), 89 (F/E 3), 94 (F/E 4) <i>{n}hp</i> , 99 (F/S 5)
219.37 (F/S 45)	<i>jt.k pw nn jsjr</i> for <i>jt.k pw p-nn jsjr</i>
219.71 (F/S 54)	<i>jnj ḥd</i> for <i>jnj ḥ-hd</i>
219.103 (F/E 6)	<i>nj mt</i> for <i>nj mt.f</i>
222.21 (F/E 25)	 for 
224.18 (F/E 38)	<i>msw nb</i> for <i>msw.k</i>
227.4 (F/Wg 9)	<i>n</i> for <i>t²</i>
230.4 (F/Wg 14)	<i>pnh</i> for <i>pzh</i>
252.3 (A/Wg 27)	<i>k</i> for <i>nb</i>
258.2 (A/W 32)	<i>n</i> for <i>t²</i>
260.15 (A/S 4)	<i>jrt</i> for <i>jrt.f</i> (unaltered 1s)
262	5 instances of unaltered original 1s <i>dd.j r.k</i> : 6 (A/S 12), 9 (A/S 13), 12 (A/S 14), 15 (A/S 14), 18 (A/S 15)
262.2 (A/S 11)	<i>m hm WNJS ntr</i> omitted
268.9 (A/S 29)	 for  for 
273–74.60 (A/Eg 60)	 for 
275.2 (A/Eg 31)	 for 
278.2 (A/E 1)	 for 
281.3 (A/E 4)	<i>mj n.(j)</i> for <i>mj n.f</i> (unaltered 1s)
298.3 (A/E 23)	<i>mʒfdt hr</i> for <i>mʒfdt hrt jb hwrt- nḥ</i>
299.5 (A/E 25)	 for 
300.4 (A/E 27)	 for 
301.4 (A/E 28)	 for 
302.24 (A/N 6)	<i>r.j</i> for <i>r.f</i> (unaltered 1s)
304.10 (A/N 12)	<i>pr jm.k bjkt</i> (from 1s <i>*pr.kj m bjkt</i>) for <i>pr m bjkt</i>
307.3 (A/N 25)	<i>mwt nt WNJS jwnw</i> for <i>mwt nt WNJS jwnwt</i> (lack of space at end of column)
307.10 (A/N 29)	<i>m ḫ snw.f</i> for <i>m ḫ snw.f ntrw</i>
310.8 (A/N 38)	<i>n nb</i> for <i>n.k</i>
311.5 (A/N 39)	<i>j.ṛḥ.k</i> for <i>j.ṛḥ sw</i> (unaltered 1s)
311.12 (A/N 42)	<i>dd</i> for <i>dd.f</i> (unaltered 1s)
311.16 (A/N 43)	<i>nf'</i> for <i>nf'.f</i> (unaltered 1s).

3. PHONOLOGY

3.1 PHONES

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 24 consonantal phones. Their conventional transcription and probable basic phonetic values are as follows:¹

\mathfrak{z}	[l/ɿ]	b	[b]	r	[r/l]	z	[θ]	t	[t ^h]
j	[ø/?]	p	[p]	h	[h]	s	[s]	t	[t ^h]
γ	[y]	f	[f]	\mathfrak{h}	[h̄]	q	[q]	d	[t]
\mathfrak{c}	[ʃ; d?]	m	[m]	\mathfrak{b}	[x]	k	[k ^h]	d	[t]
w	[w]	n	[n/l]	h/\mathfrak{s}	[x; ɿ?]	g	[k]		

Vowels were probably the common Hamito-Semitic *a/i/u* but are not represented as such in writing; their presence, however, can be signaled by a non-consonantal use of *j* and *w* (see §§ 3.3 and 3.5).

Of the consonants, *p m h ɬ b q g d ɬ* are stable and fairly unremarkable in Unis's texts. The consonant represented by \mathfrak{c} is etymologically related to Semitic *c* but also to Semitic *d*, and there is evidence for the phonetic values [ʃ] and [d] as dialectal variants in Middle Egyptian and later,² but the phonetic realization of the consonant in Unis's texts is unknown. The other consonants are discussed below.

3.2 \mathfrak{z}

The phone transcribed as \mathfrak{z} is represented by the uniliteral sign , as well as by biliterals (e.g. $\mathfrak{z}w$, $h\mathfrak{z}$) and trilaterals (e.g., $db\mathfrak{z}$). The consonant is regularly represented when word-initial but is usually omitted in medial or final position: 23–24.7a  $z\mathfrak{z}t$ (vs. 23–24.7b ), 113.3  $ht\mathfrak{z}$, 152.2  $d\mathfrak{z}bj$, , 212.3  $d\mathfrak{z}w$, 212.18  $j\mathfrak{z}b$, 230.4  $sb\mathfrak{z}g$ (sim. 247.12  $sb\mathfrak{z}gy$), 230.16  $t\mathfrak{z}z$ (and 7 more instances, as well as 268.12  $t\mathfrak{z}zz$), 246.2  $sm\mathfrak{z}wj$, 247.15  $s\mathfrak{z}h$, 248.3–4  $sb\mathfrak{z}$, 250.7  $h\mathfrak{z}b$, 254.35  $ng\mathfrak{z}w$ (also 314.1, sim. 270.10 ), 258.11  $d\mathfrak{z}d\mathfrak{z}t$, 303.11  $zh\mathfrak{z}$ (also 305.13–15), 313.1  $st\mathfrak{z}$ (vs. 298.4 ), 240.4

1 Phonetic values are only approximate, and are mostly shown using the International Phonetic Alphabet: [ɿ] is a “dark” (velarized) l, as in English *wealth* (as opposed to *well*); [?] represents a glottal stop; [ʃ] is the Semitic consonant *ayin*; [h̄] is a voiceless pharyngeal fricative (Arabic ح); [x] is the voiceless velar fricative represented by *ch* in German *ach*; [x̄] is the latter sound palatalized (x̄), akin to the sound represented by *ch* in German *brechen*; [θ] is the *th* of English *think*; [q] is the Semitic consonant *qaf/qoph*. [k^h] and [k] are aspirated and unaspirated counterparts, as are [t^h] and [t]; [t^h] and [t̄] are palatalized counterparts of the latter pair. In phonological reconstructions hereafter, *k g t d ɬ* are represented as *[k g t t̄ d d̄].

2 Allen 2103a, 42–43.

). Also, biliterals and triliterals with ȝ tend not to be complemented by (see the Lexicon): for example, 143.3 npȝt, 209.1 wȝd.

That this avoidance of is not merely a matter of orthography is indicated by the word-play between pd “stretch” and pȝd “kneecap-cake” in 200.3: the association is most plausible if ȝ has weakened in phonological value or has disappeared altogether. The latter alternative is perhaps likelier, as it would explain the occasional use of ȝ biliterals in words that do not have an etymological ȝ: 119.1 hȝnft.n.f for hnft.n.f, 132.1 j.zȝ.k for j.zj.k and 229.2 szȝt for szjt, 138.1 mzȝt.n.f for mzt.n.f. PT 302.6 pȝy, however, may reflect the phonological change of ȝ > *y visible in Coptic (e.g., wdȝ > **ογχαι**).

ȝ appears as an alternant of r in 207.4 dȝt (vs. 297.1 drt) and 251.8 dȝ.n (vs. 302.19 dr.n), also in 146.3 jȝtt “milky” (fs nisbe of jtt “milk,” vs. 35.5 ms jrtj < jrttj). In PT 220.1, the word for “doorbolts,” Coptic **κλ/κλι/κλαλι/κλαλε** (singular) is written qȝnwt, with the inserted secondarily. These data point to a phonetic value of ȝ similar to those represented by r and n, most likely a kind of *l/t: see below, §§ 3.7–3.8.

3.3 j

The uniliteral sign , transcribed j, appears most often at the beginning of words, either independently, as a phonetic complement, or as a prefix: e.g., 307.6 jwȝ, 260.11 jrw, 311.7’ j.wȝ. In each case, it is a variable feature, although least so in the first of these: e.g., 256.1–2 wȝ.n, 255.6 jrw, 311.7 wd. Medially it appears only as an independent uniliteral, where it is also variable: e.g., 275.1 bjkw vs. 302.14 bkw. appears in final position as an infrequent variant of a phone that is usually unwritten: e.g., 1s suffix pronoun j, ms nisbe j (e.g., vs. jmntj). It also appears as a variant of r at the end of a word as well as occasionally within a word: e.g., 211.6 juj vs. 211.8 juvr, 249.5 nsjsj vs. 255.3 nsr.

Initial j is ancestral to Coptic **ει** in some words (e.g., jit > **ειωτ** “father,” jrt > **ειρε** “doing”) but to other Coptic vowels in others: e.g., jrp > **ηρπ** “wine,” jf > **αq/εq** “flesh,” jth > **ωτρ** “pull.” Bohairic indicates that in some cases, such words began with a vowel (**Φιωτ** “the father”) but in other cases with an unwritten glottal stop (**Πηρπ** “the wine”).³ Medially, j is often ancestral to a glottal stop, represented by doubled vowels in dialects other than Bohairic and Oxyrhynchite: e.g., mnjnj “moor” > **ΜΟΟΝΕ** ([mó?ne]). In final position, j either disappears or is ancestral to a vowel: e.g., lftj “opponent” > **χεφτ**, **φαφτ**, **σφαφτε/φαφτ** “iniquitous.” These

3 Bohairic aspirates **π** (as **Φ**) before a stressed vowel (e.g., **ωφηρι** “wonder” vs. **σλωφηρε**, **σφηρι**) as well as before **ει/ι** or **ογ** preceding a stressed vowel. **Πηρπ** rather than ***Φηρπ** therefore indicates [p’erp] rather than [perp].

data suggest that *j* represents an etymological glottal stop, sometimes realized as such but elsewhere merely indicative of a vocalic onset or desinence. The latter is the case, for instance, in 286.4 ~~rn̥j~~ *m.j* “my name,” undoubtedly representing *-[ríni] rather than *[ríni^ʔ]. This in turn explains the variability of written representations of *j*: as ^ʔ when representing either a glottal stop or vocalic onset/desinence, or unwritten when representing the latter.

There is no firm evidence for *j* as a representation of consonantal [y]. Although it could have been such in ^ʔ *jtj* > **ειωτ** “father,” that is less likely to have been the case in other instances of initial ^ʔ and, again, its appearance in final position in examples such as 286.4 ~~rn̥j~~ *m.j* “my name” is less likely to represent *-[iy] than simply *-[i]. It is not clear why initial *j* sometimes became **ει**, as in *jtj* > **ειωτ** (both “father” and “barley”), but not in others such as *jth* > **ωτχ**. It should be noted, however, that the same is true for initial *ʒ* (e.g., *ʒlt* > **ειωχε** “field” but *ʒpd* > **ωβτ** “bird”), for which there is even less evidence that it represents consonantal [y]; the same applies to initial *w* in *wpwt* “assignment” > **ειοπε** “occupation.”

3.4 ^ɥ **y**

If ^ɥ alone does not represent [y], the digraph ^ɥ almost certainly does. In Unis’s texts, ^ɥ appears in the following environments:

- independently, in the noun ^ɥ / ^ɥ~~ει~~ / ^ɥ~~ει~~ *y* and ^{ɥɥ} *yj* “hurt.”
- as the ending of a few nouns and pronouns: 269.14 *jpy* (feminine name), 295.3 and 310.8 *zy* “which” (interrogative pronoun), 302.12 *ky* “other” (ms), 307.16–17 *ty* “savannah,” 313.1 and 320.2/6 *bʒby* (masculine name).
- as the ending of a few particles: 240.3 *ny* (negative; also 272.1, emended to *nj*), 249.1 *my* “please,” 256.9 and 260.3 *hy* “hey,” 285.3 *wy* “hey.”
- as the ending of a few masculine singular nisbes: *r* “mouth” → 280.2 *ry* “of the mouth,” *lj* “depression” → 286.3 *ʃy* “of a depression,” *zʒb* “jackal” → 301.34 *zʒby* “of a jackal”
- as the ending of a plural imperative of final-weak verbs: 204.7 *mhy* (3ae-inf. *mhy*), 217.5/12 *j.zy* (2ae-inf. *zy*), 251.1 *jry* (3ae-inf. *jry*), 254.1 *jdy* (3ae-inf. *jdy*), 257.15 *hny* (3ae-inf. *hnj*), 260.17 *mky* (3ae-inf. *mkj*), 260.20 *my* (anom. *mj*), 271.3 *dmdy* (4ae-inf. *dmdj*), 271.5 *hʒy* (3ae-inf. *hʒj*), 281.5 *nʒy* (3ae-inf. *nʒj*).
- as the ending of a 3ms stative of final-weak verbs: 238.3 *hʒy* (3ae-inf. *hʒj*), 247.12 *sbʒgy* (4ae-inf. *bʒgj*), 260.2 *zy* and *jy* (2ae-inf. *zj* and *jj*), 261.2 *ʒwy* (3ae-inf. *ʒwj*), 307.4 *msy* (3ae-inf. *msj*).

- as part of the ending of a 3fpl stative: 308.5 *hʒ.ty*.
- as the ending of masculine attributives or nouns of agent of final-weak verbs: 210.9 *dʒy* (dual participle of 3ae-inf. *dʒj*), 219.25/33 *dy* (passive participle of 2ae-inf. *dj*), 219.50 *mry.f* (*sdm.f* of 3ae-inf. *mṛj*), 238.1–2 *nhy* (passive participle of 3ae-inf. *nhj*), 254.7 and 299.5 *gmy* and 273–74.45 *gmy.f* (*sdm.f* of 3ae-inf. *gmj*), 281.5 *nγ* (agent of 3ae-inf. *nγj*), 285.4 *hzγ* (agent of 3ac-inf. *hzj*), 306.5 *jry* (passive participle of 3ae-inf. *jrj*).
- as the ending of a non-attributive *sdm.f* of final-weak verbs: 260.8 *tzy.f* (3ae-inf. *tzj*), 267.10 *hny.f* (3ae-inf. *hnj*), 283.1' *jky* (3ae-inf. *jkj*), 301.30 *nγ.y.k* (3ae-inf. *nγj*), 302.6 *pʒy* (3ae-inf. *pʒj*), 302.13 *pry* (3ae-inf. *prj*, altered from *pr*), 318.6 *ny.f* (3ae-inf. *ŋj*), 241.2 *ny* (passive, 2ae-inf. *nj*); perhaps also 273–74.1 *jhy*, otherwise unattested.

 appears medially only twice, in both instances in forms from 3ae-inf. verbs: in 256.3 *jryt* (fs passive participle of *jrj*) and 278.2 *mrytj* (ms nisbe of *mrwt*, from 3ae-inf. *mṛj*).

The noun *y* “hurt” most likely represents an onomatopoeic $\star[y]$. Theoretically, the spelling with  could represent $\star??$ (for $\star[?a]$ or $\star[ai]$) rather than $\star\gamma\circ$ ($\star[y]$ with the final vowel unwritten). The same word, however, appears as    over  over : this is most plausibly explained as a representation of $\star[y\circ f]$,⁴ where  represents $\star[y]$ and  the hiatus between $\star[a]$ and the vowel of the suffix $\star[f]$. The final *y* of the proper names *jpy* and *bʒby* most likely represents the common ending $\star[y]$ of Egyptian nicknames.⁵

In most other instances,  seems to have a grammatical origin, as an ending, most often of final-*j* roots. Since such roots end in a vowel, however, most likely $\star[i]$, *y* can also represent a glide between that vowel and a vocalic ending or a change of $\star[i]$ to $\star[y]$ before such an ending: e.g.,

ms nisbe *sy* — $\star[xi] + \star[i] \rightarrow \star[xíi] > \star[xíyi]$ or $\star[xiy]$

3ms stative *msy* — $\star[mási] + \star[a] \rightarrow \star[másia] > \star[másya]$

ms passive participle *jry* — $\star[uri] + [\star u] \rightarrow \star[uríu] > \star[uríyu]$.

A similar process can be seen in the non-attributive *sdm.f*. Of Unis’s 8 examples, 5 either are or are derived from a verb form with 1s suffix: thus, for example, 260.8 *tzy.f* either represents $\star[tiθiáf] > \star[tiθiyáf]$ or an original $\star[tiθiái] > \star[tiθiáy]$. Of the others, the *sdm.f* in 302.6 *pʒy r.sn nγrw* could represent $\star[piliyá]$ or even $\star[piliá] > \star[piyá]$.

4 In phonological reconstructions, \circ represents an unknown vowel in a closed syllable, and $-$ represents the same in an open syllable.

5 Fecht 1960, §§ 138–40. *bʒby* is ancestral to Greek Βεβών: $\star[b\circ lbáya] > \star[b\circ báya] > \star[b^-bō]$.

 can also derive from a change of *w* > *y*. This is primarily a feature of early Middle Egyptian,⁶ but it can be observed in at least one form in Unis's texts: 278.2 *mrytj* “beloved” (Coptic as **MEPIT**/**MEPPIT**) is a nisbe of *mrwt* “love” (221.6), a verbal noun of 3ae-inf. *mrj* in: thus, *|[mirriwat] + *[i] → *|[mirriwati] > *|[mirriyati]. A second example may be the mdu participle *dʒy* (210.9): *|[dáli] + *[wa] → *|[dáliwa] > *|[dáliya].

Other examples of  in Unis's texts may conform to these phonological principles as well. The *y* ending of nouns, pronouns, and particles could represent *|[ay]: e.g., *zy* “which” for *|[θay]. The ending of the nisbe *zʒby* (301.34), which should be *j* or *o*, for *|[i], could represent a glide between that vocalic ending and a following vocative *|[a]: *|[zʒbj] > *|[zʒby] > *|[θálbi a θálab] > [θálbi-y-a θálab]. The ending of the 3fpl stative *hʒ.ty* “naked” (308.5) probably represents *|[ta'a] > *|[taya].

Except for *y* “hurt,” there is no word in which  is an original phoneme. Its presence or absence makes no difference in the meaning of a form, as can be seen from numerous variants: 249.1 *my* “please” vs. 285.2 *m* (particle), 301.34 *zʒby* “jackal” vs. 268.7 *zʒb* (nisbe), 254.1 *jdy* vs. 255.1–2 *jd* (imperative plural), 238.3 *hʒy* vs. 254.51 *hʒ* (3ms stative), 308.5 *hʒ.ty* vs. 273–74.42 *tm.tj* (3fpl stative), 219.25/33 *dy* vs. 311.3 *dj* (passive participle), 267.10 *hn.y.f* vs. 254.26 *hn.k* (*sdm.f*).

3.5 *w*

The uniliteral sign  represents both a consonantal phoneme and a vocalic ending. Phonemic *w* regularly appears in initial position, either independently or as a phonetic complement, or as the initial element of a biliteral or triliteral sign, except in verbal nouns derived from initial-*w* verbs: *wʒb* “clean” → *ʒbw* “cleanliness” and *ʒbt* “polishing,” *wħb* “feed” → *ħbw* “food,” *wtt* “beget” → *tłt* “begetting.” A related phenomenon is the disappearance of initial *w* in causative stems of triliteral verbs: *wʒd* “fresh” → *sʒd* “freshen,” *wʒb* “clean” → *sʒb* “cleanse,” *wbn* “rise” → *sbn* “manifest,” *wnm* “eat” → *snm* “feed,” *wʃb* “broad” → *ssh* “broaden,” *wdʒ* “sound” → *sđ* “make sound.” Non-causative verbs are not affected: 4ae-inf. *swʒj* “pass.” The disappearance in causatives probably has a phonological basis and is also dialectal: e.g., *sʒb* *|[súw'ab] > *|[sú'ab] vs. Middle Egyptian *swʒb* *|[suwá'ab].⁷ Verbal nouns could reflect either loss of the initial *w* or its weakening to vocalic *|[u] (i.e., *ʒbw* as either *|[r'ábu] or *|[u'r'ábu]); since no examples in either Old or Middle Egyptian show evidence of an initial vowel (e.g., *|[j'r'bw]/*|[w'r'bw]), however, the first is likelier, though perhaps a diachronic development (*|[wa'r'ábu] > *|[u'r'ábu] > *|[r'ábu]).

Medial radical *w* is always omitted in *mwt* > *mt* “die” and *twt* > *tt* “reconcile” but

6 Schenkel 1962, §§ 14–18.

7 That the two patterns are dialectal is shown by *smnt* (causative verbal noun of 2-lit. *mn*) > *|[súmnit] > ^B**CEMNI**/^M**CMME** vs. *|[sumnít] > ^{AS}**CMINE**/^F**CMINI**.

is regularly represented in other 3-lit. roots: *jw̥r* “inherit,” *jwr* “conceive,” *jwd* “push off,” *nvr* “shake,” *nvh* “rope,” *nvd* “terrace,” *nvd* “firm,” *zw̥z* “slit,” *zwr* “drink,” *swt* 3ms independent pronoun, *tvr/tv̥z* “support” and “reject,” *tvt* 2ms independent pronoun, *dw̥z* “worship, dawn.” It is also regularly represented in 3ae-inf. roots (*ȝwj* “extend,” *juj* “maroon,” *bwj* “abominate” (but not in *bwt* > *bt* “abomination”), *fuj* “despise,” *rvj* “leave,” *hwj* “exempt,” *swj* “dangerous,” *dwj* “bad” and “call”), but is usually omitted in forms of *hwj* “hit.” This suggests vacillation between the realization (or perception) of *w* as a consonant *[w] and a vowel *[u], which is also visible in Coptic descendants: e.g., *dvn* “stretch” *[dáwan] > ^{BFLS}**ΤΦΟΥΝ** [tōwn]⁸ vs. *[dáun] > ^{LS}**ΤΦΩΝ** [tōn] / ^{AL}**ΤΦΩΝ** [tōn]. A similar vacillation underlies the spellings of *dʒt* “Duat” as *dʒt* (*[dúlat] > Old Coptic **TH**) and *dw̥t* (probably *[dúlat] > *[dú'at] > *[dúwat]).

Evidence for final *w* as a consonantal *[w] is preserved in Coptic: e.g., *ḥrw* “voice, noise” > ^A**ΖΡΑΥ** / ^B**ὙΡΦΟΥ** / ^F**ΖΛΑΥ** / ^{LM}**ΖΡΑΥ** / ^S**ΖΡΟΟΥ** < *[x̥ráw] and *fdw* “4” > ^{AL}**ϘΤΑΥ** / ^{BS}**ϘΤΟΟΥ** < *[f̥dáw]. Nonetheless, *w* is very often omitted in final position: e.g., (5 examples) vs. (2 examples). Its use to represent a final vowel is clearest in the particle *jw*, uniformly written before another word but with a suffix pronoun; the consistent spelling of 3ms *j.f* as reflects the noun *jf* “flesh,” Coptic **ѧq/ѧq**, and indicates the value *[?uf] for *j.f* and *[?u] for *jw*.

3.6 **b** AND **f**

The consonants represented by *b* and *f* are generally distinct but appear as variants in the verb *ḥsb* ~ *ḥsf* “bar.” The former occurs only twice, in the sequence of spells from A/E 26 – C; the latter, in the Resurrection Ritual and the sequences from A/W-S and A/Eg–A/E 25 (see § 1.3). This suggests that the two verbs may represent dialectal rather than phonological variants. Only *ḥsf* survives in Coptic, although without variation in its final consonant: ^A**ԶՓԸ** / ^B**ՓՓԸ** / ^S**ԸՓԸ**.

3.7 **n**

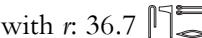
The consonant transcribed as *n* is stable in Unis’s Pyramid Texts, regularly represented when present and not varying with other consonants. Phonetically, it was probably realized as both *[n] and *[l], in different words: e.g., *n.s* “for her” *[nis] > ^{AFLM}**ՆԵԿ** / ^{BS}**ՆԱԿ**, *ns* “tongue” *[lis] > ^{AFM}**ԼԵԿ** / ^{BS}**ԼԱԿ**. The second of these values accounts for the variation between *n* and *ȝ* in *sȝhd/snhd* “make quiver”: i.e., *[sȝhd]/[slhd]. The secondary insertion of *n* in 220.1 *qȝnwt* “doorbolts” (see § 3.2) may reflect *[ḥ] > *[l] or pronunciation of the second consonant as *[l]: i.e., *[quḥláwat] > *[qulláwat] or *[qulláwat].

8 [ŋ] represents a syllabic [n], as in English *kitten* [kítŋ].

3.8 $\text{---} \approx r$

The consonant transcribed as *r* represents a kind of [r]:⁹ e.g., *jrtt* “milk” $\star[\text{arátāt}] > \text{ερωτε} / \text{ερωτ} / \text{εροτε}$. Coptic indicates that it was also realized as $\star[\text{l}]$ in some words: e.g., *‘rq* “bend” (the root of 275.2 *m‘rq* “bent tail”) $\star[\text{álaq}] > \text{අලාක}$. This apparently underlies its variation with \mathfrak{z} in *tvr/tvz* “reject” and “support,” *dr/dz* “remove,” as well as in the fs nisbe $\star jrtt > jztt$: e.g., $\star[\text{twr}]/[\text{twl}]/[\text{twz}]$.

For 207.4 *dʒt*, representing the plural of *dt* “hand” (§ 6.4), however, \mathfrak{z} is more likely to represent $\star[?]$: i.e., $\star[\text{dáruat}] > \star[\text{dá?wat}]$. Unis’s texts show abundant evidence of the diachronic change of *r* > $[?]$. The change is usually reflected either in the omission of *r* or in its replacement by *j*:

<i>jvr</i>	211.6 <i>jwj</i>
	with <i>r</i> : 211.8, 215.10, 248.2 <i>jvr</i> ; 215.15, 222.38 <i>jvr.k</i> , 222.20 <i>jvrt</i>
<i>wsr</i>	260.16 
	with <i>r</i> : 273–74.9 <i>wsr</i> ; 210.13, 273–74.7 <i>wsrf</i> ; 251.7 <i>wsrt</i> , 255.9 <i>wsr.(j)</i>
<i>ptr</i>	247.8, 306.1 <i>pt</i>
	with <i>r</i> : 273–74.12 <i>ptrt</i>
<i>mr</i>	270.6, 270.8, 301.32  ; 81.5, 81.6, 210.9  \approx  perhaps for <i>mr</i> > <i>mj</i>
	with <i>r</i> : 210.15, 210.16, 221.3, 308.6, 308.7, 308.8', 308.9  \approx 
<i>nsr</i>	254.2 <i>ns</i> , 260.25 <i>ns.tn</i> ; also 249.5, 273–74.15 <i>nsjsj</i>
	with <i>r</i> : 255.3, 256.4, 261.3 <i>nsr</i>
<i>hkr</i>	254.17 <i>hkj</i> vs. <i>hkrt</i>
<i>zr</i>	246.3 <i>zj</i> ; 246.3–4 <i>zjt</i>
<i>sntr</i>	25.9 b, 200.1/6, 269.2–3  \approx  \approx 
	with <i>r</i> : 36.7 
<i>sr</i>	139.3 <i>s</i>
<i>qrr</i>	247.5 <i>qrj</i>
<i>qrqrt</i>	276.2 <i>qrqt.f</i>
<i>dmr</i>	256.8 <i>dmj</i>
<i>dsr</i>	273–74.26, 295.2 <i>ds</i> ; 320.1 <i>ds.n</i>
	with <i>r</i> : 246.8 <i>dsr</i> , 263.8 <i>dsrw</i> ; 90.3, 145.3, 316.2 <i>dsrt</i>

In most, if not all, of these cases, the change occurs at the end of a syllable or word: e.g., *sntr* $\star[\text{sánt} \mathfrak{r}] > \star[\text{sánt}] > \text{conte}/\text{cont}$. In some examples in which the *r* is retained, the consonant is before a vowel: e.g., *ptr* > *pt* $\star[\text{páta}]$ vs. *ptrt* $\star[\text{pátrat}]$. In other cases, however, the retained *r* probably reflects etymology rather than contemporary phonology.

3.9 $\text{---} / \text{---} \text{ h } \check{s}$

9 Probably “tapped” [ɾ] as in Spanish *pero*: Allen 2013a, 40.

The consonant represented by — and transcribed ξ is ancestral to Coptic **ѡ** [š]. It appears in Unis's Pyramid Texts in 90 lexemes, which have either ξ or h in Middle Egyptian: e.g., *pšn* “split” > *pšn* > **پوپن**, *‘šmw* > *‘hmw* “sacred image” > **ѧշմե**. The consonant represented by — and transcribed h is ancestral to Coptic **ȝ/ȝ** [x] and **ȝ** [h]. It is fairly rare in Unis's texts, appearing in only 3 lexemes: *bȝ* “spew” (1 example, also written *bȝ* in 2 examples; causative *sbȝ* in two examples), *ht* “belly” (6 examples), and *hȝz* “wretched” (1 example).

The evidence indicates that ξ , despite its later value, represents the same phoneme as h in Unis's texts. Semitic cognates of ξ as well as h have h ,¹⁰ which is more congruent with a velar fricative than an apical one; ξ varies with h in *šbšb/ḥbḥb/ḥbḥ* and *nšbšb/nḥbḥb*, as well as in *jht* “thing, meal” vs. *jšwt* “things, meals” and *jšt̄t* “set of meals,” which also points to a velar; and a diachronic change of $h \star[x] > h \star[\underline{x}] > \xi \star[\xi]$ is likelier than the reverse. The eventual use of — to represent $\xi \star[\xi]$ probably derives from the prototypical change in *hj* $\star[xi] > \xi \star[\xi]$ “depression,” while that of — for $h \star[\underline{x}]$ probably has a similar origin in *ht* $\star[\underline{x}ut]$ “belly” > **ȝȝ/ȝȝ/ȝȝ** (pronominal **ȝȝت= / ȝȝت= / ȝȝت=**); both hieroglyphs represent the object denoted by the nouns in question.

3.10 $\text{—} z$ AND $\parallel s$

As is generally true in Old Egyptian, the phonemes represented by $z \star[\theta]$ and $s \star[s]$ are distinct in Unis's Pyramid Texts; z has not yet merged with s in a single phoneme $\star[s]$. There is, however, one clear exception: the verb *zȝj* “strike” (255.12 *zȝ.kȝ.ʃf*) has a verbal noun *sȝt* “blow” (283.2), showing that the change of z to s had already begun in at least one word. The verbal noun occurs in a spell against inimical beings, which is a genre showing other signs of a later stage of the language than is represented in other Pyramid Texts. Similar, perhaps, is *nzrt* “fiery one” (220.2, 221.2) vs. *nsr* “flame” (254.2, 255.3/10, 256.4, 260.25, 261.3) and *nsrsr* > *nsjsj* “conflagration” (249.5, 273–75.15).

3.11 $\smile k$

The consonant k occurs as a variant of t in several words in Unis's Pyramid Texts: the 2ms dependent pronoun *kw ~ tw*, the noun *kbwȝ* “soles” vs. *tbwt* “sandal,” the subordinating particle *sk ~ st*, and the adverb *ddk ~ ddȝ* “too.” The later forms of most of these words indicate a development $k > t$, reflected in the adverb *ddkt* (35.4). The development most likely involved palatalization of k and subsequent fronting: e.g., *kw \star[ku] > \star[\underline{ku}] > tw* [tu]. Cognates of t suggest its universal derivation from an original k ,¹¹ of which the evidence from Unis's texts preserve traces.

3.12 $\sim t$ AND $\text{—} t$

10 Allen 2013a, 35.

11 Allen 2013a, 36.

The consonant *t* and its palatalized counterpart *t̪* are generally distinct in Unis's texts, as are their unaspirated counterparts *d* and *đ*. A few instances of *t* > *t̪*, however, are attested. The clearest of these is 35.5 *jrt* (35.5) for *jrttj* “milky,” ms nisbe of *jrtt* “milk”: ★[arátti] > ★[arátti]; probably also fs *jrtt* > *j̪tt*: ★[aráttiat] > ★[aláttiat].¹² A related instance may be 221.10–11 *wtt*, which conceivably represents *wtttj* > *wtttj* “firstborn.” PT 315.1 *h̪t̪* is another likely example, if it derives from *ht̪t̪* > *ht̪(t̪)**t*, as suggested by the parallel quasi-homonym *p̪tt* (with, however, no loss of palatalization): the original may be preserved in 275.2 *hlt̪t̪t̪l* (see § 1.7). All of these are instances of partial assimilation.

The feminine ending *t* is historically subject to loss when word-final but retained before a suffix pronoun: e.g., *ht* “belly” > ȝe but *ht.f* “his belly” > ȝHTq. In Late Egyptian, the retained *t* is often represented twice, before a determinative and again before the suffix pronoun. The same practice can be seen in four instances in Unis's texts: 219.51 *wt.f*, 251.3 *st.f*, 318.2 *fjt.f*, and 318.3 *sflyt.f*. Similar, perhaps, is the addition of feminine *t* before a suffix pronoun at the end or words normally written without it: e.g., 246.13 *psdt.f*, 247.5 *mpwt.f*.

This suggests that the loss of word-final feminine *t* was also a feature of Unis's language, despite the regular representation of the consonant in writing. A further reflection of the phenomenon may be the writing of the ending after determinatives, as if it is an etymological addition to a word normally pronounced without it: 220.1 *qñwnt.s*, 254.20 *skt*, 254.55 *znwt*, 255.9 *nknt*, 288.1 *wt*, 304.2 *hnkt*, 306.3 *st.f*.

3.13 OTHER PHONOLOGICAL FEATURES

A. WORD PLAY

Word play usually involves words with comparable consonantal structures, such as *jw̪r* “who inherits” and *jw̪r* “haunch” in 127.1/3. In a few cases, the consonants are not precisely the same in the two words, revealing sounds that the Egyptians considered similar enough to pair. Examples are *b* ~ *w* in 110.1/3 *jrb* “collect” and *jw̪r* “washing” (in *jw̪r-r* “breakfast”), *ḥ* ~ *h* in 126.1/3 *ḥph* “steal” and *hph* “foreleg,” *đ*–*b* ~ *t*–*p* in 137.1/3 *drjb* “mind's limit” and *trp* “white-fronted goose,” and *p* ~ *b* in 152.1/3 *dʒp* “offer” and *db* (for *dʒbj*) “figgy.” These show the same *b* ~ *w* ~ *p* constellation visible in Coptic (e.g., **σογεικε** ~ **βικε** “saw” and **σογον** vs. **σογαβ** “clean”); the relationship between *ḥ* and *h* / *ś* noted in § 3.9, above; and pairing of the palatalized alternants *đ* and *t̪*. Word-play probably also exists in 269.8 *j p̪qj p̪d*: the phonological relationship between *q* and *d* is shown by the diachronic, and possibly also dialectal, variation between Unis's *đnd* “rage” and Middle Egyptian *qnd* “rage.”

12 The latter assuming that ՚ represents *j̪tt* as in 211.4 T rather than *jrtt*.

B. GROUP-WRITING

PT 272.4 “agitation” (also in TN and MK copies) represents the word later spelled *tḥtḥ* (e.g., CT V, 42i; Heqanakht III, 3; Herdsman x+25). The use of or for *t* also appears in 53.2 *zḥnt.k* (vs. in Nt and S; see § 1.9). In each case, the unusual spelling probably represents *t* plus a vowel, early examples of the practice known as “group-writing.”

C. ASSIMILATION

The examples of *t* > *t* noted in §3.12, above, represent the phonological phenomenon of assimilation, which can occur either in contact or across vowels: e.g., Coptic **πλωψε** < *pzšt* “share,” **φωψτ** < *sšd* “window.” A possible case of such assimilation in Unis’s texts involves 249.2 *zšzš* “lotus” vs. 271.1 *zšz* “lotus,” perhaps $\star[\theta^{\sim}x\theta^{\sim}x] > \star[\theta^{\sim}xx^{\sim}x]$. If so, the same assimilation probably exists in 249.9 *zssn* “lotus-flower”: $\star[\theta^{\sim}xxáxni] > \star[s^{\sim}ssášni] > \star[\dot{sh}ášni] > {}^{\text{B}}\text{φωψε}$.

A related feature is graphic assimilation (haplography) across word boundaries, involving two identical consonants in contact written only once. An example in Unis’s texts is 270.5 *mḥnt* for *m mḥnt* “in the ferryboat” ($\star[m^{\sim}mm^{\sim}]$), perhaps also 263.10 in *pn nḥbw-kʒw* ($\star[p^{\sim}nn^{\sim}n^{\sim}h]$). Graphic assimilation is common in geminated roots and stems: e.g., 301.11 *nḥ* for *nḥḥj* “continual” ($\star[n^{\sim}hhi]$) vs. 257.13 *nḥḥ* “continuity.”

D. METATHESIS

Unis’s texts contain four examples of metathesis: 222.20 *j.spš.n.k* “you dazzled” vs. 269.16 *sšpt* “dazzling”; 229.1 *qbsw* “spine” vs. 230.16, 273–74.51 *bqsw*; 260.14 *dnd* “rage” vs. 93.6 *dnd*; and 270.10 *gn(ʒw)* “steer” vs. 254.35, 314.1 *ng(ʒw)*.

4. THE LEXICON

4.1 LEXEMES

Unis's Pyramid Texts comprise 12,901 instances of 1,297 separate lexemes,¹ listed in Appendix A with their occurrences. The lexemes include 519 nouns, 471 verbs, 56 proper names, 39 toponyms, 25 particles, 15 demonstrative pronouns, 16 prepositions, 11 numbers, 10 dependent pronouns, 10 suffix pronouns, 9 adverbs, 6 independent pronouns, 1 interrogative pronoun, and 1 quantifier. Additional to these are 13 phrasal compounds² and 95 nisbes formed from 64 nouns, 12 toponyms, 11 prepositions, 2 names, 2 particles, 2 independent pronouns, 1 number, and 1 phrase. It is debatable whether nisbes should be considered separate lexemes, since they are all formed by the same morphological process (§ 7.3), which may have been productive rather than lexicalized in Unis's language.

In terms of usage, verbs form the largest category, with 2,783 instances, followed by 2,553 nouns, 2,210 suffix pronouns, 1,624 prepositions, 1,365 proper names, 622 particles, 434 demonstrative pronouns, 332 prepositional nisbes, 241 dependent pronouns, 179 numbers, 170 phrases, 137 nominal nisbes, 124 toponyms, 30 independent pronouns, 29 nisbes of toponyms, 28 adverbs, 27 instances of the quantifier, 4 nisbes of particles, 3 instances of the sole interrogative pronoun, 3 nisbes of proper names and independent pronouns, 2 nisbes of phrases, 1 nisbe of a number, and 1 nisbe of a nisbe. The ten most frequently used lexemes are the suffix pronouns *f* (3ms, 904 instances) and *k* (2ms, 835); the proper name *wnjs* "Unis" (786); the prepositions *m* (576) and *n* (478), the negative particle *nj* (253), the preposition *r* (252), the ms demonstrative pronoun *pn* (219), the proper name *hrw* "Horus" (175), and the prepositional nisbe *n-* "of" (148). Two fifths (542) of the 1,301 lexemes occur only once.

4.2 NOUNS

The 519 nouns (40% of the lexicon) include 327 (63%) that are masculine in gender and 192 (37%) that are feminine, the latter ending in *-t* (excluding *jht* "wood, stalk," *mlnt*

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- 1 These include elements restored or emended, and those in alterations: e.g., *[tz.f nn rdj.n.n.f]* in PT 254.59, *k* instead of *nb* in PT 310.8 *n.fk*, and the omitted *h3t* in PT 77.3 *wn.t m (h3t)* *hrw*; and *nswt nbw* in 23–24.2 b', altered to *wnjs nbw*. All restored instances are based on Sixth-Dynasty copies or the Middle Kingdom copies of Senwosret-ankh (S) and Imhotep (L-JMH1). Verb stems are considered separate lexemes.
 - 2 *jw-r* "mouth-washing," *jmj-t3* "in-the-ground bread," *jst-wj* "assistance," *prt-hrw* "invocation," *nj-sw* "belonger," *nswt (nj-swt)* "king," *j.nd-hr* "greetings," *htp-nswt* "king's offering," *htp-ntr* "god's offering," *htp-dj-nswt* "king-given offering," *j.ljm-skjw* "imperishable," *t3z phr* "vice versa," and *dd-mdw* "recitation." These are listed under the primary element in Appendix A, with a cross-reference under the secondary element.

“countenance,” *ḥt* “wake,” and *dt* “oil”).³ Of these, nearly three fourths (384, or 74%) are “primitive” nouns, which show no apparent evidence of morphological relationships with other lexemes; examples are *jṭj* “father” and *mjwṭ* “mother.” The remainder (65 masculine and 70 feminine) are derived from other lexemes via various morphological processes: feminine nouns derived from their masculine counterparts (e.g. *nṛt* “goddess” from *nṛ* “god”); masculine and feminine nouns derived directly from verbs (e.g., *hbw* “food” from *wḥb* “feed” and *dŋjt* “stoppered jar” from *dŋj* “dam”); and masculine and feminine nouns formed from verbs by means of the prefix *m-*, denoting agent or place, or the suffix *-s*, for items of clothing or regalia (e.g., *mṣqt* “ladder” from *jȝq* “mount” and *ȝms* “scepter” from *ȝmm* “grasp”).

Most masculine nouns are primitives (262, or 80%). These usually consist of a root ending in a consonant; some of them probably ended in a vowel, usually unwritten (e.g., PT 205.16  *hrw* “day” for *|[hárwa] or *|[hárwu] > **زوغرفة/ZOOGREFA**) but occasionally (79 examples, or 30%) represented by *-w* or *j*, as in PT 281.4/286.1  /  *hnw* “cup” for *|[hína] or *|[hínu] > **زن/ZIN** and PT 285.5  *htj* “hyena” for *|[háti].⁴ Derived masculine nouns are almost twice as likely to have ended in a vowel (39 of 64 examples, or 61%), as reflected by a final *-w* or *-j*: e.g., PT 50.2   *dwȝw* “dawn,” from the verb *dwȝ* “dawn” (*|[dáwla] > *|[dáwa] > **توغرفة/TOOGREFA/TAQRA**).

Feminine nouns are also more often primitive than derived, but to a lesser extent than masculine ones (122 of 192 lexemes, or 63%). The percentage of derived nouns based on their masculine counterparts, such as *nṛt/nṛt*, is fairly small: 25 lexemes, or 37%.

Eleven of the 519 nouns are collectives, all feminine except for *rmt* “people.” These are usually treated grammatically as plural (e.g., *rhwṭ* “subjects” in 320.5 and *rmt* “people” in 305.11); *rmt* is also treated as feminine singular (305.12).

4.3 NAMES AND TOPOONYMS

Proper nouns form 7% of Unis’s lexicon. Besides the king’s name, these include the names of gods and places, the latter both real and imaginary. As with common nouns, most names are masculine (41 of 56 lexemes, or 73%), and the same is true of toponyms (21 of 39 lexemes, or 54%). Names and toponyms include phrases as well as single words: e.g., *ḥntj-jmmtjw* “Foremost of Westerners” and *ḥwt-sjrw* “Official’s Compound.”

3 The first two occur in PT 45.3, 215.27 and 169.3. For the last, see *Wb.* V, 618, 4–5 (TLA 185770) for NK examples; the Coptic reflex **خوريت/XOURIT/XWURIT** is masculine. The word occurs in PT 72.2 preceded by the preposition *m*; a second *m* is absent in OK and MK copies, indicating that the word is probably not the derived noun *m̄dt* found elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts.

4 For the last, cf. fem. **ḥtjt* **زوغرفة/ZOOGREFA** < *|[háytā] < *|[hátiā]. After a stressed vowel, final *w* was realized as consonantal [w] rather than a vowel: e.g., *mw* “water” (*|[máu] > **ماع/MAY**), *hrw* “voice” (*|[hárw] > **زغرفة/ZPAGA**), *dw* “hill” (*|[dáu] > **توغرفة/TOOGREFA/TAQRA**).

4.4 NISBES

The 95 nisbes in Unis's texts are formed by adding gender/number endings to a lexeme: nouns (e.g., *ḥ3t* "front" → *ḥ3tj* "heart"), nisbes (*ḥr* "under" → *ḥrt* "netherworld" → *ḥrtj* "netherworlder"), toponyms (e.g., *jwnw* "Heliopolis" → *jwnt* "Heliopolitan"), proper names (*ḥrw* "Horus" → *ḥrw* "Horian" and *stš* "Seth" → *stšt* "Sethian"), prepositions (e.g., *ḥft* "opposite" → *ḥftj* "opponent"), particles (*n* "for" → *nt* "of" → *ntj* "which," *jwt* "that not" → *jwjt* "which not"), independent pronouns (3ms *swt* → *swtt* "his," 2ms *twt* → *twtj* "yours"), a number (*wt* "one" → *wtj* "sole"), and a phrase (*htjt-jb* "esophagus" → *htjt-jbj* "esophageal"). These reflect a process that is much more productive than in Middle Egyptian and therefore more likely to be grammatical than lexical.

4.5 NUMBERS

Both cardinal and ordinal numbers appear in Unis's texts. The former include 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 100, and 1000; the latter, the terms for "second," "third," and "fourth." Cardinal numbers are represented by numerals except for occasional instances of ms *wj* "one," mdu *snuwj* and fdu *sntj* "two," f *ḥmtt* "three," m *fdw* and f *fslt* "four," and f *sflt* "seven." Ordinal numbers attested are ms *snnw* "second," *ḥmtnw* "third," and *fdnw* "fourth."

4.6 PHRASES

The thirteen phrasal compounds listed in n. 2, above are of various kinds: the direct genitive compounds *jst-wj* "principle of arms," *htp-nswt* "king's offering," and *htp-ntr* "god's offering" (also, the base of *htjt-jbj* "esophageal"); nisbes governing a noun (*jmj-t3* "the one in the ground," *nj-sw* "to whom he belongs," *nj-swt* "to whom the reed belongs"), verbal nouns governing a noun (*jw-r* "mouth-washing," *prt-hrw* "sending forth the voice," *dd-mdw* "saying speech"), participial phrases (*j.ḥm-skjw* "not knowing obliteration," *t3z phr* "phrase turned"), and the verbal phrases *j.nd.(j)-hr* "may I inquire about" and *htp-dj-nswt* "offering the king gives."

4.7 PRONOUNS

Together, the 42 lexemes in the five different categories of pronouns listed in § 4.1 constitute a little over 3% of Unis's lexicon.

The three kinds of personal pronouns form the largest component. These include 1s *j/wj/jnk*; 2ms *k*, *kw/tw*, and *twt/ntk*; 2fs *t*, *tm/tm*, and *tmt*; 3ms *f/sw/swt*, 3fs *s/sj/stt*, 1pl *n*, 2pl/du *tn*, and 3pl/du *sn*, and 3du *snj*. The younger 2ms form independent *ntk* occurs in PT 238.2, in a series of spells against snakes and other inimical forces, indicating that at least some of such spells are younger than the rest of the corpus. Demonstrative pronouns attested in Unis's texts are ms *p/pj/pw*, *pn*, and *pf*; fs *tw*, *tm*, and *tf*; their plurals *jpw*, *jpn*, *jpf*, and *jptw*; and the generic forms *nw/nuj* and *nn*. Unis uses only one interrogative pronoun, *zy* "which."

4.8 ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

Apart from the quantifier *nb* “each, every, any, all,” words that are adjectival in meaning are a feature of grammar rather than the lexicon. This includes nisbes, the cardinal numbers noted in § 4.5, and words such as *wr* “great” and *dij* “bad,” which can be considered participial forms of verbs with adjectival meaning (even if the verb itself is not attested otherwise). Such words differ from *nb* in that they can function as predicate in a sentence and can be used otherwise without an expressed antecedent: thus, for example, *wr sj* “it is great” or *wrt* “great one” but not **nb sj* “it is all” or **nbt* “everything.”

Nine of Unis’s lexemes are adverbs. Primary adverbs are *jwn* “now,” *ȝ* “here,” *mrn* “here, now,” *rsj* “fully,” the interrogative *tñj* “where,” and perhaps *mwmw* (PT 254.7, 273–74.45, 299.5), a word of unknown meaning used adverbially. Derived adverbs are *jst* “as well,” *djt* “henceforth,” and *ddk/ddt* “as well,” formed by means of the suffix *k > t*. Prepositions are also used without an object as adverbs, most commonly *jm* “therein, therefrom, therewith (etc.).”

4.9 PREPOSITIONS

Fifteen primary prepositions occur in Unis’s Pyramid Texts: *jmjwtj* “between,” *m* “in, from, with (etc.), *mm* “among,” *mr/mj* “like,” *n* “to, for,” *r* “with respect to,” *hȝ* “behind, around,” *hn* “with,” *hr* “on,” *lft* “opposite, in accordance with,” *lntj* “forward,” *hr* “by,” *hr* “under,” *dp* “atop,” and *dr* “before.” Compound prepositions, such as *m bȝh* “in the presence of,” are formed with these prepositions governing a noun and are therefore a feature of grammar rather than the lexicon.

4.10 PARTICLES

The 25 particles in Unis’s texts are of three kinds. Vocative particles, or interjections, include *j* “oh,” *m* “here,” as well as *jh*, *wy*, *wh*, *hȝ*, and *hj/hy*, the exact translations of are speculative (all mean something like “oh, hey”). Proclitic particles are the situationally referential word *jw*, *jḥ* “thus,” *hw* “would that,” the negative *nj/ny*, and the subordinating words *wnt*, *ntt*, and *sk/st*. The particles *ȝ*, *js*, *jgr*, *wnnt*, *m*, *rr*, *hm*, and *trr* are enclitic. The specifying particle *jn* is used both in clause/sentence-initial position and within clauses before nouns or pronouns.

4.11 VERBS

The 471 verbs constitute 36% of Unis’s lexicon. Unlike other lexemes, they can make use of a number of lexical strategies, or stems, to express nuances of meaning. Primary stems belong to one of nine morphological classes:

2-lit. AB: e.g., *wn* “open” ($\star[win] > \text{OYEN}^A$) — 81 (17%)

2ae-inf. Ai: e.g., *jj* “come” ($\star[?i] > \text{EI}$) — 11 (2%)

2ae-gem. ABB: e.g., *qbb* “cool” ($\star[qabáb] > \text{xBOB}^B$) — 20 (4%)

3-lit.	ABC: e.g., <i>nḥm</i> “take away” (★[náham] > NOYȝM) — 188 (40%)
3ae-inf.	ABi: e.g., <i>jrij</i> “do” (★[?íri] > EIPĒ) — 128 (27%)
3ae-gem.	ABCC: e.g., <i>pȝtt</i> “howl” — 2 (0.5%)
4-lit.	ABCD: e.g., <i>ḥzmn</i> “natronize” (★[háθman]; cf. ZOCM) — 3 (1%)
4ae-inf.	ABCi: e.g., <i>msdj</i> “hate” (★[másdi] > MOCTE) — 34 (7%).

The ninth class is that of four anomalous or defective verbs (anom.): in Unis’s texts this includes the verbs *j* “say” (stative only, used to identify the speaker of a direct quotation), *jmj* “give” (imperative only, regularly supplemental for the rare imperative of *rdj/dj* “give”), *jmj* “not do” (*sdm.f* and imperative only), and *mj* “come” (imperative only, supplemental for the rare imperative of *jj* “come”).

The 3ae-inf. verbs *wdj* “put” and *rdj* “give” are also anomalous in displaying two primary stems, with and without the initial radical (*wdj/dj* and *rdj/dj*).⁵ For *wdj/dj*, there is evidence that the two stems were not merely phonological variants: in 270.11–12 *stp.f d.f sw dp qnh n ḫhw̥tj* “*I will jump up and put *myself on a wing of Thoth,” the verb *d.f*, present in all other copies (PAnMN, S, Sieze, Imhotep), has been emended from an original *wd.f*, suggesting that the two stems are not completely synonymous. In this case, the *w-* form may be an instance of lexical prefixation: cf. § 4.15, below). For *rdj/dj*, however, the reduced stem is apparently a meaningless variant of the full one, since both occur in single forms, such as the *sdm.n.f*, and *r-* prefixation is not otherwise attested as a feature of the lexicon.

Derived stems are modified via gemination (reduplication of one radical), reduplication of two or three radicals, and prefixation. Some of these strategies can coexist in a single stem, while others are mutually exclusive, and some appear to be more productive than others in Unis’s language.

4.12 VERBS: GEMINATION

Lexical gemination involves reduplication of one radical and signifies multiple or normative instances of the action denoted by the primary stem: e.g., *mrj* “want” → *mrr* “love.”⁶ Because of orthography, gemination is visible in only a few verb classes, verbs, and verb forms but was probably more widespread than the written evidence indicates. It was not, however, uniformly applicable to all verbs, being semantically excluded from semelfactive verbs such as *mwt* “die,” iterative ones such as *ȝmj* “go,” and from reduplicated stems, which express similar aspectual nuances (see § 4.13, below). To judge from

5 That *dj* and *dj* are reduced stems rather than related 2ae-inf. verbs is shown by the existence of the reduced geminated stems, *dd* and *dd*: 2ae-inf. verbs do not have stems in which the initial radical is geminated. Moreover, *dj* and *dj* are not attested in prefixed forms, unlike other 2ae-inf. verbs.

6 Similarly in Akkadian: Kouwenberg 2010, 96, 278–79.

the written evidence, it was applied to the medial consonant of triliteral verbs and the third consonant of quadrilateral ones. By analogy, it probably affected the final radical of biliteral verbs; 2ae-gem. *jw* “come” seems to be the geminated counterpart of *jj* “come,” suggesting both the transformation of the final radical and the strategy of using *w* to signal gemination of a final vowel. Thus,

2-lit.	probably <i>wn</i> “say” → * <i>wnn</i> (written <i>wn</i>) “open (regularly/often)”
2ae-inf.	<i>jj</i> “come” → <i>jw</i> “come (regularly)”
2ae-gem.	probably <i>qbb</i> “cool” → * <i>qbbb</i> (written <i>qbb</i>) ⁷ “cool down”
3-lit.	probably <i>pʒh</i> “claw, scratch” → * <i>pʒʒh</i> (written <i>pʒh</i>) “lacerate”
3ae-inf.	<i>jrr</i> “do” → <i>jrrj</i> “do (regularly/often)”
3ae-gem.	no evidence, perhaps excluded semantically
4-lit.	no evidence
4ae-inf.	<i>msdj</i> “dislike” → <i>msddj</i> “hate.”

The relationship between gemination as a feature of roots versus that of stems is unclear.⁸ In one analysis, verbs such as *qbb* could be considered biliterals that exhibit gemination, in contrast to, or more visibly than, other biliteral roots. The ABCC pattern in 3ae-gem. roots, however, suggests that root gemination results from a different process, and the parallel of cognate languages indicates that 2ae-gem. roots are a primary feature of the lexicon: e.g., *qrr* “boil” ≈ Akkadian *qarāru* “writhe, roll, wave.”

4.13 VERBS: REDUPLICATION

Reduplication involves repetition of the final two or three consonants of the primary stem of biliteral or triliteral verbs. A number of patterns are attested:⁹

2-lit.	AB → ABAB: <i>pd</i> “stretch” → <i>pdpd</i> “stretch out”
2ae-inf.	Ai → AiAi: <i>tj</i> “pound” → <i>tjtj</i> “trample”
2ae-gem.	no evidence (cf. § 4.15)
3-lit.	ABC → ABCABC: * <i>ḥbn</i> → <i>ḥbnḥbn</i> “bound” (rare)
	ABC → ABCBC: * <i>nhm</i> “yell” → <i>nhmhm</i> “cheer”
3ae-inf.	Abi → ABAB: * <i>dŋj</i> “shriek” → <i>dndn</i> “rant”
	Abi → ABA: * <i>ḥbj</i> “plow” → <i>ḥbḥ</i> “slide”
	Abi → ABiBi: <i>ḥj</i> “excited” → * <i>ḥčjčj</i> “ecstatic.” ¹⁰

7 Cf. Allen 2011, 8.

8 See also the discussion in Kouwenberg 2010, 277–78.

9 Roots that do not appear in Unis’s texts are marked with an asterisk.

10 PT 687.7 (N): Allen 1984, 587.

Reduplication seems to connote multiple or intensive instances of the action denoted by the primary stem; unlike gemination, however, it does not seem to signify normative action.

Reduplicated verbs are traditionally identified as primary roots: 4-lit. (ABAB and AiAi), 5-lit. (ABCBC and ABiBi), and 6-lit. (ABCABC). Because most if not all such verbs are derived from primary stems, however, they are treated here as stems.

4.14 VERBS: CAUSATIVE STEM

The most well attested pattern of stem formation by means of a prefix, in Unis's texts as elsewhere in Old and Middle Egyptian, is the causative stem, created with the prefix *s*:

2-lit.	<i>mn</i> “stay” → <i>smn</i> “set”
2ae-inf.	<i>zj</i> “go” → <i>szj</i> “send”
2ae-gem.	<i>qbb</i> “cool” → ★ <i>sqbb</i> “make cool” (PT 324.5)
3-lit.	<i>ḥr</i> “stand” → <i>sḥr</i> “erect”
3ae-inf.	<i>hmj</i> “turn back” → <i>shmj</i> “make turn back”
3ae-gem.	no evidence
4-lit.	no evidence
4ae-inf.	★ <i>bʒgj</i> “lax” → <i>sbʒgj</i> “slacken.”

As with reduplicated stems, the causative stems have been identified traditionally as primary roots: caus. 2-lit., etc. Causative formation apparently was not freely applicable to all verbs: no causative stem is attested anywhere for *rdj/dj* “give,” for example.

In Unis's texts, as in other Old Kingdom copies of the Pyramid Texts, 3-lit. roots with initial *w* lose this radical in the causative stem, probably for phonological reasons: e.g., PT 254.39 *ssḥ.s* ★[suwsahás] > ★[susahás] (root *wsḥ*). A similar phenomenon is visible etymologically for initial *j* in 3-lit. *snq* “suckle, suck,” from the unattested root ★*jnq* (cf. Akkadian *enēqu* “suck”): ★[sánaq] > **CWNK**.

4.15 VERBS: OTHER STEMS

Unis's lexicon contains examples of at least two further stem formations, by means of the prefixes *n* and *ḥ*.¹¹ Both have analogues in cognate languages¹² but appear in Egyptian only sporadically, indicating that the process was not fully productive. The prefix *n* can impart a medial sense to primary roots: for example, 2-lit. *hp* “escape” → *nhp* “go missing.” The prefix *ḥ* appears to add an intensive meaning in 2-lit. *tm* “fail” → *ḥtm* “end.” Both prefixes can be used in conjunction with the causative prefix *s* and the strategy of reduplication:

11 For *n*, cf. Vernus 2009. The consonant *ḥ* is also used as a suffix (Vernus 2015): e.g., ★*qb* → *qbḥ* “cool” (attested in Unis's texts in the noun *qbḥw* “cool waters”) as well as *qbb* “cool.”

12 For *ḥ*, cf. Leslau 1962, albeit for nouns rather than verbs.

- 2-lit. *tm* “fail” → *shtm* “make end”
 2ae-gem. *jhh* “sneeze” → *njh* “sneeze” → *njhnh* “spew”
 3ae-inf. *ddj* “continue” → *nddnnd* “endure”
 bj “plow” → *nbbbjb/nbbbjb* “slide out.”

An initial *w* also appears to be a prefix of some kind in a few cases, particularly *tzj* “raise” ~ *wtz* “hold aloft, wear,” and perhaps also *dj* ~ *wdj* “put.” Its function as a prefix is also evident in *wbn* “rise,” from the primary root **bn* “swell” attested elsewhere in *bnnb* “swell up” (PT 501C.1) and “benben” (PT 601.2), *hbn* “bound” (PT 120.1 Wd), and in Unis’s texts in *hbnnbn/hbnnhbn* “bounce.”

5. PRONOUNS

5.1 KINDS OF PRONOUNS

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 2,916 pronouns. Of these, 431 (15%) are demonstrative and 3 (fewer than 0.1%), interrogative. The remainder are personal pronouns of three types: independent (27, 1%), dependent (242, 8%), and suffix (2,210, 76%).

5.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

Of Unis's 432 demonstratives, 418 (97%) are masculine and 410 (95%), singular. Five morphological categories are attested, with a total of twelve written forms:

-n ms		<i>pn</i> (218 examples)
fs		<i>tn</i> (7 examples)
mpl		<i>jpn</i> (9 examples)
-f ms		<i>pf</i> (4 examples)
fs		<i>tf</i> (1 example)
mpl		<i>jpf</i> (1 example)
-w ms		<i>pw</i> (57 examples)
mpl		<i>pw</i> (1 example)
fs		<i>tw</i> (7 examples)
mpl		<i>jpw</i> (6 examples)
mdu		<i>jpw</i> (2 examples)
fpl		<i>jptw</i> (1 example)
-j ms		<i>pj</i> (60 examples)
-o ms		<i>p</i> (17 examples).

These display a morphological system of three elements, denoting number ($\emptyset/jp-$), gender ($-p-/t-$), and deixis ($-n/-f/-w/j/\emptyset$). The plural morpheme *jp* represents $\star[\sim p]$, with an initial vowel, and the feminine plural *jptw* indicates that this morpheme is appended to the singular;¹ the masculine forms *jpn* and *jpf* therefore most likely represent $\star[\sim pp\check{n}]$ and $\star[\sim pp\check{f}]$. Unis's texts indicate no distinction between plural and dual forms. The deictic endings *w/j/o* most likely represent a vocalic desinence, and probably a single one; both *jpw* and the single plural form *pw* (255.11 *p3wtjw pw* “those originals,” *p3wtjw jpw* in Teti's copy) therefore represent $\star[\sim pp^-]$. In all likelihood, therefore, Unis's language contained three sets of demonstratives:

1 Also *jptn* (e.g., 659.1) and *jptf* (666.3).

ms	*[p̄n] ²	*[p̄f]	*[p̄]
fs	*[t̄n]	*[t̄f]	*[t̄]
mpl/du	*[~pp̄n]	*[~pp̄f]	*[~pp̄]
fpl/du	*[~pt̄n]	*[~pt̄f]	*[~pt̄]

In addition, there are two “generic” demonstratives belonging to these categories: 𓏏 nn (30 examples) and 𓏏 𓏏 nw (9 examples). These are grammatically masculine singular but occur with plural referents as well; a dual 𓏏 𓏏 nuj is possible in two instances:

bt wnj s hs twr wnj s wzšt ...
 bwt wnj s nuj
 nj unm.n.f bwt nuj (210.6/8)
 What *I abominate is excrement; *I reject urine ...
 Those two are what *I abominate:
 *I do not eat the abomination of those two.

Demonstratives have two uses in Unis’s texts, attributive and pronominal. The generic demonstratives are used only pronominally:

- as subject of a nominal predicate: *t̄z 2 nw nw ȝb* “these are the two phrases of Elephantine” (230.15); *nt tw nn nt tm* “this is the fingernail of Atum” (229.1; sim. 244.1, 282.4); also 210.8 *nuj*, cited above
- as nominal predicate: *wnjs pj nw n z̄z̄z̄ wbn m t̄ w̄b* “★I am the lotus that rises clean into the world” (249.2)
- as subject of a verbal predicate: *ny nw pr m r.k r.k ds.k* “that which comes from your mouth is rebuffed toward you yourself” (241.2; sim. 272.2)
- as object of a verb: *dd.n.(j) nn r.k* “I have said this against you” (227.4; sim. 204.4, 227.2–3, 254.46/58, 300.2/4, 302.10, 310.7)
- as object of a preposition: *m nw hrj mnwjr* “with that which is on the Sun’s shoulders” (268.9), *jw WNJS m nn* “★I am like that” (273–74.66; sim. 287.2)
- adverbially, with the meaning “here”: *ȝn.t.t ds.t nn srqt* “you yourself will be encircled here, scorpion” (230.14; sim. 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49).

In 5 of its 9 occurrences, *nw* is used by itself, but in the other instances it adds deixis to a following phrase: *nw jmj šp̄j jsjr* “that which is in Osiris’s navel” (204.4; sim. 268.9; cf. 214.13 *jmt h̄t hrw* “what is on Horus’s front”), *nw pr m r.k* “that which comes from your mouth” (241.2; cf. 93.4 *prt jm.k* “what has come from you”), *nw n z̄z̄z̄ wbn m t̄* “the lotus that rises clean into the world” (249.2; cf. 269.8 *p̄d pr m m̄st hrw* “the cap that comes from Horus’s knee”). A similar use is attested for *nn*, though less often: *jrt tw nn*

2 Or *[íp̄n], judging from Old Coptic ȝȝEIMN “this day” < *[harw-íp̄n] (Osing 1976b, 15–16), perhaps reflected in Demotic ms *jpn*.

[*nt hrw rvdt*] “this is the eye of Horus that is firm” (244.1). Both *nw* and *nn* can be used to modify a noun through the indirect genitive construction (§ 6.10): *nw n zȝzȝ* “that lotus” (249.2), *nn n rmwt ntr* “that bewailing of the god” (302.10).

The *jp-* plurals are used primarily as attributives; a single instance of *jpw* also appears in a vocative:

- *n mȝdw jpn nw zmjt* “for those spans of the desert” (300.4; sim. 32.2)
- *n ntrw jpʃ sbqjw sȝȝjw j.lmw-sk* “to yonder wise and experienced gods, the imperishable stars” (269.13)
- *fd jpw ȝljqw jmjw jwnw* “the four akhs in Heliopolis” (303.11; sim. 210.9, 260.2, 263.7, 298.5, 303.2)
- *jr̄t.t jptw* “that white milk of yours” (269.16: see § 6.7)
- *sn jpw jn nw* “you two, get that” (300.4).

In one case, *jpw* used as an attributive has a suffix pronoun: *n 4 jpw.k hȝw hȝw.k* “to those four of yours who descend and are behind you” (311.8).

The distinction between the three plural demonstratives is fairly clear: *jpn* is used for simple deixis, *jpʃ* connotes a degree of distance between the speaker and the referent, and *jpw/jptw* is used either vocatively or as deictic to a following attributive. Most instances of the singulars of these demonstratives follow a similar pattern of distribution and use:

- attributive *pn/tn* — *ȝzp n.k t.k pn m ḫ(j)* “receive this bread of yours from me” (223.12; sim. 93.7, 137.1, 199.1, 205.11, 205.16, 210.5, 222.1, 223.5, 230.7, 246.9, 246.11, 260.11, 260.24, 262.18, 263.10, 273–74.61, 273–74.68, 298.2, 298.3, 306.2, 313.4, and 140 instances of *WNJS pn* “this Unis”); *ȝsbb WNJS m wȝt tn* “★I am being barred from this path” (310.4; sim. 205.4, 271.6, 282.1–2, 283.1)
- attributive *pf* — *swt dȝ.f WNJS jr̄gs pf* “he will transport me to yonder side” (270.13; sim. 269.17)
- attributive *pw* — *jdb pw wȝb jr.n.f hms.f jm* “the clean shore where ★I have made my seat” (252.6; sim. 215.23, 224.18, 249.1, 249.8, 254.34, 254.35, 255.6, 255.9, 255.11, 269.14, 273–74.17, 273–74.20, 293.5, 301.20, 301.21, 301.22, 301.23, 301.24, 301.25, 301.34, 304.8, 306.9, 306.14, 311.12, 320.3); *ȝnbwt tw rmnt.k jr.s* “the bulwark you lean on” (255.13; sim. 229.1, 244.1, 251.3, 260.19, 270.5, 301.32)
- vocative *pw* — *fȝ hr.k WNJS pw* “lift your face, O Unis” (93.3; sim. 92.2).

As with the plurals, *pw/tw* is used most often for deixis to a following attributive; *pn/tn* are also attested in the same environment, though far less often: e.g., *ȝfȝw pn pr m tȝ* “this snake that comes from the earth” (298.2; sim. 93.7, 210.5, 222.1, 246.9/ 11, 298.3); *mȝqt tn jrt.n n.f jt.f rȝ* “this ladder that his father the Sun made for him” (271.6).

Pronominal functions of the singulars are less common than attributive use. In Unis's texts these include:

- preceding a noun, either as the first element of a direct genitive or with the noun in apposition — *pf rw ... pn rw* “that lion ... this lion” (284.4; sim. 305.4)
- as the second element of a direct genitive — *y pn ... nkn pn* “this one's hurt ... this one's injury” (215.12)
- as subject of a verb — *ms n.k pf jwr n.k pn* “that one has been born to you, this one has been conceived for you” (215.10), *hn tf hn tn* “that one ululates, this one ululates” (278.2)
- as subject to a preceding nominal predicate — *t.k pw* “it is your bread” (209.3; sim. 215.7, 217.34, 220.10, 222.44, 236, 247.14, 273–74.30).

In pronominal function, there is a distinction between *pw* and the other singular demonstratives: only *pw* is used as subject to a preceding nominal predicate, and only the *-n* and *-f* demonstratives in the other environments. Masculine singular *pw* is also the only one of these used in copular function, linking a nominal subject and nominal predicate: e.g., *bt WNJS pw ššs m kkw* “treading in darkness is what *I abominate” (260.22; sim. 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49, 238.3, 254.57, 258.1–2, 306.11, 309.1, 310.5).

The remaining demonstratives, *pj* and *p*, occur as variants of *pw* in the latter's unique functions:

- as subject to a preceding nominal predicate — *ʒwt.f pj* “it is *my spread” (212.7; sim. 210.10, 231.3, 247.7–11, 250.8, 260.2, 271.2, 307.16), *htt-jbj tj* “it is the esophagus” (285.6); *zʒ.k pw p nn jsjr* “this one here is your son Osiris” (219.1; sim. 219.5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49); *šw p hn' tfnt* (301.6)
- as copula — *bt WNJS pj hqr* “hunger is *my abomination” (211.1; sim. 211.2–4, 212.7, 248.1, 249.2/4/7, 250.8, 252.9, 258.12/15, 260.1/21, 261.1/3/9, 271.1, 272.3, 273–74.6/14/16/19/21'/23/33/43/44/47/60, 279.1, 282.2, 294.1, 296.2, 300.2, 307.18, 313.6, 315.1, 317.2/11, 319.1/10, 320.3/6; *WNJS p nb hpt* “*I am one who has contentment” (273–74.21).

Demonstrative *p* is less common than *pj*. It occurs as subject only in PT 219, in the phrase *p nn* “this one here,” and in 301.6, where it appears at the bottom of a column (A/E 28) with no room for  or . It appears only once as copula: in 273–74.21 it is part of text emended on the wall, where again space did not allow for  or ; and in 310.6 an original *wnjs p hrw* was altered to *wnjs pj hrw*. It can therefore be regarded as an occasional orthographic variant of *pw* or *pj*.

Demonstrative *pj* occurs only as a more common variant of *pw* in nominal sentences, as subject (13 examples vs. 7 for *pw*) or as copula (47 examples vs. 20 of *pw*). Spells generally use only *pj* or *pw* in such sentences; exceptions are PT 258 and 260:

- jsjr pw WNJS* “★I am Osiris” (258.1)
- bwt.f pw tȝ* “the ground is what ★I abominate” (258.2)
- WNJS pj hrj wȝ.f* “★I am one who is on his own” (258.12)
- WNJS pw nnw* “★I am one who turns around” (258.15)
- hrw pj WNJS* “★I am Horus” (260.1)
- WNJS pj* ★It is ★I” (260.2)
- wnjs pj ds ds n jt.f* “★I am the very self of my father” (260.21)
- bt wnjs pw sȝs m kkw* “hunger is what ★I abominate” (260.22).

The two demonstratives also appear in a single passage, in different functions: *WNJS pj zȝ pw n j.ȝmt* “I am the son of her who does not know” (320.3). These data suggest that *pw* and *pj* represent a single morpheme (★[p̄]), but there is no clear evidence for why one is used rather than the other. The great majority of *pj*'s occurrences involve the phrases *WNJS pj* (subject *pj*: 11 of 13 instances) or *WNJS pj X* (copular *pj*: 39 of 47 instances), while *pw* appears 4 times as copula in the phrase *WNJS pw X* and not at all as subject (★*WNJS pw*). This suggests a preference of Unis's editor for *pj* over *pw* and therefore possibly an artifact of scribal practice.

5.3 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

Only one interrogative pronoun appears in Unis's texts, ——ȝȝ “which?” It occurs in two passages:

- ȝȝ zpt.f* “Which is the one who will remain?” (295.3)
- ȝȝ mlȝnt* “which ferryboat?” (310.8).

In both instances, *ȝȝ* functions as a pronoun, independently (295.3) and as the first element of a direct genitive (310.8).

5.4 PERSONAL PRONOUNS: INDEPENDENT

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 27 instances of independent personal pronouns, involving five different pronouns:

1s	<i>jnk</i>	ȝȝ (1 example)
2ms	<i>twt</i>	—ȝȝ / —ȝȝ (10 examples)
	<i>ntk</i>	ȝȝ (1 example)
2fs	<i>tmt</i>	—ȝȝ (1 example)
3ms	<i>swt</i>	ȝȝ (12 examples)
3fs	<i>stt</i>	ȝȝ (2 examples).

These appear in four uses:

- as the initial element in a nominal sentence — with following noun or noun phrase: *jnk rmnwtj.k* “I am your associate” (215.5; sim. with *twt* 215.35, 221.12, 245.7, 246.3, 303.7–9, 304.9, 305.6; with *swt* 205.7); with following participle: *swt j r WNJS* “he is the one who would come against *me” (230.8; sim. 205.10; with *stt* 211.5)
- rhematizing the subject of a following verb:³ *stt jr.s ḥnb.f* “she makes it so that *I live” (211.5), *swt ḥnb.f ... swt mt.f* “he lives ... he dies” (217.15/24/31), *twt ḥr.tj hr.t r.f* “you yourself stand far from him” (245.9), *swt wtz.f tm* “he (is the one who) bears Atum” (247.15), *swt dʒ.f WNJS jr gs pf* “he will transport *me to yonder side” (270.13)
- emphasizing a possessive suffix pronoun: *t.k ntk n jt.k n.k* “your own bread of your father is for you” (238.2)
- vocative: *tmt jt hnw* “You! Acquire the pot!” (286.1).⁴

The second-last of these involves one of only two examples in the Pyramid Texts of the Middle Kingdom pronoun that replaces older form; the other occurs in 681.18 N *pjpj NFR-K3-R'* *pw ntf* “such am *I,” with *ntf* for older *swt*. Unis’s *ntk* occurs in a series of apotropaic spells, indicating that these are some of the latest compositions of the Pyramid Texts. Evidence from Coptic indicates that the independent pronouns were capable of receiving full stress, which accounts for their emphasizing use: e.g., *t.k ntk **[t'íik inták].

5.5

PERSONAL PRONOUNS: DEPENDENT

The dependent pronouns are enclitic, appended, probably as an unstressed element, to a preceding word: e.g., 257.9 *šms sw dʒtjw* “those of the Duat follow him” for *[ximsiásu dulátiu]. Unis’s texts contain 242 examples of eight such pronouns:

1s	<i>wj</i>	 /  (7 examples)
2ms	<i>kw</i>	 /  (24 examples); <i>tw</i>  (70 examples)
2fs	<i>tm</i>	 (3 examples); <i>tn</i>  (1 example)
3ms	<i>sw</i>	 (81 examples)
3fs	<i>sj</i>	 (37 examples)
2pl	<i>tn</i>	 (4 examples)
3pl	<i>sn</i>	 (12 examples)
3du	<i>snj</i>	 (2 examples),   (1 example).

3 See Allen 1994.

4 The translation is by no means certain. The identification of *tmt* as the 2fs independent pronoun is suggested by 286.4 *jʒ.t m.j* “You (fs) should praise my name.” The 2ms and 3ms pronouns *twt/swt* represent formation of the independent form from the dependent pronoun (§ 5.5) plus *-t*. If so, *tmt* may derive from **tmt* by way of consonantal assimilation.

The 2ms forms *kw* and *tw* are diachronic variants, reflecting palatalization and fronting of an original velar stop: *|[ku] > *|[ku] > *|[tu]. The older form is found only in the texts of the Offering and Resurrection Rituals (PT 93, 214, 215, 218, 223, 224, 244), with the exception of the presentative  < *m kw* (PT 254, 262, 301, 306; see § 9.3E); the younger one appears in all genres of text. The 2fs forms *tm* and *tn* may also be diachronic variants, judging from the later disappearance of *tm*; both appear in the ritual texts of the burial chamber (PT 77, 219, 220). A dual is attested only for the third person and is not distinguished in writing from the plural except in 302.9   . It is impossible to determine from the evidence whether the last represents a true dual and, if so, whether the dual written  (43.3, 215.24) represents the same form or the plural used in its stead. If a dual existed, it was probably distinguished from the plural only in its final vowel: i.e., pl *|[sun/sin] vs. du *|[suna/sina].

Dependent pronouns are found in three functions in Unis's Pyramid Texts, absolute, as subject of a verbal or non-verbal predicate, and as object of a verb:

- absolute, after presentative *m* “here”: *m kw bȝ.tj* “here you are, impressive” (218.6), *m k jn.n n.k WNJS jrt.k* “here, *I have gotten you your eye” (301.17; sim. 218.12, 244.2, 254.21, 262.25), *m k jr.k tw hpr.tj jr.k jr.f m j.mnw n smȝ* “But here, you for your part have become a more alpha wild bull than he” (306.16), *m tw jr.k bȝ.tj* “so, here you are, impressive” (222.19/24)
- absolute, after the verbs *zȝj* “guard” and *j* “say”: *zȝ k ȝj* “beware you, the lake!” (214.1); *zȝ tn hrw* “beware you of Horus” (246.6; sim. 224.18, 271.8–9, 280.2, 294.2), *ms.n.t n.(j) j.t tn* “‘Someone has been born to me,’ said you” (219.49)
- absolute, after the specifying particle *jn* assigning the speaker of a quotation: *tn kw jn sn* “‘You are distinguished,’ say they” (215.24; sim. 218.6, 257.2, 306.1)
- as an absolute vocative: *kw ȝw* “You, long one!” (235.1)
- as subject of an adjectival predicate: *wsr sw r.f* “★I am more powerful than he” (273–74.9; sim. 215.24), *nšw s* “How different it is!” (224.17)
- as subject in the *nj sw X* “he belongs to X” construction: *n sw jmjw ht r'* “★I belong to those in the Sun’s wake” (211.7; sim. 205.10, 215.23, 257.12, 311.2)
- as subject of an adverbial predicate: *nj tw jm.sn* “you are not of them” (245.10; sim. 204.5, 267.13, 272.4’)
- as subject of a following stative: *sk sw wn* “when it exists” (254.47; sim. 218.6, 222.19/24, 245.48, 262.1–2/4/7/10/13/16, 306.16)
- as subject of a following *sdm.f*: *m k s jw.s* “here she comes” (254.21; sim. 267.12)
- as object of a *sdm.f* or *sdm.n.f*: e.g., *shȝ.tn sw* “may you remember him” (216.4; 70 instances), *ms.n tm ntr* “the god has given you birth” (220.8; 32 instances)
- as object of a stative: e.g., *jw WNJS rȝj sw* “★I know him” (301.10; 14 instances)

- as object of an imperative: e.g., *htm tw jm.s* “provide yourself with it” (57.2; 48 instances)
- as object of a participle: e.g., *m33w sw* “those who see him” (254.37; 14 instances)
- as object of a nominal form: *jr tm.k dr tw* “if you fail to remove yourself” (255.8; sim. 120.1, 218.12, 232.3).

5.6 PERSONAL PRONOUNS: SUFFIX

Suffix pronouns constitute the largest body of pronouns in Unis's texts. The following forms are attested:

1s	<i>j</i>	¶/¶ (13 examples), mostly unwritten (82 instances)
2ms	<i>k</i>	— (835 examples)
2fs	<i>t</i>	— (67 examples)
3ms	<i>f</i>	— (904 examples)
3fs	<i>s</i>	¶ (114 examples)
1pl	<i>n</i>	— (257.2)
2pl/du	<i>tn</i>	— (52 examples plural, 26 examples dual)
3pl/du	<i>sn</i>	¶— (101 examples plural, 15 examples dual).

As with the dependent pronouns, the second and third person suffix pronouns show no distinction between plural and dual, although the two could have been distinguished by vocalization. The 1s suffix pronoun is mostly unwritten, reflecting its vocalic nature (★[i]). It is represented by ¶ primarily in apotropaic spells (9 instances), with a few others elsewhere (38.2, 202.24). It is written ¶ in 283.1' ¶—¶ *jky*, representing ★[akiái] > ★[akiáy] “I chop.”

Suffix pronouns appear in three functions in Unis's texts, in all of which they are attached as the final element of a word:

- genitival, with nouns: e.g., *dnlwj.f* “his wings” (245.4; 779 instances)
- subject, with verbs: e.g., *fl.n.f* “he has left” (245.3; 828 instances)
- object, with prepositions: e.g., *jm.f* “in it” (249.6; 603 instances).

6. NOUNS AND NUMBERS

6.1

KINDS OF NOUNS

The 615 noun lexemes in Unis's Pyramid Texts are of four kinds: common nouns (508, 82%), collectives (11, 2%), names (57, 9%), and toponyms (39, 6%). Common nouns account for 62% of all nouns (2,479 instances); of these, 70% (1,724) are masculine and 30% (756), feminine. Collectives represent 1% of all nouns (49 instances), of which 86% (42) are feminine and 14% (7), masculine. Omitting the 785 instances of Unis's name, names are 14% of all nouns (581 instances), with 91% (530) masculine and 9% (51) feminine. The 124 instances of toponyms constitute 3% of all nouns; 43% (53) are masculine and 57% (71), feminine.

6.2

GENDER AND NUMBER

The gender of nouns is lexically determined. Common nouns and collectives are additionally subject to grammatical alteration to indicate number other than singular, either dual or plural. Of all instances of common nouns, 2,034 (82%) are singular, 315 (13%) plural, and 130 (5%) dual; for collectives, the figures are 42 (86%) singular, 2 (4%) plural, and 5 (10%) dual.

6.3

MASCULINE PLURAL

There are three graphic methods for indicating the plural of masculine nouns in Unis's texts: addition of the plural morpheme  -w *[-u], triplication, and addition of three strokes or dots. These are used both independently and in combination.

Of the three methods, by far the most common is triplication, occurring in 74% of all masculine plurals. In most cases, this involves the threefold repetition of either an ideogram or a determinative: e.g.,  *snw* "brothers" (224.16) and  *bjkw* "falcons" (275.1); the first of these is standard for  *ntrw* "gods." A fourfold repetition occurs in 304.6  *fd bw* "four horns." For *jtw* "fathers," the entire word is repeated:  (215.6, 246.9, 246.11, 260.3, 273–74.5), and the plural *hk3w* "magic powers" is usually spelled with a threefold repetition of the biliteral phonogram:  (220.3, 220.9–10, 221.2, 222.17, 245.5, 306.4).

Three strokes are used to denote the plural in one instance, as a secondary addition:  *mrw.f* "his canals" (317.4). Dots are used to denote plurality secondarily (i.e., added to existing text) in 273–74.34  *wrw* "adults" and 273–74.36  *šrrw* "little ones." Three dots are also a determinative for nouns denoting minerals and fruits: for example, 79–80.7  *w3d* "green eyepaint," 166.3  *nbs* "sidder fruit," 200.1/6  *sntr* "incense."

Pluralization by means of  occurs in 20% of masculine plurals. This method is standard for  /  /  /  *jɜrw* “reeds” (210.14, 253.1–4, 254.41, 263.11, 308.3) and  *nbw* “lords” (255.1, 255.5, 257.4, 273–74.28, 320.5). Other examples are  *hkɜw* “magic powers” (273–74.15, 273–74.55),  *msw* “children” (224.18),  *mdsw* “knife-bearers” (254.18),  *zkrw* “horizons” (273–74.2),  *gnmw* “decans” (273–74.3),  *śmw* “sacred images” (273–74.44),  *sħw* “privileges” (273–74.58),  *jcnw* “baboons” (320.7), and perhaps also  *św* “depressions” (286.1). Nouns ending in *-w* show either one or two ’s in the plural:  *smsw* “seniors” (263.7),  *qɜww* “heights” (262.25).

The combination of *-w* and triplication is used in 6% of all plurals. The plural  *snw* “brothers” (224.16) is complemented by  before a suffix pronoun:   *snw.k* “your brothers” (36.4),   *snw.f* “his brothers” (302.7, 302.21, 307.9–10), undoubtedly reflecting $\star[\text{sánu}'ik/f] > \star[\text{sánuwik/f}]$. Other examples involve triplication of the determinative:  *nwħw* “ropes” (214.10),   *mrw* “canals” (279.1),   *mɜdw* “spans” (300.4),   *wħɜw* “talons” (302.16),   *zħw* “akhs” (306.18),   *hnw* “cheats” (309.4); a fourfold repetition occurs in *fdw jpw*   *zħnw* “those four reedfloats” (303.2). Nouns ending in *-w* show only one  with plural determinatives:   *hmsw* “followers” (34.7),   *sħrw* “linens” (249.7),   *hnbw* “lightning bolts” (261.4).

The use of  with dots denoting plurality occurs in 237.1  *jbw* “sacs.” Dots are a determinative for “substance” rather than plurality in 39.4  *zrw*; similarly for the threefold determinative in 273–74.51  *bqsw* “spine,” which appears as , with a single vertebra, in 230.16.

No overt pluralization appears in PT 32.2a–d and 32.7a–d  /  *qbhw* “cool waters,” identified as plural by the demonstrative *jpn* “these” in 32.2a–d. The masculine collective *rmt* “people” does not appear in the plural in Unis’s texts.

6.4

FEMININE PLURAL

With few exceptions, the plural of feminine nouns is signaled by triplication, of either ideograms, determinatives, or entire words. Triplication of ideograms occurs in 32% of the plurals and involves either the ideogram alone (e.g., 213.7  *jɜwt* “mounds”) or the ideogram followed by the feminine ending, most often in  *jswt* “places” (213.4, 222.26, 223.6, 224.13, 251.3, 305.6). Triple determinatives appear in 54% of the feminine plurals: e.g.,  *j'rvt* “uraci” (249.7). Triplication of entire words occurs in    *psdwt* “Enneads” (254.9, 318.3) and   *hjmwt* “women” (273–74.41, 317.11).

Pluralization by means of strokes or dots appears in 273–74.11 *j̄rwt* “uraei” and 306.14 *ksbwt* “umbrella-thorn acacias,” in both cases as a space-saving device at the end of a column. The threefold determinative in 311.16 *šnjt* “rain-cloud” probably does not denote grammatical plurality (cf. 262.29 *šnjwt* “rain-clouds”); similarly, 77.2 *mr̄ht* “ointment.”

Phonological indications of the feminine plural occur mostly in conjunction with triplication, with final *-wt* or *-jt* representing ★-[úwat] and ★-[ú'at]: / *jnwt* “deeds” (255.11, 273–74.67), *ktjt* “hearthstones” (273–74.32, 273–74.41), *wl̄hw̄wt* “cauldrons” (273–74.39), *hw̄wt* “shadows” (273–74.65), *p̄zwt* “bread-loaves” (301.8). The representation of a plural by phonology alone appears in the consistent spelling of the plural of *j̄ht* “thing, meal” as (209.1–2, 273–74.34, 273–74.36), representing palatalization of *h* [x] > *h* [χ] before the plural morpheme [u], and in 207.4 *d̄t* 4 “four handfuls,” representing either ★[dáluat] > ★[dálūat]/[dálūat] or, perhaps likelier, ★[dá'wat] (§ 3.8).

6.5 MASCULINE DUAL

The dual of masculine nouns is used primarily (64% of instances) for natural pairs: horns (*čbwj*), ears (*msdrwj*), upper arms (*mñwvj*), lower arms (*čwj*), wings (*dn̄hwj*), buttocks (*phwj*), legs and feet (*rdwj*), soles (*kbwj*), doorleaves (*č3wj*), and uprights of a ladder (*ddwj*, *mččwj*). In two thirds of all instances, it is expressed graphically by duplication of an ideogram or determinative, or both. Of the remaining instances, most (29%) involve the special ideogram , which is used in all but one case for the dual of *č* “arm.”¹ The others include three instances of dualization by means of an ending alone and one with no overt graphic mark of the dual (275.2 *phwj* “rear”).

Duplication of an ideogram occurs in 36% of all instances, and of a determinative, in 29%: e.g., and *rdwj* “legs” (267.2, 267.1). Both methods appear in 302.9 *b3wj* “two bas.” The dual ending *-wj* ★[-wa]² is represented by in 18% of all instances. In most of these, it is used in conjunction with a duplicated ideogram or determinative: e.g., *ddwj* “uprights” (271.5), *jdbwj* “shores” (273–74.42); also *čwj* “arms” (210.3, 211.7, 222.31, 247.6, 255.12, 302.22). It serves as the sole mark of the dual in 204.6 *čw* “arms,” 210.9 *rhw* 2 “two companions,” and 260.10 *phw* “end.”

6.6 FEMININE DUAL

Half of the feminine duals are used for natural pairs: eyes (*jrtj*), jaws (*črtj*), thighs (*mñtj*), riverbanks (*jlymtj*), a pair (*mlñmmtj*), and twins (*z3tj*). Duality is expressed by duplication of ideograms (38%), determinatives (31%), or entire words (14%), or by an ending alone (17%).

1 See Fischer 1996, 180–87.

2 Preserved in cuneiform *ta-a-wa* for *t3wj* ★[tá'wa]: Osing 1976a, 420.

Duplicated ideograms occur either alone or complemented by a final \sim : e.g., / (43.2, 77.6, 246.5–6) and / (167.1, 215.29, 297.3) *jrtj* “eyes.” In words with duplicated determinatives, the feminine ending is always shown as \sim : e.g., *r̄tj* “jaws” (37.2). Entire words are duplicated in 5 instances: *psdtj* “Dual Ennead” (210.4, 257.5, 302.3), *nwtj* “two adzes” (258.20), *j̄tj* “two mounds” (306.12). The dual ending *-tj* $\star[-ta]$ ³ is shown as or when it is the sole mark of the dual: *psdtj* “Dual Ennead” (205.9, 268.4), *m̄t̄tj* “Dual Maat” (260.6–7), *mhnmtj* “pair” (301.2, 301.4).

6.7 GRAMMATICAL GENDER AND NUMBER

In general, pronouns referring to nouns and to attributives modifying nouns reflect the gender and number of their referents. Collectives are generally treated as plurals regardless of their grammatical number:

- psdt ḡt ... dj.n.tn* “Big Ennead ... you have made” (219.41; sim. 219.45)
- d.n psdt ḡ.sn jr r.sn* “the Ennead have put their hand to their mouth” (246.10)
- dl̄ r.sn rmt* “people conceal themselves” (302.6)
- rmt p̄t̄ wnj s r.j m ḡ.tn* “people, \star I fly away from you” (302.24)
- jmn tn rhwt* “hide yourselves, subjects” (320.5).

In PT 305.11–12, however, *rmt* “people” is resumed by both plural and feminine singular pronouns: *šzpt rmt qrs.sn h̄s.s m t h̄s.s m hnqt* “what people receive when they have been entombed, their thousand of bread, their thousand of beer.”

Some if not all nouns denoting liquids are also treated as grammatically plural: for example, *mw jmw.s* “the water in it” (144.1, with mpl nisbe), *qbhw.k jpn* “this your cool water” (32.2a, with mpl demonstrative; sim. 32.2b–d), *jrtt.t jptw* “this your milk” (269.16, with fpl demonstrative). Plurality is also signaled by determinatives in 210.15 *jrp* “wine.” Nouns such as *mw* “water” and *qbhw* “cool water” may be lexically plural, like Hebrew **מַיִם** *mayim* “water,” but others are undoubtedly singular, including *jrtt* “milk” (\star [arāṭat] > **εΡΩΤΕ**) and *jrp* “wine” (\star [úr̄p] > **ΗΡΠΙ**). PT 32.5 *rdw pr jm.k* “the outflow that comes from you,” where the noun is modified by a ms participle and then resumed by a feminine singular pronoun (*l̄r.s* “with it”), shows that plural dots cannot be taken uniformly as a sign of plurality, grammatical or lexical.

Toponyms are treated grammatically according to their lexical gender: 219.90 *wnw rsu(j)* “Southern Hermopolis” (sim. 219.95).

3 Cf. Hittite *pa-hi-ta* for *phtj* \star [*pahítā*], in the throne name of Ramesses I (Ranke 1910, 13), written as a dual.

6.8 CONJUNCTION

Three methods are used in Unis's texts to conjoin two or more nouns: juxtaposition, the preposition *hn̄* "with," and the adverb *jst* "as well."⁴ Simple juxtaposition is by far the most common method, used in 53% of all instances (205.6, 205.13, 212.3, 212.7, 215.32, 215.33, 217.5, 217.12, 247.6, 267.14, 271.7, 273–74.37, 301.5, 306.6, 306.12, 311.17, 317.3, 317.5); the other two are attested in relatively equal numbers (*hn̄* 210.10, 215.7, 218.12, 218.13, 222.14, 301.1, 301.3, 301.5–6; *jst* 217.5, 217.12, 217.20, 217.29, 222.19, 222.24, 273–74.55). The conjunctions regularly involve two nouns or noun phrases, but four are juxtaposed in 306.6 *j n.f ntrw b3w p ntrw b3w nlynw ntrw jrw pt ntrw jrw t3* "There come to him the gods (who are) bas of Pe, the gods (who are) bas of Nekhen, the gods who pertain to the sky, and the gods who pertain to the earth."

Conjoined nouns or noun phrases can be found in nine grammatical functions in Unis's texts:

- as the first element of a A *pw* nominal sentence: *hrw pw hn̄ stš* "it is Horus and Seth" (215.7; sim. 210.10, 301.6)
- fronted to the first element of a A *pw* nominal sentence: *hnd s3šrt 3wt.f pj* "A shank and a roast, it is *my spread" (212.7)
- as the second element of an A B nominal sentence: *‘wj.k hp dw3-mwt.f* "your arms are Hapi and Duamutef" (215.32; sim. 215.33)
- as an appositive: *j3wt j3tj hrw j3t stš* "the mounds—Horus's two mounds and Seth's mound" (306.12)
- as the second element of a direct genitive: *ntrw j3bt jmmt* "gods of the east and west" (247.6; sim. 317.5), *dp mlw hn̄ sm̄w* "the head of the Delta and the Nile Valley" (222.14)
- as object of a preposition: *m sbq hbzt* "from the thigh and tail" (317.3; sim. 267.14), *m h3tw hk3w.sn jst* "from hearts and their magic powers as well" (273–74.55; sim. 217.5, 217.12, 217.20, 217.29, 222.19, 222.24)
- as object of a verb: *jn.n.f d3w htpw* "having fetched sustenance and offerings" (212.3; sim. 205.6, 301.5) — note the intensive use of repeated nouns in 311.17 *jr n.k WNJS hnn hnn jr.f n.k j3 j3* "★I will make ululation after ululation for you, ★I will make praise after praise for you"
- as subject of a verb: *ndr hrw st3 m n WNJS* "Horus and Seth take hold of *my arm" (271.7; sim. 205.13, 306.6), *jrt.n stš hn̄ dhwjtj* "what Seth and Thoth have done" (218.12); of an adverbial predicate: *jw j3w.sn j3wt.sn n k3pt.f* "their old men and old women are for *my firewood" (273–74.37)
- as an initial vocative: *stš nbt-hwt j.zy* "Seth and Nephthys, go" (217.5; sim. 217.12), *jst hn̄ nbt-hwt jnq jr.tn* "Isis and Nephthys, assemble" (218.13; sim. 301.1/3/5).

⁴ For *jst*, see Oréal 2011, 176–78.

There are a few exclusive patterns in this list. Only *hn̥* conjunctions are used in the A *pw* sentence, and *jst* conjunctions appear only as object of prepositions. Juxtaposition is exclusive in appositions, fronting, and as object of a verb. Both juxtaposition and *hn̥* occur as the second element of a direct genitive, as subject of a verb, and in vocatives, while prepositional objects show either juxtaposition or *jst*. No use is attested with all three methods of conjunction. The data suggest that the use of one or another method is a matter of style rather than grammar.

6.9 DIRECT GENITIVES

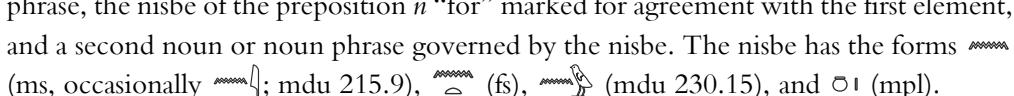
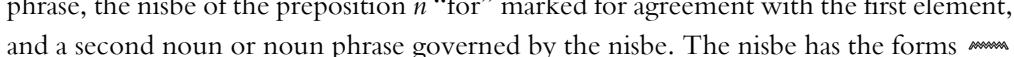
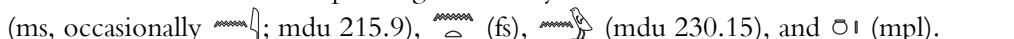
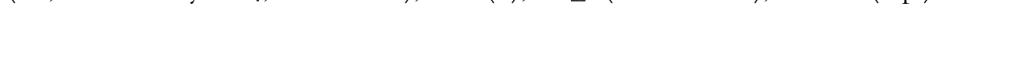
Both genitive constructions, direct and indirect, are attested in Unis's Pyramid Texts. By far the most common is the direct genitive construction (76% of all instances). This usually consists of two juxtaposed nouns, of which the second is the possessor: e.g., *nb rmp* “the year's lord” (301.11). Coptic indicates that this compound was marked by a single stress, which probably distinguished it from other juxtapositions, such as that of coordination (§ 6.8): e.g., *nb* “lord” ★[núbu] > ^B**NH&** plus *ȝht* “field” ★[láhat] > ★[?áhat] > ^B**IOZI** → *nbw ȝht* ★[nubu'áhat] > ^B**NEBIOZI** “landlord.”

Direct genitives of three to five elements are also attested, with nested direct genitives: e.g., *stj jrt hrw* “the scent of Horus's eye” (25.8), *tȝz bqsw nhbw-kȝw* “the vertebra of Ka-Allocater's spine” (229.1; sim. 219.71, 219.85); *nb hrwt jst fdw wȝdvw* “lord of the property of the place of four papyrus-columns” (217.1/8/16/25): thus, *stj [jrt [hrw]^{GEN}]^{GEN}*, *tȝz [bqsw [nhbw-[kȝw]^{GEN}]^{GEN}]^{GEN}*, *nb [hrwt [jst [fdw [wȝdvw]^{GEN}]^{GEN}]^{GEN}]^{GEN}*. The second element can also consist of two conjoined nouns rather than a nested direct genitive: *ntrw jȝbt jmnt* “gods of the east and the west” (247.6; sim. 317.5).

The direct genitive construction is used not only with primitive nouns but also with a number or nisbe as the first element: e.g., *fdt wȝpt* “four ewes” (246.4), *ȝr̥w wrw ȝȝw hntju tȝnw* “the great and important foreigners, foremost of Libya” (301.29). It is also common in the *nfr hr* construction (§ 7.7), in which the first element is an attributive: e.g., *wȝd ȝwt* “green of plumage” (317.2), *wȝdt shwt tȝw* “green of fields and lands” (317.5).

In most cases, the initial noun is absolute, but instances in which it has a suffix pronoun are also attested: *m rn.k pȝd* “in your identity of kneecap-cake” (200.5; sim. 219.55/59/63/67/71/80/85/90/95/100), *jȝt.f ȝȝwj* “★my nighttime meals” (273–74.36; sim. 214.10). The conjunction may also be interrupted by an enclitic: *hrj js ds* “as one with a knife” (251.5), *fdw jpw rwdw* “those four strings” (298.5; sim. 263.7).

6.10 INDIRECT GENITIVES

The indirect genitive construction consists of three elements: an initial noun or noun phrase, the nisbe of the preposition *n* “for” marked for agreement with the first element, and a second noun or noun phrase governed by the nisbe. The nisbe has the forms  (ms, occasionally ; mdu 215.9),  (fs),  (mdu 230.15), and  (mpl).

As with the direct genitive, most examples involve two nouns: e.g., *r njsjr* “the mouth of Osiris” (230.15). Longer strings occur in 256.4 *nsr n hh n ȝyt.f* “the flame of the blast of *my effective uraeus,” 41.2 *dp n mnd n hrw n dt.f* “the tip of the breast of Horus of his person,” and 268.9 *jfn kȝ n wnjs n dt.f* “the flesh of *my ka and(?) of *my person.”

Although the direct genitive can be interrupted by an enclitic (3 of 560 instances, 1%), the indirect genitive is far more common in such cases (28 of 124 instances, 23%). Such enclitics include:

- *nb* — *dnd nb nj mt* “any wrath of a dead man” (93.6)
- a demonstrative pronoun — *hrw pw n sph ng* “the day of lassoing the steer” (254.50; sim. 249.8, 273–74.20, 293.5, 301.20–25, 306.9, 306.14); *m sȝh.f pn n mrr.f jrr.f* “in this *my title of ‘Whenever He Likes, He Acts’” (273–74.61); also in nominal sentences: *ȝȝ pw n j.lymt* “★I am the son of her who does not know” (320.3), *ȝȝ.k pw n dt.k* “he is your son of your person” (217.34, 222.44), *ȝnt tw nn nt tm* “this is the fingernail of Atum” (229.1; sim. [244.1]), *ȝȝw pj n wnjs nhȝ* “★my lifetime is Continuity” (273–74.60)
- an attributive — *gs jȝbtj n pt* “the eastern side of the sky” (263.8/14; sim. 260.11, 261.7, 263.9, 263.13)
- an independent pronoun — *t.k ntk n jt.k* “your own bread of your father” (238.2).

The indirect genitive is also preferred, if not required, in a few other environments:

- after a generic demonstrative pronoun: *nw n zȝzȝ* “that lotus” (249.2), *nn n rmwt ntr* “that bewailing of the god” (302.10)
- in the idioms *wd mdw n* “govern” (“command the speech of”) and *wdȝ mdw n* “judge” (“separate the speech of”):⁵ *wd wnjs mdw n rmȝ wdȝ wnjs mdw n ȝnhw* “★I govern the people, ★I judge the living” (252.4–5; sim., with *wd*, 213.3–4, 224.7–9, 245.8, 246.9, 246.11, [318.3])—note the secondary insertion of *n* in 252.5 *wdȝ ... mdw n ȝnhw* (§ 2.4)
- when the second noun is a verb form: e.g., *t n gmjw.n.f jm* “the bread of those ★I have found there” (211.9; sim. 230.6, 230.9, 273–74.61).

Apart from these environments, it is difficult to determine any grammatical grounds for the use of the indirect genitive rather than the direct. Both constructions are used in identical or similar phrases: e.g., *kȝ pt* “sky-bull” (262.16–17, 273–74.14) and *kȝ n pt* “bull of the sky” (254.16, 254.23, 254.57), *mjwt wnjs* “Unis’s mother” (269.14, vocative) and *mjwt nt wnjs* “mother of Unis” (271.4, vocative). This might indicate that the choice of construction is a matter of style. However, Unis’s texts contain four instances in which one construction was secondarily altered to the other:

5 The nisbe rather than the preposition *n* “for” is shown by 665D.17 Nt *wd.f mdw nj ntrw*.

- 46.2 **kȝ-nswt* > *kȝ-WNJS* > *kȝ n WNJS* (~~~~ inserted)
- 50.4 **kȝ n nswt* > *kȝ n WNJS* > *kȝ WNJS* (~~~~ erased)
- 204.4 **dbȝ.j* > *dbȝ n WNJS* > *dbȝ WNJS* (vocative, ~~~~ erased)
- 252.5 *mdw ȝnȝw* > *mdw n ȝnȝw* (~~~~ inserted).

The rationale for these corrections is not evident. In general, the editing of Unis's texts from a generic original (*nswt* "the king," *mn* "whoever") or first-person suffix pronoun to the king's name has resulted more often in a direct genitive (60 instances) than an indirect one (17 examples).

6.11 APPosition

Apposition involves two or more nouns or noun phrases referring to the same entity. In Unis's Pyramid Texts, most examples (67%) have a proper name as one or more of the two:

- *rȝ tm* "Sun Atum" (215.17, 215.19, 217.1, 217.8, 217.16, 217.25)
- *sbk zȝ nt* "Sobek, Neith's son" (273–74.48; sim. 218.12, 219.76, 273–74.48)
- *zȝ.k hrw* "your son Horus" (219.102, 247.1; sim. 222.7, 222.31, 245.5, 254.29, 263.15, 269.12, 269.14, 271.6, 296.3, 297.5, 303.4, 305.2)
- *gbb kȝ nwt* "Geb, Nut's bull" (260.1; sim. 136.1, 205.2, 215.26–31, 215.34, 217.6/13/21/30, 218.1/7/15/17/19/21/23/25, 220.8, 249.9, 250.2, 256.2, 257.11, 260.5, 273–74.28, 273–74.49, 301.30, 301.35, 303.7, 307.6, 320.6)
- *ȝhȝ ȝ hrw* "he with fighting arm, Horus" (301.12; sim. 222.17, 247.15).

Others involve two or more common nouns, or an attributive:

- *bkwȝ ntrwt jmt pt* "falcon hens, goddesses in the sky" (214.4; sim. 46.4–5, 96.2, 123.1, 129.1, 215.6, 220.10, 247.6, 254.38, 260.19, 273–74.17, 304.12, 305.11–12, 306.1–2, 306.6, 306.12, 307.16)
- *jȝȝw hrw zmrn* "what Horus sneezes, condensed milk" (34.4; sim. 34.5–6, 219.101, 247.6, 260.2).

Nouns or noun phrases can also stand in apposition to pronouns:

- *shȝ.ȝn sw wnjs pn* "may you think of him, this Unis" (216.4)
- *m k s jw.s m hsf.k jmnt nfrt* "Here she comes, the beautiful West, to meet you" (254.21)
- *ȝhȝ.k hr.f tȝ pn* "you stand up on it, this land" (222.1).

A particular case involves the noun *ds* "self" plus a suffix pronoun used in apposition to a preceding noun or pronoun:

- *rȝ ds.f* "the Sun himself" (205.3; sim. 262.20, 301.5, 307.4)
- *ȝn.t.t ds.t* "you yourself will be encircled" (230.14; sim. 241.2, 267.2, 273–74.22).

6.12 NUMBERS

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain the numbers 1–5, 7, 9, 100, and 1,000. Two thirds of all instances occur as the numerals 1, 2, 4, and 5 in the Offering Ritual, invariably after a singular noun ("list form"): e.g., zhn 1 "1 kidney" (53.3; 47 instances), nhr 2 "2 cone-bread" (114.3; 37 of 45 instances), dpt 4 "4 'taste' bread" (115.3, 29 of 39 instances), hd t3 5 "5 onion bulbs" (45.3; sim. 34.8, 35.6). Elsewhere in Unis's texts this pattern is less common (one third of all instances): 9 of 18 examples involve the phrases zp 2 "twice" (232.2, 243.1, [254.56], 313.4) and zp 4 "4 times" (199.3, 214.1, 224.19, 301.36, 311.8); the remainder include hzp 2 "2 times" (230.9), t3z 2 "2 phrases" (230.15), nsz.k 2 "your 2 nsz" (285.1), d3t 4 nt mw "4 handfuls of water" (207.4), and jst w3d 4 "place of 4 papyrus columns" (217.1/8/16/25). There is also a single instance in which the numeral is marked for agreement with the noun: jrt 7t.f "his seven uraei" (318.2).

PT 207.4 d3t 4 nt mw "4 handfuls of water" and 318.2 jrt 7t.f "his seven uraei" reflect the syntax underlying the graphic combination of a noun and a number. A number lower than forty is masculine or feminine, in agreement with the gender of the noun. The numbers *wr/wr* "one" and *snuwj/sntj* "two" follow the noun, which is in the singular or dual respectively: nb wr "sole lord" (254.3), hrwj.s snuwj "her two faces" (234.3; sim. 210.9). The higher numbers 4 and 7 also show gender agreement but precede a plural noun:

- fdw jpw ntrw "those four gods" (260.2; sim. 263.7, 298.5, 303.2, 303.11, 304.6, 308.4)
- sfljt.f psdw^t "his seven Enneads" (318.3; sim. 318.2).

In that light, 207.4 probably represents *fdt d3wt nt mw* (see § 6.4 end) and 318.2 , *sfljt.f jrtwt*. In the case of *fdt w3pt* "four ewes" (246.4) and *djt jstt* (205.8') / *5t jstt* (205.8) "five meals," however, the feminine noun is apparently singular. It is not clear in such cases whether the noun is merely unmarked for plurality or represents a true syntactic option of the singular for feminine nouns.

The number "1,000" is combined with a singular noun by means of the preposition *m*: m t m hnqt "1,000 of bread, 1,000 of beer" (223.3; sim. 305.12).

Numbers are also used independently in several passages: *wr pn* "this one" (246.9/11; sim. 250.10, 254.57, 258.12, 305.4), *snuwj jpw* "you two" (300.4; sim. 230.11), *jw* *hmtt r pt* ... *jw* *sntj r t3* "three are for the sky ... two are for the earth" (205.9), *jw phr n.f* *h3w jw wdn n.f* *šwt* "thousands serve *me, hundreds offer to *me" (273–74.48).

Three ordinal numbers appear in Unis's texts:  *snnw* "second" (303.10, 307.6),  *ḥmtnw* "third" (319.10), and  *fdnw* "fourth" (260.2). All are masculine singular, and all are used independently, as nouns: *m snnw hrw* "as a second Horus" (303.10) and *jwjtj snnw.f* "peerless" (307.6), *ḥmtnw m ḫ.f* "the third in *my appearance" (319.10), *fdnw n fdw jpw ntrw* "the fourth of those four gods" (260.2).

7. ATTRIBUTIVES

7.1 KINDS OF ATTRIBUTIVES

The language of Unis's Pyramid Texts contains one lexical attributive, the quantifier *nb* (27 instances). All other attributives are formed grammatically, including nisbes, participles, relative forms of the *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f*, and the *sdmtj.f*. Demonstrative pronouns are also used attributively (§ 5.2).

7.2 *nb*

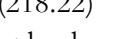
The quantifier *nb* “each, every, all” is always preceded by a noun or noun equivalent. It usually appears as $\text{—} nb$ regardless of the gender or number of the noun, not only masculine singular but also masculine plural (77.6), feminine singular (50.3–4, 170.3), and feminine plural (224.13). More specific forms are also attested: fs $\text{—} nbt$ (218.2), mpl $\text{—} nbw$ (23–24.2a/b'/b, 273–74.46).

7.3 NISBES

The nisbe formation consists of gender/number endings appended to a word. In Unis's texts, nisbes are formed from:

- nouns: e.g., *ḥ̥t* “front” → *ḥ̥tj* “heart” (literally, “frontal”)
- proper nouns: e.g., *nbwt* “Ombos” → *nbwtj* “Ombite”
- numbers: *w̥t* “one” → *w̥tj* “sole”
- independent pronouns: *swt* “he” → *swtj* “what is his”
- prepositions: e.g., *hr* “under” → *hrt* “what is under”
- nisbes: e.g., *hrt* “what is under” → *hrtj* “netherworlder.”

The range of these applications, as well as the secondary formation from a nisbe, indicates that the process was grammatical rather than lexical in Unis's language. Gender/number endings are:

ms	$\star[-i]$	usually unwritten: e.g.,  <i>ḥ̥t</i> “heart” (215.20)
	—	e.g.,  <i>hrtj</i> “which is under” (298.2)
	—	 <i>sy</i> “of the lake” (286.3): $\star[\text{xí'i}] > \star[\text{xíyi}]$ (§ 4.3)
mpl	$\star[-iu]$	 — e.g.,  <i>mhtjw¹</i> <i>jmw t²</i> “northerners who are in the earth” (218.22)
		written as a plural — e.g.,  <i>ḥ̥tw</i> “hearts” (217.23)
		unwritten —  <i>jmw-ht st²</i> “Seth's followers” (136.1) ²

1 The  bird, transcribed *tjw*, probably represents only *t* plus a vowel or two, here $\star[\text{tiu}]$.

2 In *m-n.k dpjw jmw-ht-st²* “Here for you are the heads of Seth's followers.” All other copies have the same spelling of the nisbe.

- mdu *[-iwa] as singular —  *hrjuj n stx* “the testicles of Seth” (215.9)³
 as plural —  *nw 3bw*  *jmw r n jsjr* “the two phrases of Elephantine that are in the mouth of Osiris” (230.15); *b3wj*  *lntw b3w jmw* “the two bas who are foremost of the bas of Heliopolis” (302.9)
 as dual —  *hrjuj.f* “his testicles” (277.1)
- fs *[-iat] — e.g.,  *j3bt* “left” (283.1)
- fpl *[-iwat] as singular — *ntrwt*  *jmt pt* “goddesses that are in the sky” (214.4; sim. 224.15, 260.9, 273–74.32/34/39, 308.1–2, 317.5)
 —  *hrwt* “possessions” (217.1/8/16.25)⁴
- fdū *[-iata]  *jrtj* “who pertain to” (235.2).

Nisbes are used both to modify an expressed antecedent and as nouns in their own right: for example, *ntrw jmmtjw* “western gods” (217.20, 260.17, 303.1), *jmmtjw* “westerners” (81.8, 214.14, 218.16, 224.15). Unis’s texts distinguish between these two uses for feminine nisbes: the singular is used to modify plural antecedents, while the plural is used as an independent noun.

7.4 PREPOSITIONAL NISBES

Unis’s texts contain nine nisbes formed from prepositions:

- m* “in” → *m-* “inherent”
- n* “for” → *n-* “belonging to” (indirect genitive: § 6.10)
- r* “to” → *r-* “pertaining to”
- h3* “around” → *h3-* “surrounding”
- hr* “on” → *hr-* “over”
- lyt* “opposite” → *lyt-* “opposing”
- lntj* “forward” → *lntj-* “at the fore of”
- hr* “under” → *hr-* “below”
- dp* “atop” → *dpj-* “atop, head.”

In most cases, the nisbe is formed as described in § 7.3. The prepositions *m* and *r*, however, usually have a prefix in the nisbe: e.g., *jm-* vs. *m* (136.1, 218.6), *mt* (134.1, 135.1); *jr-* vs. *r* (249.4/7, 302.4), *rt* (302.5). This is a feature of the preposition itself rather than the nisbe (see §§ 8.2 and 8.4).

Prepositional nisbes attribute the nature of the preposition to an antecedent: e.g., *wp.k jst.k m pt* “you part your place in the sky” (245.6) vs. *nswt hwt jmt wj3.k* “the empty

3 *hrwj* clearly dual in some MK copies (Allen 2006, 86–87).

4 Written with plural strokes in some MK copies (Allen 2006, 122–23, 130).

seat in your boat” (267.7). Like other nisbes, those from prepositions can also be used as independent nouns: for example, *ḥftjw.f* “his opponents” (221.8), *hntj-jmmtjw* “Foremost of Westerners.” Where the preposition governs a noun as object, the nisbe governs it as a direct genitive: thus *jmt wj3.k* “your boat’s inherent one.”

7.5 RELATIVE ADJECTIVES

Unis’s Pyramid Texts contain two examples of the relative adjective *nt-*, which is a nisbe apparently formed from the feminine nisbe of the preposition *n*:

WNJS pj wnnt rdjt n ntjw (211.3)

*I, in fact, am one who gives bread to those who are present.

jm.k jw jr bw nt WNJS jm (293.4)

You should not ever come to the place that *I am in.

The construction illustrated by the second example contrasts with one using a prepositional nisbe: *jw WNJS jr bw hr zkr* “*I am off to where Sokar is” (300.3). The distinction is semantic: the prepositional nisbe is used to express a regular association (i.e., “the place where Sokar normally is”), while *nt-* connotes one that is valid in a particular circumstance (i.e., “those who happen to be present when food is distributed” and “any place I might happen to be”).⁵ In that respect, *nt-* is the attributive counterpart of the particle *jw* (§ 9.4A, below).

Unis’s texts also contain a negative relative adjective  *jwjtj*, used to negate a following noun: *ntr sb3 jwjtj rmnwjtj.f* “a star god without his companion” (215.4), *nfr tm jwjt snnw.f* “Nefertem without his peer” (307.6). This survives in Coptic as **ἌΤ**, used with nouns to form a privative adjective: e.g., **ἌΤ + ΦΑΥ** “value” → **ἌΤΦΑΥ** “worthless.” The same sense can be attributed to Unis’s examples of *jwjtj*: “a companionless star god, peerless Nefertem.”

7.6 ATTRIBUTIVE SYNTAX

With the exceptions noted in §§ 7.2–7.3, attributives regularly reflect the gender and number of their antecedents. Feminine attributives behave like feminine nisbes, with the singular used to modify plurals, and the plural used independently: *n3bw.t.s nfrt* “her beautiful tresses” (254.21), *j3wt.sn* “their old women” (273–74.37). An exception appears to be 269.16  *hdjt* “white,” modifying *jrtt.t jptw* “that milk of yours” (see § 6.7): the spelling appears to reflect plural *[hídu'at] as opposed to singular  *hdjt* *[hídat] (161.1); in 269.16, however, *hdjt* is followed by the additional attributives *sspt bnjt* “dazzling, sweet,” which appear to be singular.

5 Allen 2014, § 22.5.

When used as adjectival modifiers, attributives regularly follow their antecedents: e.g., *jrt.t jptw h̄dj t s̄pt bnjt* “that white, dazzling, sweet milk of yours” (269.16), *s̄hw nbw jm̄w ȝht* “all the privileged ones who are in the Akhet” (273–74.26). As these two examples illustrate, demonstratives and *nb* precede other modifiers; demonstratives also take precedence over *nb*.

7.7 THE *nfr hr* CONSTRUCTION

Attributives other than *nb* can also precede a noun in the direct genitive construction:⁶ thus, *hnwt spdt* “sharp horn” (251.4) but *spd jbhw* “sharp of teeth” (222.11). This syntactic pattern has been called the *nfr hr* “good of face” construction. It is often used in place of the regular attributive syntax when the noun being modified is part of a larger whole: Egyptian prefers to attribute the quality of the attributive to the whole rather than the part. Thus, for example, *hrw dȝ jrtj* “red-eyed Horus” (“Horus red of eyes”: 246.6). It is also used, however, for unrelated nouns: e.g., *ntr w̄b jsut* “a god of clean places” (“a god clean of places”: 305.6).

Attributives that appear in this use in Unis’s texts are: *ȝwj* “long” (248.3, 261.2), *ȝzb* “scorching” (261.2), *jmn* “hidden” (273–74.19), *ȝ* “big” (262.6, 307.16), *ȝb* “fighting” (251.2, 302.12), *wȝd* “green” (317.2/5), *w̄b* “clean” (305.6), *wbn* “rising” (254.23), *wr* “great” (220.3/9–10, 221.2/17, 243.20), *rs* “awake” (317.2), *ȝj* “apparent” (238.3, 282.3), *ȝbd* “despicable” (255.6), *ȝmm* “unknown” (254.3), *ȝntj* “forward” (215.27), *ȝsbd* “blue” (246.5), *spd* “sharp” (222.11, 248.3), *snk* “deep” (250.9), *ȝt* “remote” (213.4), *qnj* “yellow” (320.4), *twt* “reconciled” (308.9), *tzj* “raised” (317.2), *dȝr* “red” (246.6), *ȝb* “arrayed” (251.4), *dsr* “sweeping” (246.8, 273–74.26, 295.2). It is also used with a prepositional nisbe as the first element, in which case the usual connotation of the preposition governing the second element is reversed: *jst.f dpt nb̄tj* “★my seat with the Two Ladies atop it” (248.4—rather than “★my seat that is atop the Two Ladies”), *hrj-twt* “gore-covered” (273–74.27—“on whom is gore” rather than “who is on gore”).

7.8 COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE

Apart from gender/number endings, adjectives have only a single form. The comparative of participial adjectives is expressed by means of the preposition *r* (§ 8.4D): e.g., *jw ms.n.f sw ws̄r sw r.f* “he has given ★me birth, but ★I am more powerful than him” (273–74.9—literally, “★I am powerful with respect to him”; sim. 205.11, 218.8–10, 254.51, 257.11, 306.16). The superlative can be expressed by the same construction: *WNJS pj*

6 The genitival nature of the construction is indicated both by the parallel with prepositional nisbes (§ 7.4 end) and by occasional variants with the indirect genitive: e.g., *jqr s̄lyrw* “accomplished of designs” (Sin. B 48–49, R 73) and *jqr n ȝb̄w.f* “accomplished of his fingers” (ShS. 188).

ntr sms r smsw “★I am the most senior god” (273–74.47—literally, “the god senior with respect to the senior one”). It is also connoted by means of a genitival construction: e.g., *WNJS pj ḫsm ḫsm ḫsmw* ★I am the most sacred of images” (273–74.44—literally, “the sacred image sacred of sacred images”; sim. 273–74.43).

7.9 OTHER KINDS OF ATTRIBUTIVES

Unis’s texts have two elements that serve an attributive function but are not themselves attributives. The noun *ky* “other” appears in 302.12 in independent use: *n ky nb* “to any other.” The prepositional phrase *r dr* “to the limit” occurs as an attributive denoting entirety in 252.3 *m lnb l.tn r dr.tn* “as lord of you all.”

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8. PREPOSITIONS

8.1 LEXEMES

Unis's Pyramid Texts have 15 prepositional lexemes, appearing a total of 1,624 times. In order of frequency, they are *m* “in” (577 instances), *n* “for” (478), *r* “with respect to” (253), *hr* “on” (72), *lyr* “by” (69), *hn̥* “with” (61), *hr* “under” (24), *mr* “like” and *dp* “atop” (19 each), *hʒ* “around behind” and *hntj* “forward of” (17 each), *jmwjtj* “between” (5), *mm* “among” and *lyft* “opposite” (4 each), and *dr* “before” (1). These govern nouns, suffix pronouns, and verb forms; some also appear as a non-verbal predicate, and without object in adverbial use.

8.2 *m* “IN”

The preposition *m* is written  before words and usually  with a suffix pronoun (except 148–151.1 ) or when used adverbially. Coptic reflexes indicate that the latter form was *[~má–]; the former could therefore have been unstressed *[ma], but occasional instances in which *m m*– is written with only one  suggests *[~m] instead: e.g., 270.5 *dʒ.k sw*  *m (m)hnt* *[~mmaxínat] “you transport *me in the ferryboat.”

The basic sense of the preposition is inheritance. In Unis's texts it is used to express a number of different aspects of this basic meaning; in order of frequency:

A. Location (“in,” “into”)

- a place: e.g., *m pr* “in the house” (242.1)
- a point of time: e.g., *m grḥ* “in the night” (211.6)
- an action: e.g., *m hsf.k* “meeting you” (254.21), *m prt.fjr pt* “in his going forth to the sky” (303.3), *m šm.f n ʒlyj.f* “when he went to his akh” (305.3), *m h̥m.f* “in his absence” (320.7)
- a group: e.g., *jm.sn* “among them” (265.6)
- a situation: e.g., *m kkw* “in darkness” (260.22), *m htp* “in peace” (270.1), *m jrt.n.f* “in what *I have done” (260.4)
- a destination: e.g., *hb.k m tʒ* “you plow into the earth” (254.28), *d n.k sw m drt.k* “put him in your hand” (39.3)

B. Source (“from, of”)

- a place: e.g., *pr m hzp* “who comes from the garden” (210.3, 226.2), *jwd WNJS pn m tʒ* “*I push off from land” (267.11)
- a person: e.g., *pr m jsjr* “that comes from Osiris” (55.2), *hmwt.f jm.f* “who will turn away from *me” (258.10), *nj tw jm.sn* “you are not of them” (245.10), *ʒt jm.f* “a limb of his” (268.3)

- a thing: e.g., *wnmt.n stš jm.s* “what Seth has eaten of it” (90.2), *zwr.sn m bčh.sn* “they drink from their inundation” (254.36), *sht m jɜrw* “plaited of reeds” (210.14), *čnt.f m čntjw* “★my fingernail full of myrrh” (318.6)
 - an action: *šw m mtrw* “lack of testimony” (260.6)
 - with numbers: e.g., *b3 m t b3 m hnqt* “a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer” (223.3)
 - *shm m* “have control of”: e.g., *nj shm.n.k jm.f* “you cannot have control of him” (215.21–22)
- C. Identity (“as, in”)
- in the role of: e.g., *wd.n sw gbb m tw3* “Geb has decreed him an outcast” (214.8), *db3 m jnpw* “arrayed as Anubis” (217.22), *j.šwtj m gmḥsw* “feathered as a hawk” (245.4), *wr pn jm.k* “this one, who is you” (246.9/11), *m jmj-rd* “as an impediment” (260.20)
 - *ḥpr m* “become” (“evolve into”): e.g., *ḥpr WNJS m sj3* “★I become Perception” (250.5)
 - in the phrase *m m n* “in the identity of”: e.g., *m m.k pw n r* “in your identity of the Sun” (301.21)
 - as prepositional predicate: e.g., *ȝbt.f m mnwtt* “★my effective uraeus is Renenutet” (256.4)
- D. Instrument (“with, by, through”)
- by means of: e.g., *j.wn jrtj.k m3.k jm.sn* “open your eyes and see with them” (167.1)
 - using: e.g., *mḥ.n.(j) n.k jrt.k m dt* “I have filled for you your eye with oil” (72.2), *m ḥsf.k m n3bwts.n nfrt* “meeting you with her beautiful tresses” (254.21)
- E. Miscellaneous
- *mdwvw m wtwt* “who argue about the wrapped one” (311.9)
 - *jm.k jr wpt.k m WNJS* “you shall not do your mission with ★me” (288.3), *nj zf gbb m jwrf.f* “Geb does not do wrong by his heir” (127.1)
- F. With specific nouns
- *m ī* “from (a person)": *hpt m ī stš* “which escaped from Seth” (47.2; sim. 54.2, 93.6, 160.1, [199.2], 223.12, 253.5, 254.46–48, 268.4, 273–74.58, 301.18, 302.24, 317.11); “by the agency of (a person)": *ndd m ī WNJS* “tended by ★my agency” (250.6); “in the possession of (a person)": *šwwt.sn m ī jrw.sn* “their shadows are with the ones they pertain to” (273–74.65) — also literally “in the arm of”: e.g., *čb3.k m ī.k* “your baton in your arm” (213.3)
 - *m īb* “in the company of": *m īb šmsw-hrw* “in the company of Horus’s followers” (34.7; sim. 207.4, 224.16, 245.6, 302.7, 307.9–10)

- *m bʒh* “in the presence of, before”: *hms WNJS m bʒh.f* “★I sit in his presence” (309.3; sim. 25.5–6, 44.5)
- *m hnt* “in the fore of, in advance of”: *m hnt wrw* “in the fore of the great ones” (254.40), *j.n wnjs mrm m hnt mht ʒgbj* “★I have come here in advance of the flood’s immersion” (317.1)
- *m ht* “in the wake of”: *j.zj m ht r̥.k* “Go in the wake of your Sun” (214.3; sim. 25.5–6, 44.5, 245.3, 310.6)
- *m hn̥w* “in the interior of”: *m hn̥w ˤwj.k* “inside your arms” (215.2; sim. 216.9, 217.33, 222.42–43, 247.6, 251.2, 252.5, 255.14, 284.4–5)

G. Adverbial

- e.g., *hrw ms.f jm* “on the day he is born” (35.5), *sht jm* “the one netted in it” (93.4), *zwr̥t.tn jm* “what you drink of” (210.11), *gmw.n.f jm* “those ★I found there” (211.9).

8.3 *~~~~ n* “FOR”

The preposition *n* is uniformly spelled *~~~~*. Coptic reflexes indicate that this represents ★[n] plus a following vowel, most likely ★[i]: e.g., *n.k* “for you” ★[nik] > **NAK/NEK**.

The primary, and most frequent, meaning of the preposition is dative (“for, to”), with an animate object: e.g., *jn.n.(j) n.k.s* “I have gotten it for you” (39.3), *nj rdj.f s n ky nb* “★I do not give it to any other” (302.12). In this function it is also used as a predicate: for example, *t n jt.k n.k* “the bread of your father is for you” (238.1), *n kʒ WNJS ht nb* “everything is for Unis’s ka” (50.4). Related uses are:

- *hkn.k n.k* “your own endowment” (291.2)
- speak *n* “to”: e.g., *dd.sn m nfr n WNJS pn n r̥* “they tell ★my nickname to the Sun,” (263.9), *sjw.sn WNJS p(n) n nhb-k̥w* “they introduce ★me to Ka-Allocater” (263.10), *j.zj hw n nt̥w* “go, announce to the gods” (217.20)
- bow *n* “to”: e.g., *kss.sn n WNJS* “they bow to ★me” (256.7)
- come, go, or send *n* “to”: e.g., *my n.f* “come to ★me” (260.20), *sjr̥.sn WNJS n r̥* “they elevate ★me to the Sun” (262.29), *sjp.f WNJS n nt̥w jpf* “he allocates ★me to yonder gods” (269.13), *jr̥.k n.s* “you should ascend to it” (301.21), *ʃm.f n ʒlh.j.f* “he goes to his akh” (305.3)
- look *n* “at”: e.g., *mʒʒtj.sn n.f* “who shall look at him” (77.7), *m dgjw n.f* “don’t look at him” (288.2).

Extended meanings and uses are:

- “for, at” an action: e.g., *n prw mˤndt* “for the Dayboat’s emergence” (311.4), *n mʒ.f* “at the sight of him” (249.10), *jrrw n r.f* “at whose speech one acts” (238.3)
- “because of” something: e.g., *ḥr hrw n jrt.f* “Horus fell because of his eye” (277.1)

- “because of” a clause: e.g., *n twt js sbȝ wȝtj* “for you are the lone star” (245.7), *n nt swt js kȝ wr* “because of the fact that *I am the great bull” (205.7)
- possession: e.g., *jb.k n.k jsjr* “you have your mind, Osiris” (267.1).

Adverbial use is possible in 263.5 *nfr n n WNJS hnȝ kȝ.f* “it is therefore good for *me with *my ka,” if this is not an erroneous dittography¹ or the *sdm.n.f.*

8.4 $\bowtie r$ “TO”

The preposition *r* appears as \bowtie and $\bowtie\bowtie$, both before separate words and with a suffix pronoun. The fuller form occurs in 87 of 253 instances (34%), equally governing a word (41) or a suffix pronoun (46). Coptic reflexes indicate the form *[ará] with a suffix pronoun and probably unstressed *[ar] (> *[a]) before words: e.g., 219.49 *jr.f* “about him” *[aráf] > **ѧපѧܩ/εροϙ**, 258.13 *jr hr* “to above” *[ar-ḥirí] > **ѧԶՊԵԻ/ԵԶՊԱԻ**.

The basic meaning of the preposition is “with respect to.” This has a number of different connotations, in order of frequency as follows:

- A. Direction toward (“to, toward, onto”). This is the most common use: e.g., *pr.k r pt* “you go up to the sky” (215.32), *st.k r WNJS* “your scent toward Unis” (200.4), *sdm.(j) n.k jrt hrw wdȝ.t jr hr.k* “I paint for you Horus’s eye sound onto your face” (79–80.2)
- B. Reference (46 examples). The preposition *r* is used with a suffix pronoun to relate the subject of a verb to itself:
 - 1s *pȝ WNJS r.j m ȝ.tn* “*I fly away from you”—literally, “*I fly, with respect to myself, from you” (302.24; sim. 311.3’)
 - 2ms *rw rw r.k* “Lion, go away!” (243.2; sim. 288.1), *j.tm.k jr.k dȝ WNJS stpf* “Should you, for your part, fail to transport *me, *I will jump up” (270.11; sim. 214.3/9/12, 262.25, 301.33, 306.8/16, 311.7’, 311.7)
 - 3ms *pry r.f WNJS r pt* “*I go away up to the sky” (302.13; sim. 306.2). *ȝhȝ r.f wr pn m hnȝ kȝr.f* “this great one, for his part, stands up inside his shrine” (255.14; sim. 210.5, 212.2, 217.6/13/21/30, 218.1/7/15/17/19/21/23/25, 257.6)
 - 2du *jnq jr.tn jȝb jr.tn* “assemble, gather” (218.13–14)
 - 3pl *pȝy r.sn nȝrw* “the gods fly away” (302.6; sim. 263.7); *gr r.sn gnmw* “the decans, for their part, grow still” (273–74.3)
- C. Counter to (“against”: 28 examples): e.g., *sbw jr.k* “those who rebelled against you” (130.1)
- D. Comparison (“than, to”: 21 examples): e.g., *nfr n.f m hrw pn r sf* “it is better for *me to day than yesterday” (205.11), *smsw r wrj* “senior to the great one” (257.11)

1 The MK copies of Senwosret-ankh and Siese both have Unis’s version, but that of Imhotep has *nfr n j-m-htp*.

- E. Location (“at”: 19 instances): e.g., *wn.k jr gs ntr* “that you may be at the god’s side” (214.5); also in the idiom *r dbwj* “beside” (literally, “at the two fingers of”): *sȝf hrw jr dbwj.f* “his son Horus beside him” (303.4; sim. 268.6)
- F. Direction from (“from”: 11 examples): e.g., *nj ſs.jr.k* “it cannot be cut away from you” (142.1)
- G. Purpose (“for”: 10 examples): e.g., *prj WNJS jr mȝt* “★I emerge for Maat” (260.13)
- H. With verb forms (5 examples): *jr tm.k jr jst* “If you fail to make a place” (254.5; sim. 255.8), *jr pr nb.f* “when ★my lord emerges” (311.3), *hȝbw.f r hȝsf* “whom ★I send to confront” (273–74.30; sim. 319.9).

The preposition *r* is also used as a predicate: for example, *jw WNJS r jst.f* “★I am off to ★my seat” (251.3; sim. 81.9, 200.4, 204.5, 205.9, 219.75, 240.1, 252.7, 254.2, 258.9/13, 273–74.18, 275.2, 285.1, 299.1, 300.3, 303.4, 305.10, 306.3, 316.2).

8.5 ♫ *hr* “ON”

The standard spelling of the preposition *hr* is ♫ or ♪ before separate words (50 examples) and ♪ with a suffix pronoun (16 examples). This most likely reflects a monosyllabic ★[hir] with loss of the final consonant before separate words (> ★[hi] > ȝl: see § 3.8) and its retention before the second syllable added by the suffix pronoun (e.g., ★[hirás]); ♪ is also the spelling of the single adverbial example, for similar reasons (258.13 *hr*★[hirú] > ȝpaɪ). The preposition appears as ♫ with a suffix pronoun in 254.32 *hr.tn*. It is also written ♪ in four instances before a noun (234.2 *hr tȝz.k*, 247.5 *hr jt.f*, 250.4 *hr sȝ*, 307.8 *hr fnd.f*). These seem to be merely etymological variants, but phonology may be involved in one instance: ♪ hr jt.f ★[hir-iá̄t'if] vs. ♫ fff hr mpwt.f ★[hi-ranpáutif], both in 247.5.

The primary sense of *hr* is location on the surface of something; although vocalized differently, it is probably related to *hr* ★[har] “face, surface” (> ★[ha?] > ȝa/ȝo). The primary meaning appears in most instances (43, 60%): e.g., *hms hr lndw jsjr* “sit on Osiris’s chair” (213.2); also, less literally,

- *hr jȝbt* “on the east” (246.8)
- *hr mhnt wrt* “on the great ferry” (262.23; sim. 321.2)
- *pr WNJS hr mȝqt* “★I go up on the ladder” (271.6; sim. 267.4, 306.9)
- *d sntr hr sdt* “the incense is set on the fire” (269.2)
- *hr hr hr hr* “face falls on face” (290.1; sim. 297.1–2)
- *j.sfkkt.n.f hr.s* “on which he cause devastation” (74.2).

Other meanings include:

- “on account of, by means of, through” (15 instances): e.g., *htp.f hr.s* “that he may become content through it” (83.2), *hw pȝz.f hr.s* “he has been prevented from

- feeling pain from it” (116.1), *njs.fr.k hr dt WNJS* “★I call to you about *my person” (307.8), *mdw hr.s* “the one who speaks for it” (306.11)
- “from on”: *j.dr tw hr jst.k* “remove yourself from your seat” (255.7; sim. 247.11, 255.8, 305.12)
 - *swʒ hr* “pass by”: *swʒ WNJS hr.tn* “★I pass by you” (254.32; sim. 262.22)
 - *wdb hr* “turn to”: *[wdb.k hr t.k pn]* “you should turn yourself to this your bread” (199.1)
 - *hr dpj* “above, over” (literally, “on the head”): *ḥr.f hr dpj wrj* “he stands up over the great one” (222.15; sim. 245.8, 307.5, 315.2)
 - *hr jb* “in the middle”: *jʒhwj hr jb jrt.f* “sunlight in the middle of each of his eyes” (319.1).

Adverbial use occurs in 258.13 *jw pʒd.f jr hr* “★my bread-cake is for above.” The preposition is also used as a non-verbal predicate: *bʒ.f hr.f* “★my leopard-skin is on *me” (263.6; sim. 254.3/34, 273–74.13, 305.12, 307.5, 315.2, 319.1), *hr hr.k* “on your face!” (234.2, 240.4), *hr hr wʒt* “head off!” (288.1, literally, “face on the path”).

8.6 *hr* “BY”

The preposition *hr* denotes location in the vicinity of an object. In most cases (50, 72%), it is used to denote the goal of a verb of motion: e.g., *j.n WNJS hr.k* “★I have come unto you” (270.4). Less often, it denotes presence (16 examples): e.g., *nhj rn.k hr rm̄t* “your identity will endure with people” (246.18), *nst WNJS hr.k r̄* “★my seat is by you, Sun” (302.11). In the latter sense, it also connotes possession: *šwʒ jwʒw nj wnt hr.f zʒ* “indigent is an heir who has no writing” (305.13). The preposition is used here as a non-verbal predicate, as well as in three other instances: 302.11, cited above, and 260.13/24 *j.s hr.f* “she is with *me.”

8.7 *hn̄* “WITH”

The preposition *hn̄* expresses accompaniment: e.g., *šd n.tn WNJS hn̄.tn* “take me with you” (210.10), *hms WNJS hn̄ hn̄w r̄* “★I sit with those who row the Sun” (252.8). In most cases, (50, 82%), it conjoins two items that serve the same grammatical function:

- subject of a *sdm.f*: e.g., *m k jrt.n stʒ hn̄ dhw̄tj* “here is what Seth and Thoth have done” (218.12)
- nominal predicate: e.g., *šw p hn̄ tfnt* “they are Shu and Tefnut” (301.6)
- vocative: e.g., *jst hn̄ nbt-hwt jnq jr.tn* “Isis and Nephthys, assemble” (218.13)
- direct genitive: *dpj mhw hn̄ šm̄w* “the head of the Delta and Nile Valley” (222.14), *wd̄c mdw.f hn̄ jmn rn.f* “whose word and that of him whose identity is hidden are separated” 273–74.19, meaning “who are judged”).

The preposition *hn̄* is not used adverbially or as non-verbal predicate in Unis’s texts.

8.8 *hr* “UNDER”

The standard spelling of the preposition *hr* is . It also appears as  before a noun (83.3, 273–74.10, 302.9), which may reflect loss of the final *r* ($\star[\text{xar}] > \star[\text{xa}] > \text{ɂa}/\text{ḥa}/\text{ɂa}$), but it also occurs with a suffix pronoun in 77.4 , along with regular , both of which must represent $\star[\text{xarát}] > \text{ɂapā}/\text{ḥapō}/\text{ɂapo}$.

The basic sense of *hr* is location beneath an object, but it conveys this sense in only 6 of 24: e.g., *jw hmwst.f hr rdwj.f* “*my *hmwst* are under my feet” (273–74.10; sim. 32.4a–d, [255.12]). An extension of this sense is the expression of location (313.3–4 *hr jknt ntrw* “at the gods’ water-scooping place”), usually with the preposition’s *nisbe* in the phrase *bw hrj X* “the place under X,” meaning “where X is” (214.12, 300.3). Most often (15 instances, 63%), *hr* connotes possession: e.g., *pr n.f hr jrt hrw* “come forth to him with Horus’s eye” (82.4). An idiomatic use is the phrase *hr dpj* “under the head,” meaning “at the start”: *hr dpj hrw* “at the day’s start” (302.9). The preposition appears as a non-verbal predicate in 273–74.10, cited above.

8.9 *mr* “LIKE”

The spelling of *mr* is the most variable of any of Unis’s prepositions. The two most common forms are  (6 instances) and (6 instances), with the variants  (1),  (1),  (3), and  (2). The preposition probably survives in Coptic as **ΜΑ/ΜΕ**, and this plus the variant  indicates the vocalization $\star[\text{mir}]$.² The spelling  probably reflects loss of the final *r* ($> \star[\text{mi}]$), and the same may be true for . The forms  and  suggest an initial vocalic syllable ($\star[\text{mír}]$), but they could also represent a combined etymological and phonological spelling, with , despite its position, indicating $\star[\text{r}] > \star[\text{?}]$.

The preposition *mr* governs nouns and verb forms in equal measure: e.g., *mr tm* “like Atum” (273–74.8), *mr jwt ntr* “like a god’s coming” (270.8). The verb forms are mostly, if not all, the *sdm.f*: 81.5 *k'lslw.sn*, 81.6 *nrw.sn*, 210.9 *tvr*, 270.6/8 *jwt*, 301.32 *jč*, 308.6–9 *m33*; the circumlocution *mr qd* “like the form” is used to subordinate other verb forms: *mr qd jry n.f* “like he was acted for” (306.5). No adverbial or predicative uses appear in Unis’s texts.

2 Crum 1930; Vycichl 1984, 104–105. The variant reflects the verb *mj* “like,” whose geminated infinitive $\star[\text{mírrit}]$ survives in Coptic as **ΜΠΡΕ/ΜΕΝΡΕ/ΜΕΛΛΙ/ΜΕΡΕ** in construct form and **ΜΠΡΙΤ/ΜΕΝΡΙΤ/ΜΕΡΙΤ** in pronominal form. Pace Schweitzer 2011, 149 (arguing for *mj*), the use of  as pseudo-etymological for *-j* is not (otherwise) attested in the Pyramid Texts.

8.10 ***dp*** “ATOP”³

The preposition *dp* usually appears as , twice as  (cf. *hr*, § 8.5, above). It governs nouns and suffix pronouns, and usually denotes location on top of an object: e.g., *d.f sw dp dnḥ n dhwjt* “★I put *myself atop a wing of Thoth” (270.12), *ʒḥt.f dp.f* “his uraeus atop him” (298.1). The less precise meaning “to, at” occurs with the nouns *r* “mouth” and *rdwj* “feet”: *dʒ n.f sw WNJS pn dp r.f* “that ★I may transport it to *my mouth” (269.15; sim. 36.5), *hkʒw.f dp rdwj.f* “his magic powers at his feet” (306.4; sim. 246.11). The phrase *dp ʕwj* “upon the arms” has the even looser spatial sense “before”: *jmn tn rhw dp ʕwj WNJS* “hide yourselves, subjects, before me” (320.5; sim. 210.3, 254.15/18). The preposition is used metaphorically in 272.4 *dp šmsw r ... dp ntrw tjhtjḥ* “at the head of the Sun’s followers ... at the head of the gods of agitation.” It functions as a non-verbal predicate in 9 of its 19 occurrences (36.5, 254.38, 272.4', 272.4, 273–74.11, 298.1, 306.3–4).

8.11 / ***hʒ*** “AROUND BEHIND”

The preposition *hʒ* governs nouns and suffix pronouns with the dual connotation of “behind” and “around from behind,” the latter evidently implying position at the back and on two sides: e.g., *ḥr sn.k hʒ.k* “your brother stands up behind you” (246.16; sim. 246.16, 279.2, 280.2, 309.1), *wj.k hʒ jht zʒt.k* “your arms about the meal, your daughter” (219.81/86/91/96; sim. 32.7b, 122.3, 230.13, 255.10, 273–74.10). The preposition can also be used with a second-person suffix pronoun in the first sense to command retreat: *hʒ.k jmn* “Back, hidden one!” (293.1; sim. 314.1). In this use it has predicative function, as also in 219.81/86/91/96, cited above, and 279.2 *dhwjt hʒ.j* “Thoth, behind me!,” and in the statement *jw kʒw WNJS hʒ.f* “★my kas are around *me” (273–74.10). Adverbial use occurs in the label *šdt hʒ* “taking around” (32.7b). The Bohairic reflex of the nisbe *hʒj*, **ΖΗ** < ★[hú?i],⁴ suggests the vocalization ★[hul] > ★[hu?].

8.12 ***hntj*** “FORWARD OF”

The preposition *hntj* is normally written  or  but more fully as   (306.18), with both nouns and suffix pronouns. It is related to, if not the origin of, the verb *hntj* “go forward, travel upstream/south” and denotes location forward of its object: e.g., *wp.t wʒt.f hnt ʒljjw* “may you part his path at the fore of the akhs” (81.7), *ḥr.k hnt.sn* “you stand at their fore” (246.13). It is used predicatively in 224.14 *nḥbt.k hnt ʒnlyw mdw.k hnt ʒljjw* “with your lotus-bud scepter at the fore of the living, your staff at the fore of the akhs.”

3 For the reading, in place of traditional *tp*, see Werning 2004. Noted neither by Werning nor Schweitzer 2011, 133–42 (arguing for *tp*), is the clear  *dpts.s* “her headpiece” of Sin. B 186.

4 Černý 1976, 153; Vycichl 1984, 285.

8.13 / *jmjwjtj* “BETWEEN”

Governing plural or dual nouns and suffix pronouns, the preposition *jmjwjtj* denotes location between or amid two or more objects: *jmt mntj psdt* “between the Ennead’s thighs” (248.1; sim. 254.43, 305.5), *jmt snw.k* “amongst your brothers” (36.4; sim. 35.4). It is used as a non-verbal predicate in 35.4, 36.4, 305.5.

8.14 *mm* “AMONG”

The preposition *mm*, perhaps a reduplicated form of *m* “in,” expresses location among plural nouns or pronouns: *ȝbt.f mm.tn ntrw* “★my feast is among you gods” (210.15; sim. 315.3), *ȝhnhn.k jm.s mm ntrw* “you will glisten with it among the gods” (301.24; sim. 302.21). It functions as a non-verbal predicate in 210.15.

8.15 / *ḥft* “OPPOSITE”

The preposition *ḥft* is used to relate one thing directly to another. It has two connotations in Unis’s texts:

- spatial confrontation: *hms.t ḥft WNJS* “may you sit opposite Unis” (81.7), *tȝz mȝqt jn rȝ ḥft jsjr* “a ladder is tied together by the Sun in front of Osiris” (305.1; sim. 305.2)—this is the sense of the nisbe *ḥftj* “opponent”
- conformity: *r jst mrr WNJS ḥft šzp jb.f* “to whatever place ★I like, according to ★my mind’s fancy” (317.12).

8.16 *dr* “BEFORE”

The preposition *dr*, related to the noun *drw* “limit,” governs the *sdmf.f* in one example in Unis’s texts:⁵

dr šwt ḫwj hnbw m WNJS (261.4)
before the lightning bolts’ arms become empty of me.

8.17 THE SYNTAX OF PREPOSITIONS

Prepositional phrases regularly occur as the final elements of a clause: for example, *d.n WNJS mȝt jm.f m jst jzft* “★I have put Maat in it in place of disorder” (249.6), *d.f sw dp dnḥ n dḥwtj* “★I put myself atop a wing of Thoth” (93.6). One of two primary exceptions is dative *n* (§ 8.3): with a nominal object, it occurs in normal clause-last position, but with suffix pronoun, it stands as close to the verb as possible: e.g.,

wd sw rȝ n hr snm “the Sun commends ★me to the one in charge of feeding” (205.4)
wd n.f sw rȝ ds.f “the Sun himself commends ★me to him” (205.3).

Clause-last word-order, however, can be used when the pronoun’s referent is other than the verb’s subject and would otherwise follow the pronoun:

5 For the construction, see Zonhoven 1996.

psg.k hr n hrw n.f “may you spit in Horus’s face for him” (215.8)
sjr.k k3 n WNJS n.f “you should elevate *my ka for *me” (302.3).

Compare *ndrw n.fjt WNJS tm r n WNJS* “*my father Atum is grasping *my arm for himself” (269.12), where *n.f*, in normal position, refers to the verb’s subject. The consistency of pronominal dative order reveals a first-person original in cases where Unis’s name has been substituted for the pronoun but the resulting phrase has not been moved to the end of the clause:

j r pzh n WNJS t3
pzh n WNJS gbb
pzh n WNJS jt n pzh sw (230.5–6)
 O Sun, bite for *me the earth,
 bite for *me Geb,
 bite for *me the father of the one who would bite *me.

The second primary exception involves referential *jr* (§ 8.4B), which behaves like a pronominal dative in contrast to other uses of the preposition: for example,

Chr r.f wr m hnw k3r.f (255.14)
 this great one, for his part, stands up inside his shrine

A third exception involves the prepositional phrase *hr.f* in 305.13 *nj wnt hr.f z3* “who has no writing” (cited in § 8.6, above). The rationale here is not clear and may be merely a matter of style, to emphasize *z3* “writing” over *hr.f* “by him.”

Prepositional phrases used as predicates regularly follow their subjects. A pronominal dative, however, can precede its subject, probably for reasons of style: e.g.,

nb ht nb n dt.k ht nb
n k3 wnjs ht nb
n dt.f ht nb (50.3–4)
 Lord of everything, for you person is everything,
 for Unis’s ka is everything,
 for his person is everything.

Compare, with normal word-order:

jb.k n.k jsjr
rdwj.k n.k jsjr
rwj.k n.k jsjr (267.1)
 Your mind is for you, Osiris;
 your legs are for you, Osiris;
 your arms are for you, Osiris.

9. ADVERBS AND PARTICLES

9.1 ADVERBS

Besides prepositions used adverbially, Unis's Pyramid Texts have nine words used solely as adverbs. Six of these are primary lexemes:

- A. *jwn* “now”

The meaning of the word *jwn*, which appears in three apotropaic spells, is suggested by context and a possible cognate relationship with Akkadian *anīna* “now” and Arabic *ān* “time” (root *?wn*; *al-ān* “now”): *mj n.(j) jwn* “Give to me now!” (281.3), *w jwn* “Hey, now!” (281.4), *bȝ jwn* “Spew out now!” (285.2).

- B. *ȝ* “here”

The adverb *ȝ* is attested once in Unis's texts: *j.k trr ȝ j.k trr jm* “whether you are actually here or whether you are actually there” (243.3). This adverb survives in the Coptic form **ΤΑΪ^{BS}** < ★[di?], indicating dialectal ★[dil] > ★[di?].

- C. *mrn* “here”

The adverb *mrn* occurs in 317.1 *j.n WNJS mrn m lynt mht ȝgbj* “★I have come here in advance of the flood's immersion.”

- D. *mwmw?*

The term *mwmw* appears three times in Unis's texts as an adverb of the verb *wnm*: *gmy WNJS m wȝt.f wnm.f n.f sw mumuw* “Anyone ★I find in ★my way, ★I eat him *mwmw*” (254.7, 299.5), *wr gmy.f m wȝt.f wnm.f n.f sw mwmw* “the great one ★I find in ★my way, ★I eat him *mwmw*” (273–74.45). The meaning is unclear; Teti's spelling in 299.5 indicates a word *mwmw* rather than a prepositional phrase *m wmw*.

- E. *rssj* “fully”

The adverb *rssj* is used in 228.2 *ds sȝb km wȝd rs* “the dappled knife, all dark and green” and 290.1 *ds sȝb km rs* “the dappled knife, all dark.”

- F. / *tnj* “where?”

The interrogative adverb *tnj* appears in 77.2 *mrḥt mrḥt tn j.wn.t jmt hȝt hrw tn j.wn.t* “Ointment, ointment, where should you be? You on Horus's front, where should you be?” and 296.1 *tȝw tnj šm.k* “*tȝw*-snake, where are you going?” The use of *nj* in the latter reflects the final vowel indicated by Coptic **ΤΩΝ/ΘΩΝ** < ★[tánu].

The other three adverbs share a root with one or more other lexemes, and an adverbial suffix *k/t*:

G.  *jst* “as well”

This is the most frequently used adverb in Unis’s texts, appearing eight times in as many passages. It is used as complement to a conjoined noun or phrase: for example, *hw n ntrw jmnjw 3lhw.sn jst* “announce to the western gods and their akhs as well” (217.20; sim. 217.5/12/29, 222.19/24, 273–74.55), *m33tj.sn n.f sdmf.f nb m.f jst* “who shall look at him, and everyone who shall hear his name as well” (77.7). The adverb is related to the subordinating particles *js* and *sk/st* (see below, §§ 9.5B and 9.4H).

H.  *drt* “henceforth”

The adverb *drt* appears in 307.18 *WNJS pj drt ms tw mss tw* “★I am henceforth the one who gave you birth and continues to give you birth.” It is probably derived from the noun *drtw* “limit.”

I.  /  /  /  *ddk/ddt* “too”

This adverb is conceivably derived from the verb *ddj* “continue,” which is used, perhaps as an imperative, to denote repetition in 311.8 *dd-mdw zp 4 dd* “recitation four times without pause.” It complements a conjoined noun or clause in 25.4 *zjt.dd.k hn' k3.k* “you too have gone with your ka,” 35.4 *sntr.k ddkt jmt.sn* “your divinization too is amongst them,” and 36.4 *sntr.k ddt pn jmt snw.k ntrw* “this your divinization too is amongst your brothers, the gods.”

The variant forms *ddk* and *ddt* indicate a phonological evolution from ★[k] > ★[t] (see § 4.11), reflected in the combined etymological and phonological spelling  (35.4), also visible in the particle *sk/st* (§ 9.4H). This in turn points to the use of an adverbial suffix *k* > *t*, probably ★-[ik] > ★-[ik] > ★-[it] (and, in the case of *jst*, subsequently > ★[it] in MK *jst*).

9.2 PARTICLES

Unis’s particles are of two kinds, vocative and grammatical. The former are all proclitic, the latter, both proclitic and enclitic. There are 7 vocative, 9 proclitic, and 8 enclitic particles in Unis’s texts; vocatives account for 26% of all instances of particles; of the others, 67% are proclitic and 6%, enclitic.

9.3 VOCATIVE PARTICLES

A.  /  *j* “O”

The particle *j* is mostly used when addressing one or more gods or an inimical being: e.g., *j gbb k3 nwt* “O Geb, Nut’s bull!” (260.1; sim. 205.1/11, 230.5, 249.1, 251.1, 254.3–4, 260.17, 300.1, 316.1), *j jtt m jt* “O, you who acquire, don’t acquire!” (283.3; sim. 243.4, 255.6, 282.1–2, 285.3/5). It is also used as a general vocative without specific addressee: *j m hr htp-nswt* “O, come with the king’s offering” (83.3; sim. 204.1/7, 240.5, 254.15).

B.  *jh* “ah” (or the like)

This appears to be a general interjection in its one occurrence in Unis’s texts: *wḥ j.nn jh jh* “Hey, turn around! Ah, ah!” (223.2).

C.  *wy* “hey” (or the like)

The particle *wy* appears to be an interjection in an apotropaic spell: *wy m mw* “Hey, in the water!” (285.3). What may be a variant form  appears in another such spell: *w jwn hnw* “Hey now, the pot!” (281.4).

D.  *wḥ* “hey” (or the like)

This particle is used as an interjection in 223.3, cited in § 9.3B, above, and in the similar opening of PT 224: *wḥ kw WNJS j.nn kw WNJS* “Hey, you Unis! Turn around, you Unis!” (224.6).

E.  *m* “here”

The particle *m* is the most frequently used of the vocatives, appearing 96 times in Unis’s texts. It is used when presenting an object to someone in direct address, or when bringing a fact to someone’s attention. It has the following forms in Unis’s texts:

 alone

- before a noun: *m jrtj hrw* “here are Horus’s two eyes” (43.2; sim. 41.2, 42.2, 126.1, 135.1, 144.1)
- before the king’s name: *m WNJS j.j* “here am ⚫I come” (262.19)
- before a dative: *m n.k jr r.k* “here for you at your mouth” (41.2)
- with following dative *n.k* (i.e., *m n.k > mn.k*)
- e.g., *m-n.k jrt hrw* “here for you is Horus’s eye” (46.3; 76 instances)

 , with 2ms dependent pronoun

- before a stative: *m kw bȝ.tj sȝm.tj* “here you are, impressive and in control” (218.6)

 , with 2ms dependent pronoun

- before referential *jr.k* and a stative: *m tw jr.k bȝ.tj sȝm.tj* “for your part, here you are, impressive and in control” (222.19/24)

 , with abbreviated 2ms dependent pronoun

- before a noun equivalent: *m-k jrt.n stȝ hnȝ dȝhwȝtj* “here is what Seth and Thoth have done” (218.2)
- before a verb form: *m-k nr.f n.k* “see, he is respectful of you” (244.2; sim. 301.17)
- before the king’s name: *m-k WNJS pr* “here ⚫I am, emerged” (262.19)
- before referential *jr.k* and a verb form: *m-k jr.k ph.n WNJS qȝww pt* “here ⚫I have reached the sky’s height” (262.25)

- before subject plus a verb form: *m-k s jw.s* “here she is coming” (254.21), *m-k jr.k tw lpr.t jr.k jr.f m.j.mnw n sm3* “here you, for your part, have become a more alpha wild bull than he” (306.16).

It is evident from the various uses of the particle that *m*, *m-n*, *m kw/tw*, and *m-k* are stylistic rather than grammatical variants. The simple form *m* is probably the oldest, with the 2ms dependent pronoun added secondarily; the reduced form *m-k* is most likely a reanalysis of *m kw > mk*: note the 2ms dependent pronoun *tw* in 306.16 *m-k jr.k tw lpr.t* vs. 218.6 *m kw b3.tj* and 222.19/24 *m tw jr.k b3.tj*. The particle is conceivably ancestral to Coptic **MO**, indicating *m **[ma], *m-n.k **[má-nik] > * [mánik], and *m kw **[má-ku] > *m tw **[má-tu] and *m-k **[mak].

F. *h3* “oh” (or the like)

Vocative *h3* is used exclusively in addresses to the deceased king, in which respect it forms a complement to *j* “O” (§ 9.3A). It occurs primarily directly before the king’s name or the epithet *jsjr* “Osiris”: e.g., *h3 WNJS j.dp.k dpt.f* “Oh, Unis, may you taste its taste” (34.3; 28 instances), *h3 jsjr WNJS wdb.k tw hr t.k pn]* “Oh, Osiris Unis, you should turn to this your bread” (199.1). In two cases it precedes a verb form: *h3 nh3t n.k hr.k* “oh, may it endure for you with you” (223.11; sim. 171.1).

G. / *hj/hy* “ha” (or the like)

The particle *hj* precedes an invocation of the crown in PT 221: e.g., *hj wrt-hk3w hj nzrt* “Ha, great of magic powers! Ha, fiery one!” (221.2; sim. 221.1/9). The vocative *hy*, which occurs in two other spells, may be the same word: *hy wj3 nwh.k* “Ha, boat, your rope!” (256.9), *jrrw hy m lps n.jtw.sn* “who make ‘hal’ with the foreleg of their fathers” (260.3).

9.4 PROCLITIC PARTICLES

A. *jw*

The proclitic particle *jw* appears 82 times in Unis’s texts, written  when followed by a separate word and  with a suffix pronoun (2ms *j.k*, 3ms *j.f*, 3fs *j.s*). The standard spelling of the 3ms form as  indicates homophony with the word *if* “flesh,” * [uf] > **εq/aq**, and therefore the vocalization * [u].

The particle *jw* itself is not translatable; its function is solely semantic. It serves to indicate that the statement it precedes is valid in a particular circumstance, whether the context of the utterance itself or that of a preceding statement. In that respect, similar statements without *jw* are generically valid, or at least less specifically applicable than those with the particle. Compare, for example, the non-verbal statements with the preposition *jr* as predicate in the following two passages:

s3m WNJS jr dpj.f
3ms WNJS twr.f WNJS (252.7)

*My control is at *my head,
*my staff is supporting *me.

jn snt.f nbt-p rm̄t sw

jw WNJS jr pt jw WNJS jr pt m t̄w m t̄w (258.7/9)

*My sister, Lady of Pe, is the one who bewails me:
“*He is off to the sky, *he is off to the sky, in the wind, in the wind!”

In 252.7, the statement *shm WNJS jr dpj.f* “*My control is at *my head” refers to the regular appearance of the king with his uraeus headdress, while 258.9 *jw WNJS jr pt* “*He is off to the sky” describes a situation pertaining at the time of (and causing) the goddess’s plaint.

In Unis’s Pyramid Texts, *jw* introduces verbal as well as non-verbal statements. The following constructions are attested:

- *jw* subject plus prepositional predicate: e.g., 258.9 *jw WNJS jr pt*, cited above (40 instances)
- *jw* subject plus adverbial predicate: *j.k trr ȝ j.k trr jm* “whether you are actually here or whether you are actually there” (243.3)
- *jw* plus adjectival predicate: *jw šw m mtrw* “there was lack of testimony” (260.6)
- *jw sdm.f*: e.g., *jw p̄sr n.f h̄w jw wdn n.f šwt* “thousands serve me, hundreds offer to me” (273–74.48; sim. 273–74.40/42); *jw h̄w WNJS m nhpw* “★I am appearing at first light” (294.4/5)
- *jw sdm.f* passive: *jw rdj n.f m shm wr jn sȝh* “★I have been given title as the greatest controlling power by Orion” (273–74.49; sim. 260.5)
- *jw* subject *sdm.f.j.s dd.s* “she is saying” (254.22; sim. 165.1, 273–74.57)
- *jw sdm.n.f*: e.g., *jw nd.n sw WNJS m ȝ jrw nn j[r.f]* “★I have saved *myself from those who would do this to me” (254.46: 26 instances)
- *jw* subject stative: e.g., *jw WNJS rȝ sw* “★I know him” (301.10; sim. 273–74.17/50).

In all of these, *jw* has the same situationally-specific function. For example, 260.6 *jw šw m mtrw* “there was lack of testimony” describes a circumstance of the deceased’s judgment rather than one that typically prevails, and 273–74.17 *jw WNJS h̄* “★I have appeared” refers to an action immediately preceding the statement and whose resulting state is valid at the time of the statement rather than one that was done at some point in the past. These can be contrasted with the more general sense of *jw*-less counterparts: for example, *usr sw r.f* “★I am more powerful than he” (273–74.9), *ȝh n WNJS sl̄t m jȝrw* “★my booth is plaited of reeds” (210.14).

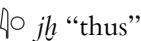
B.  *jn*

Like *jw*, the specifying particle *jn* is not itself translatable as such (although its effect can be paraphrased). It has two functions in Unis's texts:

1. to specify the nominal agent of

- a *sdm.f*: e.g., *jn hzmw r̥hs.f sn n WNJS* “It is Winepress who slaughters them for *me” (273–74.31; sim. 205.15, 273–74.28)
 - an active participle: e.g., *jn wpt jt r.f* “it is a dispatch that came for me” (262.21; sim. 204.6, 205.6, 230.7, 248.2, 250.7, 258.7, 262.26–27, 273–74.25–27/38)
 - a *sdm.f* passive: e.g., *jwr WNJS jn s̥jmt* “*I was conceived by Sekhmet” (248.2; sim. 216.5–7, 219.50–51, 226.1, 230.4, 230.2/12, 248.2, 249.3, 273–74.49, 284.3, 291.1–2, 305.1–22), *mk.t WNJS jm jn m̥33w sw* “*I am protected therein by those who see me” (254.37)
 - a parenthetical stative or a direct quotation (in this case, also with a dependent pronoun): e.g., *hn̥m n.(j) twj.t jn jm̥nt n̥fīt* “Associate yourself to me,’ says the beautiful West” (254.25; sim. 254.20/27), *h̥zp ⲉf jn r̥* “receive his arm,’ says the Sun” (305.9; sim. 305.8, 306.10), *m̥3.n m̥3t jn sn n̥trw p̥3wtjw* “We see something new,’ say they, the original gods” (257.2), *h̥tpw ȝ ptr jn sn jn n̥trw* “How very pleasing the vision,” say they, say the gods” (306.1), *tn kw jn sn m m.k n n̥tr* “You are distinguished,’ said they, ‘in your identity of a god” (215.24; sim. 218.6)
2. to focalize a statement: *jn sm̥3.n.f t̥w* “Is it that he has killed you?” (306.15), *jn t̥wt js n̥tr w̥b js̥wt* “Is it that you are a god of clean places?” (305.6).

The particle survives in Coptic in the interrogative pronoun **NIM** “who?” <*jn mj*, indicating the vocalization *[iní] or *[aní].

C.  “thus”

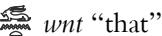
The proclitic particle *jḥ* denotes that the statement it introduces arises from a preceding statement:

sk rdj.n WNJS wnm.sn m zw̥r.sn zw̥r.sn m b̥h.sn

jḥ mk.t WNJS jm jn m̥33w sw (254.36–37)

In that *I have made it so that they eat from their drinking bowls and drink from their inundation,

thus *I am protected therein by those who see me.

D.  “that”

The particle *wnt* serves to subordinate a statement as object of a verb:

j.dd.tn n jt.tn wnt rdj.n n.tn WNJS p̥3wt.tn (301.7–8)

You should say to your father that *I have given you your bread-loaves.

E.  /  *ntt* “that”

The particle *ntt*, like *wnt*, nominalizes a statement. In Unis’s texts it occurs in one spell, in each case after the preposition *n*:

n ntt n WNJS jn jt.f rdj n.f jn r' rdj n.f jt bdt t hnqt

n ntt swt js k3 wr h knzt

n ntt WNJS js jr 5t j'stt m hwrt (205.6–8)

because of the fact that to ***me**, it is ***my father who has given**, it is the Sun
who has given, barley and wheat, bread and beer;

because of the fact that ***I am the great bull who strikes Kenzet**;

because of the fact that ***I am one who pertains to five meals** in the compound.

The particle is an alternant of *wnt*. It is identical with, and undoubtedly is, the feminine form of the relative adjective *nt-* (§ 7.5), and therefore is the noun-clause counterpart of *jw*, denoting that the clause it governs is valid in a particular circumstance rather than universally. In PT 205, the context is signaled by the phrase *mpt tn* “this year” (205.4), and the statements of 205.6–8 are expressed as relevant to that context. The statement *n ntt swt js k3 wr h knzt* “because of the fact that ***I am the great bull who strikes Kenzet**” contrasts with the more general validity of the construction without *ntt*: e.g., *n WNJS js r'nh z3 spdt* “because ***I am the living one, Sothis’s son**” (302.2; sim. 221.12, 245.7, 246.3).

F.  /  *nj/ny* “not”

The negative particle *nj* is written  in most of its 249 occurrences. The use of this sign as a biliteral in 296.1  *tnj* “where?” (§ 9.1F) shows that it represents ***[n̄]**, most likely ***[na]**, cognate with, for example, Akkadian and Arabic *lā*. The spelling *ny* appears in 240.3 *ny r'j WNJS* “***I do not know**”; it appears to be a variant of the regular form (Teti and Pepi I both have *ny* in this passage, but Neith has *nj*), even though the correction of *ny* to *nj* in 272.1 *ny dmm.s > nj dmm.s* suggests that it may represent a different negation (see below).

More than three fourths (77%) of instances of *nj* are with a following *sdm.f*: e.g., *nj sk.k nj tm.k* “you do not perish, you do not fail” (246.17). The remainder involve the following constructions:

- *nj sdm.f* passive: e.g., *nj šr.s jr.k* “it cannot be cut away from you” (142.1; sim. 157.1, 242.1, 251.9/21, 260.25, 262.23), *nj m3.tj ns* “the tongue is unseen” (239.2; sim. 222.18/23), *nj nhmm s'hw WNJS m r.f* “***my privileges are not taken from me**” (273–74.58; sim. 272.1, 307.13)
- *nj sdm.f js*: *nj zš.fjs m db' šrr* “***I do not write with the little finger**” (305.15)
- *nj sdm.n.f*: e.g., *nj wnm.n.f sw* “***I cannot eat it**” (211.1; sim. 209.1–2, 210.8, 211.2, 215.21–22, 254.6, 273–74.61, 316.1)

- *nj sdm.n.fjs*: e.g., *nj šm.n.k js mt.tj* “you have not gone away dead” (213.1), *nj jw.n js WNJS ds.f* “★I would not have come of *my own accord” (262.20)
- *nj* with prepositional predicate: *nj s jr jb n WNJS* “it will not be on *my mind” (204.5), *nj tw jm.sn* “you are not of them” (245.10), *nj WNJS pn dp ntrw tjhtjh* “★I am not at the head of the gods of agitation” (272.4)—the last emended from *nj wj js WNJS pn dp ntrw tjhtjh*, probably from an original **nj wj js dp ntrw tjhtjh*
- to express non-existence: *nj ntr sbȝ jwȝt mnwtj.f* “there is no companionless star god” (215.4; sim. 215.12–13/16, 218.3–4/11, 222.37, 258.10, 262.24, 270.9–10, 302.17–18, 305.13, 307.9).

From these uses, it is clear that *nj* negates the element it precedes, unless that element is followed by the enclitic particle *js* (§ 9.5B, below). PT 215.16 *nj mtwt ntr zj.tj* is therefore probably to be understood as the negation of an undefined *mtwt ntr* modified by the 3fs stative *zj.tj* rather than the negation of the statement *mtwt ntr zj.tj*: i.e., “there is no god’s seed that has gone” rather than “no god’s seed has gone.”

The negation *ny* occurs in 240.3 *lnd.n WNJS hr zbst hrw lm WNJS ny rh WNJS* “★I have trod where Horus crawls unknowingly, not knowing” for which Neith preserves the original first-person text *lnd.n.j hr zbst hrw lm.k nj rh.j.*¹ The environment here is a subordinate clause, which is also true for other examples of *ny*, and for that reason the particle has been seen as an adverbial counterpart of *nj*. That analysis, however, does not account for the correction of *ny > nj* in 272.1 *qȝjt ny dmm.s > qȝjt nj dmm.s* “height that is not mentioned,” which also involves a subordinate clause (see § 21.5). The latter suggests that if *ny* is different from *nj*, the difference is not syntactic, and that surmise is supported by the fact that the two particles are used in the same constructions throughout the Pyramid Texts, often as variants. In that light, *ny* is probably best analyzed as a variant rather than an alternant of *nj*.

G. *hw* “would that”

The particle *hw* expresses a wish: *hw nbȝ jrt hrw [br.k]* “May Horus’s eye endure with you” (199.3), *hw ȝ mȝ.k hr dpj jsjr wd.f mdw n ȝȝw* “May you just look down upon Osiris’s head as he governs the akhs” (245.8).

H. / *sk/st*

This particle appears as *sk* 8 times in Unis’s texts, and as *st*, 15 times. Although the two are used in different constructions, they undoubtedly represent older and younger versions of a single particle, exhibiting the same diachronic development as *kw > tw* (§ 4.11) and *ddk > ddt* (§ 9.11). It is significant that *st* appears in Unis’s texts in passages that also have *tw* rather than *kw*.

1 Pepi I has the first-person *lm.kj ny rh.j*; Teti has third-person *lm.j ny rh.f*.

The function of *sk* in Unis's texts is that of restrictive subordination.² In some cases, it marks restrictive adverb clauses:

jw nd.n sw WNJS m Ⲉ jrw nn j[r.f]
nḥmw šb.f m Ⲉ.f sk sw wn
nḥmw ms̄t.f m Ⲉ.f sk s wn.t (254.46–48; sim. 307.5)

*I have saved *myself from those who would do this to *me:
 who would take *my food from *me when it is present,
 who would take *my supper from *me when it is present.

In that respect, the particle functions as an adverbial counterpart of *jw*, indicating that the statement of the adverb clause applies to a specific circumstance. It also heads a sentence-initial adverb clause:

sk WNJS pr m hrw pn m jrw mʒ⠁ n ʒlj Ⲉ nh
j.sd WNJS Ⲉhʒ bhn.f hn̄w (260.11–12; sim. 254.36/44, 273–74.63/65)
 Now that *I have emerged today in the true form of a living akh,
 *I break up fighting and restrain disturbance.

In Unis's texts, *st* is used to head two balanced (mutually dependent) clauses:

st tw j.rh.t sw st sw j.rh tw (262.4; sim. 262.1/7/10/13/16, 267.12–13)
 You know me as I know you.

9.5 ENCLITIC PARTICLES

A. ʒ “just, very”

The enclitic ʒ apparently has an intensifying function. In Unis's texts it appears in two uses:

- modifying an imperative or *sdm.f* with subjunctive sense: *jnk rmnwtj.k mʒ ʒ w* “I am your associate: just see me” (215.5; sim. 245.8, cited in § 9.4G; 285.6; 311.1)
- modifying an adjectival predicate: *nfrw ʒ mʒw htpw ʒ ptr* “How very good the sight, how very pleasing the vision” (306.1).

B. *js*

The particle *js* is the most frequently used of Unis's enclitics (21 instances). It has two subordinating functions in Unis's texts:

- subordinating a noun or noun equivalent in adverbial function: e.g., *ḥr⠁.k hnt.sn gbb js hnt psdt.f* “you stand at their fore, as Geb at the fore of his Ennead” (246.13;

2 Oréal 2011, 174–224, has a more detailed analysis of the broader function of *sk* in Old Egyptian as “un subordonnant introduisant une proposition déterminative ou spécifiatrice” (175).

sim. 81.8, 93.6, 217.14, 224.15, 243.1, 246.15, 306.14), *nbt hrjs ds spd* “forceful, as one who has a sharp knife” (251.5)

– subordinating a clause:

- to a preposition: *n twt js hrw* “for you are Horus” (221.12; sim. 245.7, 246.3, 302.2)
- to *jn* (§ 9.4B): *jn twt js ntr w'b jsut* “Is it that you are a god of clean places?” (305.6)
- to *ntt* (§ 9.4E): *n ntt swt js k3 wr* “because of the fact that he is the great bull” (205.7; sim. 205.8)
- to *nj* (§ 9.4F): *nj šm.n.k js mt.tj* “you have not gone away dead” (213.1; sim. 262.20), *nj zš.f js m db' šrr* “★I do not write with the little finger” (305.15), *nj wj js dp ntrw tjbtjbj* “I am not at the head of the gods of agitation” (272.4’ original text).

In its clause-subordinating function, *js* signals that the word it follows is not itself subordinated but rather, the clause of which that word is the first element: thus, *n [twt hrw]^{SUB}*, *jn [twt ntr w'b jsut]^{SUB}*, *n [ntt [swt k3 wr]^{SUB}]^{SUB}*, *nj [šm.n.k mt.tj]^{SUB}*, *nj [wj dp ntrw tjbtjbj]^{SUB}*. This is easiest to appreciate in passages such as 213.1 and 305.14–15, where an accompanying affirmative statement shows that the verb itself is not negated but rather, the statement headed by the verb:

nj šm.n.k js mt.tj

šm.n.k nbt (213.1)

You have not gone away dead:

you have gone away alive.

zš WNJS m db' wr

nj zš.f js m db' šrr (305.14–15)

★I write with the big finger:

★I do not write with the little finger.

C. “further”

The particle *jgr* appears once in Unis’s texts:

jsjr j r.f WNJS pn ... w3d jr.k nhmhm jr.k

nj tr.k jgr jm (218.1 ... 10–11)

Osiris, this Unis has come ... fresher than you, more acclaimed than you:

your time as such is no more.

D. *wnnt* “in fact, actually”

Enclitic *wnnt* occurs in two of Unis’s passages: *stt jr.s nbt stt wnnt mst WNJS* “she is the one who makes ★my life: she, in fact, is the one who bore ★me” (211.5); *WNJS pf wnnt rdj.f t n ntjw* “★I, in fact, am one who gives bread to those who are present” (211.3).

E.   *m/my* “please”

This particle is used after imperatives and, like them, has two forms, depending on the number of the imperative: *trj.j.bh m* “Gory, please spew out!” (285.2), *j j33wj dd my n špsj* “O, you two reeds, please tell the noble one” (249.1). The use of the plural/dual ending *-y* suggests that the particle may itself be an imperative in origin. The sense of the particle is probably broader than conventional translation “please”: that translation suits 249.1, which asks for an action, but less so 285.2, which commands one.

F.  *rr*

The exact sense of the particle *rr* is unknown. It occurs in three rhetorical questions in Unis’s texts: *jky rr nt.(j) tn jr.k j3bt* “shall I chop this left fingernail of mine against you?” (283.1’), *nnj mwjt.f nnj mwjt.f j.k rr m nn j.k rr m nn* “you whose mother turned away, you whose mother turned away, aren’t you such, aren’t you such?” (287.1–2).

G.   *hm* “also, else”

The particle *hm* marks a statement as additive to a preceding one. It occurs in two passages in Unis’s texts:

jw nk.n WNJS nfjt nr.f ...

jn hm nfjt nr n WNJS rdj.s t n WNJS (205.14–15)

*I have mated with the young girl of *my care ...

and it is the young girl of *my care that gives *me bread.

htm.n.k tw m hrw hwntj

nj hm fl.tj n.k nj hm j[3b.t] n.k (222.22–23)

You have provided yourself as Horus the youthful:

nothing else is lost to you, nothing else is wanting for you.

In the latter of these, *hm* marks the two clauses as additive to those of 222.17–18 *htm.tj n.k tw m ... sth ... nj fl.tj n.k nj j3b.t n.k* “You have provided yourself as ... Seth ...: nothing is lost to you, nothing is wanting for you.”

H.  *trr*

The reading of this particle as *trr* rather than *rr* is indicated by the initial , which is also used in the word   *tr* “time” (218.11, 219.75). It occurs once in Unis’s texts, in what can be interpreted as a question:

rw rw r.k

jw.k trr c3

jw.k trr jm (243.2–3)

Lion, go away!

Are you here,

or are you there?

It is conceivable that this word is the earlier form of the particle $\hat{\text{ئ}}$, which appears in questions in PT 508 (508.27/29/31/33), with loss of the final $r > \star[?]$ or \emptyset , both represented by j ($\star[\text{t}^\sim\text{r}^\sim]/[\text{t}^\sim\text{r}]$) (see § 4.8). If so, the particle $\hat{\text{ئ}}/\text{ئ}$, which appears in a question in 513.15, would seem to represent a further reduction: $\star[\text{t}^\sim\text{r}^\sim]/[\text{t}^\sim\text{r}] > \star[\text{t}^\sim\text{r}] > \star[\text{t}^\sim]/[\text{t}^\sim]$.

10. NOMINAL PREDICATES

10.1 CONSTRUCTIONS

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 171 non-verbal statements with a nominal element¹ as predicate. These have five syntactic patterns:

- | | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>A pw</i> | a nominal element followed by a demonstrative pronoun (28 examples, 16%) |
| <i>A pw B</i> | two nominal elements linked by the demonstrative pronoun <i>pw/pj/p</i> (68 examples, 40%) |
| <i>A B</i> | two nominal elements equated (55 examples, 32%) |
| <i>jn A B</i> | a nominal element introduced by the particle <i>jn</i> (§ 9.4B) followed by a second nominal element (14 examples, 8%) |
| <i>nj A B</i> | the nisbe <i>nj</i> (§ 7.4) followed by a dependent pronoun and a nominal element (6 examples, 4%; see below, § 10.5). |

10.2 *A pw* AND *A pw B*

The *A pw* construction in Unis's texts usually consists of a noun followed by either a generic demonstrative or the demonstrative *pw/pj/p*:

- k².k nn* “that is your bull” (282.4; sim. 254.59; also 229.1, 244.1—see below)
- t²z 2 nw nw 3b* “these are the two spells of Elephantine” (230.15)
- bwt WNJS nwj* “those two are what *I abominate” (210.8)
- wpt pw h³bw.f r lsf* “he is the messenger *I send to confront” (273–74.30; sim. 209.3, 215.17, 217.34, 220.10, 222.44, 236, 247.14)
- r² pj hn² dhw²tj* “it is the Sun and Thoth” (210.10; sim. 212.7, 231.3, 247.8–11, 250.8, 260.2, 271.2–3, 307.16)
- hw p hn² tfnt* “it is Shu and Tefnut” (301.6).

There is no gender/number agreement between the pronoun and *A*:

lnd s²xt 3wt.f pj (212.7)

A shank and a roast, it is *my spread.²

1 Nominal elements include nouns, noun phrases, pronouns, nisbes, and attributive and nominal forms of the verb; they may also include other elements functioning as nouns.

2 A threefold direct genitive (“it is the shank of a roast of *my spread”) is ruled out by NK copies, which add *m 7b* “along with” between the first two nouns (e.g., Naville 1895, IV, pls. 109 and 112; Lapp 2004, pl. 56, 5). Examples from other pyramids include 484.14 P *jr.t.n.f hm pw* “it is also what he did” and *718.17 Nt *snw.k pw* “they are your brothers.”

Although the immediate referent of *pw* is *A*, the demonstrative can refer to a preceding element that is singular or plural/dual, regardless of the gender and number of *A*, or an unexpressed referent: for example,

hn n.k sw m hnw ḫwj.k
zȝ.k pw n ḫt.k n ḫt (217.33–34)
 Encircle him inside your arms:
 he is your son of your person forever.

mȝ.k jmw ḫ
ḥrw pw hn ṣtȝ (215.5/7)
 You see the two in the palace—
 they are Horus and Seth.

WNJS pj htp tȝwj (271.2)
 It is *I: become content, Two Lands.

The function of the *A pw* construction is to present the nominal element. In that respect, *A* can be considered the predicate and *pw*, the subject.

The *A pw B* construction is used to equate two nominal elements. The demonstrative, sometimes called the copula, is invariably either *pw*, *pj*, or *p*, regardless of the gender of *A* (no examples with a plural or dual *A* appear in Unis's texts):

mdw ḥr.s pw gbb “the one who argues for it is Geb” (306.11; sim. 219.1/5/9/13/17/
 21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49, 238.3)
ḥnm̄tt.f pj jȝtt “★my nursemaid is the Milk-goddess” (211.4; sim. 211.1–2, 282.2)
WNJS p nb ḥpt “★I am one who has conetentment” (273–74.21; sim. 250.1, 313.6').

Apparent exceptions are therefore *A pw* statements with an attributive demonstrative:

cn̄t tw nn nt tm ḥrt tȝz bqsw nhbw-kȝw (229.1)
 This is the fingernail of Atum that is on the vertebra of Ka-Allocater's spine.
jrt tw nn [nt ḥrw rvdt] (244.1)
 This is the eye of Horus that is firm.

In these statements, *nn* is the second element and *cn̄t/jrt tw*, the first; *tw* modifies the noun and is deictic to the following attributives *rvdt* and *ḥrt tȝz bqsw nhbw-kȝw* (see § 5.2).

The *A pw B* construction is used in Unis's texts with the following elements in initial position (*A*):

- a noun or noun phrase: e.g., *ḥnm̄tt.f pj jȝtt* “★My nursemaid is the Milk-goddess” (211.4; sim. 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49, 238.3, 258.1, 260.1, 273–74.60, 294.1)

- a relative *sdm.f*: *jkt.k pj h3zt tn* “This clamberer is the one you should attack” (282.2; sim. 211.1–2, 258.2, 260.22)
- a participle: *mdw hr.s pw gbb* “the one who argues for it is Geb” (306.11)
- the king’s name: e.g., *WNJS pj sj3* “★I am Perception” (250.8; sim. 211.3, 249.2/4/7, 250.1/8, 252.9, 254.57, 258.12/15, 260.21, 261.1/3/9, 271.1, 272.3, 273–74.6/ 14/16/19/21/23/33/43–44/47, 279.1, 296.2, 300.2, 307.18, 309.1, 310.5, 313.6, 315.1, 317.2/11, 318.1, 319.1/10, 320.3/6).

In the *B* position Unis’s texts have:

- a noun or noun phrase: e.g., *dr.f pj dt* “★my limit is eternity” (273–74.60; sim. 211.4, 250.8, 252.9, 258.2/15, 260.21, 261.1/3, 272.1/3, 273–74.6/14/16/21/ 44/47/60, 282.2, 296.2, 300.2, 306.11, 309.1, 310.5, 313.6, 315.1, 317.2/11, 318.1, 319.1/10, 320.3/6)
- a nisbe or other attributive: e.g., *WNJS p hrj k3w* “★I am the one in charge of kas” (250.1; sim. 249.4/7, 254.57, 258.12)
- a verbal noun: *bt WNJS pj jbt* “★What I abominate is thirst” (211.2; sim. 211.1, 260.22)
- the king’s name: *jsjr pw WNJS* “Osiris am ★I” (258.1), *hrw pj WNJS* “Horus am ★I” (260.1, 294.1)
- a demonstrative: *z3.k pw p nn jsjr* “this one here is your son Osiris” (219.1; sim. 219.5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49), *WNJS pj nw n z3z3* “★I am that lotus” (249.2)
- a participle: e.g., *WNJS pj wnm rmt* “★I am one who eats people” (273–74.23; sim. 248.1, 261.9, 271.1, 273–74.16/19/33/43, 279.1, 282.2, 307.18)
- a *sdm.f*: *WNJS pj wnnt rdj.f t n ntjw* “★I in fact am one who gives bread to those who are present” (211.3).

The copula is either *pj* (45 examples) or *pw* (21 examples). The form *p* occurs twice (250.1, 273–74.21); in both cases it was inserted secondarily and is therefore most likely an abbreviated form of *pj*, as indicated by 313.6, where *p* was altered to *pj*.

The distribution of *pw* and *pj* in the *A pw* and *A pw B* statements is not random. Overall, *pj* is preferred over *pw* by a ratio of two to one (58:28). With two exceptions, spells use either one or the other but not both; the exceptions are

PT 247	<i>hrw pw</i> “it is Horus” (247.14) <i>WNJS pj</i> “it is Unis” (247.7–11)
PT 258	<i>jsjr pw WNJS</i> “Osiris am ★I” (258.1) <i>bwt.f pw t3</i> “the ground is what ★I abominate” (258.2) <i>WNJS pj hrj wC.f</i> “★I am one who is on his own” (258.12) <i>WNJS pj nnw</i> “★I am one who turns around” (258.15).

Most examples of *pj* (47 of 50, 94%) occur in the statements *WNJS pj* or *WNJS pj B*, redacted from an original first person;³ *WNJS pw B* occurs only three times:

WNJS pw w^r “★I am the unique one” (254.57)

WNJS pw dḥ^ruj ntrw “★I am the gods’ grain accountant” (309.1)

WNJS pw hrw “★I am Horus” (310.5).

This points to a preference of Unis’s editor(s) for *pj* over *pw*, and therefore to the use of one or the other form as a matter of personal choice. In PT 247 and 258, where both demonstratives occur, *pj* represents the editor’s redaction while *pw* can be seen as a rendition of the original text, unaltered.

The *A pw B* statement does not exhibit gender/number concordance between *A* and the demonstrative, which is always *pj/pw/p*. In Unis’s texts there is also no concordance in the *A pw* statement, although there is gender concord in later pyramids: e.g.,

j h^rt j drt jst tj/tw hn^r nbt-hwt (535.2 P^{a/c}/N)

The screecher comes, the kites comes: it is Isis and Nephthys.

sn^rj.k ... jst tw hn^r nbt-hwt (577.7 TP^bM)

your two sisters ... it is Isis and Nephthys.

This indicates that the *A pw B* statement is not merely an appositive extension of *A pw* (i.e., “It is A, namely B”). The lack of concordance in the former probably derives from the fact that, unlike *A pw*, the first two elements of *A pw B* do not refer to the same entity; instead, *pw* in this case serves as a kind of “place-holder” for *B*; and because it precedes *B*, it does not reflect that element’s gender and number. Thus, for example, *jst tj/tw* represents A^F DEM^{AF} whereas 211.4 *hnmtt.f pj j^rtt* “★My nursemaid is the Milk-goddess” represents A^F DEM B^F.

Despite their different roles, however, the demonstratives in the two constructions behave alike syntactically: both follow the *A* element as closely as possible and precede most modifiers dependent on *A*: e.g., *z^r.k pw n dt.k* “he is your son of your person” (217.34), *k^r.k nn w^rȝ* “this is your esteemed bull” (282.4), *h^rw pj n WNJS nh^r* “★my lifetime is continuity” (273–74.60). Exceptions are attributive demonstratives and a number: *nt tw nn nt tm* “this is the fingernail of Atum (229.1), *t^rȝ 2 nw nw ȝb* “these are the two phrases of Elephantine” (230.15: see § 6.12).

Unlike *A pw*, the *A pw B* statement has no inherent predicate. In some cases, it is clearly used to identify *A*, as subject, with *B*, as predicate; in others, the reverse:

3 Including 318.1 [*WNJS pj n^rw*], for which both Senwosret-ankh and Imhotep have *pj*. Two further examples involve the phrase *WNJS pj* redacted from an original 1s suffix pronoun: 211.1–2 *bt WNJS pj hqr ... bt WNJS pj jbt* (see § 10.3). The original of 296.2 *WNJS pj gbb* “★I am Geb” is preserved in Neith’s copy: *jnk gbb*.

ᶜḥr w pj n WNJS nhḥ ḥr.f pj dt (273–74.60)

*My lifetime is continuity, *my limit is eternity.

bwt.f pw tȝ nj ḡ q WNJS m gbb (258.2)

What *I abominate is the ground; *I do enter into Geb.

The first of these, from a spell about the deceased's nourishment, identifies the span of the deceased's existence rather than aspects of continuity and eternity; the second is about the ground rather than the king's abomination, as indicated by its second clause. Examples with the king's name as *A* are generally used to identify the king, as subject, with the element in *B*, but in some cases the reverse is true: e.g.,

WNJS pj wnm rmt “*I am one who eats people” (273–74.23 W)

TTJ pw wnm rmt “*I am one who eats people” (273–74.23 T)

WNJS pj wnm hkȝ.sn “*I am the one who eats their magic” (273–74.33 W)

jn TTJ wnm hkȝw.sn “*I am the one who eats their magic” (273–74.33 T).

The neutrality of the construction allows for occasional reversals of the normal word order, probably for stylistic reasons:

jsjr pw WNJS m zzw (258.1)

Osiris am *I in a dust cloud.

ḥrw pj WNJS jwȝ jt.f (260.1)

Horus am *I, heir of *my father.⁴

10.3 A B

The *A B* construction identifies one nominal element with another by means of juxtaposition. Two patterns are attested in Unis's texts.

1. With an independent pronoun as *A* (13 examples)

This is the primary, and in Unis's texts the only, means of identifying a pronoun with a nominal element and vice versa. Third-person pronouns are always rhematic in this construction: e.g., *stt wnn̄t mst WNJS* “she, in fact, is the one who bore *me” (211.5). First and second-person pronouns function as both predicate and subject: for example,

nj ntr sbȝ jwȝtj rmnwtj.f

jnk rmnwtj.k (215.4–5)

There is no star god without his companion:

I am your companion.

⁴ For 258.1, Teti has *TTJ pn pw jsjr m zzw*; the MK copies of Senwosret-ankh, Imhotep, and Siese reproduce Unis's wording. For 260.1, Imhotep reproduces Unis's wording; Senwosret-ankh and Siese substitute *pw* for Unis's *pj* but preserve Unis's word order.

twt jmmtj w'b (304.9)

You are a clean westerner?

In the first of these, the statement *jnk rmnwjt.k* is used to identify who *rmnwjt.k* “your companion” is rather than to say something about *jnk* as subject, while the second asks something about *twt* as subject. Of the 13 examples, the pronoun is, or is probably, the subject in 9 (2ms *twt*: 215.35, 221.12, 245.7, 246.3, 303.7–9, 304.9, 305.6), and thematic in 4 (205.7/10 *sut*, 211.5 *stt*, 215.5 *jnk*).

Four further instances of the *A B* statement have the king’s name as *A*, replacing an original 1s ***jnk**:

n ntt WNJS js jr 5t jštt m hwt (205.8)⁵

because of the fact that ***I** am one who pertains to five meals in the enclosure.

WNJS zpt.f (295.3)

***I** am the one who will remain.

n WNJS js ḥ zʒ spdt (302.2)⁶

for ***I** am the living one, Sothis’s son.

WNJS ds.f jwnw msy m jwnw (307.4)

***I** myself am a Heliopolitan, born in Heliopolis.

In each case, Unis’s editor has simply substituted the king’s name for the original 1s pronoun *jnk*. This is most evident in 295.3, for which Ankhene-Pepi and Neith have *jnk p/pw zpt.f* (see further under § 10.3.2, below). These are therefore best seen as further examples of the construction with an independent pronoun rather than instances of the second pattern, which is relatively restricted in its use (see next).

2. With two nominal elements (38 examples)

The *A B* construction with a nominal element other than an independent pronoun in both positions is primarily restricted to four patterns in Unis’s texts:

- a balanced sentence (15 examples): e.g., *nḥt.f nḥtw jrt tbj* “***My** force is the force of Tebi’s eye” (254.45; sim. 35.2–3, 36.2–3, 299.4)
- with a body part as the first element (12 examples): e.g., *r.k r n bḥz jrt hrw ms.fjm* “Your mouth is the mouth of a milk-calf on the day he is born” (35.5; sim. 214.4–5/28–29/31–34, 219.106–108, 246.2)

5 *n ntt wnjs js jr 5t jštt* emended from an original *jr djt jštt m hwt*. MK copies have *N js jr 5t jštt* (Senwosret-ankh, Imhotep, Q1Q).

6 PN also have *n Njs*; MK copies omit *n* (Senwosret-ankh, Q1Q).

- with a kinship term in the first element (4 examples): *snt.f spdt mstw.t.f dwȝt* “★My sister is Sothis, ★my relative is the Morning Star” (263.15); *mwt nt unjs jwnw(t) jt n unjs jwnw* “★My mother is a Heliopolitan, ★my father is a Heliopolitan” (307.3)
- with *m* “name” in the second element (2 examples): *nḥ rm.f nḥ nb rmp t m.f* “Continual is his name; Continual, the year’s lord, is his name” (301.11).

These argue for the construction as a means of expressing the identification of elements intrinsic to the speaker or subject. Comparable statements do not occur with the *A pw B* construction in Unis’s texts, which can therefore be regarded as a more objective means of expressing identification.

Unis’s texts contain three exceptions to the general semantic division between *A B* and *A pw B* statements. For 295.3, Unis’s version (reproduced by Senwosret-ankh) has an *A B* statement where later sources have *A pw B*:

W	<i>zy zpt.f</i>	<i>WNJS zpt.f</i>
T	<i>zy pw zpt.f</i>	<i>TTJ pw zpt.f</i>
An	<i>[z]y [p zpt].f⁷</i>	<i>jnk p zpt.f</i>
N	<i>zy p zpt.f</i>	<i>PJPJ NFR-Kȝ-Rȝ pw z[pt.f]</i>
Nt	<i>zy pw zpt.f</i>	<i>jnk pw zpt.f</i>
	Which is the one who will remain?	★I am the one who will remain.

In this case, Unis’s grammar has apparently grouped *zy* “which” with the independent pronouns (§ 10.3.1, above), while that of later copies has not. With a relative *sdm.f* of the verb *bwj* “abominate” as the first element, both constructions are used:

bt WNJS hs twr WNJS wzȝt (210.6)
What ★I abominate is excrement; ★I reject urine.

bt WNJS pj hqr nj wnm.n.f sw (211.1)
★What ★I abominate is hunger; ★I do not eat it.

bt WNJS pj jbt nj zwr.n.f s (211.2)
★What ★I abominate is thirst; ★I do not drink it.

bwt.f pw lȝl nj ḫq unjs m gbb (258.2)
What ★I abominate is the ground; ★I do not enter into Geb.

The normal construction in this case is *A pw B*; the variant in 210.6 may reflect an understanding of “abomination” as an intrinsic feature of the subject. The third exception is also the most anomalous:

7 The lacuna has enough room for the restoration if the signs for *p zp* are arranged □○ rather than vertically as in the second clause.

htpt jnt n.k
htpt m33t.k htpt sdm.t.k
htpt m b3h.k htpt m ht.k
htpt hrt.k (44.4–5)

Contentment is what has been gotten for you,
 contentment is what you see, contentment is what you hear,
 contentment is in your presence, contentment is in your wake:
 contentment is your lot.

The reason for the use of *A B* rather than *A pw B* in this case is not clear. The choice could have been simply a matter of style or, if the statements are wishes rather than ones of fact, it may have been conditioned by the primarily, if not exclusively, indicative nature of the *A pw B* construction. A third possibility is that the second line contains a 3fs stative rather than a participle (“contentment has been fetched for you”), with the following lines appositive (“contentment that you see, contentment that you hear, contentment in your presence, contentment in you wake, contentment that you have”).

10.4 *jn A B*

The *jn A B* construction is used to rhematize a nominal subject followed by a participial predicate: e.g.,

m WNJS j.j m WNJS j.j m-k WNJS pr
nj jw.n WNJS js ds.f
jn wpt jt r.f (262.20–21)

Here am *I, come; here am *I, come; here am *I, emerged.
 *I would never have come of *my own accord:
 it is a message that came for *me.⁸

In Unis’s texts, the *A* element is

- a noun, noun phrase, nisbe, or participial phrase: *wj h3* “Ha’s arms” (204.6), *jt.f* “*my father” and *r* “the Sun” (205.6), *z pn* “this person” (230.7), *szmtt* “She of Malachite” (248.2), *snt.f nbt-p* “*my sister, the Lady of Pe” (258.7), *wpt* “a dispatch” (260.21), *j.lm* *wpwt jnj kh3w* “Seizer of Forelocks in *kh3w*” (273–74.25), *djr dpj* “Sweeping Head” (273–74.26), *hrj-trwt* “Gore-Covered” (273–74.27), *3tjw mljtjw pt* “the gemlike ones in the sky’s north” (273–74.38)
- the king’s name (250.7, 262.26–27).

⁸ Teti’s copy has the more specific *nj jw.n.f js ds.f jn wpwt.tn jnt sw* “*I would never have come of *my own accord: it is your messages that fetched *me.”

The *B* element is uniformly an active participle. Its identity as the predicate, though not the rheme, of the statement is indicated not only by its verbal nature but also by instances of the same construction with a *sdm.f* as *B*, sometimes in variance with a participle:

jw nk.n WNJS nfrt nr.f ...

jn hm nfrt nr n WNJS rdj.s t n WNJS

jr.s n.f nfrt m hru pn (205.14–16)

*I have mated with the young girl of *my care ...

and it is the young girl of *my care that gives *me bread

and makes what is good for me on this day.

jn j.hm' wpwt jmj kl3w sph sn n WNJS

jn dsr-dpj z33 n.f sn lsf n.f sn

jn hr trwt q3s n.f sn

jn hnzw mds nbw d3d.f sn n WNJS 3d.f n.f jmt ht.sn ...

jn hzmw rbs.f sn n WNJS fss n.f jlt jm.sn (273–74.25–32)

It is Seizer of Forelocks in *kl3w* who lassoes them for *me;

it is Sweeping Head who guards them for *me and confronts them for *me;

it is Gore-Covered who binds them for *me;

it is Courser, the lords' knife-bearer, who guts them for *me and takes out for
*me what is in their belly ...;

it is Winepress who butchers them for me, who cooks for *me a meal of them.

In the second of these passages, *d3d.f* “he guts” and *rbs.f* “he butchers” are used in parallel with the participles *sph* “who lassoes,” *z33* “who guards,” *lsf* “who confronts,” *q3s* “who binds,” and *fss* “who cooks”; Teti’s copy substitutes the participles *d3d* and *rbs* for Unis’s *sdm.f* forms. This construction parallels the use of the independent pronoun to rhematize the subject of a *sdm.f* (§ 5.4).

10.5 *nj A B*

The *nj A B* construction in Unis’s texts consists of three elements: the nisbe *nj* (§ 7.4), uniformly written ;⁹ a dependent pronoun; and a nominal element. The dependent pronoun serves as subject, and the nisbe and nominal element together, as predicate:

n sw flbjj swt flbj

n sw m33j swt m33j (205.10)

*I belong to the one who is loosed: *I am the one who is loosed.

*I belong to the one who is seen: *I am the one who is seen.

9 The reed-leaf between  and  in 257.11–12 probably belongs to the former rather than the latter: the noun *wrj* “great one” occurs elsewhere in Unis’s texts (222.15).

n sw jmjw ht r' dpw 'w ntr dw³ (211.7)

*I belong to those in the Sun's wake, who precede the morning god.

n kw mn ntr pw (215.23)

You belong, *insert name*, to that god.

n sw slgm m jst.f (257.12)

He belongs to the one who has control of his seat.

n sw j.rhw tw (311.2)

*I belong to those who know you.

Because the use of the dependent pronoun as subject is typical of statements with adjectival predicate (§ 11.1), and because *nj* is used as an attributive elsewhere, the construction is usually interpreted as one with an adjectival rather than nominal predicate; but it is negated with *nj ... js*, like statements with nominal predicates.¹⁰ The construction is therefore a special example of the *A B* statement, with the syntax *nj-A B* “the-one-*A*-belongs-to (is) *B*” or “the-one-who-belongs-to-*A* (is) *B*.¹¹

10.6 SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS

Nominal predicates are normally found in independent statements. They can, however, be subordinated to another statement in one of two ways:

- virtually, by context alone: *b³ 'buj dpj.f sm³wj* “a ram, the two horns of his head (those of) wild bulls” (246.2)
- syntactically, by means of the enclitic particle *js* (§ 9.5B):
 - after the preposition *n*: *n twt js hrw* “for you are Horus” (221.12; sim. 245.7, 246.3, 302.2)
 - after *n ntt* (§ 9.4C): *n ntt swt js k³ wr* “for *I am the great bull” (205.7; sim. 205.8)
 - after *jn* (§ 9.4B): *jn twt js ntr w'b jswt* “Is it that you are a god of clean places?” (305.6).

Nominal predicates typically express unqualified relationships of identity. As such, they are not usually marked as limited in validity, adverbial-predicate constructions being used for that purpose. An exception is the two examples after *ntt*, noun-clause counterpart of *jw*, cited and discussed in § 9.4E, above.

10 Allen 2013a, 79–80. In Middle Egyptian, adjectival predicates are negated by *nn*: Allen 2013a, 90.

11 The intrinsic nature of “belonging” may account for the use of the *A B* construction rather than *A pw B* (see § 10.3.2). The second sense of the syntax is attested with an independent pronoun after the nisbe: e.g., *n ntk hrw* “the daytime belongs to you” (CT I, 254f). The alternation in pronouns is due to rhematic stress: *n-tw p* “you belong to Pe” (CT VII, 206f) vs. *n-ntk hrw* “the daytime belongs to you.”

10.7 NEGATIONS

The negation of statements with nominal predicate is not attested in Unis's texts. Elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts, the negation *nj ... js* is used:

nj qȝsw js p (553.26)

They are not ties.

nj PJPjs pw stȝ (524.2)

*I am not Seth.

nj drt.[f] js nw (501C.9)

This is not my hand.

nj jnk js dbȝ mȝ.f tw (510.1 P)

I am not the one who asks to see you.

10.8 OCCURRENCES

A pw 209.3, 210.8/10, 212.7, 215.7, 217.34, 220.10, 222.44, 229.1, 230.15, 231.3, 236, 244.1, 247.7–11/14, 250.8, 254.59, 260.2, 271.2–3, 282.4, 301.6, 307.16

A pw B 211.1–4, 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49, 238.3, 248.1, 249.2/4/7, 250.1/8, 252.9, 254.57, 258.1–2/12/15, 260.1/21–22, 261.1/3/9, 271.1, 272.3, 273–74.6/14/16/19/21/23/33/43–44/47/60, 279.1, 282.2, 294.1, 296.2, 300.2, 306.11, 307.18, 309.1, 310.5, 313.6, 315.1, 317.2/11, 318.1, 319.1/10, 320.3/6

A B 35.2–3/5, 36.2–3, 44.4–5, 205.7–8/10, 210.6, 211.5, 214.4, 215.5/28–29/31/215.35, 219.106–108, 221.12, 245.7, 246.2–3, 254.45, 263.15, 295.3, 299.4, 301.11, 302.2, 303.7–9, 304.9, 307.3–4

jn A B 204.6, 205.6, 230.7, 248.2, 250.7, 258.7, 262.21/26–27, 305.6, 273–74.25–27/38

nj A B 205.10, 211.7, 215.23, 257.12, 311.2

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11. ADJECTIVAL PREDICATES

11.1 CONSTRUCTIONS

There are 29 non-verbal statements with an adjectival predicate in Unis's Pyramid Texts. All conform to the basic pattern of an initial attributive followed by a nominal or pronominal subject. Two elements are used as predicate:

- a masculine singular active participle (23 examples): e.g., *tñj jrw.k* “your form is distinguished” (254.24)
- a masculine dual active participle (6 examples): e.g., *nfrw hr.t* “How beautiful is your face” (220.7).

The *nj A* construction used to express non-existence has also been considered a form of this construction: e.g., *nj ntr sbȝ jwȝtj rmnwtj.f* “There is no companionless star-god” (215.4, and 20 additional examples). Since the negative particle *nj* is not an attributive, however, the comparison is inapt: *nj* is not an adjectival predicate meaning “non-existent.” Instead, the statement has a single member, which serves as subject, with the predicate unexpressed: *[nj ntr sbȝ jwȝtj rmnwtj.f]^{SUBJ}* “(There is) [no companionless star-god]^{SUBJ}.” The construction is not one of identity, and therefore not a type of nominal-predicate statement,¹ nor is its predicate adverbial or verbal. It is discussed below (§ 11.3).

Most subjects of adjectival predicates are nominal elements, including nouns and noun phrases, nisbes, the king's name, attributive forms of the verb, and verbal nouns. Pronominal subjects are expressed by means of the dependent pronouns (5 examples). Two instances have an unexpressed (impersonal) subject.

The adjectival-predicate statement is normally used independently, but one example in Unis's texts is introduced by the particle *jw*,² as are the statements accompanying it, signalling its relevance to a specific situation (§ 9.4A):

jw wdȝ n WNJS ...
jw sdm.n mȝȝtj
jw šw m mtrw
jw wdȝ.n mȝȝtj phr n.f nsut gbb (260.5–7)
There has been judgment for *me:
the Dual Maat have heard (the case),
there was lack of testimony,
and the Dual Maat have commanded that Geb's seats serve *me.

1 Unlike the *A ø* sentence in Late Egyptian: Groll 1967, 12–22.

2 For this construction, see Allen 2013a, 93.

11.2 PARTICIPIAL PREDICATES

The typical adjectival predicate is the active participle of an adjective verb. The participle assumes the most basic form, masculine singular. Statements express quality, either absolutely or, in conjunction with the preposition *r*, comparatively: e.g.,

nds wnmt.n stš jm.s (90.2, 145.1)

What Seth has eaten of it is little.

nbt WNJS r.sn (254.51)

*I am more forceful than them.

The subject is either a nominal element or, as below, a dependent pronoun:

tn kw jn sn m m.k n ntr (215.24; sim. 273–74.9)

“You are distinguished,” said they, “in your identity of a god.”

When the adjective applies to a situation, the subject is unexpressed:

nfr n.f m hrw pn r sf (205.11)

It is better for *me today than yesterday.

jw šw m mtrw (260.6)

There was lack of testimony.

The masculine dual form of the participle is used to express admirable or intensive statements of absolute quality; examples are  *nfrw* “how good” (220.7, 306.1),  *htpw* “how pleasing” (224.16, 306.1),  *nšw* “how different” (224.17); e.g.,

nfrw 3 m3w htpw 3 ptr jn sn jn ntrw

ptr r.f ntr pn jr pt (306.1–2)

“How very good is the sight, how very pleasing is the vision,” say they, the gods, “of this god’s going away to the sky.”

11.3 STATEMENTS OF NON-EXISTENCE

The negative particle *nj* normally negates the word that follows it (§ 9.4F). When that word is a nominal element, the construction usually expresses its non-existence: e.g.,

nj srhw ḥnb jr WNJS (270.9)

There is no living one’s accusation against *me.

Elements negated in this way in Unis’s texts include nouns and noun phrases (215.4/12–13/16, 218.4/11, 222.37, 270.9–10, 302.17–18, 307.9), a participle (262.24 *nj bsf n.f sw* “there is no one who bars *me”), and the *sdmτj.f* (258.10 *nj hmwt.f jm.f* “there is none who will turn away from me”; sim. 218.3). Such statements are usually independent assertions, but the construction is also used adverbially:

sl̥m.k m dt.k nj jm rd.k (222.37; sim. 218.4)

You gain control of your person, with no impediment.

11.4 OCCURRENCES

Participles — ms 44.3–3, 90.2, 145.1, 205.11/14, 210.4–5, 215.24, 247.5–6, 254.22.24/51.56, 260.6, 263.5, 273–74.4(?)/9, 285.5, 305.13, 311.3, 319.2; mdu 220.7, 224.16–17, 306.1

nj — 215.4/12–13/16, 218.3–4, 218.11, 222.37, 258.10, 262.24, 270.9–10, 302.17–18, 307.9

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12. ADVERBIAL PREDICATES

12.1 CONSTRUCTIONS

Adverbial predicates include adverbs, adverbial uses of prepositions, and prepositional phrases. In Unis's texts there are 191 instances of statements with such non-verbal predicates, all but three (243.3, 293.4) involving a prepositional phrase.

Adverbial predicates are essentially statements of situation. Those in Unis's texts fall into three major categories:

- dative statements, involving the preposition *n*: e.g., *jw wrw.sn n jšt.f dwšt* “their adults are for *my morning meal” (273–74.34); often denoting possession: e.g., *jb.k n.k jsjr* “you have your mind, Osiris” (267.1)—41 examples
- statements of identity, with the preposition *m*: e.g., *jw jrt.f m nlyt.f* “*my eye is *my force” (256.3)—30 examples
- statements of location, with various prepositions: e.g., *j.s hr.f* “she is with *me” (260.13/24), *pf rw m hnw pn rw* “that lion is inside this lion” (284.4); also, of source: e.g., *r n WNJS m r* “*my title is from the Sun” (253.5)—120 examples.

An adverbial predicate normally follows its subject, as the examples above illustrate. In dative statements, however, it can precede the subject: for example,

nb ht nb n dt.k ht nb (50.3; sim. 50.4)

Lord of everything, everything is for your person.

Subjects are nominal elements or pronouns (dependent or suffix, depending on the introductory element). Adverbial predicates can also be used without an expressed subject, in commands: e.g.,

hr hr.k jmj nšwt.f (240.4; sim. 81.9, 314.1)

On your face, you in the undergrowth!

12.2 UNMARKED STATEMENTS

Nearly three quarters of all adverbial-predicate statements consist simply of a noun or noun phrase as subject followed (or preceded) by the predicate. These have four uses:

1. independent statement of fact: e.g., *ršbt.f mm.tn ntrw mw nw WNJS m jrp mr r* “*my feast is among you, gods; *my water is wine, like the Sun” (210.15) — 115 examples.
2. independent wish or command: e.g., *rwj.k hš jht* “may your arms be around the meal” (219.81/86/91/96), *nšfuj.k m tš sphtj.k m bšbš* “Your drops into the ground! Your ribs into the hole!” (230.1) — 23 examples

3. adverb clause: e.g., *jw.k³ WNJS hr.f m wr pw nb pw nb ȝt* “★I will come with my face that of the great god who is lord of wrath” (255.9) — 120 examples
4. attributive clause: *ng ng³ db^rw ȝkr m wpt.f* “mangled steer with the horizon’s fingers on his forehead” (314.1) *WNJS pj k³ jȝhwj m hr jb jt.f* “★I am a bull with sunlight in the middle of each of his eyes” (319.1).

An unmarked adverbial-predicate statement can also function as an epithet: *y n.f z³ tw wd n.f wd n.f z³ tw y n.f* “You with the eye-hurt, beware of him with the command; you with the command, beware of him with the eye-hurt” (271.8)—literally, *y n.f* “eye-hurt (is) to him” (Horus) and *wd n.f* “command (is) to him” (Seth).

12.3 MARKED STATEMENTS

Adverbial-predicate statements are marked by one of four initial elements in Unis’s texts. These can have pronouns as well as nouns or noun phrases as subject.

1. *jw*

The use of *jw* marks a statement with adverbial predicate as relevant either to the circumstances of its utterance or to a preceding statement, or both (§ 9.4A). Unis’s texts contain 40 examples: for instance,

*j hrw wnwt dpw r^rwj r^rjry wȝt n WNJS
swȝ WNJS m hnw phrt nt ȝhȝw hr
jw WNJS r jst.f tw* (251.1–3)

O you in charge of hours, who precede the Sun, make way for ★me,
that ★I may pass within the circuit of those with belligerent faces.
★I am now off to that seat of ★mine.

Examples also occur with a suffix pronoun as subject: for instance,

*wȝ.n WNJS gbb wȝ.n WNJS gbb
jw wȝn.f tm
j.f hr nst hrw smsw* (256.1–2)
★I have inherited from Geb, ★I have inherited from Geb.
★I have thus inherited from Atum
and am now on Senior Horus’s seat.

2. *sk*

The particle *sk* introduces four adverbial-predicate statements in Unis’s texts, marking them as specifically relevant to another statement (§ 9.4H):

*WNJS ds.f jwnw msy m jwnw
sk r^r hr dp psdt* (307.4–5)
★I myself am a Heliopolitan, born in Heliopolis

when the Sun was at the head of the Ennead.

*sk wsrf m wsrw jrt tbj nhjt.f nhjt.w jrt tbj
jw nd.n sw WNJS m Ⲉ jrw nn j[r.f] (254.44–46)*

Since *my power in the power of Tebi's eye, and *my force,) force of Tebi's eye,

*I have now saved *myself from those who would do this against *me.

sk bȝ.sn m ht WNJS ȝlhw.sn hr WNJS ...

sk bȝ.sn hr WNJS hwwt.sn m Ⲉ jrw.sn

jw wnjs m nn (273–74.63/65–66)

Since their ba is now in *my belly and their akhs are with *me ...

since their ba is with *me, while their shadows are with those they pertain to,

*I am now in this (state).

3. *ntj*

The relative adjective *ntj* introduces an adverbial-predicate statement once in Unis's texts, marking it as limited in validity (§ 7.5):

jm.j juv jr bw nt WNJS jm (293.4)

You should not ever come to where *I might be.

4. *nj* (negation)

The adverbial-predicate statement is negated by *nj* in Unis's Pyramid Texts. Three examples are attested, with nominal or dependent pronominal subject:

nj s jkr jb n WNJS (204.5)

It is not on *my mind.

nj tw jm.sn (245.10)

You are not of them.

nj WNJS pn dp ntrw tjhtjȝ (272.4)

*I am not at the head of the gods of agitation.

Since *nj* negates the word following it, unless that word itself is followed by *js* (§ 9.4F), this construction could be regarded as one of non-existence (§ 11.3) rather than one with an adverbial predicate: e.g., *nj WNJS pn dp ntrw tjhtjȝ* “Non-existent is this Unis at the head of the gods of agitation.” Perhaps for that reason, Unis's original copy of PT 272.4 points to an original adverbial-predicate negation with *js*:

nj wj js WNJS pn dp ntrw tjhtjȝ (272.4')

I, this Unis, am not at the head of the gods of agitation.

This probably derives from an original *nj wj js dp ntrw tjhtjḥ*. Because *wj* was written  (see § 2.2), Unis's editor understood it as the particle *jw* rather than the 1s dependent pronoun *wj* and redacted the passage to the third person by simply adding *WNJS pn*; the passage was subsequently emended to *nj WNJS pn dp ntrw tjhtjḥ* by carving over most of the original signs.

Be that as it may, the negation with *nj* alone is, or has become, the standard negation of the adverbial-predicate statement. Statements such as 245.10 *nj tw jm.sn* were undoubtedly understood as [*tw^{SUBJ} jm.sn^{PRED}*]^{NEG} “You are not of them” rather than as a statement of non-existence.

12.4 OCCURRENCES

Unmarked — 25.5–6, 25+200.5–6/12, 35.4, 36.4–5, 44.5, 50.2–3, 81.9, 207.1–2, 210.14–15, 213.3/5–6/26–27/30, 215.26–27/30, 218.16/18/20/22/24, 219.75/81–86/91/96, 222.29, 224.14, 230.1, 234.1, 238.1–2, 240.1/4, 243.1, 252.7, 253.5, 254.2–3/38/53–54, 255.1/3–4, 255.5/9, 257.1/3, 263.6, 267.1–2/13, 271.8–9, 273–74.18/63/65, 275.2, 276.1, 279.2, 280.2, 284.4, 285.3/5, 286.1, 288.1, 292.1–2, 293.1, 297.2, 298.1, 299.1, 301.1/3/5, 302.11/14–16, 303.4, 305.4/10–12, 306.3–4, 307.1–2/5, 314.1, 315.2, 316.2, 318.6, 319.1, 319.3

After *jw* — 205.9, 243.3, 251.3, 254.34, 256.2–4, 258.9/13–14, 260.13/15–16/24, 272.4, 273–74.7/10–13/34–37/46/66, 285.1, 287.2, 300.3, 305.5

After *sk* — 254.44, 273–74.63, 273–74.65, 307.5

After *ntj* — 293.4

After *nj* — 204.5, 245.10, 272.4

13. VERB FORMS

13.1 CATEGORIES

The verb forms in Unis's Pyramid Texts, as elsewhere in Old and Middle Egyptian, can be grouped into five morphological categories:

1. Suffix Conjugation

In Unis's texts, this category includes four different forms, all characterized by the use of a suffix pronoun as pronominal subject:

- *sdm.f* — 1,278 instances of four forms, including two with active meaning and two with passive meaning, and an additional 28 examples with the passive suffix *t/tj*
- *sdm.n.f* — marked by the suffix *n* preceding any other suffixes: 281 instances; a single additional example has the passive suffix *t*
- *sdm.jn.f* — marked by the suffix *jn* preceding any other suffixes: 1 example
- *sdm.k³.f* — marked by the suffix *k³* preceding any other suffixes: 5 examples

Both the *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* can be used attributively. This function accounts for 63 of the 1,278 examples of the *sdm.f* and 37 of the 281 instances of the *sdm.n.f*.

2. Stative

This category, also known as the old perfective,¹ includes a single form with obligatory pronominal endings reflecting the person, gender, and number of the subject (151 examples).

3. Imperative

This category also includes a single verb form, but with singular and non-singular alternants: 231 examples, 193 singular, 38 plural or dual.

4. Participle

Unis's texts contain 495 participles, of which 418 are active in meaning and 77, passive. The category also includes an attributive form known as the *sdmτj.f*, which appears 11 times.

5. Infinitival

There are 288 examples of infinitival verb forms in Unis's texts, including two examples of the *sdmτj.f*, which is probably to be classified, at least in origin, as infinitival rather than a form of the suffix conjugation.

¹ Less appropriately, also “pseudo-participle.”

13.2 TENSE

None of Unis's verb forms is marked for a specific tense. The *sdm.n.f*, for example, often refers to a past action, but this is a corollary of its basic meaning of completed action (see § 13.3); its atemporality is confirmed by its usual gnomic reference when negated (§ 18.7).

The closest to temporal forms in Unis's texts are the *sdm.k3.f*, *sdmf.f*, and *sdmnj.f*, each of which regularly denotes action yet to occur with respect to either the context of the utterance or another statement (§§ 18.3, 14.10, 15.8). Like the *sdm.n.f*, however, this can be viewed as an aspectual rather than temporal feature: in this case, prospective rather than incomplete or completed action.

13.3 ASPECT

Verb forms marked for aspect include two forms of the *sdm.f*, denoting incomplete action; the *sdm.n.f*, which denotes completed action, and the stative, denoting both completed action and the resulting state; and the *sdm.k3.f*, *sdmf.f*, and the *sdmnj.f*, expressing action yet to occur. The aspectual connotations of repeated, multiple, or normative actions are carried by lexical stems rather than grammatical forms (§§ 4.12–4.13). The connotation of incomplete action or action in progress is expressed by means of both verb forms and verbal constructions (§ 20.12).

13.4 MOOD

The imperative is specifically modal. The other verb forms are unmarked for mood, and some can be used to express wishes or commands (subjunctive) as well as statements of fact (indicative), like adverbial predicates (§§ 12.1–12.2). The negative verb *jnj* (§ 20.9) is used exclusively in subjunctive statements, but in this case the mood is a lexical feature of that verb rather than a grammatical one.

13.5 VOICE

Some verb forms are lexically marked as intransitive or transitive: for example, *zj* "go" and *rđj* "give." Others appear to be neutral in this respect: for example, *wpj* "part," which is normally used transitively but has intransitive meaning in 364.19 *nj wp.n.fjr.k* "he cannot part from you." Intransitive verbs are normally active but can also be used with passive sense in certain restricted constructions (§ 15.6). Active meaning is unmarked; passive meaning can be marked or unmarked. Forms marked for active meaning are the *sdm.n.f*, *sdm.jn.f*, *sdm.k3.f*, and imperative; those marked for passive sense include the two forms of the passive *sdm.f*, the passive participle, and the *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* with the passive suffix *t/tj*. Unmarked forms that appear in Unis's texts with passive meaning include the stative and the nominals. It is likely that some unmarked examples of the *sdm.f* and participle with apparently passive meaning are instead intransitive rather than formally passive, as is the case with the *sdm.n.f* in 364.19 *wp.n.f*.

13.6 VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

Verb forms in Unis's texts consist of one or more morphological elements. The most basic of these is the lexical verb itself, including any stem modifications: this is the sole element in some forms: for example, *hms* "sit" (singular imperative 213.2, *sdm.f* 267.9), *hsf* "bar" (*sdm.f* 246.6, infinitival 273–74.30), *z33* "guard" (*sdm.f* 249.7, participle 273–74.26). Other morphological elements are the following.

A. The Prefix

An initial q_j , representing an initial vowel, can be affixed to the verb in the following forms:

- active *sdm.f* — e.g., *j.dp.k* "may you taste" (34.3); also attributively: e.g., *j.dd.f* "which he says" (220.6)
- *sdm.f* with *t/tj* passive suffix — e.g., *j.wn.tj* "be opened" (272.2)
- *sdm.n.f* — e.g., *j.sp\\$n.k* "you dazzled" (222.20); also attributively: e.g., *j.nsbt.n.sn* "which they have licked" (166.1)
- imperative — e.g., *j.zj* "go" (singular: 214.3), *j.h'j* "grow excited" (plural: 204.1)
- stative — e.g., *j.tm* "stopped" (237.1)
- active participle — e.g., *j.'m* "who swallows" (273–74.33).

Variants indicate that this is a variable feature, and therefore not grammatically significant: for example, e.g., *st tw j.rh.t sw* (262.4/7/10/13/16) and *st tw rh.t sw* (262.1) "since you know *me."

B. Gemination

Reduplication of the final radical of the lexical verb is attested in one form of the passive *sdm.f* and in the 2-lit. passive participle. This differs from lexical gemination because it is restricted to these two verb forms.

C. Endings

Verbal endings are elements attached directly to the end of the lexical verb. They are of three kinds:

- personal: the person/gender/number endings of the stative; these are treated as part of the verb itself and can be written before a determinative: e.g.,   *qrr.t* "boiled" (3fs: 273–74.64).²
- attributive: gender/number endings that are attached to the verb in the participles and some attributive uses of the *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f*: e.g.,   *h3w* "who go down" (mpl active participle, 311.8),   *m33t.k* "what you see" (fs *sdm.f*, 44.4),   *dw.n.tn* "which you set" (mpl *sdm.n.f*, 303.3).

² Separated in transcription by a dot because of their pronominal status.

- formal: endings that are not part of the root and neither personal nor attributive. These include: (1) the $\sim -t$ of the *sdm.t.f* and the *t/tj* (\sim , $\|$, $\sim\|$) of the *sdmτj.f*, both identified as endings rather than suffixes because, unlike suffixes, they are treated as part of the verb itself, written before a determinative: e.g.,  *nḥbt.f* “who will allocate” (318.8); (2) the $-w/-t/-wt$ endings of some nominals; (3) the $-γ$ ending of the plural imperative; (4) the occasional $-w$ ending of marked active and passive forms of the *sdm.f* and of the singular imperative.

D. Suffixes

Four verbal suffixes attested in Unis’s Pyramid Texts. They are identified as suffixes rather than endings because they follow any endings and precede suffix pronouns. Three of them are aspectual in function:

-  *n*, signalling completed action: e.g., *sm³.n.f* “he has killed” (306.15)
-  *jn*, signalling consequence: *pr.jn ds* “so, the knife has emerged” (228.2)
-  *k*, signalling inevitability: e.g., *zḥ.k³.[f]* “then *I will strike” (255.12).

The fourth is the passive suffix *t/tj* (\sim , $\|$, $\sim\|$, $\sim\|\|$), probably $*[ta]$. It follows any aspectual affixes: e.g., *smn.t* “is set” (257.14), *ms.n.t* “has been born” (219.49).

These morphological elements occur in a fixed and invariable sequence; representative examples are:

PREFIX	BASE ± GEM.	ENDING	ASPECTUAL SUFFIX	PASSIVE SUFFIX	SUFFIX PRONOUN	FORM
	<i>jr</i>				<i>k</i>	<i>jr.k</i> 276.1
	<i>jr</i>	<i>w</i>				<i>jrw</i> 268.12
	<i>jr</i>	<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>	<i>jrt.k</i> 276.1
<i>j</i>	<i>wn</i>			<i>tj</i>		<i>j.wn.tj</i> 272.2
	<i>hn</i>			<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>hn.t.t</i> 230.14
	<i>dmm</i>				<i>s</i>	<i>dmm.s</i> 272.1
<i>j</i>	<i>nsb</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>sn</i>	<i>j.nsbt.n.sn</i> 166.1
<i>j</i>	<i>rḥ</i>	<i>k</i>				<i>j.rḥ.k</i> 311.3'
	<i>zm³</i>	<i>y</i>				<i>zm³y</i> 271.2
	<i>fḥḥ</i>	<i>j</i>				<i>fḥḥj</i> 205.10
	<i>qsn</i>	<i>tj</i>			<i>sn</i>	<i>qsntj.sn</i> 311.10
	<i>prj</i>	<i>wt</i>			<i>f</i>	<i>prjwtf</i> 254.29.

The suffixes seem to have no restrictions on their distribution, and the same is true for personal and attributive endings as well as some formal endings: the $-t$ of the *sdm.t.f*, the $-t/tj$ of the *sdmτj.f*, the $-w/-t/-wt$ of nominals, and the $-γ$ of the plural imperative. Other elements have some distributional limitations.

The prefix is not attested with 3-lit. roots but otherwise has no restrictions by root class or, although it is more frequent with some classes than others: 2-lit. (71 of 353 examples, 20%), 2ae-inf. (8 of 153, 5%), 2ae-gem. (2 of 141, 1%), 3ae-inf. (10 of 754, 1%), 4ae-inf. (6 of 133, 5%), and one example each of two 3ae-gem. and 45 anom. examples. It also has no restrictions by verb stem, although examples of forms with other than the base stem are infrequent: 1 geminated (204.1), 4 causative (37.2, 146.1, 222.20, 318.1), 1 geminated causative (74.2), and 2 reduplicated (223.2, 224.6). It is not found on the passive *sdm.f*, passive participles, the *sdmτj.f*, or infinitival forms but does appear with the active *sdm.f* (32 of 1055 examples, 3%), *sdm.n.f* (7 of 298, 2%), imperative (32 of 234, 14%), stative (14 of 150, 9%), active participle (10 of 419, 2%), and *sdm.tj.f* (3 of 32, 9%). Inflectional gemination is attested only for the passive *sdm.f* of 2-lit. and 3-lit. verbs, and for the passive participle of 2-lit. verbs. The *-w* ending of the singular imperative is limited to a few 3ae-inf. verbs; on the active and passive *sdm.f*, it is primarily a feature of final-weak verbs and derived stems.

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14. INFINITIVAL FORMS

14.1 MORPHOLOGY

Infinitival forms are those that simply express the notion of the verb without any limitations as to tense, aspect, mood, or voice. They have both verbal and substantival functions, often without visible, if not actual, morphological differences: for example, *htp.f m ḥnh m hbtw* “★I grow content from living on hearts” (273–74.55, infinitival) versus *hrw.f n ḥnḥ* “★my day of life” (254.50, nominal), both > Coptic **ወንድ/ወንሳ/ወንድ** “living” and “life.” Any noun with a verbal root can be considered an infinitival form if it denotes the concept expressed by the verb: thus, for instance 35.2–36.5 *sntr* “divinization” but not 36.7 *sntr* “incense” and 81.2–3 *htp* “peace” but not 311.3 *htp* “offering.” In Unis’s texts, 268 such forms are attested, with four basic morphological realizations.

1. Without ending

The lexical root or stem without ending is the most common infinitival form (64% of all examples). Examples are attested for most root classes. Unis’s texts also have examples of infinitivals of a number of stems: 2-lit. redup. (272.4 *tḥtḥ* “agitation”), 2ae-inf. gem. (293.4 *jw* “come”), 3-lit. caus. (205.4 *snm* “feeding”) and caus. redup. (120.1 *shbnbn* “make bounce”), 3ae-inf. gem. (311.17 *hnn* “ululation”) and *n* redup. (292.1 *ntktk.k* “your attack”).

Verbs of the 2ae-gem. class show one or both of the geminated radicals. The latter form appears in the absolute form *qdd* “sleep” (247.12), while a form with suffix pronoun shows only one of the two radicals: *qd.f* “★my sleep” (258.3). This suggests a prosodical alternation rather than a morphological one: i.e., ★[qádad] vs. ★[qáddif]; so also for 249.10 *mʒ.f* “sight of him” (★[m`llif]). The absolute forms *hw* “announcement” (255.16) and *sʒ* “experience” (250.1/4) may then reflect the presence of an unwritten vocalic ending: ★[h̚ww̚] and ★[s̚ll̚].

Final-weak verbs occasionally represent the final vowel by by *-j* (315.3 *hnj* “ululation,” 263.6 *nhnj.f* “★my adulation”).

2. With final *w/j*

The ending *-w* appears on 10% of infinitival forms. Based on its spelling, 2ae-inf. **𓀻 jw** “come” (293.4) represents the geminated stem of 2ae-inf. *jj* (§ 4.12) rather than a form of *jj* with the ending *-w*; the latter, however, may be present in 288.4 **𓀻 jw** “come.”¹ Verbs of the 2ae-gem. class show only one of the geminated radicals, probably for prosodical reasons: *wrw* “greatness” (222.15) and *mʒw* “sight” (306.1) representing

1 Reading *m.jw* “don’t come.” The same spelling appears in T and Senwosret-ankh, the only other two copies extant.

*[w^vrr^v] and *[m^vll^v], respectively. Most 3ae-inf. forms, and the sole 4ae-inf. example (273–74.7 špsw “nobility”), show only the ending, but spellings such as 3ae-inf. dgjw “look” (288.2; sim. 269.9–10) suggest a vocalic ending added to the root: i.e., *[d^vgi^v].

The ending appears to be variable, as indicated by, for example, its probable omission with a suffix pronoun: e.g.,

wsr.f m wsrw jrt tbj
nbt.f nbtw jrt tbj (254.44–45)
 *my power is the power of Tebi’s eye,
 *my force, the force of Tebi’s eye.

For that reason, a number of the forms that appear without ending, particularly those with a suffix pronoun, may represent the *–w* form.

A non-radical ending *–j* appears once, in 304.11 *sht htpj* “Field of Rest,” a variant of the more common *sht htp* “Field of Offerings” (210.14, 254.26/42). In this case, *htpj* may represent the same infinitival form as in 317.5 *jst htpw* “place of rest.”

3. With final *t*

Infinitival forms with the ending *–t* appear in all root classes (19% of all examples). For most classes, it is simply appended to the lexical root or stem. The sole 2ae-gem. form, 284.2 *c^vnt* “coiling,” shows gemination, representing *[c^vn^vn^vt] or geminated *[c^vn^vnn^vt]. The final-weak radical of 3ae-inf. and 4ae-inf. verbs is omitted, except for 254.9 *d^vnjt* “damming,” which must represent *[d^vni^vt] or *[d^vnni^vt]. Since Coptic shows 3ae-inf. *prt* “going forth” (303.3, 306.2) as *[pírit] > **ΠΙΡΕ**/**ΦΙΡΙ** as well as *[pírriat] > **ΠΙΡΡΙΕ**/**ΠΙΡΡΕ**, it is clear that the *–t* forms in this class, and therefore probably in others as well, represent more than one stem. In one case, a 3ae-inf. verb has the ending *–tt* (315.3 *hntt* “ululating”).

3. With final *wt/jt*

A few 3-lit. and 3ae-inf. verbs have infinitival forms with the ending *–wt* (4% of all examples). The 3-lit. examples such as 307.14 *htmwt* “provisioning” indicate a structure like *[h^vtmáwat];² this may be present in 254.29 *prjwt.f* “his escape” (*[piri^váwtif]: § 4.3), as well as in examples without *j* (e.g., 302.10 *rnwt* “bewailing”: *[rimiáwat]). An ending *–jt* appears in 261.6 *wnwnjt* “motion,” probably reflecting the final radical of the verb’s 3ae-inf. root *wnj* “hasten.”

The ratio of the four forms is relatively equivalent for the six verb classes. The base form is attested in 69% of forms from verbs whose root ends in a consonant, and 58% of final-weak verbs; for the other three forms, the respective distribution is 13% and 5% for *–w*, 15% and 24% for *–t*, and 1% and 7% for *–wt*.

2 See Schenkel 1962, § 14.

A number of verbs appear in more than one of the infinitival forms in Unis's texts. These are:

- 2-lit. — *ʒb* “effective” (*ʒb.k* 301.28; *ʒbw.f* (273–74.16, *ʒbw.sn* 273–74.33), *bʒ* “impressive” (*bʒ* 273–74.12; *bʒw.f* 306.3)
- 2ae-inf. — *jj* “come” (*jw* 288.4, 293.4; *jwt* 154.19)
- 2ae-gem. — *mʒʒ* “see” (*mʒ.f* 249.10; *mʒw* 306.1), *qdd* “sleep” (*qdd* 247.12; *qd.f* 258.3)
- 3-lit. — *wʒb* “clean” (*ʒb.k* 222.25/32/40; *ʒbw.f* 220.5), *wsr* “powerful” (*wsr* 260.16; *wsr.f* 254.44, 273–74.7; *wsrw* 254.44, 273–74.13; *wsrt.tn* 318.7), *nht* “forceful” (*nht* 260.16; *nht.f* 254.45, 256.3; *nhtw* 254.45), *htp* “content” (81.2–3, 270.1–4, 254.24/32, 321.1; *htpw* 212.3, 317.5; *htpj* 304.11; *htpt* 44.4–5, 273–74.21), *htm* “provide” (*htm* 262.6; *htmw* 307.14), *dnd* “rage” (*dnd* 93.6; *dndw* 260.14)
- 3ae-inf. — *hnj* “ululate” (*hnj* 315.3; *hntt* 315.3), *bj* “appear” (*bj.f* 319.10; *bjw* 273–74.50), *jrj* “do, make” (*jr* 254.5, 288.3; *jrt* 247.14, 256.5), *prj* “emerge” (*prt.f* 303.3, *prt* 306.2, also in the phrase *prt-bjw* “invocation”: see the Lexicon; *prw* 311.4; *prwt.f* 254.29), *rnj* “weep” (*rn* 218.12; *rmut* 302.10), *rdj* “give” (*rdj* 293.2; *rdjt* 32.7d), *dʒj* “cross” (*dʒ* 270.11, 311.11; *dʒt* 263.13–14).

Many of these probably involve orthographic variants rather than morphological alternants: in particular, *ʒbw* and *ʒb.k*, *qdd* and *qd.f*, *ʒbw* and *ʒb.k*, *wsrw* and *wsr.f*, *nhtw* and *nht.f*, and *bjw* and *bj.f* are each likely to represent a single form. Whether the same is true of other pairs such as *bʒ/bʒw*, *nht/nhtw*, *htp/htpw/htpj*, and *dnd/dndw* is less certain.

Also uncertain is the distinction in meaning between the four infinitival forms. In some cases, however, the choice of one or another form appears to be conditioned by usage rather than meaning (see below).³

14.2 SYNTAX

The infinitival forms are nominal forms of the verb. Like other kinds of nouns, they are treated according to their morphological gender and can be modified or pluralized:

- bt WNJS pj hqr nj wnm.n.f sw*
- bt WNJS pj jbt nj zwr.n.f s* (211.1–2)
- *My abomination is hunger: I cannot eat it.
- *My abomination is thirst: I cannot drink it.

A modified example is *jdt wrt* “great censing” (268.4); plurals are *ʃmwt* “goings” (248.3) and *jdwt* “fumes” (301.31).

3 For this factor, compare English *She likes to play the piano* and *She wants to play the piano* versus *She likes playing the piano* but not **She wants playing the piano*. In this case, the exclusion of the gerund from the last statement is conditioned neither by meaning nor by syntax but by a lexical restriction of the verb *want*.

An infinitival form can function like other nouns, as the first element of an indirect genitive: for example, *dnd nb nj mt* “any wrath of a dead person” (93.6; sim. 205.15, 213.3–4, 224.7–9, 245.8, 246.9/11, 252.5, 273–74.14/59, 302.17). Examples also occur in the direct genitive or with a suffix pronoun: e.g., *prw m'ndt* “the Dayboat’s emergence” (311.4), *prt.f* “his going forth” (303.3). In some cases, however, the noun functions like the subject of a verb rather than second element of a direct genitive: *prt r.f ntr pn r pt* “this god going forth to the sky” (306.2: § 8.17). The same is probably true of suffix pronouns: e.g., 220.6 *md.f* “his speech” or “him speaking.”

Since the infinitival forms are indifferent to voice, the noun or suffix pronoun can express either the patient or the agent of the verb’s action. Examples in Unis’s texts are:

- *djt/rdj t qbhw* “giving cool water” (32.7b/d), *tt jb* “reconciliation” (“reconciling of the mind” 34.6), *sntr.k sntr hrv* “Your divinization is Horus’s divinization” (35.2; sim. 35.2–4, 36.2–4), *dsrt wdhw* “sweeping the offering table” (50.5), *[wdh] htp-[ntr]* “reversion of the god’s offering” (199.4), *mt rhuj 2 jpw* “the witness of those two companions” (210.9), *št WNJS* “Unis’s incisiveness” (221.3), *snd WNJS pn* “fear of this Unis” (221.4), *kjt WNJS pn* “acclaim of this Unis” (221.5), *mrwt WNJS pn* “love of this Unis” (221.6), *sd dhrt* “breaking the redware” (244.3), *šmt w' pn* “the going of this one” (246.9), *mswt ntr* “the god’s birth” (247.6), *slm WNJS pn* “★my control” (252.7), *sp̄ ng* “lassoing the steer” (254.35), *wsrw jrt tbj* “the power of Tebi’s eye” (254.44), *nhtw jrt tbj* “the force of Tebi’s eye” (254.45), *jrt h3t* “making discord” (256.5), *mkt WNJS* “★my protection” (260.15), *srhw 'nh ... mt ... zt ... gn* “accusation of one alive ... one dead ... a duck ... a steer” (270.9–10), *špsw WNJS* “★my nobility” (273–74.7), *wsrw WNJS* “★my power” (273–74.13), *r̄hs smsw* “butchering the senior one” (273–74.20), *hbs jst jb WNJS* “hack up ★my favorite place” (273–74.67), *r̄mwt ntr* “bewailing of the god” (302.10), *prw m'ndt* “the Dayboat’s emergence” (311.4), *mdw jifw* “the sire’s speech” (318.3).
- *št.f* “his incisiveness” (77.6; sim. 221.3, 306.3), *hqrf* “★my hunger” (204.6), *ttt.k* “your begetting” (214.6), *bw.f* “his cleanliness” (220.5), *md.f* “his speech” (220.6), *snd.t* “fear of you” (221.4), *kjt.t* “acclaim of you” (221.5), *mrwt.t* “love of you” (221.6), *wrw.f* “his greatness” (222.15), *b.k* “your cleansing” (222.25/32/40), *slm.k* “your control” (247.13), *m̄f.f* “the sight of him” (249.10), *hms.f* “★my seat” (252.6), *h̄sf.k* “meeting you” (254.21), *prjwtf* “his escape” (254.29), *wsrf* “★my power” (254.44, 273–74.7), *nhtf* “★my force” (254.45, 256.3), *mkt.f* “★my protection” (256.3), *nrwf* “respect of ★me” (256.5), *qd.f* “★my sleep” (258.3), *nhnj.f* “adulation of ★me” (263.6), *ntb.s* “her parching” (273–74.12), *ʒhw.f* “his effectiveness” (273–74.16), *mdwf* “his/★my speech” (273–74.19, 302.19, 307.13), *ʒhw.sn* “their effectiveness” (273–74.33), *ntkfk.k* “your repeated attack” (292.1), *tknt.k* “your approach” (292.2), *ʒlk.k* “your effectiveness” (301.28), *hbntf* “guilt of ★mine”

(302.18), *prt.f* “his going forth” (303.3), *b3w.f* “his impressiveness” (306.3), *wsrt.tn* “your power” (318.7), *sdb.s* “make it sound” (319.9), *b7f* “his appearance” (319.10), *hm.f* “his absence” (320.7).

In certain uses, the infinitival form can have an infinitival or dependent proinfinitival object:

- *m shbnbn s* “don’t make it bounce around” (120.1), *j.hmw rm tw* “who don’t bewail you” (218.12), *m hm w* “don’t ignore me” (232.3), *tm.k jr jst* “you fail to make a place” (254.5), *tm.k dr tw* “you fail to remove yourself” (255.8), *m hm WNJS* “don’t ignore *me” (262.1/4–5/7–8/10–11/13–14/16–17), *jm.k jr wpt.k* “you shall not do your mission” (288.3), *jm.tn hsb WNJS* “you should not bar Unis” (301.9), *jm.sn d3 C.sn* “they should not cross their arm” (311.11), *tm.f sdm hrw.k* “★I fail to hear your voice” (311.14)

Syntactically, infinitival forms of the verb behave like other kinds of nouns. In Unis’s texts, they are used as subject of a verbal or non-verbal predicate, as an infinitival predicate, as object or complement of a verb, as the second element of a direct or indirect genitive, as object of a preposition, adverbially, and absolutely.

14.3 AS SUBJECT

Infinitival forms are used as the subject of a verbal or non-verbal predicate (51 instances): for example,

- *smn.t n.f sj3 jr rdwj.f* “Perception is set for *me at *my feet” (257.14; sim. 247.14, 254.18, 260.14, 273–74.19, 305.13, 307.13)
- *nfrw 3 m3w htpw 3 ptr* “How very beautiful is the sight, how very pleasing the vision” (306.1; sim. 270.9–10, 302.17–18)
- *htpt m ht.k htpt hrt.k* “contentment is in your wake, contentment is your lot” (44.5; sim. 35.2–4, 36.2–4, 44.4–5, 252.7, 254.44–45, 256.3, 257.1, 260.15–16, 263.6, 273–74.7/13, 292.1–2, 306.3).

As these examples illustrate, the base, *-w*, and *-t* forms appear in this function.

14.4 AS INFINITIVAL PREDICATE

There are 17 examples of an infinitival form used as infinitival predicate in Unis’s texts: for instance,

- *bt WNJS pj hqr ... bt WNJS pj jbt* “★My abomination is hunger ... *my abomination is thirst” (211.1–2; sim. 250.8, 260.22)
- *nht.f nhltw jrt tbj* “★My force is the force of Tebi’s eye” (254.45; sim. 35.2–3, 36.2–3).

As these examples illustrate, the base, *-w*, and *-t* forms appear in this function.

14.5 AS OBJECT OR COMPLEMENT OF A VERB

All four infinitival forms are used as the object or complement of a verb in Unis's texts. This is their most common use, with 81 examples attested in three different constructions.

- A. As object (55 examples) — *jn ḫw j.dr ḥqr.f* “Ha’s arms are what remove ★my hunger” (204.6; sim. 77.6, 210.9, 212.3, 213.3–4, 221.3–6, 222.25/32/40, 224.7–9, 229.2, 245.8, 246.9/11, 247.12–13, 252.5–6, 254.5/19/43, 255.16, 256.5, 257.10, 258.3, 260.12, 261.8, 273–74.16/33/50/59, 283.2, 302.19, 306.7, 311.17, 318.3/7).
- B. As complement of a verb with negational meaning (“negatival complement”: 30 instances). Examples are attested with the verbs *jmj* “not do,” *ḥm* “not know, ignore,” and *tm* “fail.” Only the base and *-w* forms appear in this function:
 - *zȝ jm.k sfȝḥw jm.f* “beware that you not let loose of him” (23–24.5; sim. 223.9, 232.3, 262.1/4–5/7–8/10–11/13–14/16–17, 283.3, 288.2–4, 293.2/4–5, 301.9, 311.11)
 - *j.ḥmw rm tȝw* “who do not bewail you” (218.12)
 - *tm.f sdm ḥrw.k* “★I fail to hear your voice” (311.14; sim. 254.5, 255.8, 270.11, 309.6)
- C. As complement of a form of the same verb (“complementary infinitive”: 9 examples). Only the *-t* form is used in this function: e.g., *tȝ dnj dnjt* “the earth is completely dammed up” (254.9; sim. 261.2, 263.13–14, 268.16–17, 284.2, 307.10). In one case, the ending is added to a *-t* form: *jr wNJS hnȝ hn̄t* “★I make ululating ululation” (315.3). This suggests a grammatical process whereby the ending is added to an existing infinitival form in this particular function.

14.6 AS THE SECOND ELEMENT OF A GENITIVE

Unis's texts contain 28 instances of an infinitival form used as the second element of a direct genitive (§ 6.9) and 8 in which it follows the nisbe in the indirect genitive (§ 6.10); for example, *jst htpw* “place of rest” (317.5; sim. 36.3, 93.6, 205.1/4/14–15, 219.67, 248.3, 250.1, 251.2, 254.20, 257.12, 260.10, 261.6, 262.6, 272.4, 273–74.12/19/21, 285.4, 297.2, 302.20, 304.11, 307.14, 317.1/4–5, 321.1), *nn n rmwt ntr* “that bewailing of the god” (302.10; sim. 46.6, 214.6, 254.35/50, 267.4, 273–74.14/20, 302.10). All four forms are attested in the direct genitive, along with the sole *-j* and *-jt* forms (304.11 *sȝt htpj* “Field of Rest,” 261.1 *jmw wnuwjt* “those in motion”) and all but the *-w* form in the indirect genitive.

14.7 AS OBJECT OF A PREPOSITION

There are 53 instances of an infinitival form as object of a preposition in Unis's texts, involving five prepositions:

m (41 examples, all four infinitival forms)

- *m ḥb* “amid” (“in the collection”: 34.7, 207.4, 224.16, 245.6, 302.7, 307.9–10)
- *m htp* “in peace” (81.2–3, 254.24/32, 270.1–3)
- *sḥm m* “have control of”: *sjȝ* “Perception” (255.16), *ḥbs* “hacking up” (273–74.67)
- in the act of: *m sdȝ* “trembling” (252.3), *m ḥsf.k* “meeting you” (254.21), *m prjw.t.f* “in his emergence” (254.29), *m jȝ* “in homage” (256.7), *m ksw* “bowing” (257.10), *m prt.f* “in his emergence” (303.3), *m ḥr.f* “in *my appearance” (319.10), *m ḥm.f* “in his absence” (320.7)
- identity (§ 8.2C): *ḥpr ... m sjȝ* “become ... Perception” (250.5), *sk wsr.f m wsrw.jrt tbj* “since *my power is the power of Tebi’s eye” (254.44), *jw jrt.f m nht.f* “*my eye is *my force” (256.3)
- other uses: *m wrw.f* “in his greatness” (222.15), *m mht wrt* “in the Great Immersion” (254.43), *m jrt ḥȝt* “by making discord” (256.5), *m ḥȝwt* “in nakedness” (256.6), *chnb m ḥpr n ntr nb* “who lives on the evolution of every god” (273–74.14), *ḥtp.f m chnb m ḥȝtw* “★I grow content from living on hearts” (273–74.55), *mh.tj m ȝb.k* “you filled with your effectiveness” (301.28).

mr “like” (4 examples, all four infinitival forms)

- *mr ḥt.t* “like your incisiveness” (221.3), *mr snȝ.t* “like your fearsomeness” (221.4), *mr kȝt.t* “like your acclaim” (221.5), *mr mrw.t* “like your love” (221.6).

n “at, to, for” (4 examples, all four infinitival forms)

- *n mȝ.f* “at seeing him” (249.10), *n ȝwȝt* “to indigence” (254.54), *n znw.t* “to passing away” (254.55), *n prw mȝndt* “for the Dayboat’s emergence” (311.4).

ḥr “on” (3 examples, base and *-w*)

- *ḥtp.t ḥr ḥbw.f ... ḥr md.f* “may you be content with his cleanliness ... with his speech” (220.5–6), *ḥr sȝ wrt* “about experience of the great thing” (250.4).

r “in order to” (2 examples, base)

- *r ḥsf* “to confront” (273–74.30), *r sdȝ.s* “to make it sound” (319.9).

14.8 ADVERBIAL USE

Like some nouns, the base and *-w* infinitival forms can be used adverbially. Examples in Unis’s Pyramid Texts are:

mdw m rm.f dw (23–24.2; sim. 23–24.3, 214.7)

anyone who speaks badly with his name

htm.tj m stȝ ȝ[bȝb] wȝdw (222.21)

provided as Seth, who slid forth raw

swt j r WNJS ...

hzp 2 n m³³.f WNJS

hzp 2 n dg_g.f n WNJS (230.8–9)

He is the one who would come against *me ...

the two times he sees *me,

the two times he looks at *me.

14.9 ABSOLUTE USE

There are 16 examples of infinitival forms used absolutely in Unis's texts. Most occur in the labels of offering spells: *z_t/z³t* “libation” (23–24.7), *djt* “giving” (32.7b), *hdt* “taking” (32.7b), *rdjt* “giving” (32.7d), *f³t* “lifting up” (43.4, 92.3), *dsrt* “sweeping” (50.5), *hnkt* “dedication” (171.3), *[wdb]* “reversion” (199.4), *sd* “breaking” (244.3). The remainder occur in appositive phrases: *tt jb nbwj* “the Two Lords' reconciliation” (34.6), *mswt ntr* “the god's birth” (247.6), *sj³* “Perception” (250.2), *prt r.f ntr pn* “this god's going forth” (306.2).

14.10 THE *SDMT.F*

Although it is normally classed as a member of the suffix conjugation (§ 13.1), there is reason to analyze the *s_{dmt}.f* as an infinitival form (§ 15.4). It occurs twice in Unis's texts: as object of the preposition *dr* (§ 8.16)⁴ and negated:

WNJS pj nsr m dp t³w r drw pt r dr t³

dr šwt ḫwj ḥnbw m WNJS (261.3–4)

*I am the flame in the wind's top, to the sky's limit, to the earth's limit, before the lightning bolts' arms become empty of *me.

šw³ jw³w nj wnt hr.f z³ (305.13)

Indigent is an heir who has no writing (literally, “not yet-is by-him writing”).

14.11 OCCURRENCES

2-lit.

–ø *ʒy* 301.28 (*ʒy.k*); *wd* 309.4 (pl), 247.12, 271.8–9; *bʒ* 273–74.12; *mn* 261.7; *hd* 273–74.14; *ḥm* 232.3, 262.1, 262.4–5, 262.7–8, 262.10–11, 262.13–14, 262.16–17, 320.7; *sd* 244.3; *thth* 272.4; *dr/dʒ* 255.8; *dd* 293.5, also in the phrase *dd-mdw* “recitation” (see the Lexicon)

–w *ʒyw* 273–74.16, 273–74.33/63; *bʒw* 306.3; *sflyhw* 23–24.5; *srḥw* 270.9–10; *hnw* 229.2, 257.1, 257.10, 260.12

–t *jʒt* 261.28; *ʃʒt* 77.6, 221.3, 306.3

4 For the construction, see Zonhoven 1996.

2ae-inf.

- ø *jw* 293.4
- w *jw* 288.4
- t *jwt* 254.19; *kjt* 221.5 (*kjt* and *kjt.t*)

2ae-gem.

- ø *mʒf* 249.10; *hw* 255.16; *sʒ* 250.1, 250.4; *qd* 258.3 (*qd.f*); *qdd* 247.12
- w *wrw* 222.15; *mʒw* 306.1
- t *runt* 284.2

3-lit.

- ø *r̥b* ($\leftarrow j^r b$) 34.7, 207.4, 224.16, 245.6, 302.7, 307.9–10; *r̥h* 254.50, 273–74.55, 297.2; *r̥ʒ* 260.12; *r̥b* ($\leftarrow w^r b$) 222.25/32/40; *snm* 205.4; *wrd* 309.6; *wsr* 260.16, 254.44, 273–74.7; *wdn* 46.6; *sdʒ* 319.9; *wdʒ* 260.5; *wdb* [199.4]; *ptr* 306.1; *mtr* 210.9; *nlt* 254.45, 256.3, 260.16; *ntb* 273–74.12; *r̥ls* 273–74.12; *hq̥r* 204.6, 211.1; *h̥tp* 81.2–3, 254.24/32, 270.1–3, 321.1; *h̥tm* 262.6; *h̥bs* 273–74.67; *h̥pr* 273–74.14; *h̥sb* 301.9, *h̥sf* 273–74.30; *h̥ʒs* 260.22; *h̥zp* 230.9; *zʒt* 23–24.7; *zʒ* 305.13; *sjʒ* 250.2/5/8, 255.16, 257.14, 273–74.59; *sph* 254.35; *snd* 221.4, 254.18; *shm* 247.13, 252.7; *sdʒ* 252.3; *sdm* 311.14; *kʒp* 219.67; *tt* 34.6; *tvr* 285.4; *dnd* 93.6
- w *wʒdw* 222.21; *r̥bw* 220.5; *wsrw* 254.44, 273–74.13; *wt̥zw* 306.7; *nhtw* 254.45; *h̥tpw* 212.3, 317.5; *ʃʒw* 260.9; *dndw* 260.14
- j *h̥pj* 304.11
- t *r̥b̥bt* 260.3; *wsrt* 318.7; *ttt* 214.6; *mnht* 268.16; *h̥ʒbt* 307.10; *h̥ʒr̥t* 256.5; *hnkt* 171.3; *h̥pt* 44.4–5, 273–74.21; *h̥bnt* 302.18; *šwʒt* 254.54; *skʒt* 254.20; *tknt* 292.2
- wt *h̥tmwt* 307.14; *h̥nzw* 301.32; *zʒbwt* 273–74.6

3ae-inf.

- ø *jʒ* 256.7, 311.17; *jr* 254.5, 288.3; *jt* 283.3; *nr* 205.14–15; *nktk* 292.1; *rn* 218.12; *rđ* 293.2; *nhnj* 263.6; *hnj* 315.3, *hnn* 311.17; *hr* 223.9; *st* 205.1; *dʒ* 270.11, 311.11; *dw* 23–24.2–3, 214.7
- w *prw* 311.4; *nrw* 256.5; *h̥w* 273–74.50; *ksw* 257.10; *dʒjw* 288.2
- t *ʒwt* 261.2; *jbt* 211.12; *jrt* 247.14, 256.5; *jdt* 267.4; *wnwnjt* 261.6; *prt* 303.3, 306.2, also in the phrase *prt-h̥rw* “invocation” (see the Lexicon); *fʒt* 43.4, 92.3, 254.5; *mht* 254.43, 317.1/4; *mkt* 256.3, 260.15; *rđt* 32.7d, *djt* 32.7b; *šmt* 246.9, 248.3 (pl); *hđt* 32.7b; *sl̥t* 238.2; *dʒt* 263.13–14; *dŋjt* 254.9
- tt *h̥ntt* 315.3
- wt *prjw* 254.29; *mrwt* 221.6; *mswt* 247.6; *rmwt* 302.10; *h̥ʒwt* 256.6; *znw* 254.55

4ae-inf.

- o *mdw* 213.3–4, 220.6, 224.7–9, 245.8, 246.9/11, 252.5, 254.43, 260.10, 273–74.19,
 302.17, 302.17/19, 307.13, 318.3, also in the phrase *dd-mdw* “recitation” (see
 the Lexicon); *sntr* 35.2–4, 36.2–5; *bsf* 254.21; *sqd* 267.13
- w *hpsw* 273–74.7
- t *hntt* 268.17; *dsrt* 50.5

15. PARTICIPIAL FORMS

15.1 FORMS

Participial forms are those designed for attributive function, whether the referent they modify is expressed or not. In Unis's Pyramid Texts there are 566 examples of three such forms: an active participle (482), a passive participle (73), and the *sdm̄tj.f* (11).

15.2 ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Active participles account for 85% of all participial forms in Unis's texts. The exact number of examples of this form is uncertain, because it is not clear whether some forms are participles or nouns of agent. For example, 273–74.28 *lnzw* “courser,” derived from the verb *lnz*, is probably a noun of agent,¹ because 3-lit. ms active participles regularly appear without final *-w*. Similarly, 281.5 *nγ* “glider” and 285.4 *hzγ* “wretch” are more plausibly nouns² than active participles of 3ae-inf. *nγj* and *hzj*, respectively, since masculine singular forms from final-weak verbs do not otherwise have *-y* as an ending.

As attributive forms, active participles regularly have gender and number endings reflecting those of their referents, whether the latter are expressed or not. In Unis's texts, the following are attested:

ENDING	G/N	VERB CLASSES
none	ms	all
	mpl	all
<i>-j</i>	ms	2ae-gem., 3ae-inf., 4ae-inf.
<i>-jw</i>	mpl	2ae-gem., 3-lit.
<i>-jt</i>	fpl	2-lit., 3ae-inf.
<i>-γ</i>	mdu	3ae-inf.
<i>-w</i>	mdu	2-lit., 2ae-gem., 3-lit., 3ae-inf.
	mpl	all
<i>-wj</i>	mdu	3-lit.
<i>-t</i>	fs	all
	fdu	2-lit.
	fpl	3-lit., 3ae-inf., 4ae-inf.
<i>-tj</i>	fdu	3-lit., 3ae-inf.

These reflect two morphological patterns underlying the written forms, one associated with the base stem and a second with the geminated stem.

1 *xánθa] > *hansa* (Ranke 1910, 46) > **ወጌርክ**.

2 *nγ* is possibly a hypocorism *ni'áya] or the like: see Fecht 1960, § 4 and n. 624. *hzγ* is possibly an epithet of Seth (Leitz 2002–2003, VI, 54); if a noun, *[x̄θi~] > *[x̄θiy~].

The basic pattern is that found in cognate languages and preserved in Coptic reflexes: e.g., for 3-lit. *nfr* “good,” ms *[náfir] > **NOΥQE** and fs *[náfrat] > **NOQPE**; and for 3ae-inf. *qȝj* “high,” fs *[qáliat] > *|[qá?ia] > **KΑΙΕ/KOI/KOIE** “field.” This is reflected in the ms forms without ending and the feminine forms in *-t*. Plurals and duals, represented by masculine *o/-w/-wj* and feminine *-t/-tj*, were apparently like those of nouns (§§ 6.3–6.6): thus, for example, mpl *nfrw* *|[náfru], fpl *nfrt* *|[náfruat], mdu *nfrw* *|[nafírwa], fdu *nfrt* *|[nafráta]; mdu *dȝy* “cross” (210.9) probably represents *|[dalíwa] > *|[dalíya]. Forms from other classes are probably analogous: for 2-lit. *ȝ3* “big,” ms *|[‘al] > **O**, fs *|[‘álat] > **Ω**,³ for 3ae-inf. *msj* “give birth,” ms *|[másí]⁴ and fs *|[másiat]; for 4ae-inf. *ȝmsj* “follow,” ms *|[sámsi] and fs *|[sámsiat].⁵ For 2ae-inf. verbs such as *jj* “come,” the base pattern seems to be ms *|[i]⁶ and therefore fs *|[íat].

Final *-j* in forms of final-weak verbs represents the final, vocalic radical: e.g., 286.3 *tzj* *|[táθi], 269.16 *bnjt* *|[báni’at]. For other verbs, however, it reflects a second morphological pattern, in which masculine forms have a final vowel, perhaps *[-i]: examples are 2ae-gem. *sȝȝj* (247.3) and *sȝȝjw* (269.13 pl) and 3-lit. *sbqjw* (269.13 pl). In other pyramids it also appears in geminated 3ae-inf. forms; e.g., mpl *hnnjw* “who row” (407.3 TPAnM; N *hnnw*). This suggests that the second pattern is associated with geminated stems: thus, *sȝȝjw* *|[sullúli’u],⁷ *sbqjw* *|[subbúqi’u], and *hnnjw* *|[xunúni’u]; by extension, 3ae-inf. *hnnw* “who row” (252.8) *|[xunúniu] and 4ae-inf. *msd̩dw* “who hate” (23–24.2) *|[musdúdiu].

Participles of 2ae-gem. verbs show either one or both of the identical radicals: e.g., 227.1 *km* and 218.9 *wrr* “great.” The first of these cannot represent the basic participial pattern and must therefore reflect either a reduced form or one in which the identical radicals are in contact and therefore written only once: i.e., *km* as *|[k̚m] or *|[k̚mm̚]. The former is indicated by *kmt* “Egypt” *|[kúmat] > ^{AMS}**KHME** / ^B**XHMI** / ^F**KHMI**, and the latter by *km* “dark” *|[kúmm̚i] > ^{AS}**KAME** / ^B**XAME/XEMI**⁸ / ^F**KEMI**. Which of these two patterns underlies the biliteral forms in Unis’s Pyramid Texts cannot be determined with certainty, but on balance the latter is likelier for *km/kmt* and probably also for *wr/wrt/wrw*, since the masculine singular shows no evidence of the loss of final *r*, which is well attested for other biliterals with *r* as an original final consonant (§ 4.8): thus, *|[wúrri], represented by 222.15 *wrj*, as well as *wrt* *|[wúrriat/wúrrat] and *wrw* *|[wúrriu/wúrru]. Forms such as *kmt* “Egypt” *|[kúmat] > **KHME/XHMI/KHMI** therefore are derived nouns rather than participles.

3 Some verbs seem to have had the vocalization *[i:2]: cf. Hittite *min* for *mn* “set” in the throne name of Ramesses I (Ranke 1910, 13).

4 Ranke 1910, 18: Hittite *maše* for *msj* in the name of Ramesses II.

5 Cf. *mpt* “young” *|[ránpiat] > **POMPE** “year” (Osing 1976a, 130).

6 As indicated by Greek Ιμουθης < *j-m-htp* (Osing 1976a, 631 n. 645).

7 Vocalization reconstructed on the model of Akkadian *purrusum*, geminated stem of *parāsum*.

8 These argue against Osing’s reconstruction (1976, 161) with a stressed final syllable.

If the biteral 2ae-gem. participles represent *[1ú22i], the trilateral ones must represent a different pattern. PT 272.3 *šrr* “little” is preserved in Coptic as **ΦΗΡΕ/ΦΗΡΙ**, which must derive from **[xúr̥r]*. This cannot be the same form as 247.3 *sʒʒj*, which shows a final vowel and probably represents a participle from the geminated stem. Participles of 2ae-gem. verbs therefore show two base patterns, *[1ú22i] and *[1ú2~2]. This complicates the identification of geminated participles, since they will look like the second base pattern in writing, absent the masculine singular ending *-j*. PT 311.9 *mʒʒw* “who see” is parallel to the ungeminated 3ae-inf. form *hʒw* of 311.8, but is probably geminated *[mullúlu], since it is used with the dual adjunct *m hruj* “with two faces” (see § 15.8, below).

Active participles occasionally appear with the prefix in Unis’s texts. Instances are the following:

2-lit.	<i>j.čm</i> 273–74.33; <i>j.rḥ</i> 311.3, <i>j.rḥw</i> (pl) 215.6, 311.2; <i>j.lym</i> 267.8, <i>j.lymt</i> 320.3, <i>j.lymw</i> (du) 218.12; <i>j.tmw</i> (pl) 309.6; <i>j.dr</i> 204.6
2ae-gem.	<i>j.hnnw</i> 204.1
3ae-inf.	<i>[j.shm]⁹</i> 318.1
3ae-gem.	<i>j.sʒʒw.k</i> 131.1
4ae-inf.	<i>j.lym'</i> 273–74.25.

The significance of these forms, which are limited to active participles, is difficult to judge. In every case except 273–74.33 *j.čm*, the prefixed form is the only one attested for the verb in question, which might suggest it is somehow related to the verb rather than the verb form. The unique 3ae-inf. form *j.shm* is conceivably a phonological variant—*[suʒ̥’mi] > *[usʒ̥’mi]—but the prefix may also be a feature of the 3ae-inf. active participle with a causative stem, since this is the only example of that form in Unis’s texts. The 4ae-inf. form *j.lym'* is also unique. In this instance, the prefixed form is not likely to be simply a variant of the base pattern *[1á23i]; instead, it may represent either an alternate base pattern, as with 2ae-gem. verbs, or an alternate pattern for geminated stems.

By far the largest number (9) and proportion (30%) of prefixed forms are those of 2-lit. verbs. In this case, it is possible that the prefix marks the participle of the geminated stem, because forms with it are used like geminated forms of other classes (discussed below), and because they have an occasional masculine ending *-j* (486.8 P *j.tmjw*). The 2-lit. active participle would then have the base pattern *[1a2/1i2] and the geminated pattern *[~1~22i]. The 3ae-gem. form in 131.1 *j.sʒʒw.k* probably represents *[usʃúluik], with the collocation of the geminated radicals prompted by the plural ending (singular *[usʃúlul]). PT 273–74.25 *j.lym'* may represent ungeminated *[uʒm̥’i]; if geminated *[uʒmú’i], it must be a variant of the pattern represented by 23–24.2 *msddw*.

9 Causative stem of *hmj* “go.” Restored after the MK copies of Senwosret-ankh and Imhotep.

The evidence thus suggests the following patterns of vocalization for active participles with base and geminated stems:

	BASE STEM	GEMINATED STEM
2-lit.	12 = ★[1a2], ★[1i2]	(j).12 = ★[u1ú22i]
2ae-inf.	1(j) = ★[1i]	1w = ★[1úwi]
2ae-gem.	12(j) = ★[1ú22i] 122 = ★[1ú2u2]	122 = ★[1u22ú2i]
3-lit.	123 = ★[1á2i3]	123(j) = ★[1u22ú3i]
3ae-inf.	12(j) = ★[1á2i]	122(j) = ★[1u2ú2i]
3ae-gem.	123 = ★[1u2ú3u3]	—
4-lit.	1234 = ★[1á23i4] ?	—
4ae-inf.	123(j) = ★[1á23i]	1233(j) = ★[1u23ú3i].

The irregular vocalization of the 2ae-gem. base forms may derive from an association between gemination and ★[u], perhaps also visible in 2ae-inf. *jw*, if that form represents ★[úwi]. For other stems, the attested forms suggest the patterns:

	CAUSATIVE STEM	REDUPLICATED STEM
2-lit.	s12 = ★[su1á2]	
3-lit.	s123 = ★[su1á2i3]	
3ae-inf.	s12(j) = ★[su1á2i]	1212 = ★[1á21i2].

15.3 PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

Participles with passive sense account for 13% of Unis's participial forms. As with active participles, the identification of some instances as passive participles is not always certain. Some verbs can have intransitive as well as transitive uses: for example, 48.2 *mht jm.k*, which could mean either "what is full of you" (intransitive active) or "what is filled from you" (transitive passive). In this case, an active participle is likelier, because passive 2-lit. participles otherwise show gemination.

The gender and number endings of passive participles in Unis's Pyramid Texts are the following:

ENDING	G/N	VERB CLASSES
none	ms	all
-j	ms	2-lit., 2ae-gem., 3ae-inf.
-γ	ms	2ae-inf., 3ae-inf.
-γt	fs	3ae-inf.
-w	ms	2ae-inf., 3-lit., 3ae-inf.
	mpl	2ae-inf., 3-lit.
-wt	fpl	3ae-inf.
-t	fs	all.

These point to a ms vocalic ending, which is also preserved in Coptic ^{LS}**ꝝACIE**/^B**ECIE** “drowned” < 3ae-inf. *hzjw* “blessed”;¹⁰ the variant ⁵**ꝝACIH** suggests final –*[u], which would also suit the vocalization of the initial syllable, thus *[huθí'u].¹¹ When written, the ending appears as either –*j* or –*w*: 2-lit. *fblj* “let loose” (205.10); 2ae-inf. *tw* “pounded” (88.3, 111.3, 243.1); 2ae-gem. *m33j* “seen” (205.10); 3-lit. *cbšw* “submerged” (286.1), *hknuw* “endowed” (282.3); 3ae-inf. *jrrw* “done” (238.3, 282.4). With final-weak verbs, it can also appear as –*j* or –*y*: 2ae-inf. *tj* “pounded” (243.1); 3ae-inf. *jry* “done” (306.5), *ndj* “downcast” (222.5/23), *dy* “made” (219.25/33). Feminine and plural forms are largely indistinguishable from those of active participles, except for 3ae-inf. *jryt* “done” (256.3); no duals appear in Unis’s texts. The written evidence suggests a basic trilateral pattern *[1u2i3u] for the masculine singular and *[1u2i3uat] for the feminine singular, and *[1u2i3û/1u2i3ûat] in the plural.

Basic passive participles of 2-lit. verbs regularly show gemination of the final radical. This is to be distinguished from lexical gemination, since it is form-specific. Most likely, it represents a strategy designed to accommodate the biliteral structure to the basic trilateral passive pattern:¹² thus, for example, 254.3 *lmm* “unknown” representing *[xumímu]. The derived stems do not show gemination: redup. *wtwt* “wrapped” (311.9) and *n* redup. *nhmhm* “acclaimed” (218.10). The lone 2ae-gem. example, *m33j* “seen,” is parallel to 2-lit. *fblj/fblj* “released” (205.10) and is therefore probably not geminated (*[mulílu]);¹³ if geminated, the form would presumably have the structure *[mullílu]. Participles of 2ae-inf. verbs have the pattern *[1iu]; in this case, the ending alone could have marked the form: e.g., *tj/tw* “pounded” (243.1, 111.3) representing *[tiu]. Participles of 3-lit. verbs exemplify the passive pattern: e.g., *hknu* “endowed” (282.3) representing *[hukínu] and *hknt* (234.3), *[hukínat]; the causative stem in *s3šrt* “roasted” (207.4) may represent *[sulšíruat]. The 4ae-inf. forms *dsr* and *dsrt* “swept, strained” (90.3, 145.3, 146.3) probably reflect something like *[dusuríu] and *[dusuríuat], respectively, and the causative form *sbg* (230.4) “made slack,” *[subulgíu] > *[subugíu].

The 3ae-inf. class is represented by base, geminated, and causative stems: e.g., 282.4 *jry* and 256.3 *jryt* “done,” 238.3 *jrrw* “done,” and 260.23 *shdw* (pl) “inverted.” Based on the evidence cited above, the first of these has the structure *[uríyu] and *[uríyuat]. The geminated and causative forms are probably analogous: e.g., *[uríru] and *[suxdíu] or the like.

10 Cf. Fecht 1960, § 446; Osing 1976a, 235.

11 The stressed syllable is indicated by the reduction of the initial syllable in Bohairic.

12 Stauder 2014a, 54–57.

13 The identification of *m33j* as passive rather than active, and of *fblj* as 2-lit. passive rather than 2ae-gem. active, is indicated by the probable reference of the two terms, to the Sun, who is “released” from the netherworld at dawn and is “seen” in the sky.

15.4 THE *sdmjtj.f*

Although it behaves like an attributive form of the verb, the *sdmtj.f* is not a participial form per se. Instead, it is probably a nisbe of the *sdmtj.f* (§ 14.10), which in turn identifies the latter form as an infinitival rather than a finite verb form (see § 7.3). Like the *sdmtj.f*, it is regularly, though not inherently, prospective in reference (§ 13.3).

The *sdmtj.f* consists of a verbal element plus a suffix pronoun. The verbal element is an invariant masculine singular nisbe, with the following forms in Unis's texts:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 2ae-inf. | <i>jwt</i> (260.20) |
| 2ae-gem. | <i>m³3tj</i> (77.7) |
| 3-lit. | <i>sdmt</i> (77.7), <i>n^hbt</i> (318.8), <i>qsntj</i> (311.10) |
| 3ae-inf. | <i>wdt</i> (307.7), <i>hmwt</i> (218.3, 258.10), <i>zpt</i> (295.3) |
| 4ae-inf. | <i>mdt</i> (214.7). |

The 3ae-inf. form *hmwt.f* “who will turn away” shows the infinitival ending *-wt* (see § 14.1.3). It is not clear whether 2ae-inf. *jwt.sn* “who would come” (260.20) is to be analyzed in the same way or as an example with the geminated stem:¹⁴ i.e., as a writing of the base stem *j* plus the ending *-wt* or of the geminated stem *jw* plus the ending *-t*. The 2ae-gem. example *m³3tj.sn* “who shall look” (77.7) is similarly ambivalent: either base *[m¹lti] or geminated *[m¹ll¹lti].

The obligatory suffix pronouns fulfill the function of the gender/number endings of other attributive forms: ms *f*, pl *sn*; no feminine examples occur in Unis's texts.

15.5 THE SYNTAX OF ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

Active participles are used in two ways: singly, as a noun or an adjective; or with adjuncts, as the predicate of a relative clause; the last also have nominal or adjectival function.

Nominal use accounts for 52% of Unis's active participles. Most of the functions of other kinds of nouns are attested:

- vocative: e.g., *rs sdrw* “Awake, sleepers!” (210.2)
- object of a preposition: e.g., *m w^hbt* “from a clean place” (305.7)
- object of a verb: e.g., *m³.n m³t* “we see something new” (257.2)
- second noun of a direct genitive: e.g., *srhw mt* “accusation of one dead” (270.9)
- second noun of an indirect genitive: e.g., *wd.k mdw n^hlw* “you govern the living” (213.3: see § 6.10)
- nominal predicate: e.g., *WNJS pj^h3* “★I am a great one” (248.1)
- subject of a predicate: e.g., *n^hn^h.n jwrt* “she who conceived spewed forth” (222.20), *jwt hr.k m m³fdt* “the one that comes on you is Mafdet” (297.2), *jkt.k pj b³zt tn* “this clamberer is the one you should strike” (282.2).

¹⁴ For the geminated stem in this form, cf. Urk. I, 205, 11 *h³3wt.sn* “who will ever go down” (3ae-inf.)

Like other nouns, active participles used nominally can be modified by other attributives: for example, *nḥb pn* “this enduring one” (262.18), *wr pw nb jmjw-jst-’wj* “the great one who has assistants” (273–74.17), *bnjt nb* “every sweet plant” (169.3).

In attributive use the active participles can serve as single adjectives, in three functions:

- modifying a noun: e.g., *ʒljj ḏnḥ* “living akh” (260.11)
- in the *nfr hr* construction (§ 7.7): e.g., *sbʒ spd hʒt ʒw šmwt* “a star with sharp front and extensive goings” (248.3)
- as adjectival predicate: e.g., *wdʒ r WNJS* “★my mouth is sound” (319.2), *nfrw hr.t* “how good is your face” (220.7), *jw šw m mtrw* “there was lack of testimony” (260.6), *tŋj tw* “you are distinguished” (215.24).

They are also used with adjuncts, as predicate of a relative clause. Except for the absence of a separate subject (inherent in the participial form), these behave like verb forms in main clauses, governing nominal or dependent pronominal objects and prepositional adjuncts. Their clauses also follow the standard word order of finite verbal predicates, with a pronominal dative preceding an object and adverbial adjuncts. Examples are: *fss n.f.jbt jm.sn* “who cooks a meal of them for him” (273–74.32) and *ḥsf n.f.sw m ḫ-hd* “who bars ★me for himself from the white palace” (262.24). The participles may also govern other verb forms: for example, *j.hmw rm tw* “who ignore bewailing you” (218.12), *jw j.srf sn* “who comes that he might foretell them” (139.1). Active participles used as relatives can also be modified by other attributives: e.g., *jt n.k msddw nsut/WNJS nbw* “acquire for yourself all those who hate the king/Unis” (23–24.2).

One function particular to active participles as relatives is that of the predicate in the so-called “participial statement,. This is an A B nominal sentence in which A is either an independent pronoun or a noun preceded by the particle *jn* (§ 9.4B)—in both cases, rhematic—and B is a relative clause with an active participle: for example,

swt j r WNJS (230.8; sim. 211.5)

He is the one who would come against ★me.

jn z pn pzh WNJS (230.7)

It is this person who would bite ★me.

Other examples with *jn* plus nominal subject are 204.6, 205.6, 248.2, 250.7, 258.7, 262.21/26–27, 273–74.25–27/38.

15.6 THE SYNTAX OF PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

Passive participles, like actives, are used singly, as nouns or adjectives, and as predicate of a relative clause. The first two uses account for 44% of Unis’s passive participles and the last, for 56%.

Single passive participles have most of the same nominal functions as their active counterparts:

- vocative: e.g., *šnt nj šnt.j* “shunned one, I am not shunned” (299.3)
- object of a preposition: *hn' ndj* “with Downcast” (222.33)
- object of a verb: *nj m33.f sḥdw* “★I do not see those who are inverted” (260.23)
- nominal predicate: *WNJS pj rpr* “★I am an equipped one” (273–74.16)
- subject of an adverbial predicate: *rbšw m 3w šw.t* “The submerged one is the long one of your depressions” (286.1)
- subject of a verb: *pzḥ sbg jn n'w* “the one made slack is bitten by Glider” (230.4).

They also occur as nominal predicate in the “participial statement”:

swt fḥb ... swt m33j (205.10)

★I am the one who is released ... ★I am the one who is seen.

There are no evident examples of a passive participle as adjectival predicate in Unis's texts. In adjectival use, the form usually modifies a noun: e.g., *jwn sdm* “eye-painted pillar” (254.23). When followed by a noun, it can be interpreted either as adjectival in the *nfr hr* construction or as the passive predicate of a relative clause: for example, *d dp db3 hnwt* “with head set (to attack), arrayed with a horn” (251.4: literally, “set of head, arrayed of horn”), *ḥmm m.f* “whose identity is unknown” (254.3). The second interpretation rather than the first is required by relative clauses in which the subject of the passive participle is not a noun or is not expressed, or when the verb is intransitive:

k3.k nn w3š jrrw nn jr.f (282.4)

this is your esteemed bull, to whom this is done

ḥrw pj WNJS ... wdd n.f z3w tw rw (294.1–2)

★I am Horus ... who was commanded, ‘Beware of the lion’

k3.k pw nn w3š jrrw n r.f (238.3)¹⁵

this is your esteemed bull, at whose word one acts

k3 jnw ḥnh m hm.f (320.7)

bull of baboons, in whose absence one lives —

literally, “done this to him,” “commanded to him ‘Beware of the lion’,” “done at his mouth,” and “lived in ignorance of him.”

Other uses of a passive participle as predicate of a relative clause are more straightforward: for example, *r' ndd m' WNJS* “the Sun, who is tended by ★my agency” (250.5–6), *mkt.f m jryt r.f* “★my protection is what was done to ★me” (256.3), *ḥknt m hrwj.s snw*

15 *n r.f* rather than Sethe's *n jr.f* confirmed by first-hand examination of the wall; *n r.f* also in Senwosret-ankh and other Middle Kingdom copies.

“she who is endowed with her two faces” (234.3). As these examples illustrate, relative clauses with passive participles can be used both nominally and attributively. Like active participles, passives in relative clauses can also govern other verb forms: *dy sdb.f ḥnh.f* “who was made to revive and live” (219.25/33).

15.7 THE SYNTAX OF THE *SDMTJ.F*

The *sdmtj.f* is used only as a noun or a relative predicate in Unis’s texts. Four examples of nominal use are attested: *nj hnwt.f nb* “there is none who will turn away” (218.3), *z̄y zpt.f WNJS zpt.f* “Which is the one who will remain? *I am the one who will remain” (295.3), *hn̄ qsn̄.sn* “with those who will have difficulty” (311.10).

Relative uses are more common (77.7, 214.7, 258.10, 260.20, 307.7, 318.8). These behave like active participles. Noteworthy is the placement of the adjective *nb* between the verb and an object: *s̄dmt.f nb m.f* “anyone who will hear his name” (77.7).

15.8 MEANING OF THE PARTICIPIAL FORMS

The *sdmtj.f* is uniformly prospective in reference (§ 13.2). In all but one instance, the reference is temporally future: that is, yet to occur with respect to the temporal frame of the utterance: for example,

jw̄t.sn r WNJS m jm̄j-rd

my n.f my n.f (260.20)

Those who would come against *me as an impediment,
come to *me, come to *me!

In the case of 311.10 *qsn̄.sn*, however, the temporal frame is that set by the preceding clauses, and the verb form is prospective with respect to them rather than, or only secondarily, to the context of the utterance:

m̄z̄w m hrw̄j snw

mdw̄w m wtwt mr hn̄ qsn̄.sn hn̄ sk.sn

jm.sn d̄z̄ ḥ.sn

md̄r WNJS jr.k (311.9–11)

Those who see with two faces,

who argue about the painful wrapped one with those who will (then) have
difficulty, and with the one they would wipe out,

let them not cross their arm

when *I turn to you.¹⁶

16 The passage is addressed to the Sun traveling through the netherworld. The “painful wrapped one” is Osiris.

The active and passive participles are unmarked for tense or mood. In Unis's texts, they are used with respect to a number of different temporal references and both for statements of fact as well as those with subjunctive sense. In each case, the tense and mood derive from the context: for example,

- past: *‘m j̄rt 7t.f hpr.n s̄fht.f nhbw.t* “who swallowed his seven uraei and his seven neckbones evolved” (318.2)
- gnomic: *WNJS pj wnm ḥkȝ.sn.j.‘m ȝȝw.sn* “★I am the one who eats their magic and swallows their effectiveness” (273–74.33)
- prospective subjunctive: *nhmw mswt.f m ‘f sk s un.t* “who would take ★my supper from ★me when it is present” (254.48).

Participles with the geminated stem are similarly unmarked. They usually have gnomic reference but also express prospective subjunctive meaning:

sȝtȝ wȝwt r swȝw
sȝtm rwdw r prrw (254.11–12)

The paths are made inaccessible to those who would pass,
 the terraces are made to end to those who would go up.

The stem appears often (16 of 32 examples, 50%) in participles with plural or dual referents or adjuncts:¹⁷ for example,

ntrw jpf sbqjw sȝȝjw (269.13)
 yonder wise and experienced gods

jnw mw dw ‘b‘bt
jrrw hy m hpȝ n jtw.sn (260.3)
 who fetch water, administer scrubbing,
 and make “ha!” with the foreleg of their fathers.

The use of the geminated stem in the second of these examples is particularly illuminating, since it contrasts with two participles with the base stem that have exactly the same function: in this case, the only apparent distinction is the plurality inherent in the adjunct of *jrrw* as opposed to the singular objects of *jnw* and *dw*.¹⁸ Although the geminated stem can be triggered by plurality, it is also used to denote plurality of action. This is most apparent in cases where it contrasts with a base-stem participle that expresses a single action: for instance,

17 First noted by Schenkel 1965.

18 Despite the grammatical, and possibly lexical, plurality of *mw* “water” (§ 6.7).

zn jr.k znn jr.k (218.8)

who surpassed you and continues to surpass you

WNJS pj drt ms tw mss tw (307.18)

*I am henceforth the one who gave you birth and continues to give you birth.

These features identify, on the one hand, gemination in the 2-lit. passive participles as a formal feature rather than a lexical stem. Unlike participles with lexical gemination, 2-lit. passive participles can denote a single past act:

hrw pj WNJS ... wdd n.f z3w tw rw

pr wd n.f z3w tw rw (294.1–2)

*I am Horus ..., who was commanded, “Beware of the lion!”;
who emerged commanded, “Beware of the lion!”

On the other hand, the features of lexically geminated participles identify prefixed 2-lit. and 4ae-inf. active participles as probably equivalent forms. They are used with plural referents and adjuncts, and denote plurality of action: e.g., *wptjw.f.j.tmw wrd* “his untiring messengers” (309.6), *j.lym’ wpwt* “Seizer of Forelocks” (273–74.25), *wnm lk3.sn j.’m zhw.sn* “one who eats their magic and swallows their effectiveness” (273–74.33).

15.9 OCCURRENCES

2-lit.

active — *zht* 256.4, 260.19, 273–74.12, 298.1; *z* 219.41, 248.1, 251.3, 251.7, 252.2/9, 254.3, 262.6, 303.5, 307.16, *zt* 219.41, 268.11, 308.4, *zw* 301.29, 303.12; *zm* 273–74.33, *zm* 318.2; *q* 207.2; *[wd]* 318.3; *sbšw* 273–74.56; *smnt* 301.6; *mr* 246.6, 311.9; *mht* 48.2; *nšw* 224.17; *j.rhw* 215.6, 311.2; *rs* 204.2, 262.15, 317.2; *hd* 47.4, 54.4, 219.71, 262.24, 291.1–2, *hdt* 43.2, 161.1/3, *hdjt* 269.16, *hdw* 45.2, 125.1; *j.lym* 267.8, *j.lymt* 320.3, *j.lymw* 218.12; *sspt* 269.16; *zkzk* 276.2; *gp* 273–74.1; *j.tmw* 309.6; *j.dr* 204.6; *dd* 250.7

passive — *wtwt* 311.9; *wdd* 294.2; *fhlj/fhl* 205.10; *nhmhm* 218.10; *ndd* 250.6; *lymm* 254.3

2ae-inf.

active — *j* 230.8, *jt* 262.21, *jw* 139.1, *jwt* 297.1–2; *zj* 25.2, 25+200.2, *sz3t* 229.2; *sw* 285.5; *tj* 279.1

passive — *ny* 241.2; *zz* 281.1, *zzw* 251.8; *tw* 88.3, 111.3, *tj* 243.1

sdmjt.f — *jwt.sn* 260.20

2ae-gem.

active — *zccw* 301.29; *wr* 81.4, 25+200.10–11, 205.7, 210.3, 219.85, 222.8–9/17/34, 227.1, 249.4/8, 250.2, 254.8/20/30/55, 255.9/14, 262.22, 273–74.17/43/45/49, 275.5, 280.2, 301.27, 305.14, 311.12, 320.5, *wrj* 222.15, 257.11, *wrr* 218.9, *wrw* 247.2,

254.40, 262.24, 273–74.34, 301.29, *wrt* 220.3/9–10, 221.1–2/10–11, 239.1–2, 247.6, 249.8, 250.4/7, 254.1/43, 255.4, 262.23, 267.4, 268.1, 271.3/10, 301.17, 302.8, 311.12, 317.3–4/7; *m33w* 254.37, 311.9; *j.hnnw* 204.1; *hnw* 254.43; *šrr* 272.3, 305.15, *šrrw* 273–74.36; *s3j* 247.3, *s33jw* 269.13, *s33w* 273–74.54; *km* 48.3, 49.3, 55.3, 227.1, 228.2, 246.3, 290.1, *kmt* 43.2, 246.3

passive — *m33j* 205.10

sdmtj.f — *m33tj.sn* 77.7

3-lit.

active — *s3hdt* 251.6; *3zb* 261.2; *jfb* 273–74.16; *jw* 127.1; *juwt* 222.20; *jmn* 293.1; *jsd* 247.15; *nb3* 317.3, *nb3w* 286.1; *nh3* 216.7, 260.11, 270.9, 273–74.5/14/23, 302.2, *nhw* 213.3, 221.7, 224.14, 252.5, 273–74.68, *nh3* 301.12; *h3* 301.12, *h3w* 251.2; *h* 246.16, *h3w* 263.8, *nh3w* 254.50; *w3ht* 222.14; *w3x* 238.3, 282.4; *w3d* 218.10, 228.2, 271.1, 317.2, *w3dw* 301.36, *w3dt* 162.1/3, 273–74.53, 317.5; *w* 210.4–5, 252.6, 303.2, 304.13, 305.6, *wbt* 305.7, *nbw* 204.2; *wbn* 249.2, 254.23; *wnm* 273–74.15/23/33; *w3b* 273–74.5; *wsr* 273–74.9, *wsrt* 251.7; *wttj* 301.6; *wtzw* 255.4; *wd3* 319.2, *wd3w* 125.1, *wd3t* 44.6; *wdt* 251.6; *b3qt* 204.3, 246.4; *bz3t* 42.2; *pinq* 262.27; *pndn* 222.6; *pzh* 230.6–7, 242.2; *ptrt* 273–74.12; *m3r* 216.2, 260.11; *mt* 93.6, 270.9; *nfr* 205.11, 247.13, 263.9, *nfrw* 220.7, 306.1, *nfrt* 205.14–16, 252.9, 254.21/25; *nhrw* 114.1; *nhmw* 254.47–49; *nlt* 251.4, 254.51; *nd3* 90.2, 145.1, *ndst* 219.45; *ndm* 254.56; *[rwdt]* 244.1; *hz* 287.3'; *htp* 44.3, 247.5–6, 262.9, *htpw* 224.16, 306.1; *htmw* 45.2; *h3r* 273–74.24; *h3zt* 282.1–2; *hbd* 255.6; *h3p* 126.1; *hpr* 257.8, *hprt* 247.6; *hsr* 227.3; *hsf* 262.24, 273–74.26; *sh3* 305.13; *šnmtj* 301.2; *sškrt* 81.4; *št3w* 213.4; *zw3* 251.5; *s3b* 228.2, 290.1; *s3h* 247.15; *sjn* 246.7; *sbqjw* 269.13; *spr* 218.3; *sp3* 273–74.25; *spd* 222.11, 248.3, 251.5, 262.10–11, *spdt* 251.4; *snk* 250.9; *sh3m* 249.4, 257.12, 273–74.43, 273–74.49, *sh3mw* 273–74.43, 320.2; *sdmt* 318.3; *sdrw* 210.2; *q3s* 273–74.27; *qsn* 262.12; *ttj* (du) 308.4/9; *t3z* 254.34, 273–74.21; *d3r* 246.6, *d3rw* 254.53, *d3rt* 273–74.53/56

passive — *3x* 124.3, *3šrt* 131.3, 207.4, *s3šrt* 207.4, 212.7; *jmn* 273–74.19; *jth* 89.3, 112.3, 223.4, *jtht* 112.1/3, 121.1, 124.1, 141.1; *gt* 163.3, 164.3; *pr* 273–74.16; *nh3* 320.7; *wdt* 273–74.19; *nhmt* 54.2, 56.2; *nknt* 255.9; *ng3* 314.1; *hjmt* 156.1; *hknw* 282.3, *hknt* 234.3; *hnft* 119.1, 159.1; *šnm* 301.4, *šnmt* 75.2; *šnt* 299.3; *sh3t* 93.4; *tw3* 214.8; *dw3* 217.14; *db3* 251.4

sdmtj.f — *nhbt.f* 318.8; *sdmt.f* 77.7; *qsntj.sn* 311.10

3ae-inf.

active — *3w* 232.2, 235.1, 248.3, 281.1, 285.6, 286.1/3; *jwt* 311.4; *jn* 295.1, *jnn* 248.3, *jnw* 209.3, 215.1, 246.7, 260.3, 273–74.24; *jr* 249.3, 261.9, 273–74.22, *jrw* 254.46/58, 255.11, 273–74.67, 301.5, *jrrw* 260.3, *jrtj* 301.6; *jk* 238.2, 292.1–2, *jkj* 238.1, 279.1; *jt* 317.11, *jtt* 283.3; *wp* 252.6, 257.10, *wpp* 34.2; *wdw* 273–74.38; *bnjt* 169.1/3, 269.16;

p³ 302.24; *pr* 32.5 b–d, 49.2, 55.2, 94–95.3, 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1, 210.3, 222.1, 226.2, 241.2, 249.8, 269.8, 271.1, 291.1–2, 294.1–2, 298.2, 307.16, 311.12, 317.3, *prj* 32.5 a, *prvw* 254.12, *prt* 93.4, 219.76, 226.3, 233.1–2, *prtj* 308.5; *fss* 273–74.32; *mlj* 271.1; *ms* 273–74.8, 307.18, *mss* 307.18, *mst* 211.5, 248.2; *nm* 293.5, *nmt* 293.5; *nn* 218.9; *nh* 292.2, *nhj* 292.1, *nhy* 238.1–2; *nly* 262.18; *rmt* 258.7; *rdj* 205.6; *h³w* 311.8; *h* 205.7; *hmj* 316.1; *htt* 240.5; *šw* 42.3, 205.13, 260.6, *hw* 267.7; *š[bšb]* 222.21; *[j.shm]* 318.1; *hn* 262.26, *hnnw* 252.8; *šnt* 218.3; *z³z* 273–74.26; *zn* 218.8, *znn* 218.8, *znt* 254.32; *sbw* 130.1; *st* 230.2; *tkj* 292.1; *tn* 215.24, *t³j* 254.24; *tz* 317.2, *tzj* 286.3; *d³w* 260.3; *dndn* 222.7; *d³y* 210.9; *dw* 23–24.2–3

passive — *jrrw* 238.3, 282.4, *jryt* 256.3, 306.5, *jrwt* 81.4; *jhy* 273–74.1; *d* 251.4; *ndj* 222.5/23; *hw* 235.1; *shdw* 260.23; *dj* 311.2, *dy* 219.25/33
sdm³tj.f — *wdt.f* 307.7; *hmwt.f* 218.3, 258.10; *zpt.f* 295.3

3ae-gem.

active — *p³tt* 315.1; *j.sš³w* 131.1

4-lit.

active — *htt* 315.1 (see § 3.12)

4ae-inf.

active — *ʒgb* 311.12; *j³w* 273–74.37, *j³wt* 273–74.37; *m³t* 257.2; *msdd* 247.12, *msddw* 23–24.2; *md* 23–24.3a, *mdw* 23–24.2–3, 306.11, *mdww* 311.9; *mdr* 230.13; *mpt* 170.3; *j.lm³* 273–74.25; *špsj* 249.1; *šmsw* 272.4, *šmst* 230.3; *swʒw* 254.11; *dmd* 250.1; *d³sr* 246.8, 273–74.26, 295.2, *d³rw* 263.8

passive — *sbg* 230.4; *szwnt* 144.1; *sdm* 254.23; *dsrt* 90.3, 145.3, 146.3 (*d³sr*), 316.2
sdm³tj.f — *mdt.f* 214.7

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16. THE IMPERATIVE

16.1 FORMS

The imperative is a single form with singular and non-singular alternants; there is no evidence of a distinction between plural and dual in the latter. Coptic additionally shows a vocalic distinction between masculine and feminine in the imperative *mj* “come”—ms **—MOY** < *[má'a], fs **—MH** < *|[mí'a] or *|[mú'a]—but it is not clear whether this was a feature of this imperative only or of all imperatives; no distinction is visible in hieroglyphs.

The singular of 3ae-inf. verbs shows an occasional ending **—w**: *zɜw* (280.2, 294.2 vs. *zɜ* 23–24.5, 214.1, 224.18, 271.8–9), *tzw* (247.11). This points to a vocalic ending, possibly ***[a]**; thus, *tzw* ***[tʃi0ia]**, also reflected in 2ae-gem. *mɜ* (215.5) and *hw* (217.20/29), representing ***[m̚lla]** and ***[h̚wwa]**. Non-singular forms often (61%) show the ending **—y**: *j.zy* (217.5/12), *zmɜy* (271.2), *jry* (251.1), *jdy* (254.1), *mhy* (204.7), *mky* (260.17), *hɜy* (271.5), *hny* (257.15), *dndy* (271.3). This ending is preserved in *my* “come” (260.20) > Coptic **—ΜΩΕΙ/—ΜΗΕΙ** and probably reflects an original ***[i] > [y]**; thus, *my* for ***[má'ai] > *[má'ay] > —ΜΩΕΙ**; analogously, therefore, *zmɜy* for ***[θ̚mlai] > *[θ̚mlay]**. In 217.12 *hwvw* “announce,” the plural ending is **—w** (vs. 217.5 plural *hw*); in this case, the ending probably represents the ***[a]** of the form rather than the (unwritten) ***[i]** of the number.

Final-weak verbs occasionally show a final **—j** in the imperative: *j.zj* “go” (214.3), *tff* “spit out” (287.3, 288.4), *nhzj* “rouse” (210.2, plural). In the case of the singulars, this probably represents the hiatus between the final vowel of the root and the imperative ending; e.g., *j.zj* ***[aθi'a]**. For the plurals, it may represent either the same or the plural ending; e.g., *nhzj* ***[nihθi'ai]** or ***[nihθia'i]**. Three instances of the singular have a final **—γ** (*nγ* “glide” 281.5), in this case probably representing a glide between the root vowel and the ending: ***[niθia] > *[niθiya]**.

Verbs with biliteral roots are usually prefixed in the imperative: 19 of 37 2-lit. examples (51%) and 11 of 13 2ae-inf. examples (85%). This feature is preserved in some Coptic imperatives as well, although the remainder of that form is apparently derived from the infinitive rather than an original imperative: e.g., **^ΕΥΕΝ** “open” < ***[awín]** vs. 167.1 *j.wn* ***[awina]**. Given the prevalence of the feature in the Pyramid Texts and its survival in Coptic, it is probably a uniform element of biliteral imperatives, with non-prefixed forms simply not indicating the initial vowel: thus, both 311.7' *j.wd* and 311.7 *wd* representing ***[awida]**. Two prefixed imperatives also appear among the 74 examples of 3ae-inf. verbs in Unis’s texts: 210.1 *j.qɜ* “go on high” and 252.1 *j.bz* “induct” (plural). In this case, the prefix probably represents an alternative vocalization of the form’s initial syllable: i.e., ***[aqlia]** vs. ***[qalia]**, and ***[abθiai]** vs. ***[baθiai]**. The prefix also appears in examples of the anom. imperative *mj* “give” (𓀃 *j.mj* 240.5, 269.14, 272.2 vs. 𓀃 281.3 *mj*).

Apart from the last, the verb *rdj* “give” also has an imperative  in Unis’s texts (83.2). Whether this represents regular *dj* * or anom. *mj* is unclear; the latter is indicated by 272.2 N  for WP  and 269.14 P  for WM . For the irregular verb *wdj/dj* “put,” an imperative is attested for both base stems:  *d* (23–24.4, 301.22) and  *wd* (303.6, pl).

16.2 SYNTAX

The imperative is used to command action. It is regularly the first element in its clause and is not preceded by proclitic particles. It frequently occurs with vocatives, which may precede the imperative clause, interrupt it, or follow it: e.g.,

- đhw̄tj j.zj ḥw n n̄trw jm̄ntjw* (217.20)
Thoth, go, announce to the western gods.
- jmn tn r̄hw̄t dp ḥwj WNJS* (320.5)
Hide yourselves, subjects, before *me.
- j̄kw WNJS* (93.5)
Wash yourself, Unis.

The imperative is occasionally used with a referential prepositional phrase consisting of the preposition *jr* with a pronominal suffix reflecting the one(s) to whom the imperative is addressed (§ 8.4). The prepositional phrase regularly follows the imperative immediately but after a pronoun object: e.g.,

- j̄q jr.k jr bw hr jt.k* (214.12)
Mount, for your part, to where you father is.
- j.wd w r.k j.wd w j.wd w* (311.7')
Commend me, for your part, commend me, commend me.

The imperative is also used with the enclitic particle *m/my* “please” (or the like: § 9.5E), which behaves similarly:

- j.bl̄ m* (285.2)
Please, spit out.
- dd my n špsj m m.f pw* (249.1)
Please tell the noble one, of whatever identity.

Transitive verbs can take a nominal or pronominal object in the imperative, and the imperative can also have a dative as well as other prepositional phrases. These elements follow the regular VsdoSOA word order (§ 15.5): e.g.,

- j̄b n.k s jr r.k* (87.2)
Collect it for yourself to your mouth.

jf sw n jsjr (23–24.3)

Acquire him for Osiris.

Exceptions to this order involve the dative phrase *n WNJS* “for Unis” edited from an original **n.j* “for *me” but left in the position of a pronominal dative: e.g.,

j r' pzḥ n WNJS t' pzḥ n WNJS gbb (230.5)

Oh, Sun! Bite for *me the earth, bite for *me Geb.

Compare, with regular word order:

jry wʒt n WNJS (251.1)

Make way for *me.

In the case of an extended object, however, the nominal dative could apparently behave like a pronominal one:

jn n WNJS sfrt htp hrt psdw jsjr (321.1)¹

Get *me “Salve of Contentment on Osiris’s Back.”

The imperative *zʒ/zʒw* “beware” is regularly used with a referential dependent pronoun preceding a nominal object:

zʒw t̄w rw (294.1; sim. 214.1, 224.18, 246.6, 271.8–9, 280.2)

Beware of the lion—

literally, “guard, you, the lion” or “guard yourself: the lion.”

The imperative can also govern the *sdm.f* or a clause with an initial *sdm.f*. Examples in Unis’s texts involve the imperatives *zʒ* “beware” and *j.mj* “give”:

zʒ m.k sflyhw jm.f (23–24.5)

Beware that you not let loose of him.

j.mj j.wn.tj n.f nw (272.2)

Have this opened to *me.

The last of these can also govern a statement with nominal subject and following stative:²

j j.mj h̄jw zbn (240.5)

O, make the monster be off.

1 So too An and in the version of N, *jn n PJPJ NFR-Kʒ-R'* *qd htp jrt hn̄m* “Get *me ‘Shape of Contentment That Khnum Made’,” but Nt *jn qd htp n nt jrt hn̄m* “Get ‘Shape of Contentment’ for *me, which Khnum made.” Sim., 310.9 *jn n WNJS j.pʒ.s hn̄n.s* “Get *me ‘Whenever It Flies It Lands’,” followed by PAnMN.

2 See Peust 2006.

16.3 OCCURRENCES

2-lit.

singular — *sjr* 215.2, 217.33, 222.43, 223.8, *j.sr* 86.3; *j.cm* 226.3; *j.wn* 167.1, 304.3/5; *wd* 213.4, 311.7, *j.wd* 311.7'; *b3* 301.35; *bš* 285.2, *j.bl* 285.2; *pd* 25+200.11; *j.mn* 306.17; *j.mz* 223.8; *rs* 81.2, 210.1; *j.hr* 229.3, 233.3, 277.2, 289.2, 297.5, 314.2; *j.gr* 86.3; *j.dr* 255.7, 267.8

plural — *rs* 210.2

dual — *[j].wn* 313.2; *dd* 249.1

2ae-inf.

singular — *j.nn* 223.2, 224.6; *j.zj* 23–24.3, 214.3, 217.20/29, 254.26, 288.1; *tj* 279.2

dual — *j.zγ* 217.5, 217.12

2ae-gem.

singular — *m3/m33* 215.5;³ *hw* 217.20/29

dual — *hw* 217.5, *hwvw* 217.12

3-lit.

singular — *j3q* 214.12, 301.20, 306.9; *jmn* 293.1; *jzn* 246.12; *cb3* 207.13; *ch̄r* 223.3/12, 246.12, 247.12, 267.8, 296.1, 301.27, 305.8; *w3h* 255.7; *wcb* 301.33; *sb3q* 301.33; *pn̄r* 226.5, 227.4; *pšr* 219.76; *pzh* 230.5–6; *m3r* 254.13; *rkh* 207.3; *htp* 85.2'; *htm* 219.81/86/91/96; *hd* 204.4; *hnm* 254.25; *hzp* 93.7, 117.1, 199.2, 223.12, 247.13, 253.5, 301.18; *zbn* 226.3, 229.3, 233.3, 277.2, 289.2, 297.5, 298.6, 314.2; *spd* 301.35; *[s]t* 313.1; *sdr* 226.3, 237.2, 293.7, 297.5, 298.6; *[q̄h]* 304.8

plural — *jmn* 320.5; *p̄hr* 318.8; *snd* 260.18; *db3* 252.3

dual — *jcb* 218.14; *jnq* 218.13; *ch̄r* 271.5; *htp* 271.2; *htm* 313.2; *zm3y* 271.2

3ae-inf.

singular — *3w* 281.3, 285.6; *jn* 23–24.3, 82.2, 300.2, 310.7/9, 321.1; *jr* 247.12, 254.4; *j̄t* 23–24.2–3, 43.3, 113.1, 118.1, 286.1, 301.20; *dj* 23–24.4, 301.22; *pr* 82.4; *f3* 93.2–3; *n̄r* 281.5'; *n̄γ* 281.5; *rw* 243.2; *dj(?)* 83.2; *h3* 234.2; *hm* 234.3; *hbl* 227.4; *ssw* 253.6; *hn* 215.2, 217.33, 222.43; *z3* 23–24.5, 214.1, 224.18, 271.8–9, *z3w* 280.2, 294.2; *sq* 254.14; *j.q3* 210.1; *tf* 243.4, *t̄f* 287.3, 288.4; *tzw* 247.11; *d3* 254.13; *dd* 311.8

plural — *jn* 300.4; *jry* 251.1; *jdy* 254.1; *wd* 303.6; *j.bz* 252.3; *f3* 252.1; *mr* 269.7; *mhy* 204.7; *mky* 260.17; *h3y* 271.5; *hny* 257.15; *z3* 246.6

dual — *jn* 300.4; *hd* 210.10

3 PT 215.5  can be read either as *m33 w* “see me” or as *m3 3 w* “just see me,” the former geminated ($\star[m^{\circ}ll^{\circ}la]$); similarly, PT 501C.8, 583.1. Plural *m3*, representing $\star[m^{\circ}llai]$, occurs in 599.5. PT 427.1 *pss* (singular) could represent geminated $\star[paxxaxa/paššaša]$. For 215.5, MK copies have both *m33* and *m3*, and for 427.1, *pss/pzš*.

4ae-inf.

singular — *hms* 86.3, 213.2, 223.3, 305.8; *swʒ* 254.24

plural — *nhzj* 210.2

dual — *dmdy* 271.3

anom.

singular — *m* “don’t” 23–24.5, 223.9, 232.3, 262.1/4–5/78/10–11/13–14/16–17,
283.3, 288.2/4; *m* “come” 32.6, 83.3; *j.mj* “give” 240.5, 269.14, 272.2, *mj* 281.3

plural — *my* “come” 260.20

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17. THE STATIVE

17.1 FORM

The stative is a single form, consisting of a verbal base and an obligatory ending that designates person, gender, and number. It is cognate with the Akkadian form known as the stative or permansive and with the perfect of Semitic and some Hamitic languages. Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 155 instances of the stative.

17.2 ENDINGS

Pronominal endings are attested for 1s, 2s, 3ms, 3fs, 3mpl, 2du, 3mdu, and 3fdu statives in Unis's Pyramid Texts. Their vocalization can be reconstructed for the most part on the basis of Akkadian cognates, and for 3s forms on the basis of Coptic survivals, as follows:

1s	$\star[-áku]$ ¹	
	—	k 132.1, 304.10, 311.3', 311.5
2s	m $\star[-áta]$, f $\star[-áti]$	
	—	t 25.4, 25+200.4, 85.2, 213.1, 215.25, 219.49, 220.7, 223.6, 245.9, 246.2, 262.1/4, 262.7/10/13/16, 267.14, 301.18–19, 306.16
	ꜥ	tj 213.1, 220.7, 245.9, 301.28
	ꜥ	tj 218.6, 220.7, 222.17/19/21/24, 232.3, 240.4, 278.3
	‑ꜥ	tj 306.18
3ms	$\star[-a]$	
	—	36.6, 93.2–3, 210.14, 216.5–6, 217.22, 218.5, 219.63, 220.4/10, 221.12, 222.16, 223.6, 231.1, 237.1, 240.5, 242.2, 247.7–8/10, 249.2, 252.2, 254.20/27/47/51, 255.9/16, 257.6/10, 258.4, 260.11/14, 262.1–2/4/7/9–10/13/15–16/19, 273–74.4/17/50/66, 278.1, 285.6, 293.6, 294.3/5, 301.10, 304.9, 305.7
	ɿ	j 254.9, 262.19, 282.3
	ɿ	y 238.3, 247.12, 260.2, 261.2, 307.4
3fs	$\star[-ta]$	
	—	t 79–80.2, 122.1, 215.16, 219.76, 254.25, 254.48, 273–74.6
	ꜥ	tj 215.16'
3mpl	$\star[-a^?u] > \star[-aw]$	
	ꜥ	w 32.2, 146.1, 231.2, 273–74.15, 286.2
	ꜥ	jw 36.5
2du	$\star[-tuna]$	

1 Reflected in Late Egyptian spellings of the *sdm.f* with 2ms suffix subject like the 1s stative: e.g., KRI IV, 79, 15–16 *r rdjt*   $\star[rixák]$ *m.f* “to let you know his name.”

 *twn* 217.3/10/18/27

3mdu *[-u²a]
— 302.10

3fdū *-[ta²a] > *-[taya]
— *t* 37.2
 *tj* 273–74.42
— *ty* 308.5.

The 2(f)s form has the ending  in 220.7 *rmpw.tj* “rejuvenated”; this may reflect a final radical *[-u], as usually interpreted for this 4ac-inf. verb (*rmpw*), but it could also represent an alternative spelling of the 2fs ending: i.e., *-[ranpuáti] > *-[ranpuwáti] or simply *-[ranpiáti].² The 3s forms are represented by Coptic reflexes such as ^b**ΖΟΚΕΡ** / ^m**ΖΑΚΡ** / ^s**ΖΟΚΡ** < 3ms *-[háqra] “hungry” and ^{al}**ΖΚΕΕΤ** / ^s**ΖΚΑΕΙΤ** / **ΖΚΟΕΙΤ** < 3fs *-[haqárta] “hungry.” The masculine forms with final *-j* or *-y* are all of final-weak verbs. Coptic suggests that the final radical vowel of such verbs became a glottal stop in the 3ms stative: e.g., **ΜΟΣΕ** “born” < *-[más²a] < *-[másia]. Final *-j* may therefore represent the vocalic ending: e.g., 282.3 *ḥj* for *-[xí²a]; final *-y* probably represents an alternative realization of the final radical vowel: e.g., 307.4 *msy* for *-[másia] > *-[másya].

The 3mpl ending is normally assumed to be *[-u],³ but the 2-lit. form in 36.5  *tm.wj* “complete”⁴ points to a bivocalic ending, indicating that the plural was probably formed by adding *[-u] to the singular; this also explains the consistency with which the 3mpl is shown, more likely for *-[a²u] > *-[aw] than for a simple vocalic ending like that of the singular.

The 2(m)du ending  *twn* represents *-[t n̩]; if the plural ending was masculine *-[tunu] (feminine *-[tina]), as in Akkadian, and the dual ending was distinct, it may have been distinguished by the final vowel, thus *-[tuna]. Third-person forms with dual referents appear to be distinct from the plurals.⁵ The absence of an ending on 3mdu *sdr* “having spent the night” (302.10),⁶ with reference to 302.9 *bȝwj* “two bas,” is surprising; this may represent the masculine singular used in place of the dual, which elsewhere has the ending *-wy* (e.g., 510.51–52 *htp.wy* and *ȝpt.wy*, 587.5/37 *tm.wy*). A final *-y* is also visible in the fullest form of the 3fdū, in 308.5 *ḥȝ.ty* “naked”; in both cases,

2 Evidence for *w* representing *-[a] appears in the use of this morpheme for the 3ms stative ending in Middle Egyptian, attested in the Pyramid Texts in 508.15 P^a *m-k PJP[J pn] pr.w*. See also Werning 2016.

3 E.g., Werning 2016, 34 n. e.

4 W only, written with  above , so not **tm.wj*. All other OK copies (TPNtWd and Ibi) have *tm.w*; Senwosret-ankh has *tm.j* at the end of a column, probably for Unis’s *tm.j(w)* with *w* omitted for lack of space. Other MK and later copies have *tm*, with no ending.

5 *Pace* Allen 2013a. 67.

6 Also in PN and the MK copies of Siese and Senwosret-ankh.

this may represent a secondary glide: thus, masculine $\star[-u^?a]$ or $\star[-a^?a] > \star[-uya/aya]$ and feminine $\star[-ta^?a] > \star[-taya]$.

17.3 THE VERBAL BASE

The stative of 2-lit. verbs is occasionally prefixed (10 of 36 examples, 34%). The prefix is found with only three of the twelve verbs attested in the stative: *mn* “stay” (2 of 3 examples),⁷ *rh* “learn” (7 of 17 examples), and *tm* “fail” (1 example). This fairly low rate of occurrence and restricted distribution indicates that the prefix is probably not a regular feature of the 2-lit. stative, unlike the imperative (§ 16.1). It appears on 1s, 2s, and 3ms forms: *j.rh.k* “I know” (311.3’, 311.5); *j.rh.t* “you know” 2s (262.4/7/10/13/16); *j.mn* “set” (273–74.66), *j.rh* “he knows” (262.4/7), *j.tm* “has failed” (237.1). In some of these it is a variant of the regular form:

s_t tw rh.t sw s_t sw rh tw (262.1)
s_t tw j.rh.t sw s_t sw j.rh tw (262.4/7)
s_t tw j.rh.t sw s_t sw rh tw (262.10/13/16)

you know \star me as \star I know you.

For the 1s and 2s forms, this could represent a phonological variant: i.e., *rh.t* \star [rixáta] ~ *j.rh.t* \star [irxáta]; similarly, *rh.k* (\star 768.13 P) \star [rixáku] ~ *j.rh.k* \star [irxáku]. That is not the case for 3ms forms, however, since *j.rh* is unlikely to represent a phonological structure of the base different from that of *rh* \star [ríxa]. In that light, it is possible that the prefix marks (optionally) the otherwise invisible geminated stem, as in active participles (§ 15.2): thus, *j.rh* for \star [aríxxa]. Both *rh* “learn, know” and *tm* “fail” are involved in both forms, as well as the antonym of *rh*, *lm* “not know,” in the participle. For the stative, a geminated stem is also attested in 273–74.15 *jw.w* “they have come” (3mpl \star [íwaw]).⁸ The normative connotation of this stem suits the examples of *rh* and *mn*; for 237.1 *tf.j.tm* “the spittle has failed,” the gemination could have been triggered by the inherent “plurality” of the subject, a liquid (§ 6.7). A prefix also appears on one 2ae-inf. and one 3ae-inf. instance: 132.1 *j.z³.k* “I have gone” and 146.1 *j.s³n.w* “they are rounded.”

Verbs of the 2ae-gem. class usually show only one of the geminated radicals in most examples. This accords with the evidence from Coptic, which indicates that they were reduced to biliterals in the stative: e.g., 2ae-gem. *km* “dark” (3ms) > **KHM**, like 2-lit. *qd* “built” (3ms) > **KHT**. The sole trilateral form is 273–74.64 *qrr.t* “boiled” (3fs); given the usual biliteral pattern, this probably represents geminated \star [q³rr³rta], since it has a plural adjunct: *qrr.t n WNJS m qsw.sn* “boiled for \star me with their bones.”

7 PT 273–74.66 *j.mn j.mn* “ever set.” This could be read as 3-lit. *jmn jmn* “ever hidden,” but T’s spelling  is better suited to a prefixed 2-lit. form.

8 For the stem, see § 1.12. In this case, the stem reflects either the plurality of the subject or the regularity of the action (“whenever they have come”), or both.

17.4 MEANING AND SYNTAX

The stative expresses the action of the verb as completed. This has two main connotations, depending on the context in which the form is used: perfect, if the primary interest is on the completed action itself; and stative, if the primary interest is on the result of the completed action: for example,

zj.t ddk hn^r k³.k (25.4, 25+200.4)

You too have gone with your ka.

hr.t r.f (245.9)

You are far from him.

Most of Unis's 155 examples of the form (93, 68%) are stative in meaning.

The stative is neutral with respect to voice. Transitive verbs appear in 42 (31%) examples of the stative, usually with passive sense—that is, denoting the result of the action on the verb's subject: e.g.,

z^h n WNJS sht m j³rw (210.14)

*My booth is plaited of reeds.

They can, however, be used actively as well, with a direct object:

h³w pzh b³bt pr (242.2)

The biting snake has pervaded the house.

This is most common with the stative of the verb *rh* “learn,” which usually denotes knowledge (the result of “having learned”). In such cases, the stative behaves like other finite forms of transitive verbs, with a noun or dependent pronoun as its object: e.g.,

jw WNJS rh sw rh rn.f (301.10)

*I know him and know his name.

The stative appears in two constructions in Unis's texts: as the first element in its clause, or preceded by a nominal or pronominal subject (subject–stative), which is resumed by the ending of the verb form.

17.5 CLAUSE-INITIAL

The stative appears in clause-initial position in Unis's Pyramid Texts with four functions: to express a completed action or a general state, to command a state, to express a concomitant state, and to express an attributive state.

A. COMPLETED ACTION OR GENERAL STATE (16 examples)

The stative of *rh* “learn” can be used as the first element of a clause and in this function expresses the general state of knowledge:

j.rḥ.k zḥ mnjw hr jb htjw jzkn (311.5; sim. 311.3')

I know the booth of the pavilion in the middle of the terrace of the zenith.

The stative of other verbs in this use has the sense of a perfect. The verb in this case is usually intransitive active but can also be transitive with passive sense:

prj.lk m¹ bjkt (304.10)⁹

I have come from Falcon-Town.

dd.n gbb pr m r n psdt (218.5)

Geb has spoken, and it has emerged from the mouth of the Ennead.

Other examples are 25.4 and 25+200.4 *zj.t* “you have gone” (cited above), 132.1 *j.z².k* “I have gone,” 218.5 *pr* “it has come,” 223.6 *j.t* “you have come,” 246.2 *ḥr.t* “you have stood up,” 255.16 *shm* “★I have gained control,” and 305.7 *pr* “★I have come.” An example with transitive active sense is

htm.tj n.k tw m wr hk³w (222.17)¹⁰

You have provided your self as Great of Magic.

The anom. verb *j* “say” is used as a clause-initial stative following a direct quotation, to ascribe the quotation to its source:

z².t ... dd.n.t jr.f ms.n.t n.(j) j.t tn (219.49)

your son ... of whom you said, “Someone has been born to me,” said you.

hn̥m n.(j) tw j.t jn jm̥nt nfrt r WNJS (254.25)

“Associate yourself to me,” says the beautiful west about ★me.

Other examples are 3ms *j jn wr sk³t* “says he, the one of much plowing” (254.20) and *j jn ḥnt mnjt.f* “says he, the one in front of his mooring-post” (254.27).

B. COMMAND (3 examples)

The stative can be used as a counterpart of the imperative, to command a state rather than an action:

htp.t hr.s (85.2)

Be content with it.

 *j².tj n.(j)* (232.3)

Begone up for me!

9 Unis's copy has *pr jm.k bjkt*, as does Senwosret-ankh and the Saite copy in TT 33. N and the MK copy Q1Q have *pr m bjkt*, with the original 1s stative converted to third person (similarly, 305.7 *pr m w²bt* “★I have come from a clean place”). The MK copy T3Be has *pr jw.k m bjk*, a misreading of original *prj.k m bjkt* as *pr j.k m bjk*.

10 TNNt and all later copies have *htm.n.k tw*.

s^t3.tj jmj tpht.f (240.4)

Be dragged off, you in his cave!

C. CIRCUMSTANTIAL (62 examples)

Expression of an adverbial state is by far the most common function of the clause-initial stative: for example,

nj šm.n.k js mt.tj

šm.n.k ḫnl.t (213.1)

You have not gone away dead:

you have gone away alive.

nfrw hr.t htp.t m³.tj mpw.tj (220.7)

How fine you look, content, renewed, rejuvenated.

j.n WNJS m³.tn sw ḫpr m ntr ḫ³ (252.2)

Now that *I have come, you see *me changed into the Great God.

z³tj ... prtj ḫrw n WNJS ḫ³.ty (308.4–5)

the twins ... who invoke *me naked.

Other examples are 36.6 *pdpd* “disseminated,” 37.2 *ps^t.t* “split,” 79–80.2 *wd³.t* “sound,” 122.1 *d.t* “put,” 146.1 *j.s̄n.w* “rounded,” 215.25 *j.tm.t* “completed,” 217.22 *db³* “arrayed,” 219.76 *spd.t* “active,” 220.4 *w³b* ... *snd* “clean ... respectful,” 216.5–7 *w³b ḫnl* “clean and alive,” 217.22 *db³* “arrayed,” 219.76 *spd.t* “sharp,” 220.4 *w³b n.t snd n.t* “clean for you and respectful of you,” 222.16 *hd n.f ḫsdm.f* “taken for himself and met,” 222.21 *htm.tj* “provided,” 245.9 *hr.t* “far,” 247.9 *sdm* “heard,” 249.2 *w³b* “clean,” 254.51 *ḥ³* “apparent,” 255.9 *wsr* “powerful,” 257.6 *ḥms* “seated,” 257.10 *m³* “renewed,” 260.14 *ḥnl* “alive,” 261.2 *ȝwy* “extended,” 262.9 *w³* “alone,” 262.15 *wd³* “sound,” 267.14 *hr.t* “far,” 268.10’ *psd* “shining,” 273–74.4 *ḥ³ b³* “apparent and impressive,” 273–74.64 *qrr.t* “boiled,” 273–74.66 *ḥ³ ḫ³j.mn j.mn* “ever apparent, ever set,” 278.1 *ḥsf* “met,” 293.6 *jfn jfn* “turned away, turned away,” 301.18–19 *wd³.t/wd³.tj* “sound,” 301.28 *mh.tj* ... *pr.tj* “full ... emergent.”

In some contexts, the interest is more on the completed action than the resulting state, in which case the stative denotes an action completed prior to the governing clause:

qfn.n snj b³wj ḫntw b³w jwnw hr dp hrw

sdr jr.sn nn n rmwt ntr (302.9–10; sim. 294.3/5)

The two bas foremost of the bas of Heliopolis have bowed down at the day’s start, having spent the night making that bewailing of the god.

ȝȝs.tn hrt j³b.twn m snkw (217.3/10/18/27)

You tread the above, after combining in the depth of night.

wnm wzmw.sn jw.w (273–74.15)

who eats their innards whenever they have come.

The stative also appears as circumstantial to the verb *wnn* “be, exist,” in a construction in which *wnn* carries the primary meaning and the stative adds the notion of a state to which the action of *wnn* is relevant:

j.mn j.mn j.mnw

wn.k WNJS mn.tj hntj.sn (306.17–18)

Become set, become set, alpha bull,
and be, Unis, set at their fore.

D. ATTRIBUTIVE (17 examples)

The stative can be used to express a state as an attribute of the referent of its pronominal ending. There are three variants of this use in Unis’s texts:

1. *tm* “complete”: *ptj tm.tj* “both skies” (273–74.42)—literally, “the two skies, complete.”
2. after an undefined antecedent: *mtwt ntr zj.t* “a god’s seed that has gone” (215.16), *jmmtj w'b* “a clean westerner” (304.9), *jwnw msy m jwnw* “a Heliopolitan born in Heliopolis” (307.4).
3. after a proper name, a noun or noun phrase used as a proper name, or a vocative: *h3 WNJS pw zj* “oh Unis, who has gone” (93.2), *WNJS pw w3s spd* “Unis, esteemed and sharp” (93.3), *k3 htp* “Ka at Rest” (219.63) *hrw hn m z3 jrt.f* “Horus, encircled by the aegis of his eye” (221.12; sim. 220.10), *st3 s[b3b]* “Seth, who slid forth” (222.21). *jsjr b3 ... shm* “Osiris, ba ... in control,” *nbw hiknw h3y t3w* “Gold of Jubilation, apparent in heat” (238.3; sim. 282.3), *msdd qdd sb3gy* “you who hate sleep but were made slack” (247.12), *WNJS ... zy jy* “Unis ... who has gone and come back” (260.2), *wjt ... 3wy 3wt* “*wjt* ... extensively extended” (261.2).

17.6 SUBJECT-STATIVE

There are 55 examples of the subject-stative construction in Unis’s Pyramid Texts. All but one express a statement of fact in a main clause. The exception involves a nominal subject followed by the stative, used as complement of the imperative *j.mj* “give” (§ 16.2 end) to express a desired state:

hnft hrw h3t t3 j.j.mj h3w zbn (240.5)

Horus’s oven that pervades the earth, O let the monster be off—

literally, “give the monster is crawled (off).”

Most of the examples of this construction consist of an initial noun or noun phrase followed by the stative: for example,

tfj.tm

jm jbw zkr jr pr n mwt.f (237.1)

The spittle has failed;

what is in the sacs has sped to the house of its mother.

The noun can also be preceded by a proclitic particle:

m WNJS jj m WNJS jj

m-k WNJS pr (262.19)

Here am *I come, here am *I come:

here am *I emerged.

jw WNJS bȝ m wr pw nb jmjw-jst-ȝwj (273–74.17)

*I am now apparent as the great one who has assistants.

jw WNJS rb sw rb rn.f (301.10)

I know him and know his name.

sk WNJS pr m hrw pn m jrw mȝȝ n ȝbj ȝnh

j.sd wnjs ȝhȝ bȝn.f hnw (260.11–12)

Now that *I have emerged today in the true form of a living akh,

*I break up fighting and restrain disturbance.

Pronominal subjects are regularly expressed with the dependent or suffix pronoun preceded by the same particles: e.g.,

m tw bȝ.tj shm.tj (218.6; sim. 222.19/24)

Here you are, impressive and in control.

m-k jr.k tw ȝpr.tj jr.f m j.mnw n smȝ (306.16)

Here you are, for your part, become a more alpha wild bull than he.

jw wȝhm.n WNJS bȝw m pt

j.f sbn m nb ȝȝt (273–74.50)

*I have now reappeared in the sky

and am now manifested as lord of the Akhet.

m ȝhm wnjs ntr

st tw rȝ.t sw st sw rȝ tw (262.1; sim. 254.47–48, 262.2/4/7/10/13/16)

Do not be unaware of *me, god,

since you know *me and *I know you.

In one instance, the subject of the stative is expressed by an initial independent pronoun, without introductory particle:

*hw ȝ mȝ.k hr dp jsjr wd.f mdw n ȝbjw
twt ȝhȝ.tj hr.t r.f* (245.8–9)

May you just look upon Osiris's head as he governs the akhs,
while you yourself stand far from from.

In this case, the pronoun, though subject, is rhematized, contrasting it with the *ȝbjw* “akhs” mentioned in the preceding clause.¹¹

17.7 OCCURRENCES

2-lit.

jȝ.tj 232.3; *bȝ.tj* 218.6, 222.19/24, *bȝ* 223.6, 273–74.4; *pdpd* 36.6; *j.mn* 273–74.66, *mn.tj* 306.18; *mȝ.tj* 301.28; *rȝ* 262.1–2/10/13/16, *rȝ.t* 262.1, *j.rȝ* 262.4/7, *j.rȝ.t* 262.4/7/10/13/16, *j.rd.k* 311.3', 311.5; *shȝ.w* 231.2; *qs* 231.1; *tm.jw* “complete” 36.5, *tm.t* 215.25, 273–74.42; *j.tm* “fail” 237.1; *dr.w* 231.2

2ae-inf.

j.t 223.6, *jȝ* 260.2, *j.j* 262.19, *jw.w* 273–74.15; *zj.t* 25.4, 25+200.4, 215.16, *zj.tj* 215.16', *zȝ* 260.2, *j.zȝ.k* 132.1; *tj* 285.6

2ae-gem.

wn 247.10, 254.47, *wn.t* 254.48; *mȝ* 247.7; *qrr.t* 273–74.64

3-lit.

jȝb.tvn 217.3/10/18/27; *jfn* 293.6; *ȝnl.t* 213.1, *ȝnl* 216.5–7, 260.14; *ȝhȝ.tj* 245.9, *ȝhȝ.t* 246.2; *wȝȝ* 93.3; *wȝb* 216.5–7, 220.4, 249.2, 304.9; *sbn* 273–74.50; *wsr* 255.9; *wdȝ.t* 79–80.2, 301.18–19, *wdȝ.tj* 301.18, *wdȝ* 262.15; *psȝ.t* 37.2; *ptr* 247.8; *mt.tj* 213.1; *hȝt* 219.63, *hȝt.t* 85.2, 220.7; *htm.tj* 222.17/21; *ȝpr* 252.2, *ȝpr.tj* 306.16; *ȝbn* 240.5, *ȝbn.w* 286.2; *ȝkr* 237.1; *spȝ* 93.3, *spȝ.t* 219.76; *snȝ* 220.4; *ȝȝm* 223.6, 255.16, *ȝȝm.tj* 218.6, 222.19/24; *ȝht* 210.14; *ȝȝtj* 240.4; *ȝȝm* 247.9; *ȝȝr* 294.2/5, 302.10; *ȝȝb* 217.22

3ae-inf.

ȝwy 261.2; *wȝ* 262.9; *d.t* 122.1; *pr.w* 32.2, *pr* 218.5, 260.11, 262.19, 305.7, *pr.tj* 301.28, *prȝ.k* 304.10; *msȝ* 307.4; *ȝȝ.ty* 308.5; *ȝr.t* 245.9, 267.14; *ȝȝy* 238.3, *ȝȝj* 282.3, *ȝȝ* 254.51, 273–74.4/ 17/66; *ȝȝȝt* 242.2; *ȝn* 220.10/12, *j.sȝn.w* 146.1; *ȝd* 222.16; *ȝnj* 254.9

4ae-inf.

mȝ.j 220.7, *mȝ* 257.10; *rnþw.tj* 220.7; *ȝms* 257.6; *ȝsf* 222.16, 278.1

anom.

j.t 219.49, 254.25, *j* 254.20/27

11 See Allen 1994, 6–7.

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18. THE *SDM.N.F* AND OTHER SUFFIXED FORMS

18.1 FORMS

The suffixed forms of the suffix conjugation attested in Unis's Pyramid Texts include 280 examples of the *sdm.n.f*, one of the *sdm.jn.f*, and 5 of the *sdm.k3.f*. Each form consists of a verbal base plus the suffix *n* (ນ), *jn* (ຈນ), or *k3* (ກສ). The suffix follows the complete base, including any determinatives. It, in turn, can be followed immediately by a suffix pronoun, which expresses the verb's subject: e.g., *dd.n.t* “you said” (219.49), *zyl.k3.jf* “★I will strike” (255.12). It can also be followed directly by a noun serving as subject—e.g., *dd.n gbb* “Geb has spoken” (218.5), *pr.jn ds* “so, the knife has emerged” (228.2), *jw.k3 WNJS* “★I will come” (255.9) — but the noun can be separated from the verb form by a pronominal dative or dependent pronominal object: e.g., *jr.n n.f gbb* “Geb has acted for him” (306.5), *wd.n sw gbb* “Geb has decreed him” (214.8).

Vocalization of the *sdm.n.f* is preserved in the cuneiform *marnipt[aly]*, a rendition of the royal name *mr.n-pth*, evidently reflecting Egyptian *|[mar̩níptah].¹ This is compatible with an original derivation of the *sdm.n.f* from a verbal base followed by a dative *|[ni-].² Since the dative is a means of expressing possession (§ 8.3), the *sdm.n.f* would then have the same etymology as the perfect in English and other languages. If so, however, it had clearly been grammaticalized before its appearance in writing, since the original preposition is bound to the verb form: i.e., **wd sw n-gbb* or **wd n-gbb sw* > *wd.n sw gbb* (cf. Middle English *thou hast thy felawe slain*³ > modern English *you have slain your companion*).

The Middle Egyptian reanalysis of the *sdm.k3.f* into *k3 sdm.f* and *k3.f sdm.f* points to a derivation of the form from a verbal base plus a resultative particle *k3* “then, thus.” The *sdm.jn.f* is not similarly reanalyzed, and its derivation is consequently unclear; any connection with the specifying particle *jn* (§ 9.4B) is purely speculative.

18.2 VERBAL BASE

The verbal base of 2-lit. and 3-lit verbs in the *sdm.n.f* is the verb root: e.g., *cm.n.f* (228.3), *htm.n.k* (222.17). The causative stem of 2-lit. verbs is attested twice, once with prefix (222.20 *j.sp̩.n.k*, causative of *hp* “blind”) and once without (*sfl.n*, causative of *fl* “loose”), probably as phonological variants: *|[usp̩ xník] vs. *|[suf̩ xní]. Since 3-lit. verbs

1 Lackenbacher 2001, 240, 12. The preserved *r* cannot have closed a syllable: see § 18.5, below. The location of stress on the suffix syllable is conjectural; it would explain, however, the apparent loss of the initial syllable of *jw* in 256.1–2 *w.jw* *|[awa'ní] > *|[wa'ní].

2 Vocalization of the dative is based on Coptic pronominal forms: e.g., *|[nik] > **Nek/Nak**.

3 Chaucer, “Summoner’s Tale,” 2023.

never appear with prefix, their phonological structure probably excludes such variation: e.g., *htm.n.k* for ★[h̄ tm̄ník] but not ★*j.htm.n.k* ★[h̄tm̄ník].

Verbs with 2ae-gem. roots usually show one of the identical radicals but sometimes both: *mʒ.n* vs. *qbb.n*. The former can be suspected of following the 3-lit. pattern and the latter, therefore, of concealing the geminated stem: ★[m̄ ll̄ní] vs. ★[q̄ bb̄ bní]; however, it is also possible that the latter reflects the regular 2ae-gem. vocalization and the former a case of assimilation: i.e., ★[q̄ b̄ bní] and ★[m̄ l̄ lní] > ★[m̄ l̄ nní]. A single instance of a 2ae-gem. verb with causative stem is attested, with prefix and gemination, in attributive use: 74.2 *j.sflkt.n.f* ★[usf̄(k)k̄katníf]; cf. 3-lit. *snhd.n.f* (257.4) ★[sunh̄dníf].

The 2ae-inf. verb *jj* “come” uses both the base and geminated stems in the *sdm.n.f*, the latter more often: 20 examples of *j.n* (39%) vs. 31 of *jw.n* (61%). The geminated stem appears in 255.9 *jw.k3*. Final-weak verbs regularly omit any indication of the final radical in all three suffixed forms, suggesting for the *sdm.n.f* the patterns ★[1iní] (2ae-inf.), ★[1̄2iní] (3ae-inf.), and ★[1̄23iní] (4ae-inf.). In that light, 115.1  *dj.n.(j)* is an anomaly (cf. *d.n* 246.10, 249.6, 256.5). It appears in the statement *dj.n.(j) jrt.k* “I have placed your eye,” emended from an original *d.n.(j) jrt.k n hrw dpt.k* “I have placed your eye for Horus, which you should taste”; in this case, the reed-leaf is most likely a space-filler rather than an indication of two vowels between *d* and *n*.⁴ Prefixed forms of the *sdm.n.f* are attested for two 4ae-inf. verbs used attributively: *j.nsbt.n.sn* “which they have licked” (166.1) and *j.nsb.n.f* “which it has licked” (228.3), *j.lymlyt.n.sn* “which they diverted” (91.2, 147.1); since these are the only instances both of these verbs and of 4ae-inf. verbs used attributively in the base stem,⁵ it is impossible to be certain whether the prefix is a feature of the form or of a phonological variant.⁶

The verbal pair *dj/wdj* “put” appears only with the reduced stem in the *sdm.n.f* and only with the full stem in the *sdm.k3.f* in Unis’s texts (6 examples). Its analogue *dj/rdj*, however, appears with both stems in the *sdm.n.f*, reduced *dj.n* being the more common of the two (14 examples vs. 5 of *rdj.n*); the *sdm.k3.f* shows the *rdj* stem. The 3ae-inf. verb *jnj* is written  or  in the *sdm.n.f* with 3ms suffix pronoun (*jn.n.f*) or a following dependent pronoun (*jn.n sw*) but  with unwritten 1s suffix pronoun and a following dative (*jn.n.(j) n.k*). This is presumably to avoid writing three consecutive  signs (), which are either a phonogram (*mw*) or an ideogram or determinative for “water.”

⁴ NNt and MK copies have *d.n.(j) jrt.k*.

⁵ A causative stem used attributively appears in 144.1 *szwnt.n.f* “which he caused to suffer.”

⁶ All preserved OK copies and Senwosret-ankh also have the prefix (91.2 TNNt, 147.1 TP'NNtS, 166.1 NtS, 228.3 S). Other MK copies are generally the same, except for 147.2 B2Bo *ḥ(m)bt.n.sn* and 228.3 Sq1–2C *nsb.n.f*. These last suggest that the reed-leaf could signal merely a metathesis of the initial syllable: ★[ns̄biatnís̄n] and ★[xm̄xiatnís̄n] vs. ★[n̄s̄biatnís̄n] and ★[x̄m̄xiatnís̄n].

18.3 MEANING AND SYNTAX

The *sdm.n.f* is a single verb form,⁷ attested for verbs used either transitively, with an object, or intransitively, without one: in Unis's texts, 163 examples of the former and 117 of the latter. It usually expresses completed action, rendered in English most often by the perfect or, less often, the past tense: for example,

lpr.n.k qȝ.n.k ȝl.n.k (222.41)

You have evolved, you have become elevated, you have become effective.

ȝm jȝrt 7t.f lpr.n sȝlt.f nlbwȝt (318.2)

who swallowed his seven uraei and his seven neckbones evolved.

Like the English perfect, however, the *sdm.n.f* does not express tense but rather the aspect of completed action, which can have present or even future reference as well as past. This is best seen in the negation *nj sdm.n.f*, which usually connotes gnomic inaction or inability (§ 18.7, below). The apparent temporal dissonance between affirmative and negated uses of the *sdm.n.f* derives from the probable etymology of the form. On the one hand, possession of an action in the affirmative implies that the action is complete; negation of such possession, on the other hand, merely denies the relationship between the action and possessor without reference to completion.

The *sdm.n.f* of *rȝ* “learn” and *ȝm* “ignore” also expresses completed action, but in the case of these verbs, the reference is usually to the result of that action rather than to the action itself—i.e., knowledge or the lack of it: *rȝt.n.f* “what he has learned” → “what he knows” (254.19: § 18.5), *ȝm.n mwt.f rn.f* “his mother has become ignorant of his name” → “his mother does not know his name” (273–74.6).

The common use of the *sdm.n.f* to express completed action probably accounts for the fact that there is not much evidence for the geminated stem in this form, except for the frequent use of 2ae-inf. *jw.n.f* vs. ungeminated *j.n.f*. In that case, however, the motivation for the use of one stem or the other may not be entirely lexical. The *sdm.n.f* with the base stem *j* appears only in forms that had an original 1s subject, from the spells in the antechamber and corridor: for example,

j.n WNJS mrn m ȝnt mȝt ȝgbȝ (317.1)

*I have come here in advance of the flood’s immersion.

The *sdm.n.f* with the geminated stem *jw* appears, with one exception, in the ritual texts of the burial chamber, with 1s, 3ms, or unexpressed subject: *jw.n.(j)*, *jw.n.f*, *jw.n*. This suggests the possibility of a dialectal or idiolectal preference for one or the other stem,

7 As demonstrated conclusively by Stauder 2014b–d.

similar to that in French *j m'asseois* vs. *je m'assieds*. The sole exception occurs in the use of the geminated stem in an antechamber spell originally in the first person:

*m WNJS j.j m WNJS j.j m-k WNJS pr
nj jw.n js WNJS ds.f
jn wpt jt r.f (262.19–21)*

Since the base stem is used here in the statives *j.j* and the participle *jt*, the geminated stem in *jw.n* may well be deliberate, signaling normative rather than single action:

Here am *I, come; here am *I, come; here am *I, emerged.
*I would never have come of *my own accord:
it is a message that came for *me.

Stem variation also occurs in the use of both *dj.n* and *rdj.n*.⁸ In this case, there is no indication of a difference in meaning or origin: for example,

*jsjr WNJS dj.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw (25.7a–b)
jsjr WNJS rdj.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw (25+200.7)
Osiris Unis, I have given you Horus's eye.*

Apparently, the two stems of this verb are fully equivalent alternants, at least in the *sdm.n.f*. The same may have been true for the analogous pair *dj/wdj* “put”; absence of *wd.n* from Unis's texts may be merely a reflection of the relative infrequency of this pair as compared to *dj/rdj*.⁹

Like other finite forms, the *sdm.n.f* follows the **VsdoSOA** rule of word order (§ 15.5): for example,

*nj rdj.n n.tn WNJS hkȝ.f (316.1 — VsdoSO)
*I do not give you *my magic.*

*jw nd.n sw WNJS m ⲉ jrw nn j[r.f] (254.46 — VoSA)
*I have saved *myself from those who would do this to *me.
jn.n.(j) n.k s hr kbuj.k (32.4 — VsdoA)
I have gotten it for you under your soles.

The *sdm.n.f* can be used not only with nominal and suffix pronominal subject but also with unexpressed subject:

8 That **ለ** represents *d(j)* rather than *rd(j)* is indicated both by the regular geminated stem **ለለ** *dd* (e.g., 342.6 T) and by the spelling of *dhwjt* “Thoth” as **ለሐዬተ** in CT I, 20b B3Bo.

9 Examples of *wd.n* occur in 491A.2, 527.2, 571.16, 606.9 P, 606.20, 665B.17, *712.8, and *758.10.

jw.n hr.t nbt-hwt

jw.n hr.t msktt (216.1; sim. 216.2–3)

Someone has come unto you, Nephthys;
someone has come unto you, Nightboat.

w'b.n w'b.n m sht j3rw

w'b.n r' m sht j3rw (253.1–2; sim. 253.3–4)

Someone has become clean, someone has become clean in the Field of Reeds;
The Sun has become clean in the Field of Reeds.

The *sdm.jn.f* and *sdm.k3.f* both express consequence: in Unis's texts, the former with reference to a completed action and the latter with the connotation of inevitability in the apodosis of a conditional sentence:

hr hr r hr

m3.n hr hr

pr.jn ds s3b km w3d rs

'm.n.f n.fj.nsb.n.f (228)

Face falls to face

when face has seen face.

So, the dappled knife, all black and green, has emerged
and swallowed for itself the one it has licked.

jr tm.k jr jst n WNJS

jr.k3 WNJS f3t m jt.f gbb (254.5)

If you fail to make a place for *me,
then *I will make a curse on *my father Geb.

jr tm.k dr tw hr jst.k [w3h.k n,f s'h.k r t3]

jw.k3 WNJS hr.f m wr pw nb 3t wsr m nknt jm,f

rd.k3 [WNJS nsr n jrt.fl phr.s h3.tn

d.s n3n m jrw jrvt h3lyf.s m p3wtjw pw

zly.k3.[f'wj šw hr nwt]

wd.k3 wnjs rmn.f m znbwt tw mint.k jr.s (255.8–13)

If you fail to remove yourself from your place and lay down your insignia for *me,
then *I will come with *my face of the great god, lord of wrath, powerful from
the eye-injury in him;

*I will give the flame of my eye as it goes around you

and puts tempest in those who do deeds and its swell among those original gods;

*I will strike Shu's arms from under Nut;

and *I will put *my shoulder to the bulwark you lean on.

18.4 CLAUSE-INITIAL

As the preceding three examples show, the *sdm.jn.f* and *sdm.k3.f* are used only as the initial element of a clause: a sentence-initial main clause, in the case of the *sdm.jn.f*, and a sentence-internal apodosis, in the case of the *sdm.k3.f*. In Unis's texts, the *sdm.n.f* is used primarily (232 examples, 83%) as the initial element in either a main clause (161 examples), circumstantial clause (22 examples), noun clause (1 example), or relative clause (48 examples).

The *sdm.n.f* used as the initial element of a clause consistently expresses completed action. Such clauses may be single or they may be chained with a preceding clause: for example,

nšnš.n.jwrt
j.spš.n.k.grḥ (222.20)
 The pregnant one spewed forth
 and you dazzled the night.

The 160 examples of the *sdm.n.f* in this function are primarily intransitive (92, 57%). These include not only verbs that are inherently intransitive, such as *jj* “come” but also those that can take a direct object but are used without one: for example, *dd.n.gbb* “Geb has spoken” (218.5).

The *sdm.n.f* in a chained clause can express not only subsequent past action, as in the preceding example, but also concomitant past and prior past action:

dj.n.(j) n.k.jrt hrw
jp.n.(j) n.k.s (223.10)
 I have given you Horus's eye,
 I have allotted it to you.

j.n.t WNJS pn nwt j.n.t WNJS pn nwt
qm3.n.f.jt.f r t3
flj.n.f hrw m ht.f (245.2–3)
 This *king comes to you, Nut; this *king comes to you, Nut,
 having put his father in the ground,
 having left Horus in his wake.

In most such instances, the *sdm.n.f* is transitive, but intransitive examples also occur:

rm.j.rwt 7t.f
hpr.n sfljt.f nhbwut (318.2)
 who swallowed his seven uraei
 and his seven neckbones came into being.

ms.k hrw n jsjr

b3.n.k r.f shm.n.k jr.f (215.14)

You were born, Horus, to Osiris,

but have become more impressive than him and more in control than him.

snd n.f

hms.n.f m ht3 huw (260.18)

Be respectful of *me

for *I have sat down in the dual courtyard's awning.

In each case, the reference of the action of the chained clause as subsequent or prior to that of the main clause, or as concomitant with it, is determined by the context rather than the verb form itself.

In two cases, the *sdm.n.f* is preceded by a nominal subject, apparently for stylistic reasons:

s'bw šnbt 'm.n.sn jrt hrw b3qt jmt jwmw (204.3)

Those who cleanse the breast, they have swallowed Horus's clear eye that is in Heliopolis.

pz̄h.n tm mh.n.f r n wnjs (284.1)

The one Atum has bitten has filled *my mouth.

The *sdm.n.f* appears in one instance as initial predicate in a clause serving as complement to a preceding verb-form:

WNJS pj z3 pw n j.hmt ms.n.s WNJS n qnj hr nb šš3wt (320.3–4)

*I am the son of her who does not know she bore *me to yellow-face, lord of evenings.

Here too, the reference is to completed action and the syntactic function is determined by the context in which the *sdm.n.f* appears.

18.5 ATTRIBUTIVE

The clause-initial *sdm.n.f* is also used to modify an antecedent, whether expressed or unexpressed: e.g.,

WNJS pw dḥ3wj ntrw ... ms.n nh̄t ntrw (309.1–2)

*I am the gods' grain-accountant ... whom she whom the gods beseech bore.

j ms.n.(j) (254.22)

Welcome, you to whom I gave birth.

As these examples illustrate, this construction normally involves an antecedent different from the subject of the *sdm.n.f*.

In Unis's texts, all but one instance of this use involve a defined antecedent, and the verbal stem is marked for gender/number agreement with the antecedent:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| ms -ø: | 215.23 <i>dd.n</i> , 217.4/11/19/28 <i>ȝȝ.n.tn</i> , 219.1/5/13/37 <i>dj.n.k</i> , 219.9/17/21/29 <i>dj.n.t</i> , 219.41/45 <i>dj.n.tn</i> , 219.49 <i>dd.n.t</i> , 219.50 <i>sk.n.t</i> , 228.3 <i>j.nsb.n.f</i> , 252.6 <i>jr.n.f</i> , 254.19 <i>mr.n.f</i> , 254.22 <i>ms.n.(j)</i> , 254.59 <i>rđj.n</i> , 273–74.6 <i>ȝȝm.n</i> , 284.1 <i>pȝȝh.n</i> , 290.3 <i>jt.n.f</i> , 309.2 <i>ms.n</i> |
| mdu -w: | 230.16 <i>tȝȝzw.n</i> |
| mpl -w: | 211.9 <i>gmw.n.f</i> , 303.3 <i>dw.n.tn</i> |
| fs -t: | 74.2 <i>j.sflkt.n.f</i> , 76.2 <i>jnt.n.f</i> , 78.2 <i>jtt.n.f</i> , 84.2 <i>hptt.n.f</i> , 90.2 <i>wnmt.n</i> , 91.2 <i>j.ȝȝmȝȝt.n.sn</i> , 94–95.2 <i>nšbšbt.n.k</i> , 138.1 <i>mȝȝt.n.f</i> ( : § 3.2), 145.1 <i>wnmt.n</i> , 147.1 <i>j.ȝȝmȝȝt.n.sn</i> , 154.1 <i>bȝȝt.n.sn</i> , 160.1 <i>hdt.n.f</i> , 166.1 <i>j.nsbt.n.sn</i> , 218.12 <i>jrt.n</i> , 219.101 <i>wnmt.n.k</i> , 254.19 <i>rȝȝt.n.f</i> , 260.4 <i>jrt.n.f</i> , 260.8 <i>mrt.n.f</i> , 271.6 <i>jrt.n.f</i> . |

Since feminine and non-singular examples have gender/number marking, it seems likely that examples with a masculine singular antecedent were also marked for concord, by a vowel that is not shown in writing: e.g., *dd.n.t* *|[d]idnít| “you said” vs. *|[d]idunít| “whom you said,” *jr.n.f* *|[iriníf] “he said” vs. *|[ir(i)uníf] “which he said.” Hence, for the cuneiform vocalization cited in § 18.1, *mr.n-pth* *|[mar(i)uní-ptah] > *marnipt[ah]*.

The single example with undefined antecedent is 273–74.6 *nb zȝȝbwȝt ȝȝm.n mwt.f m.f* “a possessor of jackalness, whose identity his mother does not know,” also without masculine singular ending. Since there are no examples with an undefined feminine or dual/plural antecedent, it is not certain whether this also involved gender/number concord. Similar uses of other verb forms, however, indicate that concord marking was absent in such cases.¹⁰ This indicates, in turn, that concord marking was triggered by the defined nature of the antecedent and, conversely, was not used with undefined antecedents precisely because of their undefined nature.

18.6 AFTER PARTICLES

The *sdm.n.f* also occurs after the particles *jw* (25 examples), *m* (2 examples), *jn* (1 example), *wnt* (1 example), and *sk* (1 example); and is negated by *nj* (14 examples) or *nj ... js* (2 examples).

The construction *jw sdm.n.f* always appears in clause-initial position, with *jw* directly preceding the verb form. As with adverbial predicates (§ 12.3.1), the particle marks the predicate as relevant either to the circumstances of its utterance or to a preceding statement, or both: for example,

¹⁰ E.g., Leb. 98–99 *zt-hȝȝmt dd grg r.s* “a woman about whom a lie is told,” with the passive *sdm.f*.

w^r.n WNJS gbb w^r.n WNJS gbb
jw w^r.n.f tm
j.f hr hr nst hrw smsw
jw jrt.f m nbt.f jw mkt.f m jryt r.f
jw nsr n hh n ȝbt.f m mnwtt dpt.f
jw d.n WNJS nrw.f m jb.sn m jrt h^rt jm.sn
jw m^ȝ.n.(j) ntrw m h^rwt kss.sn n WNJS m j^ȝ (256.1–7)
 *I have inherited from Geb, *I have inherited from Geb:
 *I have thus inherited from Atum
 and am now on the seat of Senior Horus,
 *my eye now *my force, and *my protection now what was done to *me,
 and the flame of the blast of *my effective uraeus now Renenutet atop *me.
 *I have now put respect of *me in their mind by making discord among them
 and have now seen the gods in nakedness,¹¹ bowing to *me in homage.

In this passage, the initial replicated statement, with the *sdm.n.f*, describes an historical fact. The use of *jw* to introduce the statements that follow, with either a prepositional phrase or the *sdm.n.f* as predicate, marks those statements as relevant both to the initial statement and to the circumstances of the spell's utterance, the deceased's appearance as "Senior Horus." A good example of the use of *jw* to denote current relevance is

j r^r nfr n.f m hrw pn r sf
jw nk.n WNJS mw^r
jw sn.n WNJS šwst
jw dm^d.n WNJS m nhbw^r
jw nk.n WNJS nf^rt nr.f ...
jn hm nf^rt nr n WNJS rdj.s t n WNJS
jr.s n.f nf^rt m hrw pn (205.11–16)
 Oh, Sun! It is better for *me today than yesterday,
 for *I have now mated with moisture,
 have now kissed dryness,
 have now united with fertility,
 and have now mated with the young girl of *my care ...
 and it is the young girl of *my care that gives *me bread
 and makes for *me what is good today.

PT 273–74 contains multiple instances of *jw* clauses following an initial non-verbal statement, in which the *jw* clauses develop and explicate the initial statement: for example,

11 The 3s subject of *m^ȝ.n* is omitted in WTS but is present in Siese; cf. also CT VI, 188d–e.

*WNJS pj ntr sms r smsw
jw pḥr mn.f bȝw jw wdn n.f hwt
jw rdj n.f ḡ m sḥm wr jn sȝḥ jt ntrw
jw whm.n WNJS hȝw m pt j.f sbn m nb ȝht
jw hsb.n.f tȝzw bqsw
jw jt.n.f hȝtw ntrw
jw wnm.n.f dȝrt jw ḡm.n.f wȝd (273–74.47–53)*

- *I am the god who is senior to the senior one;
- thousands now serve *me and hundreds now present offerings to *me;
- *I have now been given title as great controller by Orion, the gods' father;
- *I have now reappeared in the sky and am manifested as the Akhet's lord;
- *I have now broken up the vertebrae of spines,
- *I have now acquired the gods' hearts,
- *I have now eaten the red and swallowed the raw.

Instances of *jw sdm.n.f* in Unis's texts are: 205.12 *jw nk.n*, 205.12 *jw sn.n*, 205.13 *jw dmd.n*, 205.14 *jw nk.n*, 235.2 *jw nk.n.k*, 251.8 *jw dȝ.n*, 254.46 *jw nd.n*, 254.58 *jw dr.n.f*, 254.58 *jw htm.n.f*, 256.2 *jw wȝ.n.f*, 256.5 *jw d.n*, 256.6 *jw mȝ.n.(j)*, 260.6 *jw sdm.n*, 260.7 *jw wd.n*, 273–74.9 *jw ms.n.f*, 273–74.50 *jw whm.n*, 273–74.51 *jw hsb.n.f*, 273–74.52 *jw jt.n.f*, 273–74.53 *jw wnm.n.f*, 273–74.59 *jw ḡm.n.f*, 303.10 *jw wd.n*, 303.11 *jw zȝ.n*, 319.6 *jw tȝz.n*, 319.9 *jw qd.n*. Most of these involve transitive verbs, but intransitive (or objectless) uses occur in 205.13 *jw dmd.n WNJS m nhbw* “*I have now united with fertility,” 260.6 *jw sdm.n mȝtj* “the Dual Maat have heard,” and 303.11 *jw zȝ.n fd jpw ȝḥjw jmjw jwnw* “those four akhs who are in Heliopolis have written.”

Other instances of the *sdm.n.f* after a particle are less frequent. Examples attested in Unis's texts are:

- after presentative *m* “here” (§ 9.3E):

m.k jn.n n.k WNJS jrt.k wrt jȝbt (301.17)

Here, *I have gotten you your great left eye.

m.k jr.k ph.n WNJS qȝww pt (262.25)

So, here, *I have reached the sky's heights.

By engaging the addressee in the speech event, *m* “here” presupposes a situation of current relevance. It is probably for that reason that it is only used with the bare *sdm.n.f* and not with *jw sdm.n.f*.

- after specifying *jn* (§ 9.4B):

jn smȝ.n.f tw dd.n jb.f mt n.f

m.k jr.k tw hpr.tj jr.k jr.f m.j.mnw n smȝ (306.15–16)

Has he killed you, or has his mind said you would die for him?

Here, you for your part have become a more alpha wild bull than him.

The translation of the first line as a question is purely conventional; a conditional clause also suits the context (“If he has killed you ...”). The function of *jn* is to predicate the statement that follows it: “Is it (that) he has killed you” “(If) it is (that) he has killed you,” “(In that) it is (that) he has killed you.”

- after *sk* (§ 9.4H), in an initial circumstantial clause:

*sk rdj.n WNJS wnm.sn m zwr.sn zwr.sn m bȝh.sn
jȝ mk.t WNJS jm jn mȝȝw sw* (254.36–37)

Since *I have let them eat from their drinking-bowl and drink from their flood,
so am *I protected in the same by those who see *me.

- after *wnt* (§ 9.4D), in a noun clause:

*j.dd.tn n jt.tn wnt rdj.n n.tn WNJS pȝwt.tn
shtp.n tn wnjs m twt.tn* (301.7–8)

You should say to you father that *I have given you your bread-loaves
and contented you with what is yours.

18.7 NEGATED

The *sdm.n.f* is negated by *nj* and *nj ... js* in Unis’s texts. The construction *nj sdm.n.f* (56.3, 209.1–2, 210.8, 211.1–2, 215.21–22, 254.6, 273–74.61, 316.1) expresses the gnomic negation of a general fact or of ability or necessity, reflecting the etymology of the verb form: “not hear for-him” → “he does not hear, he cannot hear, he need not hear”:

*bt WNJS pj hqr nj wnm.n.f sw
bt WNJS pj jbt nj zwr.n.f s* (211.1–2)
*My abomination is hunger: *I do not eat it;
*my abomination is thirst: *I do not drink it.

*jsjr nj shm.n.k jm.f nj shm.n zȝ.k jm.f
hrw nj shm.n.k jm.f nj shm.n jt.k jm.f* (215.21–22)

Osiris, you cannot have control of him; your son cannot have control of him.
Horus, you cannot have control of him; your father cannot have control of him.

j hmj shd nj rdj.n n.tn WNJS hkȝ.f (316.1)
O Reverter and You of Sehedu, *I do not have to give you *my magic.

Two examples of the construction *nj sdm.n.f js* occur in Unis’s texts. In both cases, the verb is intransitive and expresses completed action:

h³ WNJS nj šm.n.k js mt.tj

šm.n.k ḡnḥ.t (213.1)

Oh, Unis, you have not gone away dead,
you have gone away alive.

m WNJS j.j m WNJS j.j m-k WNJS pr

nj jw.n.js WNJS ds.f

jn wpt jt r.f (262.19–21)

Here am *I, come; here am *I, come; here am *I, emerged.

*I would never have come of my own accord (§ 18.3):

a dispatch is what came for me.

The preservation of the normal past reference of the verb form in these cases results from the fact that *js* signals that the entire *sdm.n.f* clause is subordinate to the negation, rather than just the verb form itself: thus,

nj shm.n.k jm.f — [shm.n.k]^{NEG} jm.f (215.21)

nj šm.n.k js mt.tj — [šm.n.k mt.tj]^{NEG} (213.1).

The first of these is a statement with negated predicate (“not [you-have-control] of-him”). The second is a negated statement with an affirmative predicate (“not [you-have-gone dead]”), as shown by the succeeding clause, which affirms that *šm.n.k* “you have gone.”

18.8 OCCURRENCES

2-lit.

ȝy.n.k 222.41, *ȝy.n.f* 216.8, *ȝy.n.tn* 217.4/11/19/28; *jp.n.(j)* 223.10; *ȝm.n* 239.2, *ȝm.n.f* 228.3, 273–74.53/59, 290.2, *ȝm.n.s* 239.1, *ȝm.n.sn* 204.3; *wȝ.n* 254.6; *wȝ.d.n* 214.8, 260.7, 303.10; *bȝ.n.k* 215.14, 215.15; *bȝt.n.sn* 154.1; *pȝ.h.n* 262.25; *jȝy.n.k* 222.28, *ȝy.n.f* 245.3, *sȝy.n* 258.6; *mȝ.n.(j)* 72.2, *mȝ.n.f* 284.1; *mȝȝt.n.f* 138.1; *nk.n* 205.12/14, *nk.n.k* 235.2; *nd.n* 254.46; *rȝt.n.f* 254.19; *ȝtm.n.f* 254.58; *ȝm.n* 273–74.6; *j.spȝ.n.k* 222.20; *sn.n* 205.12; *sk.n* 302.20, *sk.n.t* 219.501; *qd.n* 319.9; *dȝ.n* 251.8, *dr.n* 302.19, *dr.n.f* 254.58; *dd.n* 215.23, 218.5, 306.15, *dd.n.(j)* 227.4, *dd.n.t* 219.49

2ae-inf.

j.n 248.4, 249.5, 250.3, 252.2, 270.4, 270.6, 270.8, 272.2, 275.1, 301.14, 301.15, 301.16, 307.15, 307.17, 310.6, 310.6, 317.1, 317.4, 318.5, *jw.n* 216.1–3, 262.20, *jw.n.(j)* 32.3, *jw.n.f* 220.2–3/9, 222.4–11

jw.kȝ 255.9

2ae-gem.

mȝ.n 228.1, 308.6–9; *mȝ.n.(j)* 256.6, *mȝ.n.k* 215.6, *mȝ.n.f* 262.26, *mȝ.n.sn* 247.2, 254.16, 273–74.4; *nȝnȝ.n* 222.20; *j.sȝkkt.n.f* 74.2; *qbb.n* 222.42, *qbb.n.f* 216.8

3-lit.

w^r.n 256.1, *w^r.n.f* 256.2; *w^rh.n* 275.4; *w^rb.n* 253.1–5, 302.3, *w^rb.n.k* 222.39; *wnm.n.f* 210.8, 211.1, 273–74.53, *wnmt.n* 90.2, 145.1, *wnmt.n.k* 219.101; *w^lm.n* 273–74.50; *w^lz.n* 214.11; *p^zh.n* 284.1; *mtr.n* 262.28; *nfr.n* 263.5; *n^lm.n* 318.7; *hsb.n.f* 273–74.51; *htpt.n.f* 84.2, *shtpt.n* 301.8; *htm.n* 245.5, *htm.n.k* 222.22; *hpr.n* 250.5', 318.2, *hpr.n.k* 222.41; *hnd.n* 240.3; *hzp.n* 268.6', *hzp.n.k* 222.40; *s^škr.n* 221.10–[11]; *zwr.n.f* 211.2; *zm^ž.n* 319.7; *z^š.n* 303.11; *sj^ž.n.f* 262.27; *sm^ž.n.f* 306.15; *snhd.n* 257.11, *snhd.n.f* 257.4; *snq.n* 268.5'; *slgm.n.k* 215.14–15/21–22; *s^dm.n* 260.6; *qfn.n* 302.9; *qm^ž.n* 247.4, *qm^ž.n.f* 245.3; *f^žz.n* 319.6, *f^žz.w.n* 230.16

3ae-inf.

žt.n 268.5; *jn.n* 245.5, 301.7, *jn.n.(j)* 32.3–4, 39.3, 78.2, 114.1, *jn.n.f* 211.9, 212.3, 261.8, *jnt.n.f* 76.2; *jr.n* 247.1, 306.5, *jr.n.f* 252.6, 273–74.61, *jrt.n* 218.12, 271.6, *jrt.n.f* 260.4; *jt.n* 209.1–2, 302.22, *jt.n.k* 301.29, *jt.n.f* 255.16, 257.15, 273–74.52, 290.3, *jtt.n.f* 78.2; *wp.n.j* 38.2', *wp.n.f* 254.19; *sp^ž.n* 302.7/21; *pr.n* 248.1, 294.3/5, *pr.n.[t]* 221.9, *[pr.n.f]* 221.9; *mr.n.f* 254.19, *mrt.n.f* 260.8; *ms.n* 220.7', 220.8. 221.[10]–11, 247.4, 309.2, *ms.n.(j)* 254.22, *ms.n.f* 273–74.9, *ms.n.s* 320.4; *nh.n* 262.22; *n^šb^šbt.n.k* 94–95.2; *r^dj.n* 254.36, [254.59], 301.8, 316.1, *r^dj.n.(j)* 25+200.7; *h.n* 302.23; *hz.n* 222.16, 222.22; *hpr.n.k* 222.41; *šm.n.k* 213.1, 224.7–9; *hd.n* 262.29, *hdt.n.f* 160.1; *zb.n* 320.1; *sq.n* 251.8; *kf.n* 302.8; *gmw.n.f* 211.9; *d.n* 246.10, 249.6, 256.5, *dj.n.(j)* 115.1, *d.n.(j)* 115.1', *dw.n.tn* 303.3; *d^žj.n.(j)* 25.7, 36.6, 223.10, *d^žj.n.k* 219.1/5/9/13/37, *d^žj.n.t* 219.17/21/219.29, *d^žj.n.tn* 219.41/45

pr.jn 228.2

jr.k^ž 254.5; *wd.k^ž* 255.13; *r^dj.k^ž* 255.10; *z^h.k^ž* 255.12;

4ae-inf.

bj^ž.n.s 56.3; *mdw.n.f* 254.6; *j.nsb.n.f* 228.3, *j.nsbt.n.sn* 166.1; *hms.n.f* 260.18; *j.hmht.n.sn* 91.2, 147.1; *sw^ž.n* 262.22; *dmd.n* 205.13; *dsr.n* 320.1

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19. PASSIVES

19.1 FORMS

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain three kinds of suffix-conjugation forms that have passive meaning:

- suffixed passives: those marked with the suffix *t/tj* (29 examples, 14%)
- marked passives: those marked by synthetic morphology, with either a geminated final radical or final *-w* (20 examples, 10%)
- unmarked passives: those that are morphologically indistinguishable from examples with active meaning (156 examples, 76%).

The identity of some of these as passive forms is secure; that of the others is more questionable.

19.2 SUFFIXED PASSIVES

Passives marked with the suffix *t/tj* are attested for the *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* in Unis's texts. The suffix is usually written \sim (14 examples), but also I (1), II (7) or $\sim\text{II}$ (2). The first spelling appears with all subjects, including suffix pronouns; the last three only with zero subject or subjects that are a separate word. This indicates that the suffix was probably $\star[t]$ plus a vowel, perhaps $\star[a]$, represented by *t* or *tj* when the vowel was word-final but by *t* when it was not: i.e., *sdm.t* and *sdm.tj* for *sdm-**[ta] but *sdm.t,f* for *sdm-**[taf]. The spelling II appears after a determinative of the *sdm.f* (272.2' $\text{I}\cancel{\text{II}}$ II *j.wn.tj*, II later erased); \sim appears before or after a determinative (263.13–14 $\text{I}\overset{\text{II}}{\cancel{\text{II}}}$ *dʒ.t*, 267.3 $\text{I}\overset{\text{II}}{\cancel{\text{II}}}$ *sq.t*; both cases in 273–74.41 $\text{I}\overset{\text{II}}{\cancel{\text{II}}}$ *ssr.t*) and after the suffix *n* (219.49 $\text{I}\overset{\text{II}}{\cancel{\text{II}}}$ *ms.n.t*).

Suffixed passives of the *sdm.f* are attested for four of the eight regular root classes in Unis's texts; occurrences are the following:

2-lit.	<i>j.wn.tj</i> 272.2; <i>fl.tj</i> 222.18, 222.23, 278.3; <i>smn.t</i> 257.14; <i>qs.t.k</i> 231.1
2ae-gem.	<i>mʒ.tj</i> 239.2
3-lit.	<i>jʒb.t</i> 222.18, [222.23]; <i>ssr.t</i> 273–74.41
3ae-inf.	<i>jn.t</i> 257.13, 310.8; <i>pr.t</i> 32.6a', 32.6c, <i>pr.tj</i> 32.6a, 32.6b, 32.6b', 32.6c', 32.6d; <i>mk.t/mk.tj</i> 254.37, 278.3; <i>sq.t</i> 267.3; <i>hn.t/hn.t.t</i> 230.14; <i>dʒ.t</i> 267.13–14.

The 2ae-gem. form *mʒ.tj* probably represents $\star[m\text{lláta}]$,¹ suggesting the structure $\star[\underline{x}asráta]$ for 3-lit. *ssr.t* and $\star[1^2iáta]$ for 3ae-inf. verbs (e.g., 257.13 *jn.t* as $\star['iniáta]$). The 2-lit. forms may then represent $\star[1^1báta] < \star[1^1báta]$, $\star['unáta] < \star[wináta]$, $\star[fixáta]$, $\star[sumnáta]$, and $\star[qisátak]$. One example of the suffixed passive of the *sdm.n.f* appears

1 The root-final vowel and stress $\star[\acute{a}]$ are conjectural, based on the active *sdm.f*: see § 20.1. Stress could also have lain on the suffix.

in Unis's texts, 219.49 *ms.n.t*, with the 3ae-inf. verb *msj* “give birth,” perhaps representing *[misiníta].

The suffixed passive of the *sdm.n.f*, like the *sdm.n.f*, expresses completed action, with past reference in the one example from Unis's texts:

*nwt z3.t pw p-nn jsjr dd.n.t jr.f ms.n.t n.(j) j.t tn
sk.n.t n.f r.f* (219.49)

Nut, this Osiris here is your son, of whom you said, “Someone has been born to me,” you said,
and you wiped his mouth.

That of the *sdm.f* is either indicative, usually with present reference, or subjunctive, with prospective reference: e.g.,

m pr.tj n.k hrw (32.6)

Come, you are invoked! (literally, “the voice is sent forth to you”)

hn.t ntr šp dp.f

hn.t.t ds.t nn srqt (230.14)

Should the god be encircled while he is blind,
you yourself shall be encircled here, scorpion!

This flexibility in mood and temporal reference indicates that the suffixed passive of the *sdm.f* is inherently amodal and atemporal, and therefore simply expresses action per se.

Along with their predicative function, the suffixed passives appear in a number of syntactic uses in Unis's texts. The preceding three examples are representative of clause-initial function, which is present in 72% of instances (32.6, 219.49, 230.14, 231.1, 257.13–14, 263.13–14, 267.3, 273–74.41, 278.3, 310.8). The first example above (219.49) is also representative of the subjectless use of the form, which is attested for the *sdm.f* as well:

nj fl.tj n.k nj j3b.t n.k ...

nj hm fl.tj n.k nj hm [j3b.t] n.k (222.18/23)

Nothing is lost to you, nothing is wanting for you ...

nothing else is lost to you, nothing else is wanting for you.

This example also illustrates the use of the form negated by *nj*; another is

cm.n ns hdt wrt

nj m3.tj ns (239.2)

The White Crown's tongue has swallowed the great one,
with the tongue unseen.

The suffixed passive of the *sdm.f* is also attested in an adverb clause, as object of the verb *rdj* in its causative function (§ 20.5) and after the particle *jḥ* (§ 9.4H):

jw pḥr jmjw pt n WNJS
 $\ddot{\text{ss}}\text{r.t n.f ktjw} t m \text{rdw nw hjmwt.sn}$ (273–74.40–41)
 Those in the sky now serve *me,
 the hearthstones being poked for *me with the legs of their women.

j.mj j.wn.tj n.f nw (272.2)
 Have this opened to *me.

dj mk.tj WNJS (278.3)
 *I have been made protected.

sk rdj.n WNJS wnm.sn m zw̄r.sn zw̄r.sn m b̄h.sn
 $j\dot{h}\text{ mk.t WNJS jm jn m}33w sw$ (254.36–37)
 Since *I have let them eat from their drinking-bowl and drink from their flood,
 so am *I protected in the same by those who see me.

19.3 MARKED PASSIVES

The 20 examples of marked passives in Unis's texts include 13 with gemination and 7 with final *-w*. Geminated forms are attested for the following verb classes:²

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 2-lit. | <i>wn(n)</i> 307.11–12/14 (see n. 4, below); <i>dmm.s</i> 272.1 |
| 2ae-gem. | <i>tmm</i> 230.3 |
| 3-lit. | <i>wd̄r</i> 307.13; <i>nḥmm</i> 273–74.58; <i>ḥsbb</i> 310.4; <i>tzz</i> 268.12; <i>śntt</i> 310.2 |
| 3ae-inf. | <i>jrw</i> 268.12; <i>rdjw</i> 260.25; <i>ḥw/h</i> 310.3; ³ <i>śnjw</i> 310.1. |

That these two forms are complementary analogues is shown by instances where they occur in parallel clauses:

jrw n.f rrwt
 $tzz n.f hm3tt$ (268.12)
 Porticos are made for *me,
 the *hm3tt* is tied on for *me.

śnjw WNJS śnjw tm
 $\check{sh}ntt$ WNJS *śntt tm*

-
- 2 Excluded are forms of 3ae-inf. *ḥwj* “exempt,” which show only one *w*, and 3-lit. *tnw*, where the final *w* is radical.
 3 Included by virtue of parallel with 310.1 *śnjw* and geminated forms in 301.2/4: see below. For Unis's  /  TMN have ; P ; An —thus, *[h-’iw]/[ḥiw]. The verb is regularly written without .

hw WNJS h tm

hsbb WNJS m w3t tn hsbb tm (310.1–4)

When *I am cursed, Atum is cursed;
when *I am shunned, Atum is shunned;
when *I am hit, Atum is hit;
when *I am barred from this path, Atum is barred.

This counterpart relationship identifies 2ae-gem. *tmm* as a probable marked passive, since 2ae-gem. *bss* is used in parallel with 3ae-inf. *wgjw* in PT 570.61 P *nj wgw.f bss.f* “it is not chewed up or spat out” = N *wgjw.f bss.f* “it is chewed up and spat out.”

The use of *-w* in final-weak verbs as an analogue to gemination is similar to that noted for lexical gemination in the case of 2ae-inf. *jj ~ jw* (§ 1.12). In later pyramids, it is also attested for the causative stem of 2/3-lit. verbs (*s'bw.k* 512.11 P, *sflw/sflw.f* 504.5, *stmw.s* *802.1) and of reduplicated 2/3-lit verbs (*snlbbbw* 663.47, *shdlydw* 694B.18). This suggests a morphological substitute for gemination in cases where the latter strategy is excluded phonologically or for other reasons. Thus, for example, *ṇhm* *[naḥma] → *ṇhmm* *[ṇḥṃ-ṃ] but *šnj* *[x̣-ni'a] → *šnjw* *[x̣ ni'ẉ] and *s'b* *[suw'aba] → *s'bw* *[suw'-b-ẉ].

The marked passive is used with nominal or suffix pronominal subject. It appears in three functions in Unis's Pyramid Texts: in balanced clauses (230.3, 268.12, 310.1–4), negated by *nj* (260.25, 272.1, 273–74.58, 307.11–14), and as initial predicate (316.3). The first of these suggests that 2ae-gem. *tmm* in 230.3 is the geminated form:

tmm r.k jn šmst tmm r n šmst jn m3fdt (230.3)

Your mouth is closed by Follower, the mouth of Follower is closed by Mafdet.

The negated marked passive has gnomic or prospective reference:

nj rdjw WNJS n nsr.tn ntrw (260.25)

*I am not given to your flame, gods.

q3jt nj dmm.s (272.1)

Height that is not mentioned.

nj nhmm s'hw WNJS m 'f (273–74.58)

*My privileges are not taken from *me.

ntr nb wdt.f 'f ...

nj t.f nj p3q.f m 'b snw.f ntrw

nj h3b.f h3bt nj stp.f jbt m 'b snw.f {ntrw}

nj wn(n) n.f '3wj msktt

nj wn(n) n.f '3wj m'ndt

nj wd^{cc} mdw.f m jm nwt.f

nj wn(n) n.f^{c3}wj htmwt (307.7–14)⁴

Any god who shall put forth his arm ...

he has no bread, he has no wafer among his brothers the gods,
 he sends no sending, he does not jump the barrier among his brothers the gods,
 the nightboat's door is not opened to him,
 the dayboat's door is not opened to him,
 his case is not decided as one of his town,
 provisioning's door is not opened to him.

While some of these can be translated as prospective in reference (“will not be given,” “will not be taken”), 272.1 *nj dmm.s* seems clearly gnomic, and the examples in PT 307 all follow on the non-verbal and therefore atemporal negations *nj t.f nj p³q.f* (see § 11.3).

19.4 UNMARKED PASSIVES

Forms of the *sdm.f* with passive sense that are graphically indistinguishable from those with active meaning are more than three times as common in Unis's texts as those that are marked by gemination, the ending *w*, or the suffix *t/tj*:

2-lit.	<i>wd</i> 205.2, 247.14, 294.2; <i>sbš</i> 302.1; <i>mh</i> 273–74.15; <i>nd</i> 263.11; <i>sd</i> 258.4; <i>šc.s</i> 142.1; <i>slhtm</i> 254.12; <i>dr</i> 258.4–5, 291.1; <i>dr</i> 218.4; 302.5 <i>htm</i>
2ae-gem.	<i>m³</i> 246.2
3-lit.	<i>j^cb</i> 108.1; <i>jwj</i> 211.6, <i>jwr</i> 211.8, 215.10, 248.2, <i>jwr.k</i> 215.15, 222.38; <i>čhm</i> 242.1; <i>s^cb.k</i> 36.5; <i>wbs</i> 281.4; <i>wnh</i> 224.19; <i>wtz</i> 204.2; <i>wd^c</i> 260.5; <i>pzh</i> 230.4/12; <i>nhm</i> 291.2; <i>hsq</i> 227.1; <i>hkn.k</i> 301.25; <i>htm</i> 25.7, 25+200.7, 223.5; <i>hsf</i> 246.6, 251.9, 258.21; <i>šnm</i> 301.4; <i>šnt</i> 299.3; <i>hzp</i> 249.3, 262.23, 269.12'; <i>ss³</i> 254.11; <i>qrs.sn</i> 305.11; <i>t³z</i> 305.1–2; <i>tnw</i> 219.51
3ae-inf.	<i>jn</i> 125.1; <i>jr</i> 247.13; <i>jd</i> 255.1–2/5; <i>wp</i> 219.50; <i>ms</i> 211.6/8, <i>ms.k</i> 215.10–11/14, 222.38; <i>rdj</i> 273–74.49, 306.10; <i>h</i> 284.3; <i>hw</i> 88.2, 116.1, 140.1, 154.1, 161.1, 162.1, 163.1, 164.1, 168.1; <i>hmf</i> 258.10; <i>sn.s</i> 157.1; <i>sk</i> 215.35, 219.3/7/11/15/19/23/27/31/35/39/43/47/53/57/61/65/69/73/78/83/88/93/98/98/104, 302.4; <i>hn</i> 216.5–7, 226.1–2, 230.13; <i>gm</i> 242.1; <i>d</i> 263.1–4, 269.1–2; <i>d³</i> 258.21; <i>dj</i> 278.3
4-lit.	<i>hzmn.k</i> 34.7
4ae-inf.	<i>dmd</i> 254.10, 260.9.

4 P has *nj wnn n.f* ... *nj wnn n.f* ... *nj wn n.f*, in the first two cases with a determinative between the verb and dative. The third instance, and all three in the MK copies of Senwosret-ankh and Imhotep, follow Unis's orthography, without a determinative. This suggests that all three instances of *wn* involve the marked passive *wnn*, with one *n* omitted in the spellings without determinative so as to avoid confusion with *mw* “water”: see the last paragraph of § 18.2.

The extent to which these represent a distinct passive form is uncertain, because a number of possibilities underlie most instances:

- (1) a passive form distinguished from the active by vocalization or stress, or both, analogous to the probable distinction between passive and active participles (§§ 15.2–3)
- (2) an unmarked spelling of the marked passive, as in 307.11–12/14 *wn* for *wnn* and 310.3 *ḥ* for TMN *ḥw* / P *ḥjw* / An *j.ḥw*
- (3) with nominal subject, a passive participle used as adjectival predicate: e.g., *ḥsq dpj kȝ km wr* (227.1) “severed is the great black bull’s head” or “the great black bull’s head has been severed”
- (4) for some verbs, an intransitive/reflexive use of the active *sdm.f*: e.g., *wn ḡwȝ ȝḥt* (220.1) “the Akhet’s door opens” or “the Akhet’s door is opened”
- (5) an active form with unwritten 1s subject: e.g.,  (48.2) possibly *wp r.k* “your mouth has been parted” but more likely *wp.(j) r.k* “I part your mouth.”

Of these, (1) is the default assumption, made likely by the existence of a distinct passive form in the participles. Possibility (2) is most likely limited to specific instances, as in PT 307.11–12/14.

Possibility (3) exists only for examples with nominal subjects, since those with a suffix pronoun as subject, such as 215.15 *jwr.k*, do not conform to the adjectival-predicate pattern (§ 11.2). In this case, the participle would be without gender/number ending, though presumably with the passive vocalization; this could explain 211.6 *jwj*, which indicates an original syllable-final *r*: ★[uwir] > ★[uwi’] (cf. § 15.3). Adjectival predicates, however, occur only in main clauses or marked subordinate clauses, so instances such as the following are more likely to involve an unmarked passive (see § 21.5):

mḥnmtj ntrw šnm ntrw m šw.sn (301.4)

you pair of the gods, in whose shade the gods were associated.

The greatest degree of uncertainty attaches to possibilities (4) and (5). Intransitive/reflexive use of a verb is illustrated by the verb *wpj* “part,” which is regularly used transitively, with a direct object (e.g., 254.19 *wp.n.f tȝ* “he has parted the land”) but appears intransitively in PT 364.19 *mr.n sw hrw jr.k nj wp.n.f jr.k* “Horus has bound himself to you; he cannot part from you,” where the verb form cannot be passive. Intransitive/reflexive use is in fact attested for most of the verbs cited above as possible unmarked passives: *wn* “open” (*Wb.* I, 312, 7–9), *mḥ* “fill” (*Wb.* II, 117, 6–17), *sđ* “break” (*Wb.* IV, 375, 4–7), *dr* “limit” (*Wb.* V, 595, 7); *jȝb* “collect” (*Wb.* I, 41, 1–2), *jwr* “conceive, be conceived” (*Wb.* I, 56, 2–3), *ȝhm* “extinguish, be extinguished” (*Wb.* I, 224, 19), *wbs* “pile up” (*Wb.* I, 296, 7–9), *mȝr* “direct, be directed” (*Wb.* II, 22, 5), *ḥkn* “endow, be endowed” (*Wb.* III, 178), *ḥnm* “associate” (*Wb.* III, 380), *ȝz* “tie” (*Wb.* V, 398, 12–14); *msj* “give birth to, be born” (*Wb.* II, 137, 4), *ȝwj* “prevented, be

prevented” (*Wb.* III, 245, 5–9), *skj* “wipe out” (*Wb.* IV, 311–13), *šnj* “encircle, be encircled” (*Wb.* IV, 489, 1–3), *dʒj* “cross” (*Wb.* V, 512, 19–26); *dmdj* “unite” (*Wb.* V, 459, 8–13). It does not seem likely, however, for verbs such as *pzh* “bite,” which conceptually require an object other than the agent.⁵

One criterion by which possible passive forms can be identified is the introduction of the agent by means of the particle *jn*. This is attested for suffixed passives and marked passives, and for unmarked passives as well:

jḥ mk.t WNJS jm jn mʒʒw sw (254.37)

so am *I protected in the same by those who see me.

tmm r.k jn šmst tmm r n šmst jn mʒfdt (230.3)

Your mouth is closed by Follower, the mouth of Follower is closed by Mafdet.

pzh n̄w jn n̄t pzh n̄t jn n̄w (230.12)

Glider has been bitten by a glider, a glider has been bitten by Glider.

Examples with *jn* are 216.5–7, 226.1 *hn*; 219.50 *wp*; 219.51 *tnw*; 230.4/12 *pzh*; 248.2 *jwr*; 249.3 *hzp*; 273–74.49, 306.10 *rđj*; 284.3 *h*; 291.1 *dr*, 291.2 *nḥm*; 305.1–2 *tʒz*. It is true that *jn* can also introduce the agent of an active participle (§ 15.5 end) and the active *sdm.f* (§ 9.4B1), but this is regularly in initial position and usually not, as with passive forms, following the *sdm.f* and its subject.⁶ This, however, is only useful in ruling out intransitive/reflexive use of an active form, since *jn* can also introduce the agent of a passive participle: e.g., *m wddt jrt n.k jn jt.k gbb* (373.17 TM) “as what was commanded by your father Geb to do for you.” All of the examples with *jn* could therefore be interpreted as passive participles.

The likeliest instances of a unmarked passive are therefore those in which the verb has a suffix pronoun as subject and probably does not have intransitive/reflexive meaning. Unis’s texts have six such:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 2-lit. | <i>sˤb.k</i> “cleanse” 36.5; <i>ʃˤ.s</i> “cut” 142.1 |
| 3-lit. | <i>hkn.k</i> 301.25; <i>qrs.sn</i> “entomb” 305.11 |
| 3ae-inf. | <i>ḥm.f</i> “turn away” 258.10; <i>sn.s</i> “release” 157.1 |
| 4-lit. | <i>hzmn.k</i> “natronize” 34.7. |

5 In some languages, passives exist that are formally “identical to the transitive verbs they are derived from,” but “they are not common and usually of restricted distribution in the languages for which we have data” (Keenan and Dryer 2007, 334–35).

6 Exceptionally, CT V, 27d–e *smn tbw.j hr ʒkr jn ʒst smn.s wj jn ʒst hr ʒkr* “my sole is set on the Horizon by Isis: she sets me, does Isis, on the Horizon”; see Stauder 2014a, 106–107. Regularly, however, after the stative of the anomalous verb *j* “say” (§ 17.5A).

PT 95.2  is probably not the *sdm.f* with 2ms subject (*htm.k* “you are provided”) but a spelling of the *htm.(j) kw/tw* “I provide you” of other copies (NNtS, B2Bo). The remainder have three uses:

- clause-initial, with reference to a completed action:

sntr.k dp r.k sC.b.k (36.5)

Your divinization is on your mouth and you have been cleansed.

hzmn.k m Cb hmsw hrw (34.7)

You have been natronized amid Horus’s Followers.

hkn.k jm.s m rn.s pw n hknw (301.25)

You have been endowed with it, in its identity of “endowment” oil.

- negated by *nj*, expressing inability or gnomic negation:

jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw nj SC.s jr.k (142.1; sim. 157.1’)

Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye: it cannot be cut away from you.

nj hm.f nj hmwt.f jm.f (258.10)

*I am not turned away, and there is none who will turn away from *me.

šnt nj šnt.j (299.3)

Shunned snake, I cannot be shunned.

- in a clause of prior circumstance:

hzpt rmt qrs.sn (305.11)

what people receive when they have been entombed.

Examples with nominal subject in the last two uses may therefore also be instances of an unmarked passive:

- negated by *nj*: 157.1 *sn.s*, 215.35 *sk.k* and *sk*, 219.3/7/11/15/19/23/27/31/35/39/43/47/53/57/61/65/68’/69/73/78/83/88/93/98/219.104 *sk.f* and *sk*, 242.1 *gm*, 246.6 *hsf*, 251.9 *hsf*, 258.21 *d3* and *hsf*, 262.23 *hzp*, 302.4 *sk*; 302.5 *htm*
- in a clause of prior circumstance: 218.4 *dr*, 258.4 *sd* and *dr*, 27374.15 *mh*, 294.2 *wd*.

Other possible examples of an unmarked passive with nominal subject are those that appear in balanced clauses, like the marked passive, and those used attributively after a proper name or vocative (cf. § 20.6):

htm ntr m htp-ntr htm WNJS m t.f pn (223.5; sim. 230.12 *pzh*, 230.13 *hn*, 284.3 *h*)

As the god has been provided with his god’s-offering, this Unis has been provided with his bread.

hrw pw wd n.f jrt n.jt.f (247.14)

It is Horus, who has been commanded to act for his father.

mhnmtj ntrw šnm ntrw m šw.sn (301.4)

You pair of the gods, in whose shade the gods were associated.

These examples are enough to indicate the probable existence of the unmarked passive as a distinct form of the suffix conjugation.

19.5 MEANINGS AND USES OF THE PASSIVES

The unmarked passive is the most common of the three passive forms. Since clear instances of the adjectival-predicate construction with a passive participle are not common (e.g., ShS. 66 *rq sw r lynt* “he was bent forward”), most examples that cannot have intransitive/reflexive meaning are probably those of an unmarked passive *sdm.f* rather than a passive (or active intransitive/reflexive) participle. In meaning and use, this form is analogous to the *sdm.n.f* (§§ 18.4, 18.7) and it can therefore be regarded as an expression of completed action, passive counterpart of the *sdm.n.f*. The counterpart relationship of the two forms can be seen in the following passage:

jw rdj n.f' m sḥm wrjn sʒl jt ntrw

jw wḥm.n WNJS b'w m pt

j.f sbn m nb ʒht (273–74.49–50)

*I have now been given title as the greatest controlling power by Orion, the gods’ father;

*I have now reappeared in the sky

and have now become manifested as lord of the Akhet.

In later pyramids, the two forms also appear as textual variants.⁷

The marked passive is used in the same environments as the unmarked passive and must therefore carry a different semantic connotation. The usual interpretation of the form as a prospective alternant of the unmarked passive is probably mistaken, both because tense is not a primary feature of the verbal system and because the form is used in non-prospective statements (§ 19.3, above). The lexical association of gemination with normative or repetitive action (§ 4.12) suggests instead that the form expresses the antithesis of the unmarked passive, namely, incomplete action.⁸

7 Allen 1984, § 502.

8 Cf. Keenan and Dryer 2007, 333–34. The formal similarity between the 2-lit. marked passive and passive participle is not germane. The latter form has a different probable origin (§§ 15.3; Stauder 2014a, 44–60); can be used with reference to completed action (§ 15.6); and survives into Middle Egyptian, while the marked passive does not.

Both synthetic passives occur in a fairly restricted number of syntactic environments:

- clause-initial:

jr t.k nfr m p (247.13)

Your good bread has been made in Pe.

jrw n.f rrwt (268.12)

Porticos are made for *me.

- balanced clauses:

pzḥ n̄w jn n̄t pzḥ n̄t jn n̄w (230.12)

Glider has been bitten by a glider, a glider has been bitten by Glider.

tmm r.k jn šmst tmm r n šmst jn mȝfdt (230.3)

Your mouth is closed by Follower, the mouth of Follower is closed by Mafdet.

- negated by *nj*:

nj hzp hmt.f hr mhnt wrt (262.23)

*My fare does not have to be received on the great ferry.

nj wd̄r mdw.f m jmj njt.f (307.13)

His case is never decided as one of his town.

The marked passive does not appear to be used after *jw* or initially in adverb clauses, both uses attested for the unmarked passive. The second gap in the evidence may be merely accidental. The same may be true for the first, but it is likelier that the exclusion is semantic, the situation-specific function of the particle being incompatible with the marked incomplete meaning of the marked passive.

The suffixed passive is also used clause-initially, in balanced clauses, and negated by *nj*, but it seems to be supplemental in at least some respects to both synthetic passives. It is the only form used with unexpressed subject (222.18/23, 219.49), which probably accounts for its use with the *sdm.n.f*, in place of the unmarked passive, in 219.49 *ms.n.t n.(j)* “Someone has been born to me.” It is also used as object of the verb *rdj* in its causative function (272.2, 278.3), an environment for which clear examples of the synthetic passives are lacking in the Pyramid Texts.⁹ This absence is probably semantic in origin. The unmarked passive is excluded for the same reason that its active counterpart, the *sdm.n.f*, is: if an action is marked as completed, it cannot be the inchoate object of a causative action. Since, however, the *rdj sdm.f* construction carries the implication of ultimate completion, it also rules out the marked incomplete notion of the marked passive.

9 Allen 1984, § 494.

The suffixed passive is probably not, at least in Unis's texts, a diachronic replacement for one or both of the synthetic passives, as it is attested together with both synthetic forms in a single spell: *pzh* (230.12) and *hn.t/ln.t.t* (230.14), *dmm* (272.1) and *j.wn.tj* (272.2). In other pyramids, it appears as the passive counterpart of the *sdm.k³.f* (669.17/30 *jn.k³.t*) and possibly also the *sdm.jn.f* (473.32 M *ms.jn.tj* vs. PAnN *ms.n.t*); it also appears at least once as a passive counterpart of the *-w* form of the active *sdm.f* (703.11 N *ndhw.t*) in place of the marked passive (374.4 *ndrr*).¹⁰

These features indicate that the suffixed passive has a triple role in the grammar of the Pyramid Texts. Initially, it is both the passive counterpart of forms that have no synthetic passive counterpart of their own and a means of expressing a passive without subject.¹¹ The second of these roles accounts for the occurrence of 219.49 *ms.n.t* alongside the more common unmarked passive (or intransitive/reflexive) *ms* (211.6/8, 215.10, 215.11/14, 222.38). Subjectless use also accounts for a few examples of the *sdm.tj*. Most, however, have a nominal or suffix subject and therefore represent, at least in origin, a distinct passive form; its active counterpart, and that of the marked passive, are identified in Chapter 20. Over time, the suffixed passive also becomes a replacement for the marked passive, a process whose beginning is observable in the Pyramid Texts; by the Middle Kingdom, the marked passive has disappeared, except as a legacy in the Coffin Texts. In Middle Egyptian, the suffixed passive of the *sdm.n.f* has also replaced the unmarked passive in many of its functions.

10 The reed-leaf in 473.32 M [] is possibly an error for ∅. For the *-w* form of the active *sdm.f*, see § 20.11.

11 I.e., with an indefinite or unspecified subject: see Keenan and Dryer 2007, 329–30. This is not an argument for the interpretation of the suffix as an impersonal subject, which has been disproved by Stauder 2014a, 16–19.

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20. THE ACTIVE *sdm.f*

20.1 FORMS

The active *sdm.f* is the most frequently used of the verb forms: Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 1043 examples of it. All but one of the nine root classes (§ 4.11) are attested among these.

In most cases (917 examples, 88%), the verbal part of the form (i.e., without suffix pronoun) is the lexical root (for final-weak verbs, the lexical root without the final *j*):

- 2-lit. — 201 of 225 examples (89%): e.g., *wn.f* “he opens” (268.10)
- 2ae-inf. — 85 of 93 examples (91%): e.g., *t.f* “he pounds” (88.2)
- 2ae-gem. — 37 of 43 examples (86%): e.g., *wn.k* “you be” (214.5), *wnn.k* “you exist” (245.10)
- 3-lit. — 349 of 373 examples (94%): e.g., *wbn.k* “you rise” (222.28)
- 3ae-inf. — 202 of 253 examples (80%): e.g., *jr.sn* “they make” (306.7)
- 4-lit. — the sole example: *h!ȝt!* “screech” (275.2)
- 4ae-inf. — 40 of 46 examples (87%): e.g., *hms.t* “you sit” (81.7)
- anom. — 2 of 8 examples: *m.k* “you do not” (23–24.5).

The remaining 125 examples are marked by the prefix (§ 13.6A), an ending (§ 13.6B, including gender/number endings of forms used attributively), or both:

prefix *j-* (⌚)

- 2-lit. 37.2 *j.smn.j*; 139.1 *j.sr.f*; 214.6 *j.fl.k*; 215.8 *j.dr.k*; 215.9 *j.ȝl.k*, *j.rd.k*; 219.102 *j.fl*; 220.6 *j.dd.f*; 222.25 *j.fl.k*; 224.18 *j.nd*; 246.10 *j.gr*; 260.12 *j.sd*; 268.9 *j.sk.f*; 270.11 *j.tm.k*; 271.10 *j.wn*; 318.5 *j.ȝm.f*
- 2ae-gem. *j.wn.t* 77.2 (§ 2.1)
- 3ae-inf. 34.3 *j.dp.k*, 246.14 *j.h.sn*, 260.4 *j.mr.f*, 267.5 *j.pȝ*, 267.6 *j.pȝ.f*, 269.17 *j.ȝm*
- 4ae-inf. 223.9 *j.mdr.k*
- anom. *jm.k* 288.3, 293.2/4, *jm.f* 293.5, *jm.tn* 301.9, *jm.sn* 311.11

ending *-j* (⌚)

- non-attributive: 93.6 *dwj.k*, 204.1 *j.hȝj*, 246.18 *nlyj*, 260.13 *pȝj*, 268.1 *hȝj*, 290.1 *pȝj*, 273–74.56 *fuj*
- attributive (ms): 278.1 *nnj*

ending *-y* (⌚⌚)

- non-attributive: 260.8 *tȝy.f*, 267.10 *hny.f*, 283.1' *jkȝ, jhy* 273–74.1; 301.30 *nȝy.k*, 302.13 *pry*, 318.6 *ȝny.f*
- attributive: 219.50 *mry.f*, 254.7 *gmy*, 299.5 *gmy*, 273–74.45 *gmy.f*

ending *-juw/-wj* (¶[¶]: § 1.2)

- non-attributive: 214.11 *kjuw*, 267.5' *hnjw.f*
- attributive (ms): 301.34 *sCbwj.k*

ending *-w* (¶, non-radical)

- non-attributive: 81.5 *kIwlw.sn*, 81.6 *nrw.sn*, 217.7 *mrw.f*, 222.33–36 *h3w.k*, 257.8 *shmw*, 268.8 *sflw.f*, 269.12 *ndrw*, 294.4/6 *hCw*
- attributive (ms): 34.4–5 *jssw*; 215.11 *nvrw*, *sd3w*; 217.15/24/31 *mrw.f*; 223.7 *ndw*; 241.1 *jsw*, *qC3w*; 246.4 *msw*, *snqw*; 246.11 *ddw*; 249.10 *wCbw*; 268.10 *hzpw.f*; 273–74.30 *h3bw.f*; 311.6 *prrw.k*

ending *-jt* (¶=)

- attributive (fs): 51.2 *dptj.k*, 111.1 *tjt*

ending *-t* (=)

- non-attributive: 224.19 *jwt.k*, 257.10 *jwt*, 260.13/24 *jnt.f*, 270.6/8 *jwt*, 317.7 *jnt*
- attributive (fs): 39.2 *zjt.f*; 44.4 *jnt.k*, *m33t.k*, *sdmf.k*; 47.3 *jtt.k*, *wppt.k*; 53.2' *zlynt.k*; 81.4 *hzpt*; 115.1' *dpt.k*; 128.1 [*zhnt.k*]; 133.1 *shmt.f*; 210.6 *bt*; 210.7 *bt.f*; 210.8 *bwt*; 210.11 *wnmt.tn*, *zwrt.tn*; 210.12 *cnlyt.tn*, *hmst.tn*; 210.13 *wsrt.tn*, *sqddt.tn*; 210.6 *bt*; 210.7 *bt.f*; 210.8 *bwt*; 211.1–2 *bt*; 212.4 *cnlyt.f*, 212.5 *wnmt.f*, 212.6 *zwrt.f*; 218.2 *tnt.f*, 240.3 *zbnt*; 255.13 *rnnt.k*; 258.2 *bwt.f*; 260.22 *bt*; 270.5 *d33t.k*; 276.1 *jrt.k*; 282.2 *jkt.k*; 300.1 *jrt*; 304.2 *hnkt*; 305.11 *hzpt*; 309.2 *nht*; 309.7 *j.ddt.f*; 313.3 *jknt*, *zbnt*; 313.4 *jknt*

ending *-tj* (¶)

- attributive (fs): *zlyntj.k* 53.2.

Vocalization of the unmarked *sdm.f* is preserved in the Coptic **T...O** infinitive, derived from the infinitive of the verb *rdj* (> **T**) governing a *sdm.f* ending in ***[á]** > **O**.¹ These reveal the following patterns for the *sdm.f*:

2-lit.	<i>Cm</i> “swallow” *[Cimá] > AMO
2ae-gem.	<i>qbb</i> “cool” *[qabbá] > KBO ²
3-lit.	<i>snq</i> “suck” *[sanqá] > CENKO
3ae-inf.	<i>msj</i> “birth” *[misiá] > MECIO
4ae-inf.	<i>hmsj</i> “sit” *[himsá] > ZMCO .

This stress pattern accounts for the “reduced” form of 2ae-gem. verbs: e.g., 214.14 *wn.k* representing ***[winnák]**. It also accounts for some of the variant written forms of the *sdm.f*

1 For other Coptic forms supposedly derived from the *sdm.f*, see Allen 2011, 15 and n. 49.

2 In Bohairic, **K** ***[k]** is aspirated (\rightarrow **x** ***[k^h]**) before **B** plus a stressed vowel (e.g., **XBOB** ***[k^hbób]** < ***[qabáb]**). The use of **K** rather than **x** in Bohairic **TKBO** indicates derivation from ***T-KBO**: i.e., ***[tkb-bó]** rather than ***[t̪kb-bó]**.

of final-weak verbs: e.g., *pr* *|[piriá] (254.8) vs. *prj* *|[píri'á] (290.1) vs. *pry* *|[piriyá] (302.13). In some cases, however, the presence of a final *-j* or *-y* in such forms probably derives from an original 1s suffix. This is clearly the case in 283.1' *jky* *|[akiái > akiáy] "I chop" > *jk* *|[akiá] with nominal subject. Notably, all instances of a *sdm.f* with final *-j* or *-y* are of final-weak verbs.

The prefix appears as an occasional feature of the *sdm.f*, both attributive and non-attributive, in some verb classes. Notably absent are prefixed 3-lit. forms. This suggests that the prefix occurs only in forms with an initial CV– that can be metathesized to VC–: e.g., *hr* *|[xi-rá] (226.4) and *j.hr* *|[ix-rá] (254.52), *wn.t* *|[win-nát] (77.3) and *j.wn.t* *|[un-nát] (77.2), *mr.s* *|[mi-ri-ás] or *|[mir-ri-ás] (301.26) and *j.mr.f* *|[im-ri-áf] (260.4), whereas *nhm.f* *|[nah-máf] (258.15), for example, cannot be metathesized (*|[anh-máf]).

Most non-radical endings that appear on the *sdm.f* are those that signal gender/number concordance when the form is used attributively. Feminine singular *-t* is the most common of these, with the variants *-jt* in 111.1 *tjt* *|[ti'atá] and *-tj* in 53.2 *zḥntj.k*. The latter was emended from to , and the original final *ـ* as well as the *zḥnt.k/f* of other copies (Nt, S) indicates that merely represents *|[tá] of the final syllable *-ták*.

The masculine singular attributive ending *-w* probably reflects the addition of a vowel *|[u] to the stem of the verb, which in turn can produce the semivocalic glide [w] before form-final *|[á]: thus, for example, 222.12 *hzp.f* *|[xaθpáf] → 268.10' *hzp.f* *|[xaθpuáf] and 268.10 *hzpw.f* *|[xaθpuwáf]. The same process is visible with final-weak verbs: for instance, 35.5 *ms.f* *|[misiuáf] and 246.4 *msw* *|[misiwá]. In some cases, however, the glide has assimilated to the root-final vowel *|[i], as in 217.15/24/31 *mrw.f* *|[mir(r)iwáf] but 219.50 *mry.f* for *|[mir(r)iuáf] > *|[mir(r)iyáf].³ A masculine singular ending occurs in a single instance of the 3-lit. caus. *sdm.f* in 301.34 *s'b**.k ntrw jm.f* "in which you cleanse the gods." Since the attributive *sdm.f* apparently merely adds gender/number endings to the non-attributive form (§ 20.6), this would not seem to reflect a separate masculine singular ending *-jw*; instead, it should probably be read *-uj*, representing the *|[u'á] of *|[suw' abu'ák].

The endings *-t* and *-w* also appear on non-attributive instances of the *sdm.f*. The first of these is limited, in Unis's texts as elsewhere, to the verbs *jnj* "get" and *jw* "come." The significance of this anomalous ending is not clear, but its restricted distribution suggests that it may be merely a phonological variant: i.e., 254.21 *jw.s* *|[iwás] vs. 224.19 *jvt.k* *|[uták] and 263.7 *jn.sn* *|[inásun] vs. 260.13 *jnt.f* *|[intáf]. In this respect, it is perhaps not merely accidental that no single spell contains forms both with and without the ending.

3 This is thus an early instance of the phenomenon noted by Schenkel 1962, §§ 14–18. The same alternation occurs in the modern Egyptian Arabic variants *‘āwiz* ~ *‘āyiz* "want" (ms).

The non-attributive ending *-w* appears to be limited to final-weak verbs and the causative stem of other verbs. Two interpretations of this ending are possible, orthographic and formal. In the first of these, it is conceivable that the ending merely reflects the stressed final vowel of the normal *sdm.f* form: thus, both 222.32 *sfl.k* and 268.8 *sflw.f* representing *[sufxák/f]. This use of *-w* to represent form-final *[a] would then be similar to that observable in the imperative (§ 16.1) and stative (p. 140 n. 2).

Alternatively, the ending is that of an active counterpart of the passive *sdm.f* with the same ending (§ 19.3). This is likelier, since both forms are attested for the same verb classes, and the two are also used in parallel in other Pyramid Texts: e.g.,

nj ksw bȝwt hr.j

nj jȝw jb.k (419.17–18 M)

He of the night never bows over you,
your mind is never possessed.

The occasional ending *-jw* of final-weak verbs (214.11 *kjw*, 267.5 *lnjw.f*) suggests a vocalization such as *[–i’awa] for the ending of these verbs.

The passive form with the ending *-w* is an analogue of the *sdm̩m.f* of other classes. No marked analogue exists for the active form of those classes, but it is conceivable that a syllable structure different from that of the *sdm̩m.f* conceals a geminated analogue in the unmarked *sdm.f*, as in the following passage:

nj smȝw.(j) tw

nj wrd jb.(j) r prt n.k hr rȝ nb (690.62–63 NNt)

I will never forget you,
my mind will never become too tired to invoke you every day.

Here the 2-lit. causative form *smȝw.(j)* suggests an analogous marked form in 3-lit. *wrd*, thus perhaps *[w̩r̩ȝddá]. The geminated examples of 2ae-gem. verbs could represent this form as well as the one with geminated stem: e.g., 245.10 *wnn.k* for either *[win-innák] or *[winninák].

The active *sdm.f* with the non-attributive ending *-w* has been labeled the “*sdmw.f*,”⁴ but that nomenclature is inaccurate for several reasons: the ending is not attested for 3-lit. verbs, of which *sdm* is one; it does not include unmarked forms such as 690.63 *wrd*, which most likely represent the same inflectional form as those ending in *-w*; and the ending is representative not only of active forms but also of their passive counterpart, the marked passives. The term “marked *sdm.f*” is preferred here.

The active *sdm.f* of verbs with 3ae-inf. and 4ae-inf. roots occurs occasionally (19 of 295 examples, 6%) with visibly geminated stem: e.g., *mrr.f* and *msdd.f* (273–74.61). Two

4 First by Edel 1955, § 511.

analyses of this feature are possible. It may represent a second marked form, distinct from the unmarked *sdm.f* and the marked form with final *-w* or final gemination. Alternatively, it may simply represent the *sdm.f* with geminated stem. The latter is a possibility because it conforms to the pattern of lexical gemination (§ 1.12) and because it appears in a number of the same uses as the unmarked *sdm.f* (§ 20.10). The fact that lexical gemination is visible in the participles can be explained phonologically (§§ 15.2 and 15.3) and the same is true for its invisibility in forms such as the infinitive: e.g., *prt* representing both *|[pírit] > **ΠΕΙΡΕ/ΦΙΡΙ** and *|[píriat] > **ΠΡΡΕ/ΠΡΡΙΕ**.⁵ If gemination in the *sdm.f* represents a lexical feature rather than an inflectional one, its visibility may be the result of phonology as well. Attributive forms such as 44.4 *mʒʒt.k* and *sdmt.k* conceivably represent *|[m~ll~látak] and *|[saddamáatak], in contrast to ungeminated 44.4 *jnt.k* *|[inátak]. PT 270.5 *dʒʒt.k*, however, is unlikely to represent *|[d~l~li~'átak], since that would be reduced to *|[d~lli~'átak] by syncope and thus written *dʒt.k*. It could, however, represent *|[d~l~l~'átak], in which final radical *|[i] has been replaced by a glottal stop (cf. § 17.2). The presence of visible gemination then reflects not a distinct form of the *sdm.f* but merely a slightly different syllable structure. By the same token, if non-attributive *mʒʒ.f* (230.9) represents *|[m~ll~láf], then the parallel form *dgg.f*, in the same passage, represents *|[d~g~g~'áf].

20.2 USES

The active *sdm.f* appears in five major syntactic functions in the Pyramid Texts: clause-initial (703 examples, 67 %), including main clauses and independent statements (572 examples) and adverb clauses (131 examples); in noun clauses, as object/complement of a verb or preposition or after an indirect genitive (80 examples); attributively (92 examples); after *jw* (5 examples); with preposed subject (26 examples); and negated by *nj* (136 examples). The unmarked *sdm.f* is attested in all of these uses; the *w-* form, only clause-initial; and the visibly geminated form, in all uses except after *jw*.

20.3 THE UNMARKED *SDM.F* IN MAIN CLAUSES OR INDEPENDENT STATEMENTS

The following are instances of the unmarked active *sdm.f* in main clauses or independent statements of fact in Unis's Pyramid Texts:

- 2-lit. 37.2 *j.smn.(j)*; 143.1 *sjp.(j)*; 170.1 *jp.(j)*; 212.1 *ndfdf*; 214.13 *bʒ.k*; 215.1 *bt*;
 218.2 *jp.f*; 219.4/8/12/16/20/24/28/32/36/40/44/48/54/58/62/66/
 70/74/79/84/89/94/99/105 *nhp.f*, *nhp*; 220.1 *wn*; 222.25 *j.fl.k*; 222.32

⁵ The latter pattern also in *|[míriat] “love” > **ΜΕ/ΜΑΕΙΕ** (as opposed to *|[mírit] “want” > ***ΜΕΙΡΕ**) and *|[hí~'iat] “rise (keep appearing)” > **ΨΑ/ΨΑΕ/ΨΑΙΕ** (as opposed to *|[hí~'it] “appear” > ***ΨΙ/ΨΙ**), where the quantity of the stressed vowel reflects a closed syllable that cannot derive from the regular ungeminated infinitival pattern *|[i]2~t|. In the semelfactive verb **CBΕΕ/CEΒΙ/CHΒΒΙ** “circumcise,” the doubled consonant does not come from gemination: original 3-lit. caus. *sw~b* “cleanse” *|[súw~ab] > 2-lit. caus. *s~bt* *|[sú~bit] > *|[súbbi].

- sfl.k; 226.4 hr; 227.2–3 dd.(j); 228.1 hr; 233.1–2 hr; 246.7 bt; 246.10 j.gr;*
246.14 ḥq.sn; 252.4 wd; 252.6 dd; 252.9 wd; 254.8 sr; 254.41 zk.s; 254.42
smn.s; 254.51 j.hr; 260.12 j.sd; 260.19 ȝm; 261.5 sn.f; 261.6 wn;
262.6/9/12/15/18 dd.(j); 263.9 dd.sn; 268.9 j.sk.f; 269.13 sjp.f; 270.11
j.tm.k; 271.10 j.wn; 273–74.2 nmm; 273–74.3 gr; 275.3 wn; 277.1 hr;
289.1 hr; 290.1 hr; 293.6 hr; 298.3 j.ȝf; 301.13 j.qd.f; 301.31 ssn; 302.6
dy; 309.4 j.sd, j.wn; 311.14 tm.f; 313.3 wn; 317.10 nk; 319.5 srd, ȝg
- 2ae-inf. *25.2–4 zj; 25+200.2–4 zj; 146.1 jw.sn; 212.2 j; 214.2 j; 215.1 zj;*
217.1–2/6/8–9/13/16–17/21/25–26/30/32 j; 218.1/7/15/17/19/21/
23/25 j; 219.109–10 zj.k, zj; 245.2 j; 246.5 j; 246.7 zj; 254.22 j; 257.10
jwt; 269.3–4/8–10 j; 306.6 j
- 2ae-gem. *77.3 wn.t; 205.5 ȝm.sn; 214.14 wn.k; 222.3 mȝ; 230.11 mȝȝ.k; 223.13*
wnn.(j); 246.8 hww.sn; 254.29 mȝ.k; 257.2 mȝ.n; 269.5 wn, wn.tn;
306.18 wn.k; 311.1 mȝȝ
- 3-lit. *36.6 htm.(j); 57.2 htm.(j); 87.2 jȝb.(j); 94–95.3 htm.(j); 110.1 jȝb.(j);*
127.1 jbȝ.(j); 148.1 htm.(j); 149.1 htm.(j); 150.1 htm.(j); 151.1 htm.(j);
205.5 lyȝ.sn; 209.1–2 wȝd; 209.3 wȝm; 210.6 twr; 210.16 dbn, lyȝz;
212.4 ȝnb; 212.5 wnm.f; 212.6 zwrf; 213.7 phr; 214.9 wȝb.k; 214.13
shym.k; 215.25 hpr.k; 215.32' dbȝ.k; 215.32–33 dbȝ.k; 217.3/10/18/27
ȝȝs.tn; 217.4/11/19/ 28 wbn.tn; 217.7 mt.tn, ȝnb.tn; 217.14 dwȝ; 218.2
nȝm.f, nȝb.f; 219.2/6/10/14/18/22/26/30/32/38/42/46/52/56/60/
64/68/72/77/82/87/92/97/103 ȝnb.f, ȝnb; 222.1 ȝȝ.k; 222.2 hpr.k;
222.26 wdȝ.k; 222.26 ȝȝ.k; 222.27 hpr.k; 222.28 wbn.k; 222.32 wȝb.k;
222.34/36 wbn.k; 222.37 shym.k; 230.2 ȝȝ; 230.10 pȝh.k; 246.16 ȝȝ;
246.18 hpr; 247.2 sdȝ; 249.3' hȝp; 250.5 hpr; 252.5 wdȝ; 252.7 twr.f;
254.5 wnm.f; 254.8 ȝȝ; 254.18 sdȝ; 254.29 dwȝ.k; 254.39 ssȝ.s; 254.40
ȝȝ.s; 254.43 wdȝ; 255.14 ȝȝ; 255.15 [wȝȝȝ.f]; 257.5 phr; 257.7 pȝn.f;
257.9 htp; 258.18 nȝb, nȝm.f; 258.20 wrȝ, sdr.f; 260.4 mȝȝ; 260.10 zmȝ.f;
260.14 phr; 260.19 mdd.s; 261.5 hȝs, nmt.f; 261.6 qmȝ; 261.7 ȝȝ; 263.5
ȝnb; 263.10 sjw.sn; 267.11 jwd; 268.3 nȝm; 268.4 lyȝ; 268.5 snq; 268.6
hȝp; 268.7 sȝb.f; 268.10' hȝp.f; 268.16 mnȝ; 268.17 spr; 269.1–2 wbn;
269.6 ȝnb, ȝnb.tn; 270.11 stp.f; 273–74.2 sdȝ; 273–74.45 wnm.f; 273–
74.54 wsȝ; 273–74.55 htp.f; 275.5 hpr; 277.1 zbn; 278.1 ȝȝ; 284.5 ȝȝ;
295.1 stp; 295.2 wȝm.s; 296.3 mt; 298.4 stȝ.f, sȝr.f; 299.5 wnm.f; 301.13
sȝnb.f; 301.24 tȝmȝn.k; 301.30 lyȝz.k; 302.1 ȝnb; 305.9 ȝȝp.(j); 305.14
zȝ; 309.5 htm; 309.6 hȝb; 311.1 sjȝ; 313.4 zbn; 317.6 sȝd; 317.8 hȝp;
317.10 wnm, wzȝ; 318.6 hȝp; 319.4/7 shym; 320.2 sȝh.sn
- 3ae-inf. *38.2 wp.j; 39.3 d.(j); 48.2 wp.(j); 54.3 wp.(j); 77.3 dd.(j); 86.2 shym.(j);*
92.2 fȝ.(j); 93.5 jȝ.(j); 93.6 dwȝ.k, hw.f; 153.1 wp.(j); 155.5 wp.(j); 156.1

- wp.(j); 169.1 sht.(j); 204.1 j.h^cj; 205.5 dj.sn; 210.7 bw; 214.13 dj.f; 215.32 pr.k, prr.k; 215.33 h³.k, h³³.k; 219.101 j.šn; 220.1 nhbhb; 222.2 q³.k; 222.25 /h³.k/; 222.27 q³.k; 222.30 pr.k, wp.k; 222.31 hn; 222.33 pr.k, h³.k; 222.34 pr.k; 222.35 pr.k, h³.k; 222.36 pr.k; 222.36' h³.k; 230.10–11 dj.f; 239.1 pr; 244.2 d, nr.f; 245.6 up.k; 246.14 j.h.sn, pr.sn, f³.sn; 246.18 nhj; 248.4 b^c; 249.9 b^c; 252.9 jr.f; 254.8 pr; 254.18 h³; 257.7/13 jt; 258.19 df; 260.4 j.mrf; 260.10 rdj.f; 260.13 pr; 260.14 rw; 260.24 pr; 263.12 d³; 267.4 prrf; 267.5 j.p³, hnn.f; 267.6 j.p³.f, hnn.f; 267.10 hny.f; 268.1 j^c, b^cj; 268.2 q³; 268.5 ȝt; 268.11 shp.f; 268.13 shm; 268.14 d³.f; 269.7' mr, mr.tn; 269.7 mr; 269.11 pr; 270.12' wd.f; 270.12 d.f; 271.7 hd.sn; 273–74.61 mrr.f, jrr.f; 275.3 jn; 276.1 jr.k; 278.2 hn; 283.1' jky; 283.1 jk; 283.2' d.j; 283.2 d.f; 290.1 prj; 296.1 šm.k; 298.1 b^c; 301.30 n^cy.k; 302.6 p³y; 302.13' pr; 302.13 pry; 302.24 p³; 306.8 pr.k; 309.7 jr; 310.9 j.p³.s, hnn.s; 311.18 wd.k; 312 p³, p³³; 313.5 jr.sn; 315.3 jr; 317.7 jnt; 317.9 b^c; 318.6 ny.f; 319.4 shm; 320.2 b^c*
- 4-lit. *hlt³t* 275.2
- 4ae-inf. 79–80.2 sdm.(j); 210.4 sntr; 250.4 dmd; 252.8 hms; 254.9 mdw; 254.17 j³b; 257.9 šms; 257.10 psd; 260.12 bhn.f; 268.1 psdj; 268.17 hnt; 269.11 hfd; 271.7 ndr; 271.10 hms; 273–74.61 msdd.f; 309.3 hms; 315.3 hms.f; 316.2 hms.

These unmarked forms are used with reference to gnomic, present, past, or future events: for example,

wnm WNJS m r.f

wzš WNJS nk WNJS m hnn.f (317.10)

*I eat with my mouth,

*I urinate and *I copulate with my penis.

jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw bnjt jp.(j) n.k s (170.1)

Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: I allot it to you.

zj hntj-jrtj hn^c k³.f

zj.t dd.k hn^c k³.k (25.4)

Eyes-Forward has gone with his ka:

You too have gone with your ka.

wn.t m (h³t) hrw

dd.(j) tm (m) h³t WNJS pn (77.3)

You were on Horus's front,

but I put you on this Unis's front.

nḥj rn.k ḥr rmt

ḥpr rn.k ḥr ntrw (246.18)

Your identity will endure with people
even as your identity comes to be with the gods.

The clause-initial unmarked *sdm.f* is also used as a subjunctive, with either jussive or optative meaning; for example,

j.dd.tn n.jt.tn wnt rdj.n n.tn WNJS p3wt.tn (301.7–8)

You should say to your father that *I have given you your bread-loaves.

rs.t m htp (81.2)

May you awake in peace.

Instances in Unis's texts are:

2-lit.	25.8 a <i>pdpd</i> , 25+200.8 <i>pdpd</i> , 25+200.13 <i>q3.t</i> , <i>‘3.t</i> , 36.5 <i>htm.k</i> , 81.2 <i>rs.t</i> , 213.3 <i>wd.k</i> , 214.6 <i>j.fl.k</i> , 215.8 <i>j.dr.k</i> , 215.9 <i>j.‘h.k</i> , <i>j.rd.k</i> , 270.1 <i>rs.k</i> , 301.7 <i>j.dd.tn</i> , 301.21 <i>j‘.k</i> , 301.32 <i>sj‘.k</i>
2ae-inf.	224.19 <i>jwt.k</i>
2ae-gem.	77.2 <i>j.wn.t</i> , 93.4 <i>m3.k</i> , 219.76 <i>m3.k</i> , 245.8 <i>m3.k</i>
3-lit.	123.1 <i>wnm.k</i> , 199.1 [<i>wdb.k</i>], 214.4 <i>w‘b.k</i> , 215.8 <i>psg.k</i> , 216.4 <i>sh3.tn</i> , 220.5–6 <i>htp.t</i> , 246.13 <i>‘h‘.k</i> , 256.8 <i>jth</i>
3ae-inf.	25+200.12 <i>bdd.k</i> ; 25+200.13 <i>q3.t</i> , <i>‘3.t</i> ; 34.3 <i>j.dp.k</i> ; 81.5–6 <i>dj.t</i> ; 81.7 <i>hms.t</i> ; 171.1 <i>nḥy</i> ; 221.3–8 <i>dj.t</i> ; 222.12–14 <i>dj.k</i> ; 223.11 <i>nḥy</i> ; 254.15 <i>nr</i> , 254.28 <i>hb.k</i> ; 256.8 <i>hn</i> ; 286.3 <i>hz</i> ; 286.4 <i>j3.t</i> ; 311.15 <i>jt.k</i>
4ae-inf.	81.7 <i>hms.t</i> , 223.9 <i>j.mdr.k</i> , 254.32 <i>sw3</i>
anom.	288.3 <i>jm.k</i> , 293.2/4 <i>jm.k</i> , 301.9 <i>jm.tn</i> , 311.11 <i>jm.sn</i> .

The various temporal and modal uses of the unmarked *sdm.f* indicate that the form is not marked for tense or mood, and therefore merely predicates an action of its subject.

In some cases, the *sdm.f* occurs initially in consecutive clauses that express actions that are parallel in meaning; for example,

pr WNJS ḥr mntj jst

ḥfd WNJS pn ḥr mntj nbt-hwt (269.11)

*I go up on Isis's thighs,

*I climb on Nephthys's thighs.

htp.t ḥr.f

htp.t ḥr ‘bw.f (220.5)

May you be content with him,

may you be content with his cleanliness.

20.4 THE UNMARKED *SDM.F* IN ADVERB CLAUSES

A sequence of clauses with the unmarked *sdm.f* can also be used to express one action that is dependent on another, as in the following:

wd WNJS nfrt jr.f.s (252.9)

*I command something good and he does it.

In such cases, the relationship is an artifact of the context, as it can be in English: for example, *She likes coffee and he likes tea* (parallel) and *She tells him to do it and he does it* (dependent).

The unmarked *sdm.f* is common in adverb clauses. In 47 instances from Unis's Pyramid Texts, it expresses an action concomitant with that of a governing clause:

2-lit.	205.3–4 <i>wd</i> ; 219.102 <i>j.fly</i> ; 230.14 <i>šp</i> ; 240.3 <i>ḥm</i> ; 245.8 <i>wd.f</i> ; 258.3 <i>htm.f</i> , 268.10 <i>wn.f</i> , 311.14 <i>tm.f</i>
3-lit.	<i>jmn.f</i> 242.2; <i>ṭḥr.f</i> 222.15, <i>sṭḥr.s</i> 254.40; <i>wṣḥ.k</i> [255.8]; <i>wṣb</i> 216.5–7; <i>njs.f</i> 307.8; <i>shtp.f</i> 44.2, 258.20; <i>spr</i> 268.17
3ae-inf.	93.4 <i>ḥ.s</i> ; 205.16 <i>jr.s</i> ; 214.7 <i>pr.k</i> ; 219.55 <i>nḍḍnḍd.f</i> ; 222.15 <i>ḥḍ.f</i> ; 247.2 <i>pr.k</i> ; 249.10 <i>pr.f</i> ; 254.27 <i>jt.k</i> ; 256.7 <i>kss.sn</i> ; 258.16 <i>ṣm.f</i> ; 268.15 <i>hn</i> ; 273–74.29 <i>ṣd.f</i> ; 297.3 <i>j.ḥ.s</i> ; 301.9 <i>dʒ.f</i> ; 302.10 <i>jr.sn</i> ; 303.4 <i>dʒ.f</i> ; 306.7 <i>jr.sn</i> ; 311.6 <i>ḥḍ.k</i> ; 311.13 <i>dj.k</i> ; 311.18 <i>wd.k</i>
4ac-inf.	222.15 <i>ḥsf.f</i> ; 258.17 <i>zḥn.f</i> ; 268.10' <i>psd</i> ; 268.10 <i>psd</i> ; 268.15 <i>sqd</i> ; 273–74.18 <i>ḥms.f</i> ; 273–74.56 <i>nsb.f</i> ; 307.7 <i>m̄dr</i> ; 311.11 <i>m̄dr</i>

These occur in a number of syntactic environments: for example,

- after a *sdm.f*:

wrš WNJS sdr.f shtp.f nwṭj m wnw (258.20)

*I spend the day and night pacifying the two adzes in Hermopolis.

- after a *sdm.n.f*:

sdʒ wrw mʒ.n.sn ṣt jmt ḡ.k

pr.k m dwṣt (247.2)

The great ones tremble, having seen the knife in your arm
as you emerge from the Daut.

- after a non-verbal clause:

ḥfʒw pżḥ ḥtḥt pr pżḥ.f

jmn.f jm.f (242.2)

The biting snake is all over the house of the one he would bite,
hiding in it.

- after an attributive form:

*ntr nb wdt.f ḡ.f
mdr hr n WNJS r.k (307.7)*
any god who will put forth his arm
when *my face turns to you

- after a nominal form:

*m prt.f jr pt
dʒ.f jr qbhw (303.3–4)*
when he went forth to the sky,
crossing to the Cool Waters.

jm.tn lysb WNJS dʒ.f hr.f (301.9)
You should not bar *me when *I cross unto him.

As with the unmarked *sdm.f* in a main clause or independent statement, the various temporal contexts (past, gnomic, future) of these and similar examples indicates that the form is unmarked for tense.

The unmarked *sdm.f* can also express an action subsequent to that of the governing clause. Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 85 examples of this use:

2-lit.	43.3 <i>shd.sn</i> , 77.4 <i>sʒb.t</i> , 93.2 <i>ʒb.f</i> , 139.1 <i>j.sr.f</i> , 214.6 <i>j.fl.k</i> , 217.23 <i>jp.f</i> , 224.7–9 <i>wd.k</i> , 262.29 <i>sjr.sn</i> , 267.14 <i>jr.k</i> , 297.4 <i>j.hr.k</i> , 303.5 <i>snb.f</i> , 311.4 <i>j.wn</i> , 311.12 <i>dd.(j)</i>
2ae-inf.	<i>zz.f</i> 219.25/33
2ae-gem.	32.3 <i>qb</i> , 167.1 <i>mʒ.k</i> , 214.5 <i>wn.k</i> , 215.7 <i>mʒ.k</i> , 219.76 <i>mʒ.k</i> , 226.5 <i>mʒ</i> , 246.15 <i>mʒ.sn</i> , 252.2 <i>mʒ.tn</i> , 297.5 <i>mʒ</i>
3-lit.	46.5 <i>wnm.k</i> ; 77.4 <i>sndm.t</i> ; 81.8 <i>ᶜḥf.f</i> ; 83.2 <i>htpf.f</i> ; 210.11 <i>wnm.f</i> , <i>zwr.f</i> , 210.12 <i>ᶜnb.f</i> ; 210.13 <i>wsrf.f</i> ; 217.23 <i>shmf.f</i> ; 219.102 <i>ᶜnb.k</i> ; 255.8 [<i>wʒb.k</i>]; 255.10 <i>phrs</i> ; 268.7 <i>sˤb.f</i> ; 269.16 <i>snq</i> ; 297.4 <i>zbn.k</i> ; 307.7 <i>dwʒ.f</i> ; 311.16 <i>nf.(j)</i> , <i>lṣr.(j)</i> , <i>j.sd.(j)</i> ; 318.6 <i>ḥzp</i> ; 321.3 <i>stp</i>
3ae-inf.	77.5–6 <i>dʒ.t</i> ; 93.5 <i>wp.k</i> ; 214.8 <i>hm.f</i> , <i>nn.f</i> ; 214.10 <i>hʒ.k</i> ; 254.26 <i>hn.k</i> ; 255.11 <i>d.s</i> ; 260.13/24 <i>jnt.f</i> ; 263.1 <i>dʒ.f</i> ; 263.2 <i>dʒ</i> ; 263.3–4 <i>dʒ.f</i> ; 267.3 <i>pr.f</i> ; 267.14 <i>jr.k</i> , <i>hr.k</i> ; 269.15 <i>dʒ</i> ; 270.5 <i>dʒ.k</i> ; 271.6 <i>pr</i> ; 295.1 <i>dʒ.f</i> ; 303.5 <i>dʒ.f</i> ; 311.17 <i>jr</i> , <i>jr.f</i> ; 318.6 <i>ny.f</i> ; 321.2 <i>pr</i>
4ac-inf.	210.12 <i>hms.f</i> , 210.13 <i>sqd.f</i> , 251.2 <i>swʒ</i> , 267.9 <i>hms</i> , 304.3/5/8 <i>swʒ</i> , 313.5 <i>swʒ</i>
anom.	<i>jm.f</i> 293.5.

In most cases, these express the purpose for which the action of the governing clause is performed: for instance,

‘h^r ddw^j h³y h³w^t

pr wnjs hr m³qt tn jrt.n n.fjt.f r^r (271.5–6)

Stand up, you two uprights, and descend, you crossbars,
that *I may go up on this ladder that *my father the Sun has made for *me.

Less often, they convey simply an action that follows that of the governing clause, as in

j.zj hn.k r sht htp (254.26)

Go and row to the Field of Offerings.

They can also denote the result of an action: for example,

j.h.s tw jr hr.k p³b^r.s tw jr jrtj.k

j.hr.k m hs.k zbn.k m wz³t.k (297.3–4)

She hits you at your face and claws you at your eyes,
so that you fall in your excrement and crawl in your urine.

None of these adverbial uses is marked either syntactically or by a specific, consistent morphology. As in main clauses and independent statements, therefore, the unmarked *sdm.f* in adverb clauses is a single form expressing merely action, with more specific meanings and relationships to other clauses determined solely by context.

20.5 THE UNMARKED *SDM.F* IN NOUN CLAUSES

In Unis's Pyramid Texts, there are 80 instances in which the unmarked *sdm.f* is the first element in a clause that functions as a noun:

2-lit.	140.1 <i>mn.f</i> , 154.1 <i>‘m.f</i> , 168.1 <i>‘h.f</i> , 246.9/11 <i>wd.f</i> , 254.5 <i>tm.k</i> , 255.8 <i>tm.k</i> , 301.32 <i>j^r</i>
2ae-inf.	88.2 <i>t.f</i> , 270.6/8 <i>jwt</i>
2ae-gem.	230.9 <i>m³f</i> , 293.2 <i>m³</i> , 308.6–9 <i>m³</i>
3-lit.	77.5 <i>slym.f</i> ; 116.1 <i>p³z.f</i> ; 161.1 <i>s³d.f</i> , 162.1 <i>s³d.f</i> ; 163.1 <i>z³bz.f</i> , 164.1 <i>z³bz.f</i> ; 210.9 <i>tvr</i> ; 211.5 <i>‘n³b.f</i> ; 217.7 <i>mt.tn</i> , <i>‘n³b.tn</i> ; 217.15/24/31 <i>‘n³b.f</i> , <i>mt.f</i> ; 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45 <i>s³db.f</i> , <i>‘n³b.f</i> ; 221.8 <i>rw³d</i> ; 222.12 <i>h³p.f</i> ; 222.13 <i>j³q</i> , <i>h³tm.f</i> ; 254.36 <i>wnm.sn</i> , <i>zwr.sn</i> ; 260.4 <i>m³r</i> ; 260.7 <i>phr</i> ; 306.15 <i>mt.k</i> ; 317.12 <i>h³p</i>
3ae-inf.	81.5 <i>ksj</i> , 81.6 <i>nr</i> , 215.32 <i>pr.k</i> , 215.33 <i>h³.k</i> , 230.9 <i>dgg.f</i> , 260.8 <i>tz³y.f</i> , 303.5 <i>h³r.f</i> , 303.10 <i>h³r</i> , 305.3 <i>šm.f</i> , 311.3' <i>pr</i> , 311.3 <i>pr</i>
4ae-inf.	222.12 <i>n³dr</i>
anom.	23–24.5 <i>m.k</i>

These instances include 14 in which the *sdm.f* is governed by a preposition, 13 in which it serves as subject of another verb form, 51 in which it is the object (or complement) of another verb form, and 2 in which it is the second element of an indirect genitive.

Prepositions governing the unmarked *sdm.f* include *jr* “with respect to,” *m* “in,” *mr* “like,” and *ḥft* “according as.” Of these, *mr* and *ḥft* carry the same meaning they have when governing nouns: *jmr tur stš mt ḥwuj* 2 “like Seth rejects the testimony of the two companions” (210.9), *ḥft hzp jb.f* “according as *my mind receives” (i.e., “*my mind’s fancy”: 317.12). The construction *m sdm.f* is used for adverbial reference to an event:

*tžz mžqt jn ḥrw ḥft jt.f jsjr
m šm.f n ȝl.f* (305.2–3)

A ladder has been tied together by Horus in front of his father Osiris when he goes to his akh.

The construction *jr sdm.f* “as for he hears” is used initially to postulate an event:

*jr tm.k jr jst n WNJS
jr.k? WNJS fžt m jt.f gbb* (254.5; sim. 255.8)

If you fail to make a place for *me,
*I will make a curse on *my father Geb.

*jr pr nb.f
nj hm.f htp dȝ* (311.3)
When *my lord emerges,
*I should not forget the offering to be given.

The unmarked *sdm.f* serves as a clausal subject of the passive *sdm.f* of the verbs *ḥwuj* “prevent” and *rdj* “make, cause” (literally, “give”):,

*jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt ḥrw
ḥw zḥz.f s* (163.1, 164.1; sim. 88.2, 116.1, 140.1, 154.1, 161.1, 162.1, 168.1)
Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye:
he has been prevented from wrenching it away.

stš sn.k pw p-nn jsjr dy sdb.f ḥl.f (219.25; sim. 219.33)
Seth, this Osiris here is your brother, who was made to revive and live —

literally, “(that) he wrench it away has been prevented” and “who (that) he revive and live has been given.”

The majority of instances in which the unmarked *sdm.f* serves as object or complement of a verb form (36) involves the *rdj sdm.f* construction, ancestor of the Coptic **Τ...Ο** infinitive (§ 20.1). The governing verb is attested in the *sdm.f* (77.5. 81.5–6, 221.8, 222.12–13, 303.5), *sdm.n.f* (254.36), attributive *sdm.n.f* (219.1/5/9/13/17/21/29/33/47/41/45), and infinitival form (293.2): e.g.,

dȝf bȝ fm ntr cȝ (303.5)
that he might have him appear as the great god.

rdj.n wnjs wnm.sn m zwr.sn zwr.sn m bch.sn (254.38)

*I have let them eat from their drinking-bowl and drink from their flood.

z3.k pw p-nn jsjr dj.n.k sdb.f nhb.f (219.1)

This Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live.

jm.k rdj m3 tw WNJS (293.2)

You should not let *me see you.

The other governing verbs that appear in Unis's texts are *jnj* "make, do," *wd* "command," *mrj* "want," *z3j* "guard," *dbh* "require," and *dd* "say":

srt jr.s nhb.f (211.5)

She is the one who makes it possible that *I live.

jw wd.n jsjr h' WNJS m snnw hrw (303.10; sim. 246.9/11, 260.7–8)

Osiris has now commanded that *I appear as a second Horus.

j.mr.f m3r hrw.f m jrt.n.f (260.4; sim. 217.7/15/24/31)

*I want to be justified in what *I have done.

z3 m.k sflyw jm.f (23–24.5)

Beware that you not let loose of him.

dbh.k pr.k jr pt prr.k (215.32 and 215.32'; sim. 215.33)

Whenever you require to go up to the sky, you go up.

dd.n jb.f mt.k n.f (306.15; sim. 246.9/11)

His mind has said you would die for him.

20.6 THE UNMARKED *SDM.F* USED ATTRIBUTIVELY

The unmarked *sdm.f* can function as an attributive either by virtue of context or through the addition of gender/number endings. Contextual attribution is used when the referent is a vocative or undefined:⁶

bjk m ht jt.f (218.6)

O next falcon who acquires.

r jst mrr WNJS (317.12)

to a place *I like.

6 The reference of 218.6 is to the king's accession as Horus. The interpretation of *m ht* as nisbe *jnj ht*, literally, "who is in the wake," is indicated by the Middle Kingdom copies B10C^b, M5C, T9C, and T1L. Contextual attribution is also used after proper nouns in other Pyramid Texts: e.g., *qbhw t qbh.s shn.s n.k jb.k* "Qebuhut, who cools and assigns for you your mind" (674.4–5 P). This usage is probably behind the use of the *sdm.f* rather than an active participle in the *jn* PN *sdm.f* construction (§ 20.8 below): e.g., 273–74.31 W *jn hzmw rhs.f sn* vs. T *jn szmw rhs sn* "Winepress (is the one who) slaughters them."

In such cases, the pronominal subject of the *sdm.f* refers to the antecedent, and the verb form serves as a kind of participle.

With defined antecedents, whether expressed or not, the *sdm.f* is marked by endings concordant with the gender and number of the antecedent, and the subject of the *sdm.f*, which can be nominal or pronominal, refers to something other than the antecedent. The following 94 examples occur in Unis's texts:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 2-lit. | 220.6 <i>j.dd.f</i> , 223.7 <i>ndw</i> , 224.18 <i>j.nd</i> , 246.9 <i>dd</i> , 246.11 <i>ddw</i> , 261.7 <i>mn</i> ,
309.7 <i>j.ddt.f</i> |
| 2ae-inf. | 39.2 <i>zjt.f</i> , 111.1 <i>tjt</i> , 236 <i>tjtj</i> , 287.1 <i>nnj</i> |
| 3-lit. | 44.4 <i>sdm.t.k</i> ; 81.4 <i>hzpt</i> ; 152.1 <i>dʒp.sn</i> ; 210.11 <i>wnmt.tn</i> , <i>zwrt.tn</i> ; 210.12
<i>cnht.tn</i> ; 210.13 <i>wsrt.tn</i> ; 212.4 <i>cnht.f</i> ; 212.5 <i>wnmt.f</i> ; 212.6 <i>zwrt.f</i> ; 215.11
<i>nwrw</i> , <i>sdʒw</i> ; 218.2 <i>tnt.f</i> ; 240.3 <i>zbnt</i> ; 241.1 <i>qʒw</i> ; 242.2 <i>pʒh.f</i> ; 246.4 <i>snqw</i> ;
249.10 <i>wrbw</i> ; 254.35 <i>tz.f</i> ; 268.10 <i>hzpw.f</i> ; 273–74.30 <i>hʒbw.f</i> ; 292.2 <i>tkn.k</i> ;
301.34 <i>s'buj.k</i> ; 304.2 <i>hnkt</i> ; 305.11 <i>hzpt</i> ; 313.3 <i>jknt</i> , <i>zbnt</i> ; 313.4 <i>jknt</i> |
| 3ae-inf. | 35.5 <i>ms.f</i> , 42.2 <i>jtt.k</i> ; 44.4 <i>jnt.k</i> ; 47.3 <i>jtt.k</i> , <i>wppt.k</i> ; 51.2 <i>dpjt.k</i> ; 115.1'
<i>dpt.k</i> ; 133.1 <i>šmt.f</i> ; 210.6 <i>bt</i> ; 210.7 <i>bt.f</i> ; 210.8 <i>bwt</i> ; 211.1–2 <i>bt</i> ; 217.15/
24/31 <i>mrw.f</i> ; 219.50 <i>mry.f</i> ; 235.2 <i>jʒ.j</i> ; 246.4 <i>msw</i> ; 249.7 <i>zʒʒ</i> ; 254.7 <i>gmy</i> ;
254.59 <i>hd.f</i> , [<i>tz.f</i>]; 258.2 <i>bwt.f</i> ; 260.22 <i>bt</i> ; 269.17 <i>j.ʃm</i> ; 270.5 <i>dʒʒt.k</i> ;
273–74.45 <i>gmy.f</i> ; 276.1 <i>jrt.k</i> ; 282.2 <i>jkt.k</i> ; 299.5 <i>gmy</i> ; 300.1 <i>jrt</i> ; 309.2
<i>nht</i> ; 311.4 <i>jw.s</i> ; 311.6 <i>prrw.k</i> ; 311.10 <i>sk.sn</i> |
| 4ae-inf. | 53.2 <i>zlynt.k</i> ; 128.1 [<i>zlynt.k</i>]; 210.12 <i>hmst.tn</i> ; 210.13 <i>sqddt.tn</i> ; 218.3
<i>rnn.f</i> ; 255.13 <i>rnnt.k</i> . |

As in other functions, the unmarked active *sdm.f* used attributively is not marked for either tense or mood: for example,

jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw tjt stʒ (111.1)

Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which Seth pounded.

cnht.f jm cnhj WNJS jm
wnmt.f jm wnm.f jm
zwrt.f jm zwr.f jm (212.4–6)
What he lives on, *I live on;
what he eats of, *I eat of;
what he drinks of, *I drink of.

hʒw pʒh htlt pr pʒh.f (242.2)

The biting snake is all over the house of the one he would bite.

20.7 THE UNMARKED *SDM.F* AFTER *JW*

All of the five examples of the unmarked *sdm.f* after the particle *jw* appear in a single spell, along with other verb forms and constructions introduced by the same particle:

jw p̄hr jmjw pt n WNJS ...
jw dbn n.f ptj
jw p̄hr n.f jdbwj ...
jw mkt WNJS m h̄t s̄hw nbw jmjw 3̄ht ...
jw p̄hr n.f h̄w
jw wdn n.f h̄wt
jw rdj n.f ♂ m sl̄m wr jn s̄sh jt n̄trw
jw w̄hm.n WNJS h̄w m pt
j.f sbn m nb 3̄ht (273–74.40/42/46/48–50)

Those in the sky now serve *me ...

both skies now circle for *me

and the two shores now serve *me ...

*My proper place is now in front of all the privileged ones in the Akhet ...

thousands now serve *me

and hundreds now present offering to *me.

*I have now been given title as the greatest controlling power by Orion, the gods' father;

*I have now reappeared in the sky

and am now manifested as lord of the Akhet.

From the parallel use of *jw* with adverbial predicate (*jw mkt WNJS m h̄t*), passive *sdm.f* (*jw rdj n.f ♂*, *sdm.n.f (jw w̄hm.n WNJS h̄w)*), and subject–stative (*j.f sbn*), it is clear that the use of *jw* with the *sdm.f* in this passage is meant to convey the same sense—in this case, the current relevance of the predicates (§ 9.4A).

20.8 THE UNMARKED *SDM.F* WITH PREPOSED SUBJECT

The construction in which the unmarked *sdm.f* is used with a suffix pronoun that resumes a preposed subject has two specific functions.

The first of these is to rhematize the subject. In this case, the verb, while serving as the predicate, conveys given information, and the purpose of the construction is to identify (“stress”) the subject. The preposed subject is either a noun (or noun equivalent) introduced by the particle *jn* (§ 9.4B) or an independent pronoun:

jn h̄zmw r̄hs.f sn n WNJS (273–74.31)
 Winepress (is the one who) slaughters them for *me.

j.tn.k jr.k dʒ WNJS

stp.f d.f sw dp dnḥ n dḥwtj

swt dʒ.f WNJS jr gs pf (270.11–13)

Should you, for your part, fail to transport *me,

*I will jump up and put *myself on a wing of Thoth,

and *he* (is the one who) will transport *me to yonder side.

This construction is functionally equivalent to the “participial statement,” in which the predicate is an active participle rather than the *sdm.f* (§ 15.5 end); in fact, Teti’s copy of the last example substitutes that construction (*jn šzmw rħs sn n TTJ*). Forms attested in this use are the following:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 3-lit. | 217.15/24/31 <i>‘nb.f, mt.f, 247.15 wtz.f, 273–74.28 dʒd.f, 273–74.31 rħs.f</i> |
| 3ae-inf. | 205.15 <i>rđj.s; 211.5 jr.s; 270.13 dʒ.f.</i> |

The second construction consists of a noun (or noun phrase) or a dependent or suffix pronoun followed by the unmarked *sdm.f*. Subjects can be preposed for stylistic reasons: for example,

nb qrj sh sn.f jsd sth wtz.f tw swt wtz.f tm (247.15)

The storm-cloud lord, who kicked his brother and spat, Seth—he bears you:
he is the one who bears Atum.

Here the nominal subject *nb qrj sh sn.f jsd sth* “The storm-cloud lord, who kicked his brother and spat, Seth” is preposed probably both because of its length and in parallel with the rhematizing construction *swt wtz.f tm* “he is the one who bears Atum” that follows. No such analysis, however, explains constructions such as *j.s dd.s* (254.22) or *ḥrw hʒs.f* (299.2): these seem, therefore, to represent a specific syntactic construction. Clear or probable instances of this subject–*sdm.f* construction in Unis’s texts are the following:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| 2-lit. | 254.22 <i>j.s dd.s, 158.1' jrt ḥrw hbnḥbn.s, 158.1 jrt ḥrw hbnbn.s</i> |
| 2ae-inf. | 254.21 <i>m k s jw.s</i> |
| 3-lit. | 240.2 <i>nr jhw ḥrw hnd.f, 252.7 ʒms WNJS twr.f WNJS, 299.2 ḥrw hʒs.f</i> |
| 3ae-inf. | 254.31 <i>nb htpw dʒ.f n.k ‘.k, 263.7 zj r.sn jn.sn, 267.12 st tw pr.k, 301.26 rnnwtt mr.s tw</i> |
| 4ae-inf. | 273–74.57 <i>j.f wʒḥ.f.</i> |

In some cases, the construction appears to have gnomic meaning:

sljm WNJS jr dp.f

ʒms WNJS twr.f WNJS (252.7)

*My control is at *my head,

*my staff supports *me.

mʒ.k r' m jnfwt.f

dwʒ.k r' m prjwtf ...

nb htpw dj.f n.k ḡ.k (254.31)

You see the Sun in his fetters,

you worship the Sun in his escape from fetters ...

and the lord of offerings gives you your title.

rnnwtt mr.s t̄w (301.26)

Renenutet loves you.

In other cases, the sense is that of an immediate present or progressive:

jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw hbnbn.s (158.1; sim. 158.1')

Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, bouncing.

m k s jw.s m hsf.k jmnt nfrt m hsf.k m nʒbwtf.s nfrt

j.s dd.s j ms.n.(j) (254.21–22)

Here she comes, the beautiful West, to meet you, to meet you with her beautiful tresses.

and she is saying, “Welcome, you to whom I gave birth.”

st t̄w pr.k m ʒl̄t

st sw ʒbʒ.f m ʃf m sqd wjʒ.k r' (267.12–13)

When you are emerging from the Akhet,

then ★I, ★my baton is in ★my arm, as the one sailing your boat, Sun.

j.f wʒl̄.f jw hkʒ.sn m ht.f (273–74.57)

★I am replete, now that their magic is in ★my belly.

tbt hrw hʒs.f (299.2; sim. 240.2)

Sandal, Horus is treading.

The common feature in both these meanings is incomplete action, and the construction can be analyzed as specific for that sense. As such, it is analogous to the adverbial-predicate construction (§ 12.1), which places an initial subject in a situation, and to the subject-stative construction (§ 17.6), which places an initial subject in a state: in this case, the construction places an initial subject in an action, which in turn indicates that the action itself is incomplete.

20.9 THE UNMARKED *SDM.F* NEGATED

The unmarked active *sdm.f* is negated by the particle *nj* in 136 instances in Unis's Pyramid Texts:

- 2-lit. 215.18/20 *jp.f*; 215.19 *dj*; 219.3/7/11/15/19 *nhp.f, nhp*; 219.23 *(n)hp.f, nhp*; 219.27/31'/31 *nhp.f, nhp*; 219.35 *nhp.f, (n)hp*; 219.39/43/47/53/57/61/65/69/73/78/83/88/93/98/104 *nhp.f, nhp*; 240.3 *rḥ*; 246.17 *tm.k*; 258.2 *ꜥq*; 311.3 *ḥm.f*; 311.13 *šp*; 311.14 *jd.f*
- 2ae-inf. 215.16–17 *zj.k*
- 2ae-gem. 260.23 *mʒʒ.f*
- 3-lit. 32.5 *wrd*; 127.1 *zf*; 204.5 *hqqr.f*; 215.18/20'/20 *sḥm.f*; 219.2/6/10/14/18/22/26/30/34/38/42/46/52/56/60/64/68/72/77/82/87/92/97/103 *mt.f, mt*; 230.7 *pzḥ*; 269.18 *hqqr*; 273–74.67 *sḥm*; 305.15 *zʒ.f*; 307.10 *ḥzb.f, stp.f*
- 3ae-inf. 204.5 *jb*; 215.17/19 *dj*; 230.8 *nj*; 246.17 *sk.k*; 268.16 *zʒ*; 269.18 *jb*; 302.12' *rdj.(j)*; 302.12 *rdj.f*
- 4ae-inf. 258.11 *ḥms.f*.

Like its affirmative counterpart, the unmarked *sdm.f* in this use is not restricted to a specific tense or mood: for example,

nst WNJS hr.k r
nj rdj.f s n ky nb (302.11–12)
 *My seat is by you, Sun,
 and *I do not give it to any other.

nj dj kw r tm n jsjr
nj jp.f jb.k
nj sḥm.f m ḥbt.k (215.17–18)
 Sun Atum will not give you to Osiris:
 he will not claim your mind,
 he will not have control of your heart.⁷

jn z pn pzḥ WNJS nj pzḥ sw WNJS
swt j r WNJS nj šm WNJS r.f (230.7–8)
 He is the one who would bite *me: *I would not bite him;
 he is the one who would come against *me: *I would not go against him.

In one instance, the *sdm.f* is negated by *ny* rather than *nj* (see § 9.4F):

ḥnd.n WNJS hr zbst hrw ḥm WNJS
ny rḥ WNJS (240.3)

⁷ Middle Kingdom copies occasionally substitute *nn* for *nj* in this and the parallel in 215.19–20; Allen 2006, 92–95.

*I have trod where Horus crawls unconsciously,
not knowing.

In this case, Teti has *ny rḥ.f* and most Middle Kingdom copies have *ny rḥ N* (Senwosret-ankh, L1NY, Sq2C, Sq1Sq); Pepi I and Neith have the original 1s *ny rḥ.j* and *nj rḥ.j* (as well as *ḥm.kj/ḥm.k*), respectively, and the Middle Kingdom copy of Sq1C has *nj rḥ N*. In this case, the form of the negative particle could be merely phonological: *nj rḥ.j* **[narixái] > ny rḥ.j* **[na-irxái > na-yirxái]*.

The construction *nj/ny sdm.f* negates the action expressed by the verb form: i.e., 215.18 *nj jp.f jb.k* representing *[jp.f]^{NEG} jb.k*. Unis's texts also contain one example of the construction *nj sdm.f js*, which is a negation of a statement in which the *sdm.f* is affirmative (see § 18.7):

zš WNJS m db' wr
nj zš.f js m db' šrr (305.14–15)
 *I write with the big finger;
 *I do not write with the little finger.

The first clause in this case indicates that the action *zš.f* itself is not negated, but rather the statement of which *zš.f* is part: thus, *[zš.f m db' šrr]^{NEG}*.

The *sdm.f* of the anom. verb *jmj* governing an infinitival form also serves as a negative counterpart of the active *sdm.f*. Unis's texts have six examples of this construction, all with subjunctive connotations:

jm.k jr wpt.k m WNJS (288.3)
 You shall not do your mission with *me.

jm.tn ḥsb WNJS dʒ.f ḥr.f (301.9)
 You should not bar *me when *I cross unto him.

jm.sn dʒ sn mdr WNJS jr.k (311.11)
 They should not cross their arm when *I turn to you.

ḥʒ.k jmn jmn tw
jm.k rdj mʒ tw WNJS
jm.k jw jr bw nt WNJS jm
jm.f dd rn.k pw jr.k (293.1–5)
 Back, hidden one! Hide yourself,
 and don't let *me see you!
 You should not ever come to where *I am,
 and *I will not say your name against you.

20.10 THE GEMINATED *SDM.F*

The unmarked *sdm.f* includes 43 instances with clear or possible geminated stem:

- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| 2ae-inf. | 146.1 <i>jw.sn</i> , 224.19 <i>jwt.k</i> , 254.21 <i>jw.s</i> , 257.10 <i>jwt</i> , 258.16 <i>jw.f</i> , 270.6/8
<i>jwt</i> , 311.11 <i>jw</i> |
| 2ae-gem. | 23–24.5 <i>sfljy.k</i> , 34.4–5 <i>jssw</i> , 44.4 <i>m33t.k</i> , 223.13 <i>wnn.(j)</i> , ⁸ 230.9 <i>m33.f</i> ,
230.11 <i>m33.k</i> , 245.10 <i>wnn.k</i> , 246.8 <i>hwu.sn</i> , 260.23 <i>m33.f</i> , 284.2 <i>nn.f</i> ,
308.6–8 <i>m33</i> |
| 3-lit. ⁹ | 215.32–33 <i>dbh.k</i> , 230.10 <i>pzh.k</i> |
| 3ae-inf. | 25+200.12 <i>bdd.k</i> ; 42.2 <i>jtt.k</i> ; 47.3 <i>wppt.k</i> ; 77.3 <i>dd.(j)</i> ; 171.1 <i>nly</i> ;
215.32'/32 <i>prr.k</i> ; 215.33 <i>h33.k</i> ; 223.11 <i>nly</i> ; 230.9 <i>dgg.f</i> ; 249.7 <i>z33</i> ;
256.7 <i>kss.sn</i> ; 267.4 <i>prr.f</i> ; 267.5–6 <i>hnn.f</i> ; 270.5 <i>d33t.k</i> ; 273–74.61 <i>mrr.f</i> ,
<i>jrr.f</i> ; 310.9 <i>hnn.s</i> ; 312 <i>p33</i> ; 317.12 <i>mrr</i> |
| 4ae-inf. | 273–74.6 <i>msdd.f</i> , 210.13 <i>sqddt.tn</i> . |

Of these, the 2ae-inf. and 2ae-gem. examples (except for 2ae-inf. *jwt*) could theoretically represent either the geminated stem or the marked *sdm.f* (§ 20.1 end).

The geminated forms are common in attributive use, where they express either gnomic or multiple actions: for example,

d3.k sw (m) mhnt tw d33t.k ntrw jm.s (270.5)

that you may transport *me in the ferryboat in which you transport the gods.

Here the gemination of *d33t.k* reflects both the regularity of the action and the fact that it is done multiple times, for different gods. Also illustrative is the contrast between the regular and geminated forms in PT 47, which accompanies the presentation of a jar of wine:

jsjr wnj s-m-n.k jrt hrw hpt m c stx
jtt.k jr r.k wppt.k r.k jm.s (47.2–3)

Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which escaped from Seth,
which you should take to your mouth and keep parting your mouth with it.

The ungeminated attributive *jtt.k jr r.k* “which you should take to your mouth” evidently denotes a single act of raising the jar to the lips, while the geminated *wppt.k r.k jm.s* reflects multiple acts of drinking from the jar. A similar contrast is probably present in PT 44:

hpt jnt.k hpt m33t.k hpt sdmmt.k (44.4)

Contentment is what you get, contentment is what you see, contentment is
what you hear —

in this case, a single act of “getting” followed by continual acts of “seeing” and “hearing.”

8 Reading of WN  / TNt  based on CT I, 276a; cf. § 18.2 end.

9 Based on parallel use with visibly geminated forms.

Non-attributive examples of the geminated *sdm.f* occur in most of the same uses as their unmarked counterparts:

- clause-initial, with clear or conceivable reference to repeated, multiple, or normative actions, with subjunctive as well as indicative sense:

wn.t m (h³t) hrw

dd.(j) tm (m) h³t wnjs pn (77.3)

You were on Horus's front,

but I put you on this Unis's front.¹⁰

h³ nh³ n.k hr.k hr.k (171.1; sim. 223.11)

Oh may the one you have endure for you with you.

dbh.k pr.k jr pt prr.k ...

dbh.k h³.k jr nwt h³³.k (215.32–33)

Whenever you require to go up to the sky, you go up ...

whenever you require to go down the the undersky, you go down.

sq.t n.f t³ rdw r pt pr.f jm r pt

prr.f hr htj n jdt wrt

j.p³ wnjs pn m 3pd hnn.f m hprr

j.p³.f m 3pd hnn.f m hprr m nst hwt jmt wj³.k r (267.3–7)

A footpath to the sky is laid down for *me, that *I may go up on it to the sky, but *I go up on the smoke of a great censing,

*I fly up as a bird but always alight as a beetle.

*I fly up as a bird but always alight as a beetle in the empty seat in your boat, Sun.

m s³h.f pn n mrr.f jrr.f msdd.f nj jr.n.f (273–74.61)

in *my privilege of “Whenever He Likes, He Acts; Whenever He Dislikes, He Does Not Act.”

jn n wnjs j.p³.s hnn.s (310.9)

Fetch for *me “When It Flies Up, It Always Lands.”

p³ t

p³³ t r hwtj hwut nt (312)¹¹

The bread flies:

the bread always flies toward him of the Red Crown's compounds.

10 Conceivably with reference to multiple instances of applying oil by dabbing.

11 Possibly ungeminated *p³ 3 t* “the bread just flies.”

- possibly in an adverb clause, expressing repeated or multiple actions:

*jw m3.n.(j)¹² ntrw m h3wt
kss.sn n WNJS m j3* (256.6–7)
I have seen the gods in nakedness
repeatedly bowing to *me in praise.¹³

*pzh.n tm mhl.n.f r n WNJS
‘nn.f ‘nnt* (284.1–2)
The one Atum has bitten has filled *his¹⁴ mouth,
coiling all up.

- in a noun clause, expressing multiple or normative action:

*m sfly.k jm.f
z3 m.k sflyhw jm.f* (23–24.5)
Don’t you ever let loose of him:
beware that you never let loose of him.

j.n WNJS n gs.f mr jwt ntr n gs.f (270.6; sim. 270.8)
★I have come to his side like a god comes to his side.
*hzp 2 n m33.f WNJS
hzp 2 n dgg.f n WNJS* (230.9)
the two times he sees *me,
the two times he looks at *me.

Most of these have been viewed as instances of either a “nominal” form of the *sdm.f* or the “relative” *sdm.f* used non-attributively. Neither analysis is satisfactory, the first because there is no demonstrable form of the *sdm.f* that is conditioned by syntactic environment, and the second because the “relative” *sdm.f* is not demonstrably different from the non-attributive *sdm.f*, except for its gender/number endings, so that the form used non-attributively is in fact nothing more than the *sdm.f* used elsewhere. Moreover, the geminated form, like the unmarked *sdm.f*, is also used attributively without gender/number endings, after an undefined antecedent:

r jst mrr WNJS hft hzp jb.f (317.11–12)
to whatever place ★I like, according to *my mind’s fancy.

12 Most copies follow Unis, but the Middle Kingdom copy of Siese has *jw m3.n z3-jst pn ntrw*.

13 Or independent “and they repeatedly bow.” A second object of *m3.n.(j)* “that they bow” is less likely.

14 Senwosret-ankh follows Unis, but other Old Kingdom copies have *r.f ([P]NNt)*. For 284.2, NNt have *tmm.f tmmf ‘nn sw ‘nnt* “closing all up: he is coiled all up.” On the basis of the last, independent “he coils all up” is also possible.

WNJS pj r ssrw z33 jcnwt (249.7)

*I am the one to whom pertains linens that the uraei guard.

There is, in fact, no demonstrable motivation for the use of the geminated stem other than purely lexical.

The absence of the geminated form from some constructions, if not merely an accident of preservation, can also be explained lexically. Geminated 3ae-inf. and 4ae-inf. forms apparently are not attested after *jw* or negated by *nj*. As the function of *jw* is to indicate that the action expressed by the *sdm.f* is valid in a particular circumstance (§ 9.4A), this evidently excludes or obviates the continual/multiple/normative connotation of the geminated stem. As for the negative construction, the semantic flexibility of the unmarked *sdm.f* after *nj* may simply have been felt sufficient to obviate the more specific meaning of the geminated stem.

In any case, the gap in the evidence may be illusory. The Pyramid Texts contain an example of 2ae-inf. *jw* negated by *nj*, and an example of 2ae-gem. *m33* is attested after *jw* and preposed subject in the Coffin Texts. Both have the common gnomic sense of the geminated stem:

jm.k šm hr šmw jpw jmntjw

j.šmw jm nj jw.sn (697.17–18)

You should not go on those western walkways:
those who go there do not return.

jr z nb nt jm j.f m33.f jsjr r' nb (CT VII, 365g–366a)

As for any man who is there, he sees Osiris every day.

Unis's texts contains two examples of geminated 2ae-gem. forms negated by *nj*, also with the sense of normative action:

nj tw jm.sn

nj wnn.k jm.sn (245.10)

You are not of them;
you will never be of them.

bt WNJS pw h3s m kkw

nj m33.f slwdw (260.22–23)

Treading in darkness is *my abomination:
*I do not see those who are upside down

These could theoretically represent the marked form (§ 20.11 end) as well as the geminated stem, but the latter is likelier, both because it is the more common of the two, and because the constructions survive in Middle Egyptian, where the marked form does not.

20.11 THE MARKED *sdm.f*

Unis's Pyramid Texts contain 15 examples of the *sdm.f* marked by the ending *-w*:

- 2-lit. *sflw.f* 268.8
- 2ae-inf. *kjw* 214.11
- 3ae-inf. *mrw.f* 217.7, *nrw.sn* 81.6, *h3w.k* 222.33–36 and 222.36', *b3w* 294.4/6,
hnjw.f 267.5', *shmw* 257.8, *klslw.sn* 81.5
- 4ac-inf. *ndrw* 269.12.

These marked forms usually occur either in clause-initial use or as object of a preposition. All appear to express actions that are either gnomic or progressive:

dj.t ksj t3wj n WNJS pn jmr klslw.sn n hrw
dj.t nr t3wj n WNJS jmr nrw.sn n st3 (81.5–6)

May you make the Two Lands bow to this Unis like they bow to Horus,
and make the Two Lands respectful of this Unis like they are respectful of Seth.

kjw n.k hnmmrt wtz.n kw j.bmw-sk (214.11)

Humanity cry out to you once the imperishable stars have elevated you—or
Humanity is crying out to you, now that the imperishable stars have elevated you.

mrw.f mt.tn mt.tn
mrw.f cny.tn cny.tn (217.7)

Should he be wanting you to die, you die;
should he be wanting you to live, you live.

pr.k h3.k
h3w.k hn' r' snkw hn' ndj pr.k
h3w.k pr.k hn' r' wbn.k hn' zhn-wr
pr.k h3.k
h3w.k hn' nbt-hwt snkw hn' msktt pr.k
h3w.k pr.k hn' jst wbn.k hn' m' ndt (222.33–36)

You go up when you go down.

When you are going down with the Sun, one of the depth of night with
Downcast, you will go up.

When you are going down, you will go up with the Sun and rise with the
Great One of the reedfloat.

You go up when you go down.

When you are going down with Nephthys, one of the depth of night with the
Nightboat, you will go up.

When you are going down, you will go up with with Isis and rise with the
Dayboat.

shmw WNJS wȝwt n hpr

htp WNJS m ȝnh m jmnt ȝms sw dȝtjw

psd WNJS mȝ m jȝbt jw n.f wp hnw m ksw (257.8–10)

*I lead the ways for Evolver:

when *I set in the West, those of the Duat follow *me;

when *I shine anew in the east, he who parted chaos comes to *me bowing.

j.pȝ WNJS m ȝpd

ȝnjw.f m ȝprr (267.5')

*I fly as a bird,

*I alight as a beetle.

sȝlw.f kȝ n WNJS pn m ȝj dȝtj

j.sk.f jjf n kȝ n WNJS (268.8–9)

As he is releasing *my ka in the Duat lake,

he wipes the flesh of *my ka.

ndrw n.f jt WNJS tm ȝ n WNJS

sjp.f WNJS n nt̄rw jp̄f sbqjw sȝȝjw (269.12–13)

As *my father Atum is grasping *my arm,

he allots *me to yonder wise and experienced gods.

In other pyramids, the form is also found in some of the same environments as the unmarked *sdm.f*. These can have the same gnomic sense: for example,

jn hnntj ndrw.f ȝ.k j.hȝ.k m ujȝ rȝ (609.23 M; sim. N)

Hnntj (is the one who) takes your arm when you board the Sun's boat.

jn twt js ȝw znbȝw.sn m hnw ȝuj.k (578.13 P; sim. 578.7)

for you are the one who prevents them from slipping from your embrace.

nj hmsw TTJ pn m ddȝt ntr (259.11 T = 258.11 W *nj hms.f*)

*I do not sit in the god's court.

Like the unmarked *sdm.f*, it can also have future reference:

swt sdȝw.f PJPJ pn jr gs pf (270.13 P; cf. 270.13 W *swt dȝ.f*, cited in § 20.8)

He (is the one who) will get *me across to yonder side.

Also like the unmarked *sdm.f*, it is possibly situationally specified by the particle *jw*:

jw ȝw WNJS m nhpw (294.4/6)

*I am now appearing at first light.¹⁵

15 But possibly infinitival: “*My appearance is now at first light.”

20.12 FORMS AND MEANINGS OF THE *SDM.F*

The preceding discussions have analyzed the instances of the *sdm.f* in Unis's texts as representing two inflected forms, unmarked and marked. The unmarked form is the more common and the one attested in most uses. Its preservation in the Coptic lexical τ ... ο causative points to the vocalization * [...]á], leading in turn to the following syllabifications:

2-lit.	1~2á written {12} and ~12á {j.12}
2ae-inf.	1iá {1, 1j} and i1á {j.1}
2ae-gem.	1~22á {12}
3-lit.	1~23á {123}
3ae-inf.	1~2iá {12, 12j, 12γ} and ~12iá {j.12}
3ae-gem.	~12~33á {j.123}
4-lit.	1~23~4á {1234}
4ae-inf.	1~23iá {123, 123j}.

The unmarked *sdm.f* appears not only in its primary stem but also in the derived stems: geminated, reduplicated, and causative. These originate in the lexicon and do not represent inflected forms distinct from the primary one. The geminated stem is clearest in 3ae-inf. and 4ae-inf. verbs whose second and third radicals, respectively, are written twice. Since it is unlikely that lexical gemination is restricted to these two classes, the stem is probably hidden in the unmarked form, with the geminated radical doubled and therefore written only once. That being the case, the visibly geminated 3ae-inf. and 4ae-inf. form must represent a different syllabification, with the geminated radical separated by a vowel rather than doubled, as, for example, in the 3ae-inf. infinitive (see § 20.1 end):

2-lit.	1~22á {12}
2ae-inf.	1iwá {1w}
2ae-gem.	1~22~2á {122}
3-lit.	1~22~3á {123}
3ae-inf.	1~2~2'á {122}
4ae-inf.	1~23~3'á {1233}.

It is not clear why the 3ae-inf. and 4ae-inf. forms should have a syllabification pattern different from that of the other classes, but the reason may be nothing more significant than metathesis: i.e., * [1~22iá] > * [1~2i2'á] and * [1~2~33iá] > * [1~23i3'á].

The marked *sdm.f* is discernible from its ending *-w* in final-weak verbs and derived stems. No written counterpart is visible for other verbs; since *-w* serves as a substitute for gemination in 2ae-inf. verbs, however, it is possible that the form is marked by gemination of the final radical, as in the passive *sdm.f* (§ 19.3): thus,

2-lit.	$1^{\circ}22^- \{12\}$
2ae-inf.	$1iw^- \{1w, 1jw\}$
2ae-gem.	$1^-2^{\circ}22^- \{122\}$
3-lit.	$1^-2^{\circ}33^- \{123\}$
3ae-inf.	$1^-2iw^- \{12w, 12jw\}$
4ae-inf.	$1^{\circ}23iw^- \{123w\}.$

Probable examples of the “invisible” marked form occur in parallel with visibly marked instances: e.g.,

nj h3b.f ($\star[h^-1^{\circ}bb^{\circ}f]$) *h3bt nj stp.f* ($\star[s^-t^{\circ}pp^{\circ}f]$) *jbt m 7b snw.f* (*ntrw*)

nj wn(n) n.f 7wj msktt

nj wn(n) n.f 7wj m 7ndt

nj wd77 mdw.f m jm nwt.f

nj wn(n) n.f 7wj htmwt (307.7–14: see § 19.3)

he sends no sending, he does not jump the barrier among his brothers the gods,
 the nightboat’s door is not opened to him,
 the dayboat’s door is not opened to him,
 his case is not decided as one of his town,
 provisioning’s door is not opened to him.

The unmarked *sdm.f* expresses simply action,¹⁶ with no inherent tense or mood. It also has no inherent aspect other than what is supplied by the lexical stem—most importantly gemination, which denotes multiple or normative actions: e.g., *mrt.f* “which he wants/ might want/wanted” vs. *mrrt.f* “which he loves/would love/loved.”¹⁷

The gnomic sense of the marked *sdm.f*, together with its morphology, indicates that it is the active counterpart of the marked passive. It can therefore be understood to express incomplete action, the aspectual opposite of the *sdm.n.f* and the stative. The marked active is rarer than the marked passive—15 of 1057 examples, or 1%, versus 20 of 176 (7%) for passives—but this is conceivably due in part to the graphic invisibility of the form in some classes. It may also reflect, however, the supplanting of the form by the subject-*sdm.f* construction, which expresses the same thing (§ 20.8). It is perhaps significant that the form and construction do not both occur in the same spell, with the exception of PT 267, which has both *st tw pr.k* “when you emerge” (267.12) and *hnjw.f* “★I alight” (267.5’)—the latter, however, emended to *hnn.f*. The marked *sdm.f* can thus

16 For adjective-verbs, acquisition of a quality: e.g., *jrt hrw q3.t 73.t r WNJS* (25+200.13) “Horus’s eye, may you become high and big toward Unis.”

17 Contrasted in *z3t-nswt nt ht.f mrt.f mrrt.f* “king’s daughter of his body, whom he wanted and loved” (Macramallah 1935, pl. 14, Dyn. VI).

be regarded as an archaic element of the verbal system, already moribund in the Pyramid Texts, where it is more often replaced by its successor, the subject-*sdm.f* construction.

The rarity of the marked *sdm.f* indicates that the ambivalent 2ae-inf. and 2ae-gem. forms are more likely to represent the geminated stem than the marked *sdm.f*, except for 308.6–9 *mr m33*, which is comparable to 81.5–6 *jmr kfs1/nru*. This may even be true for uses in which geminated 3ae-inf. and 4ae-inf. forms are not attested. For instance, of examples cited in § 20.10, 260.23 *nj m33.f shdw* is more probably a negation of normative action (“not see”) than of incomplete action (“not be seeing”), and the same is true of 697.18 *nj jw.sn* (“not come back” rather than “not be coming back”); similarly, CT VII, 366a, *j.f m33.f jsjr r' nb*, where the adverbial adjunct emphasizes the notion of normality (“sees”) rather than incompleteness (“is seeing”).

On the basis of these considerations, it is now possible to draw up the following table of counterpart relationships (items in parentheses not attested in Unis’s texts):

ACTIVE	PASSIVE	CONNOTATION
unmarked <i>sdm.f</i>	<i>sdm.tj.f</i>	action
marked <i>sdm.f</i> (<i>sdmw.f/sdm.f</i>)	marked <i>sdm.f</i> (<i>sdmw.f/sdmm.f</i>)	incomplete action
<i>sdm.n.f</i>	unmarked <i>sdm.f</i> , <i>sdm.n.tj.f</i>	completed action
<i>sdm.jn.f</i>	(<i>sdm.jn.tj.f</i>)	consequence
(<i>sdm.hr.f</i>)	(<i>sdm.hr.tj.f</i>)	necessity
<i>sdm.k3.f</i>	(<i>sdm.k3.tj.f</i>)	inevitability

21. SUBORDINATION

21.1 KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

Two methods of subordination exist in the Pyramid Texts of Unis, as elsewhere in Earlier Egyptian, unmarked and marked. The former relies on context alone to signal the relationship between two statements; the latter employs separate words to indicate the dependence of a clause on another element. Two clauses can be interdependent, or “balanced,” or one can be dependent on the other, either adverbially, nominally, or attributively.

21.2 UNMARKED BALANCED CLAUSES

Balanced clauses are attested in Unis's texts only with the *sdm.f*, both passive and active. Consecutive unmarked clauses with non-verbal predicates express parallel rather than interdependent statements: e.g.,

*ᶜḥrw pj n WNJS nhḥ
dr.f pj dt* (273–74.60)

*My lifetime is Continuity,
*my limit is eternity.

*nj srḥw ḡnb jr WNJS
nj srḥw mt jr WNJS* (270.9)

There is no accusation of one alive against *me,
there is no accusation of one dead against *me.

*ḥpt m bʒḥ.k
ḥpt m ḥt.k* (44.5)

Contentment is in your presence,
contentment is behind you.

The same is true of clauses with the stative and the *sdm.n.f*. e.g.,

*jbw dr.w
jwnw jmjw mtʒ sḥr.w* (231.2)

Desires are restricted,
the pillars in the kiln are felled.

*qmʒ.n t̄w gbb
ms.n t̄w psdt* (247.4)

Geb has created you,
the Ennead has given you birth.

With the *sdm.f*, consecutive clauses can express either parallel statements or interdependent ones. The latter are attested for all forms of the passive and active *sdm.f*:

- unmarked *sdm.f* or suffixed passive:

pr.k h3.k (222.23/35)

You go up when you go down.

mrr.f jrr.f (273–74.61)

Whenever he likes, he acts.

hn.t ntr šp dp.f

hn.t.t ds.t nn srqt (230.14)

Should the god be encircled while he is blind,
you yourself will be encircled here, scorpion.

- unmarked passive:

htm ntr m htp-ntr

htm WNJS m t.f pn (223.5)

As the god has been provided with a god's-offering,
Unis has been provided with this his bread.

- marked *sdm.f*:

šnjw WNJS šnjw tm

šntt WNJS šntt tm

hw WNJS h tm

hsbb WNJS m w3t tn hsbb tm (310.1–4)

When *I am being cursed, Atum is being cursed;
when *I am being shunned, Atum is being shunned;
when *I am being hit, Atum is being hit;
when *I am being barred from this path, Atum is being barred.

Balanced clauses are also attested with two different verb forms or constructions: for example,

- different stems of the unmarked *sdm.f*:

j.p3.s lnn.s (310.9)

When it flies up, it always lands.

m33.k WNJS dj.f snw.k (230.11)

Whenever you see *me, *I give your two.

- marked and unmarked *sdm.f*:

mrw.f mt.tn mt.tn

mrw.f ḡnh.tn ḡnh.tn (217.7)

Should he be wanting you to die, you die;
should he be wanting you to live, you live.¹

- unmarked *sdm.f* (geminated) and *nj sdm.n.f*:

msdd.f nj jr.n.f (273–74.61)

Whenever he dislikes, he does not act.

In each case, the syntax is simply that of two consecutive statements, and the dependency relationship derives from the context, similar to the usage in English: for example, *mrr.f jrr.f msdd.f nj jr.n.f* “he likes, he acts; he dislikes, he does not act.”

21.3 UNMARKED ADVERB CLAUSES

Clauses that function as adverbial modifiers to another statement are the most common of all clauses whose dependent status is signaled solely by context. Unis’s texts contain instances with non-verbal and verbal predicates: for example,

- adverbial (§ 12.2)

hms.f sʒ.f jr gbb (273–74.18)

*I sit down with *my back to Geb.

- stative (§ 17.5C)

mʒ.n.sn WNJS ḥr bʒ (273–74.4)

They have seen *me apparent and impressive.

- *sdm.n.f* (§ 18.4)

j n.t WNJS pn nwt

qmʒ.n.f jt.f r tʒ

fʒ.n.f hrw m ht.f (245.3–4)

This Unis comes to you, Nut,
having laid his father in the ground,
having left Horus in his wake.

- passives (§§ 19.2 end, 19.4)

jw phr jmjw pt n WNJS

šsr.t n.f ktjw t m rdw nw hjmwt.sn (273–74.40–41)

Those in the sky now serve *me,
and the hearthstones are poked for *me with the legs of their women.

1 It is not likely that either of the balanced verbs *mt.tn* and *ḡnh.tn* is marked. The first is semelfactive, and incomplete “be dying” is less likely than simple “die.” The second implies inherent incompleteness, and “be living” is less likely than simple “live.”

sk.n.t n.f r.f

wp r.f jn z3.f h̄rw mry.f

tnw ḫwt.f jn n̄trw (219.50–51)

You wiped his mouth for him

after his mouth had been parted by his beloved son Horus

and his limbs counted by the gods.

- active *sdm.f* (§§ 20.4, 20.10)

jm.sn d3 ḫ.sn

mdr WNJS jr.k

jw WNJS hr.k (311.11)

They should not cross their arm

when *I turn to you

and *I come unto you.

jɪ n.k sn r mhnt.k

shd.sn hr.k (43.3)

Take them to your countenance,

that they may / and they will brighten your face.

jw m3.n.(j) n̄trw m h̄3wt

kss.sn n WNJS m.j3 (256.6–7)

I have seen the gods in nakedness

repeatedly bowing to *me in homage.

21.4 UNMARKED NOUN CLAUSES

In Unis's texts, contextually-determined noun clauses have only verbal predicates. The following are representative examples:

- subject-statative (§ 17.6)

j j.mj h̄jw zbn (240.5)

O make the monster be off!

- *sdm.n.f* (§ 18.4 end)

WNJS pj z3 pw n.j.lymt ms.n.s WNJS n qnj hr nb ss3wt (320.3–4)

*I am the son of her who does not know she bore *me to pale-face, lord of evenings.

- passives (§ 19.2)

j.mj j.wn.tj n.f nw (272.2)

Have this opened to *me.

A possible example of the unmarked passive as object of a preposition is the following, although this could also involve an intransitive/reflexive use of the active (Unis's version omits the preposition):

n ms.k hrw m m.f nvrw n.f t³ sd³w n.f pt (215.11 NWd)²

For you have been born, Horus in his identity at which the earth shakes and the sky trembles.

An example with the marked passive as complement of a verb is

jsjr nt lml-n.k jrt hrw

hw stmw.f s (*802.1 Nt)

Osiris Neith, here for you is Horus's eye:

he has been prevented from annihilating it.

- *sdm.f* (§§ 20.5, 20.10)

jm.k rdj m³ tw WNJS (293.2)

You should not let *me see you.

m³.n n.tn WNJS mr m³ sbkw n njt (308.8)

*I have looked at you like Sobek looks at Neith.

An example of the marked *sdm.f* in a noun clause is cited at the end of § 20.11.

21.5 UNMARKED ATTRIBUTIVE CLAUSES

Unmarked clauses with attributive function modify undefined antecedents, proper nouns, and vocatives—that is, when the attributive clause does not define the antecedent. Examples are attested in Unis's texts with both non-verbal and verbal predicates:

- nominal predicate (§ 10.6)

b³ bwj dp.f sm³wj (246.2)

a ram with two wild-bull horns on his head (literally, “a ram, the two horns of his head two wild bulls”).

- adverbial predicate (§ 12.2.4)

h³.k ng ng³ dbw 3kr m wpt.f (314.1)

Back, mangled steer with the horizon's fingers on his forehead!

- negated *sdmt.f* (§ 14.10)

šw³ jw³w nj wnt hr.f z³ (305.13)

Indigent is an heir who has no writing.

2 The preposition is also absent in T and in Senwosret-ankh and other Middle Kingdom copies.

- stative (§ 17.5D)

n twt js hrw ln m z3 jrt.f (221.12)

For you are Horus, encircled by the aegis of his eye.

- *sdm.n.f* (§ 18.5 end)

WNJS pj nb z3bwt hm.n mwt.f m.f (273–74.6)

*I am a possessor of jackalness, whose identity his mother does not know.

- unmarked passive *sdm.f* (§ 19.4 end)

hrw pw wd n.f jrt n.jt.f (247.14)

It is Horus, who has been commanded to act for his father.

- negated marked passive *sdm.f* (§ 19.3)

q3jt nj dmm.s (272.1)

Height that is not mentioned.

- unmarked active *sdm.f* (§§ 20.6, 20.10)

WNJS pj wnnt rdj.f t n ntjw (211.3)

*I in fact am one who gives bread to those who are.

jst mrr WNJS (317.12)

whatever place *I like.

21.6 MARKED SUBORDINATION

Unis's grammar uses both prepositions and particles to signal the subordination of clauses with non-verbal and verbal predicates.

A. Prepositions

- *jr* “as for” (§ 8.4H)

The preposition *r* “with respect to,” regularly written *jr* in this case, is used to topicalize a preposed element of a statement. Governing the unmarked *sdm.f*, it serves as a means of expressing the protasis of a condition or an initial temporal clause:

jr tm.k jr jst n WNJS

jr.k3 WNJS f3t m jt.f gbb (254.5; sim. 255.8–9)

If you fail (literally, “with respect to you failing”) to make a place for *me,

*I will make a curse on *my father Geb.

jr pr nb.f

nj hm.f htp dj (311.3)

When *my lord emerges (literally, “with respect to *my lord emerging”),

*I should not forget the offering to be given.

– *m* “when” (§ 8.2A)

The preposition *m* “in” can be used with the unmarked *sdm.f* to indicate location in an action, resulting in a temporal clause:

tʒz mʒqt jn hrw lft jt.f jsjr

m ſm.f n ʒl.f (305.2–3)

A ladder has ben tied together by Horus in front of his father Osiris when he goes (literally, “in his going”) to his akh.

– *mr* “like” (§ 8.9)

The preposition *mr* “like” is used with both forms of the active *sdm.f* to express a clause of comparison:

dj.t ksj tʒwj n WNJS pn jmr klslw.sn n hrw

dj.t nr tʒwj n WNJS jmr nrw.sn n stš (81.5–6)

May you make the Two Lands bow to this Unis like they bow to Horus, may you make the Two Lands be respecful of Unis like they are respectful of Seth.

nj wnm.n.f butw nwj

jmr twr stš mt rhwj 2 jpw dʒy pt (210.8–9)

*I do not eat the abomination of those two,

like Seth rejects the witness of the two companions who cross the sky.

j.n WNJS n gs.f mr jwt ntr n gs.f (270.6; sim. 270.8)

*I have come to his side like a god comes to his side.

sj.k kʒ n WNJS n.f r gs.f

mr jk n.k ɻnzwt.k tw (301.32)

You should elevate *my ka for *me beside me just like that wandering of yours ascends for you.

mʒ.n n.tn WNJS mr mʒʒ hrw n jst

mʒ.n n.tn WNJS mr mʒʒ nhbw-kʒw n srqt

mʒ.n n.tn WNJS mr mʒʒ sbkw n njt

mʒ.n n.tn WNJS mr mʒʒ stš n ttj-jb (308.6–9)

*I have looked at you like Horus looks at Isis,

*I have looked at you like Ka-Allocater looks at Selket,

*I have looked at you like Sobek looks at Neith,

*I have looked at you like Seth looks at the pair reconciled of mind.

– *lft* “according as” (§ 8.15) — with the unmarked *sdm.f*: *lft hzp jb.f* “according as *my mind receives” (317.12).

B. Particles

– *jw̄tj* (§ 7.5)

The relative adjective *jw̄tj* can be considered an attributive alternant of the negative particle *nj* in its predicative function: thus, for example, 307.9 *nj t.f* “not (existent) his bread” for “he has no bread” and 215.4 *jw̄t snnw.f* “who-not (existent) his second” for “who has no peer,” or “peerless.” This analysis is justified by the use of *jw̄tj* to make entire clauses function attributively elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts:

b̄n t̄b̄ hr jb w̄d-wr jw̄t ndr jrw t̄b̄ c̄.f (484.7)

the rise of land in the midst of the Great Blue-Green, whose arm those on land
do not grasp—

literally, “who-not those pertaining to land grasp his arm,” an attributive counterpart of *nj ndr jrw t̄b̄ c̄.f* “those pertaining to land do not grasp his arm.”

– *jḥ* “thus” (§ 9.4C)

The proclitic particle *jḥ* marks a clause as the result of some preceding statement. Unis’s single instance introduces a suffixed passive *sdm.f*:

sk rdj.n WNJS wmm.sn m zw̄r.sn zw̄r.sn m b̄c̄ḥ.sn

jḥ mk.t WNJS jm jn m̄b̄w sw (254.36–37)

Since *I have let them eat from their drinking bowl and drink from their flood,
so am *I protected in the same by those who see me.

– *js* (§§ 9.5B, 10.7, 12.3.4, 18.7, 20.9)

The enclitic particle *js* is used in Unis’s texts to subordinate a statement as a whole to a preposition or another particle. Examples have either a non-verbal predicate, the *sdm.n.f*, or the unmarked *sdm.f*.

n WNJS js c̄nḥ z̄ spdt (302.2; sim. 221.12, 245.7, 246.3)

for *I am the living one, Sothis’s son.

n ntt swt js k̄ wr (205.7; sim. 205.8)

because of the fact that *I am the great bull.

jn twt js ntr w̄b̄ jswt (305.6)

Is it that you are a god of clean places?

nj uj js dp ntrw tjhtjḥ (272.4')

I am not at the head of the gods of agitation.

nj šm.n.k js mt.tj (213.1; sim. 262.20)

You have not gone away dead.

nj z\x{f}js m db\x{c} \x{sh}rr (305.15)

*I do not write with the little finger.

Elsewhere in the Pyramid Texts, *js* is also used to subordinate a statement with nominal predicate or the *sdm.f* as object of a verb:

r\x{b} swt js wr jr.f (439.5 P)

knowing that *I am the one greater than him.

r\x{b} PJPJ NFR-K\x{3}-R\x{c} js pw z\x{3}.f wr (439.5 N)

knowing that *I am his eldest son.

dd.k wnn js PJPJ pn m \x{sh}b.sn (574.13)

You say that I will exist among them.

In each case, *js* indicates that its clause as a whole is subordinated to the governing element, rather than merely the head of the clause: thus,

*n [WNJS (< *jnk) \x{sh}h]s* “for [*I am the living one]”

n ntt [swt k\x{3} wr]s “for that-now [he is the great bull]”

jn [twt ntr w\x{c}b jswt]s “it-is [you are a god of clean places]”

nj [wj dp ntrw t\x{b}ltj\x{b}]s “not [I am at the head of the gods of agitation]”

nj [\x{sh}m.n.k mt.tj]s “not [you have gone away dead]”

nj [z\x{f}js m db\x{c} \x{sh}rr]s “not [*I write with the little finger]”

r\x{b} [swt wr jr.f]\sup{obj} “knowing [*I am the one greater than him].”

Without *js*, the range of the governing element would extend only to the word following: for example, *n WNJS \x{sh}h* “for *me, the living one”; *jn twt ntr w\x{c}b jswt* “Are you the god of clean places?”,³ *nj \x{sh}m.n.k mt.tj* “You cannot go, being dead.”

– *wnt* “that” (§ 9.4D)

In its single appearance in Unis’s texts, the particle *wnt* introduces a clause with the *sdm.n.f* as object of the verb *dd* “say”:

j.dd.tn n jt.tn wnt rdj.n n.tn WNJS p\x{3}wt.tn (301.7–8)

You should say to your father that *I have given you your bread-loaves.

Unis’s texts also contain an instance of the same verb governing an unmarked noun clause with the *sdm.f*:

dd.n jb.f mt.k n.f (306.15)

His mind has said you would die for him.

3 This is the structure in the *jn A B* nominal-predicate pattern (§ 10.4), where *jn* rhematizes the element that follows it. Note also 390.7 *jn twt hrw* “Are you Horus?”

The particle clearly adds an element absent in the unmarked noun clause. The difference between the two constructions may be no more significant than that reflected in the English translations, in the one case with a conjunction (“say ... that *I have given”); in the other, with an unmarked noun clause (“said you would die”). In view of the probable relationship of *wnt* to the verb *wnn* “exist,” however, it is more likely that *dd wnt* is used to report a statement of fact, while *dd* governing a verb simply reports an action.⁴

– *ntj* (§ 7.5)

Unis's single example of an attributive clause introduced by *ntj* has an adverbial predicate:

jm.k jw jr bw nt WNJS jm (293.4)

You should not ever come to the place that *I am in.

As noted in § 7.5, the use of *ntj* here marks the clause as an attributive counterpart of a main clause introduced by *jw*—that is, specifying that the situation described by the clause is temporarily valid: i.e., “the place that *I happen to be in.”

– *ntt* “that” (§ 9.4E)

The particle *ntt* has been seen as a mere synonym of *wnt*, but its relationship to *ntj* indicates that it also marks a statement as limited in validity—in this case, a noun clause. In Unis's sole exemplar, the three noun clauses have nominal predicates and occur in parallel with main clauses introduced by *jw*:

n ntt n WNJS jn jt.f rdj n.f jn r' rdj n.f jt bdt t hnqt

n ntt swt js k3 wr h knzt

n ntt WNJS js jr 5t jštt m hw

jw hmtt r pt hr r'

jw snt r t3 hr psdtj (205.6–9)

because of the fact that to *me, *my father is now the one who has given, the Sun is now the one who has given, barley and wheat, bread and beer;

because of the fact that *I am now the great bull who strikes Kenzet;

because of the fact that *I am now one who pertains to five meals in the enclosure:

three are now for the sky with the Sun,

two are now for the earth with the Dual Ennead.

4 See the discussion in Uljas 2007, 50–66. Uljas also notes the use of the unmarked construction when the speaker does not wish to commit to the reality of the complement clause (2007, 59).

– *sk/st* (§ 9.4H)

The proclitic particle *sk/st* heads marked adverb clauses. In Unis's texts, it introduces clauses with adverbial predicates, subject-stative, *sdm.n.f*, and subject-*sdm.f*. As noted in § 9.4H, such clauses are usually either sentence-initial or restrictive in sense. In the first case, *sk* performs a syntactic function, allowing an adverb clause to begin a sentence, which is not possible for unmarked adverb clauses: for example,

sk rdj.n WNJS wnm.sn m zwr.sn zwr.sn m b'lh.sn

j'b mk.t WNJS jm jn m33w sw (254.36–37)

Since *I have let them eat from their drinking bowls and drink from their flood,
so am *I protected in the same by those who see me.

sk WNJS pr m hrw pn m jrw m3' n 3bj c'nb

j.sd WNJS c'h3 bhn.f hnw (260.11–12)

Now that *I have emerged today in the true form of a living akh,

*I break up fighting and restrain disturbance.

sk b3.sn b'r WNJS

hwwt.sn m c' jrw.sn

jw WNJS m nn h'c h'c j.mn j.mn (273–74.65–66)

Since their ba is with *me,

while their shadows are with those they pertain to,

*I am now in this (state), ever apparent, ever set.

A syntactic function also seems to underlie the use of *st* in balanced clauses, where the particle interrelates constructions that otherwise are not used in such clauses—in Unis's texts, subject-stative, subject-*sdm.f*, and an adverbial predicate with a topicalized element:

m hm WNJS nfr

st tw rhy.t sw st sw rhy tw (262.1; sim. 262.4/7/10/13/16)

Do not be unaware of *me, god:

you know *me as *I know you.

st tw pr.k m 3hyt

st sw c'b3.f m c'.f m sqd wj3.k r' (267.12–13)

When you are emerging from the Akhet,

then *I, *my baton is in *my arm, as the one sailing your boat, Sun.

In normal position, following a governing clause, a statement headed by *sk* expresses a situation specific to that of the governing clause, as opposed to an unmarked adverb clause, which expresses merely an ancillary situation:

nḥmw ḫb,f m ḫ.f sk sw wn

nḥmw msut,f m ḫ.f sk s wn.t (254.47)

who would take my food from *me when it is present,
who would take my supper from *me when it is present.

WNJS ḫs.f jwnw

msy m jwnw sk r̥ hr dp psdt (307.4–5)

*I *myself am a Heliopolitan,
born in Heliopolis when the Sun was atop the Ennead.

In this respect, *sk* functions as an adverb-clause counterpart of the particle *jw*.

THE LEXICON

Listed below are all the lexemes of Unis's Pyramid Texts, with their occurrences. The hieroglyphic forms are those of the lexeme itself, without any morphemes generated by grammatical processes, such as gender/number endings and affixes: thus, for example, the occurrence of *nsbj* “lick” in 166.1 *j.nsbt.n.sn* as rather than . Non-lexemic elements are only shown where they are integral to a particular spelling, as in 284.2 .

Lexemes are arranged alphabetically by root structure, with derived forms under the primary root rather than alphabetically separate.¹ In keeping with the phonology of the Pyramid Texts, *z* and *s* are alphabetized separately, while *š* and *h* are treated as a single phoneme (*h*), regardless of later spellings (e.g., *hnj* > *hnj* “row” and *hnj* > *šnj* “encircle” both as *hnj*). Derived forms include nisbes, nouns with the prefix *m-* or the suffix *-s*, and the various stems of verbs (geminated, reduplicated, causative, prefixes *n-* and *h-*). Thus, for example, *jr-* “pertinent” is under the entry for the preposition *r*, *m³qt* “ladder” (noun f) and *j³qs* “scarf” (noun m) under *j³q* “mount” (verb 3-lit.), *nlnh* “spew” (verb 2ae-gem. *n*-stem redup.) and *nhh* “sneeze” (noun m) under *jhh* “sneeze” (verb 2ae-gem.), *htm* “end” (verb 2-lit. *h*-stem) under *tm* “complete” (verb 2-lit.), and *s'b* “clean” (verb 3-lit. caus.) under *w'b* “clean” (verb 3-lit.). Lexemes with more than one form are catalogued under the primary element: thus, for instance, *r* and *jr* (preposition) under *r*.

Nouns are identified as m(asculine) or f(eminine) according to their grammatical treatment rather than by their morphology: thus *jpy* “Ipy,” the name of a female goddess, as “(name f).” Phrases are catalogued under the primary element—for example, *j.lm-skjw* “imperishable” under *lm* “not know”—but cross-referenced for the other element(s): in this case, *skjw* under *skj* “wipe out.” Missing and restored words or signs, indicated by brackets, are based primarily on the Middle Kingdom copies of Senwosret-ankh and Imhotep, which usually correspond exactly to Unis's copy, and on the size of the lacuna.

All hieroglyphic spelling variants are shown for each lexeme. For nouns, these include plurals and duals that differ substantially from the singular (e.g., *jrtj* “eyes” vs. *jrt* “eye” and *jhw* “oxen” vs. *jh* “ox”), but not those represented graphically by repetition of the singular or a determinative.

1 This is so even where the primary root does not appear in Unis's texts. Causatives are treated as stems rather than as separate roots and are therefore found under the primary root: for example, *s'b* “cleanse” under *w'b* “clean.” Derivations of roots unattested elsewhere are alphabetized as primary: e.g., *snq* “suckle, suck,” causative of **jnq* (cf. Akkadian *enequ* “suck”).

3

ȝ “just” (enclitic particle) —  215.5, 245.8, 285.6, 306.1

ȝ “vulture” (noun m) —  282.1–2

ȝt “vulture” (noun f) —  311.18

ȝt “wrath” (noun f) —  246.6,  255.9,  262.22

ȝrr “babble” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  301.29

ȝwj “extend” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  232.2, 235.1, 281.1/3, 286.1/3;  248.3, 285.6;  261.2

ȝwt “extension, spread” (verbal noun f) —  261.2;  212.7,  200.8
273–74.22

ȝbw “Elephantine” (toponym, m) —  230.15

ȝpd “bird” (noun m) —  267.5–6, 302.15

ȝm “burn” (verb 2-lit.) —  260.19

ȝmm “grasp” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  205.5

ȝms “staff” (noun m) —  252.7,  263.6

ȝhd/nhd “quiver” (verb 3-lit.)

sȝhd/snhd “make quiver” (verb 3-lit. caus.) —  251.6;  257.4/11

ȝh “porridge-loaf” (noun m) —  52.3

ȝht “farmland” (noun f) —  254.42

ȝhȝh- “of the soil” (nisbe) —  52.2

ȝh “effective, useful” (verb 2-lit.) —  93.2, 216.8, 217.4/19/28, 222.41;  256.4, 260.19, 298.1 (participle fs);  217.11, 273–74.12

ȝhw “effectiveness” (verbal noun m) —  273–74.16/33;  301.28

ȝhj “akh” (noun m) —  77.6, 81.7–8, 217.1/5–6/8/12–14/16/20–21/25/29–30, 218.1/7/15/17/19/21/23/25, 221.7, 222.19/24, 223.6, 224.14, 245.8, 263.7, 273–74.63, 303.11;  260.11, 305.3/10;  306.18 (pl)

ȝht “Akhet” (toponym f) —  216.5–7, 217.19/28;  267.12, 273–74.7;  217.4/11, 220.1, 222.12/32, 246.12, 249.10, 251.9, 254.4, 255.1–2/ 5, 257.15, 263.1/3/13, 268.9/15, 273–74.46/50/62, 275.3, 301.9/28, 311.4, 317.5–6/8

ȝht- “of the Akhet” (nisbe) —  263.2/4 (ms)

sȝh “make effective” (verb 2-lit. caus.) —  77.4

ȝhr “roast” (verb 3-lit.) —  131.3, 223.4;  124.3

sȝhr “roast” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — fs participle  207.4,  212.7

- ȝzb** “scorch” (verb 3-lit.) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 261.2
- ȝkr** “horizon” (noun m) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 261.5, ȝ-ȝ-ȝ! 273–74.2 (du), ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 314.1
- ȝg** “plant” (verb 2-lit.) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 319.5
- ȝgbj** “flood” (noun m) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 205.1, 210.14, 317.4; ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 249.8, 317.1; ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 311.12
- ȝtft-** “of Atfet” (nisbe) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 302.16 (ms)
- ȝtj** “nurture” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 268.5

j

- j** (1s suffix pronoun) — ɿ 25+200.7, 38.2, 235.2, 279.2, 282.1–2, 283.2’, 286.4, 296.3’, 299.3, 302.24; ɿ 283.1’; unwritten: 25.7, 25+200.11, 32.3–4, 36.6, 37.2, 39.3, 48.2, 54.3, 57.2, 77.3, 78.2, 79–80.2, 86.2, 87.2, 92.2, 93.5, 94–95.3, 110.1, 114.1, 115.1’/1, 127.1, 143.1, 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1, 153.1, 155.5, 156.1, 169.1, 170.1, [199.2], 207.1–2, 219.49, 223.8–10/12–13, 227.2–4, 232.3, 234.3, 254.2/22/25, 255.1/5, 256.6, 262.6/9/12/15/18, 281.3, 302.12’, 305.9, 311.3’/12/16, 315.3’
- j** “O” (proclitic particle) — ɿ 83.3, 281.1, 285.5; ɿ 204.7, 205.1, 205.11, 230.5, 240.5, 243.4, 249.1, 251.1, 254.3, 254.4, 254.15, [255.6], 260.1, 260.17, 282.1, 283.3, 285.3, 300.1, 316.1
- j** “say” (verb anom.) — ɿ 219.49, 254.25; ɿ 254.20, 254.27
- jȝȝ** “reed” (noun m) — see *jȝr* “reed”
- jȝȝ** “do homage to” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ɿ-ȝ 235.2, 286.4
- jȝ** “homage” (verbal noun m) — ɿ-ȝ 256.7, 311.17
- jȝt** “mound” (noun f) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 213.7; ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 224.7–9; ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 306.12; ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 308.1–2
- jȝt** “standard” (noun f) — ɿ-ȝ-ȝ 254.40
- jȝwȝ** “old” (vb 4ac-inf.) — ɿ-ȝ 273–74.37
- jȝb** “want” (verb 3-lit.) — ɿ-ȝ-ȝ 222.18, ɿ-ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 222.23
- jȝb-** “left” (nisbe) — ɿ-ȝ-ȝ 283.1, ȝ 301.17
- jȝbt** “east” (nisbe f) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 247.6, 257.10, 304.7
- jȝbt-** “eastern” (nisbe) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 224.15, 263.8/13–14, ȝ-ȝ 301.16 (ms); ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 261.7 (ms); ȝ-ȝ-ȝ (mpl) 209.3, 217.29, 218.18, 260.17, 303.1
- jȝbtt** “east” (nisbe f) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 246.8
- jȝrw** “reeds” (noun mpl) — ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 210.14, 263.11, 268.14, 306.13, 308.3; ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 253.1–4; ȝ-ȝ-ȝ-ȝ 254.41

- jꜣr** “reed” (noun m) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 249.1 (du)
- jwt** “reeds” (collective noun f) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 267.8
- jꜣbj** “replete” (verb 4ae-inf.) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 254.17
- wꜣbj** “replete” (verb 4ae-inf.) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 273–74.57
- jꜣbw** “sunlight” (noun m) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 257.3; 𢃠𢃠𢃠 261.2, 319.1; 𢃠𢃠𢃠 317.3
- jꜣq** “rule” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 222.13
- jꜣq** “mount” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 214.12; 𢃠𢃠𢃠 301.20, 306.9
- jꜣqs** “shawl” (noun m) — 𢃠𢃠 301.20
- mꜣqt** “ladder” (noun f) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 271.6; 𢃠𢃠𢃠 304.2, 305.1–2, 306.9
- jꜣtt** “Milky” (nisbe fs) — see *jrtt* “milk”
- jj** “come” (verb 2ae-inf.) — 𢃠 211.9, 212.2, 214.2, 217.1–2/6/8–9/13/16–17/21/25–26/30/32, 218.1/7/15/17/19/21/23/25, 223.6, 230.8, 245.2, 246.5, 248.4, 249.5, 250.3, 252.2, 254.22, 262.21, 269.3–4/8–10, 270.4/6/8, 272.2, 275.1, 301.14–16, 306.6, 307.15/17, 310.6, 317.1/4, 318.5; 𢃠 262.19 (stative 3ms), 𢃠 260.2 (stative 3ms)
- jw** “come” (verb 2ae-inf. gem.) — 𢃠 32.3a/c, 254.21, 255.9, 258.16, 262.20, 273–74.15; 𢃠 32.3d, 139.1, 146.1, 297.1–2, 311.11; 𢃠 32.3b, 216.1–3, 220.2–3/9, 222.4/10'/10–11; 𢃠 224.19, 𢃠 270.8; 𢃠 257.10, 𢃠 270.6
- jw** “coming” (verbal noun m) — 𢃠 293.4; 𢃠 288.4
- jwt** “coming” (verbal noun f) — 𢃠 254.19, 𢃠 260.20 (*sdmτj,f*)
- jꝝ** “ascend” (verb 2-lit.) — 𢃠𢃠𢃠 232.3 (stative 2s), 𢃠 267.14; 𢃠 301.21; 𢃠 301.32
- jꝝ** “ascent” (verbal noun m) — 𢃠 302.20
- jꝝt** “ascent” (verbal noun f) — 𢃠 261.8
- sjꝝ** “elevate” (verb 2-lit. caus.) — 𢃠 215.2, 217.33, 262.29; 𢃠 222.43; 𢃠 223.8; 𢃠 301.32
- jꝝw** “attendant” (noun m) — 𢃠 223.13
- jꝝj** “wash” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 𢃠 93.5, 268.1
- jꝝw-r** “mouth-washing” (phrase) — 𢃠 87.3, 110.3
- jꝝb** “collect” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢃠 87.2; 𢃠 108.1, 110.1, 217.3/10/18/27, 218.14; 𢃠 273–74.16

cb “collection” (verbal noun m) — ፩ 307.9–10; ፪ 34.7, 302.7; ፩ 207.4, ፩ 224.16, ፩ 245.6

jcnj “baboon” (noun m) — ፩ 275.2, 315.1, 320.7

jrt “uraeus” (noun f) — ፩ 249.7, 262.27, 273–74.11, 318.2

jw (proclitic particle) — ፩ 205.9/12–14, 235.2, 251.3/8, 254.34/46/58, 256.2–6, 258.9/13–14, 260.5–7/15–16, 272.4, 273–74.7/9–13/17/34–37/40/42/46/48–53/57/59/66, 285.1, 287.2, 294.4/6, 300.3, 301.10, 303.11, 305.5, 319.6/9; *j.k* ፩ 243.3, 287.2; *j.f* ፩ 256.2, 273–74.50, 273–74.57; *j.s* ፩ 165.1, 254.22, 260.13, 260.24

jw “come” (verb 2ae-inf.) — see *jj* “come”

jw “island” (noun m) — ፩ 249.5, ፩ 273–74.15

jwt “reeds” (collective f) — see *j̄r* “reed”

jwj “maroon” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ፩ 311.4

jw̄ “haunch” (noun m) — ፩ 127.3

jw̄ “inherit” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 127.1, ፩ 256.1–2

jw̄w “heir” (noun m) — ፩ 127.1, ፩ 260.1, ፩ 254.54, 305.13, 307.6

jwn “pillar” (noun m) — ፩ 231.2, 254.15–16, ፩ 254.23

jwn “now” (adverb) — ፩ 281.3, 281.4; ፩ 285.2

jwnw “Heliopolis” (toponym m) — ፩ 204.3, 219.55, [222.25], 247.13, 260.10, 302.9, 303.11, 307.4/16, 316.2

jwnw- “Heliopolitan” (nisbe) — ms ፩ 307.1–4; fs ፩ 222.29, ፩ 307.3

jwr “conceive” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 211.8, 215.10/15, 222.20/38, 248.2; ፩ 211.6

jwt- negative relative (nisbe) — ፩ 215.4 (ms), ፩ 307.6 (ms)

jwd “push off” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 267.11

jb “heart/mind (usually emotional/intellectual), center” (noun m) — ፩ 32.3b–d, 32.5, 204.2/5/7, 215.18–20, 217.23, 218.2, 231.2, 250.1/4/7/9, 254.20/56, 256.5, 260.19, 261.1, 267.1–2, 273–74.14/35/67, [298.3], 306.15, 308.4/9, 311.5, 317.7, 319.1; ፩ 258.21, 317.12; ፩ 34.6, 137.1; ፩ 32.3 a; ፩ 258.21; see also *htjt-jb* “esophagus”

jb/jbw “sac”? (noun m) — ፩ ፩ 237.1 (pl)

jbt “barrier” (noun f) — ፩ 307.10

jbz “dance” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 127.1

jbj “thirst” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 𢃠 204.5, 𢃠 269.18

jbt “thirst” (verbal noun f) — 𢃠 211.2

jbnw “alum” (noun m) — 𢃠 285.5

jbh “tooth” (noun m) — 𢃠 45.2, 125.1, 215.31, 222.11

jp “allot” (verb 2-lit.) — 𢃠 170.1, 215.18/19'/20, 217.23, 218.2, 223.10

sjp “allot” (verb 2-lit. caus.) — 𢃠 143.1, 𢃠 269.12

jpyp “Ipy” (name f) — 𢃠 269.14

jpw (demonstrative mpl) — see *p/pj/pw*

jpf (demonstrative mpl) — see *pf*

jpn (demonstrative mpl) — see *pn*

jf “flesh” (noun m) — 𢃠 135.3, 219.107; 𢃠 268.9, 281.4

jfn “turn away” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢃠 293.6

jm “in” (preposition) — see *m* “in”

jm “flank” (noun m) — 𢃠 235.1

jmt- “of Imet” (nisbe) — 𢃠 155.3 (ms)

jmtb “back-ridge” (noun m) — 𢃠 315.2

jmj “not do” (verb anom.) — 𢃠 *sdm.f* 23–24.5; 𢃠 imperative 23–24.5, 223.9, 262.8, 283.3, 288.2/4; 𢃠 imperative 232.3, 262.1/4/5/7/10–11/13–14/16–17; 𢃠 *sdm.f* 288.3, 293.2/4–5, 301.9, 311.11

jmwjtj “between” (preposition) — 𢃠 35.4, 36.4; 𢃠 248.1, 254.43; 𢃠 305.5

jmn “hide” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢃠 242.2; 𢃠 273–74.19, 293.1, 320.5

jmnw “Amun” (name m) — 𢃠 301.3

jmnt “Amunet” (name f) — 𢃠 301.3

jmnt “west” (nisbe f) — 𢃠 222.39; 𢃠 247.6, 254.21, 257.9, 304.7; 𢃠 254.25

jmnt- “western” (nisbe) — 𢃠 217.22. 250.2/5/8, 304.8, 𢃠 (ms) 304.9;

𢃠 (mpl) 81.8, 214.14, 217.20, 218.16, 224.15, 260.17, 303.1

j.mnw “alpha bull” — see *mn*

jmsbj “Imseti” (name m) — 𢃠 215.33', 215.33

jn (proclitic particle) — 𢃠 204.6, 205.6/15, 218.6, 219.50–51, 226.1, 230.3–4/7/12, 248.2, 249.3, 250.7, 254.20/25/27/37, 257.2, 258.7, 273–74.25, 273–74.26–28/31/38/49, 284.3, 284.3, 291.1–2, 305.1–2/6/8–9, 306.1/10/15; 𢃠 215.24, 216.5–7, 262.21/26–27

jn “curl (of the Red Crown)” (noun f) — 𢃠 221.1, 𢃠 221.9

- jnt** “Red Crown” (nisbe f) —  81.3, 220.2, 221.1, 261.5, 286.3, 312
- jnj** “get, fetch, use” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  209.3, 215.1, 246.7, 273–74.24;  211.9, 212.3, 260.3, 263.7, 275.3, 317.7;  32.3–4, 39.3, 44.4, 76.2, 78.2, 114.1, 125.1, 300.4, 301.17;  23–24.3, 82.2, 245.5, 257.13, 260.13/24, 261.8, 295.1, 300.2, 310.7–9, 321.1
- jnn** “get, fetch, use” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  248.3
- jnb** “wall” (noun m) —  241.1
- jnpw** “Anubis” (name m) —  (reading after MK copies) 81.8, 213.6, 217.22, 224.15, 304.1
- jnsj** “red linen” (noun m) —  250.7, 254.30
- jnq** “assemble” (verb 3-lit.) —  218.13
- jnqt-** “of a sack” (nisbe) —  219.67 (ms)
- jnk** 1s independent pronoun —  215.5
- jntk** 2ms independent pronoun —  238.2
- jntt** “fetter” (noun f) —  254.29
- j.nd-hr* “greetings” — see *nd*
- jrt** “eye” (noun f) —  25.7, 25+200.7, 25.8a/c, 32.3d, 36.6, 39.2, 46.3, 54.2, 76.2, 79–80.2, 81.3, 119.1, 146.1, 155.1, 156.1, [199.3], 200.5, 244.1;  154.1, 219.101;  47.2, 53.2, 56.2, 57.2, 115.1', 118.1, 129.1, 223.10, 301.17;  25.8b, 32.3a–c, 51.2, 72.2, 74.2, 75.2, 78.2, 81.3, 82.4, 83.2, 84.2, 85.2, 87.2, 88.2, 89.2, 90.2, 91.2, 92.2, 93.5/7, 94–95.2, 96.2, 109.1, 110.1, 111.1, 112.1, 115.1, 116.1, 120.1, 121.1, 122.1, 123.1, 124.1, 126.1, 128.1, 132.1, 133.1, 134.1, 135.1, 138.1, 140.1, 141.1, 142.1, 143.1, 144.1, 145.1, 147.1, 157.1, 158.1, 159.1, 160.1, 161.1, 162.1, 163.1, 164.1, 165.1, 166.1, 168.1, 169.1, 170.1, 204.3, 207.1–2, 212.1, 220.10, 221.12, 254.44–45, [255.10], 256.3, 258.5, 260.15–16, 277.1, 288.2, 317.7, 319.1;  /  (du) 43.2, 77.6, 167.1, 246.5–6;  215.29, 297.3
- jrf** “do, make” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  205.16, 211.5, 218.12, 247.1/12–13, 249.3, 252.6/9, 254.4–5/46/58, 255.11, 261.9, 273–74.22/61/67, 276.1, 300.1, 302.10, 311.17, 313.5, 315.3;  251.1, 256.3, 306.5;  81.4, 260.4, 268.12, 271.6, 276.1, 301.5–6, 306.5/7, 309.7
- jrr** “do, make” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  238.3, 260.3, 273–74.61;  282.4
- jr** “doing, making” (verbal noun m) —  254.5, 288.3
- jrt** “doing, making” (verbal noun f) —  247.14, 256.5
- jrt** “deed” (noun f) — pl  255.11,  273–74.67

- jrt-** “of the deed” (nisbe) —  280.1 (ms)
- jrw** “form” (noun m) — ,  215.6, 257.4,  254.24,  255.6,  260.11
- jrp** “wine” (noun m) — ,  47.4, 48.3, 54.4;   153.3;   210.15
- jrtt** “milk” (noun f) — ,  41.3, 269.16
- jrtt-** “milky” (nisbe) — ,  35.5 (ms);  146.3,  211.4 (fs: “Milk-goddess”)
- jh** “ah” (particle) — 
- jh** “ox” (noun m) — ,  254.17,  240.2 (pl)
- jbj** (?) “obscure” (?) (verb 3ae-inf.?) —  273–74.1
- jb** “thus” (proclitic particle) — 
- jbt** “thing” (noun f) — ,  50.3–4;  221.10–11; pl  209.1–2,
- jbt** “meal” (noun f) — ,  207.1–2, 273–74.64;  219.81/86/91/96, 273–74.32;  254.3, 255.1/5; pl  273–74.34/36
- jhtt** “set of meals” (collective f) — ,  205.8’,   205.8
- j.hm-skjw* “imperishable” — see *hm*
- jbmt** “bank” (noun f) —   254.10 (du)
- jbt** “wood, stalk” (noun m) — 
- jht/jhtt* “meal” (noun f) — see *jbt* “thing”
- jbh** “sneeze” (verb 2ae-gem.) — ,  34.4–5,   241.1 (ms)
- nbnh** “spew” (verb 2ae-gem. *n*-stem redup.) —  222.20
- nbh** “sneeze” (noun m) —  [222.1]
- jhd** (a berry) (noun m) — 
- jz-** “tomb-dweller” (nisbe) —  223.9
- jzf** “do wrong” (verb 3-lit.) — 
- jzft** “disorder” (verbal noun f) — 
- jzn** “pull open” (verb 3-lit.) — 
- jzrt** “tamarisk” (noun f) — 
- jzkn** “zenith” (noun m) — 
- js** subordinating enclitic particle — , , ,  81.8, 93.6, 205.7–8, 213.1, 217.14, 221.12, 224.15, 243.1, 245.7, 246.3/13/15, 251.5, 262.20, 272.4’, 302.2, 305.6, 305.15, 306.14
- jsjrij** “Osiris” (name m) — 

81.9, 84.2, 85.2, 87.2, 88.2, 89.2, 90.2, 91.2, 92.2, 93.2/6, 94–95.2, 96.2, 108.1, 109.1, 110.1, 111.1, 112.1, 113.1, 114.1, 115.1, 116.1, 117.1, 118.1, 119.1, 120.1, 121.1, 122.1, 123.1, 124.1, 125.1, 126.1, 127.1, 128.1, 129.1, 130.1, 131.1, 132.1, 133.1, 134.1, 135.1, 136.1, 137.1, 138.1, 139.1, 140.1, 141.1, 142.1, 143.1, 144.1, 145.1, 146.1, 147.1, 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1, 152.1, 153.1, 154.1, 155.1, 156.1, 157.1, 158.1, 159.1, 160.1, 161.1, 162.1, 163.1, 164.1, 165.1, 166.1, 167.1, 168.1, 169.1, 170.1, 171.1, 199.1, 204.4, 213.2, 215.14/17/19/21, 217.12, 218.1, 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49, 219.76, 223.6, 224.9, 230.15, 245.8, 258.1/5, 267.1, 298.5, 303.3/7/10, 305.1–2, 310.6, 321.1

jst “place, seat” (noun f) — 217.8/25, 254.3, 255.7–8; 254.4–5/39, 257.6; 217.1/16, 245.6, 267.9, 271.10, 273–74.67; 317.12; 248.4, 249.3, 250.3, 251.3, 257.12, 317.8; 249.6, 317.5; pl 213.4, 222.26, 223.6, 224.13, 305.6

jst-^cwj “assistance” (phrase f) — 273–74.17

jst “Isis” (name f) — 42.2, 217.12, 218.13, 219.21, 222.22/36, 268.5, 269.11, 308.6

jst “as well” (adverb) — 77.7, 217.5/12/20/29, 222.19, 222.24, 273–74.55

jsd “spit” (verb 3-lit.) — 247.15

j(gp “cloud” — see *gp*

jqht “?” (noun f) — 300.1

jkj “chop, attack” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 238.2, 282.2, 283.1, 292.1–2; 238.1, 279.1; 283.1' (*sdm.f* with 1s suffix)

jkjw “chopper” (noun m) — 283.2

jkn “scoop” (verb 3-lit.) — 313.3–4

j(gp “cloud” (noun m) — see *gp* “cloud”

jgr “also, more” (enclitic particle) — 218.11

jtj “father” (noun m) — 25+200.11, 205.6, 214.2/12, 215.1/6/22, 216.9, 219.37, 220.8, 222.3–11/27–28/40/42, 230.6, 238.1–2, 246.9/11, 247.5/14, 254.5/59, 260.1/3/21, 269.12, 271.6, 273–74.5/8/49, 296.3, 301.7, 305.2, 310.6; 235.2 (*jtj.j*); 245.3, 307.6; 307.3

jtjw “sire” (noun m) — 318.3

jtj “barley” (noun m) — 164.3; 205.5–6

j.tmw “Atum” — see *tm*

jtrt “shrine” (noun f) — 268.2; 246.15 (du)

jth “pull” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢃠𢃡 (relative *sdm.n.f*) 89.2, 112.1; 𢃠𢃡 256.8; 𢃡 89.3, 112.3, 121.1, 124.1, 141.1, 223.4

jtj “acquire” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 𢃣 43.3, 47.3, 78.2, 118.1, 209.1–2, 218.6, 254.27, 255.16, 273–74.52, 302.22; 𢃣 23–24.2–3, 113.1, 257.7/13/15, 290.3, 301.20/29, 311.15, 317.11; 𢃣 286.1

jt “acquiring” (verbal noun m) — 𢃣 283.3

jt̄t “acquire” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) — 𢃣 42.2, 283.3

jd “deaf” (verb 2-lit.) — 𢃣 311.14

jdt “cow” (noun f) — 𢃣 271.4

jdʒt “smooth-bread” (noun f) — 𢃣 122.3

jdj “cense” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 𢃣 255.1–2/5; 𢃣 254.1 (imperative pl)

jdt “censing” (verbal noun f) — 𢃣 267.4

jdt “fume” (noun f) 𢃣 301.31 (pl)

jdb “shore” (noun m) — 𢃣 252.5–6; 𢃣 273–74.42, 317.4/6

y

y “hurt” (noun m) — 𢃣 215.9; 𢃣 215.12–13; 𢃣 271.8–9; 𢃣 285.3

r

r “(lower) arm, hand” (noun, m) — 𢃣 25.5, 47.2, 54.2, 93.6, 160.1, [199.2], 204.6, 213.3–4, 222.14, 223.12, 246.10, 250.6, 251.9, 253.5, 254.46–48, 263.6, 267.13, 268.4, 269.12, 271.7, 273–74.58/65, 301.18, 302.24, 317.11; 𢃣 25+200.5, 247.2, 301.12, 305.9, 306.7, 307.7, 311.11; 𢃣 (du) 210.3, 211.7, 213.5, 215.2, 215.31’, 215.32, 216.9, 217.33, 219.8/86/91/96, 222.31/42–43, 247.6, 251.1, 254.15, 254.18, [255.12], 261.4, 267.1–2, 268.16, 302.22, 320.5; see also *jst-rwj* “assistance”

r “title, document” (noun m) — 𢃣 253.5; 𢃣 254.31; 𢃣 273–74.49, 303.12

rt “limb” (noun f) — 𢃣 268.3; pl 𢃣 25+200.10, 𢃣 215.34, 𢃣 219.51, 𢃣 260.9

rȝ “here” (adverb) — 𢃣 243.3

rȝ “doorleaf” (noun m) — 𢃣 235.2; du 𢃣 220.1, 246.12, 311.4; 𢃣 307.11–12/14, [313.2]

rȝt “big (in size/importance)” (verb 2-lit.) — 𢃣 25+200.13, 262.6, 303.5/12; 𢃣 268.11; 𢃣 219.41, 254.3, 301.29, 307.16, 308.4; 𢃣 251.3’/7, 252.2/9; 𢃣 248.1

rȝt- “gemlike” (nisbe) — 𢃣 273–74.38 (mpl)

- ርግብ** (a plant) (noun m) — ተብንክዥ 304.13
- ርግብተ** “feast” (noun f) — የብንክዥ 210.15, የብንክዥ 258.14
- ርውት** “crook” (noun f) — ገብር 222.14
- ርውጊ** “parch” (verb 3-lit.) — መሰረት 163.3, 164.3
- ርብ** “horn” (noun m) — ስለም 246.2, 304.6; ስለም 254.23, 304.7–[8]
- ርብስ** “baton” (noun m) — ተብንክዥ 213.3, ተብንክዥ 267.13, ተብንክዥ 221.7, ተብንክዥ 263.6
- ርብስ** “serve” (verb 3-lit.) — ተብንክዥ 207.3
- ርብብተ** “scrubbing” (verbal noun f) — see *wግብ* “clean”
- ርብዎ** “cleanliness” — see *wግብ*
- ርብብ** “wine-jar” (noun m) — መሰረት 154.3
- ርብከ** “submerge” (verb 3-lit.) — ተብንክዥ 286.1, 317.3
- ርፕር** “equip” (verb 3-lit.) — የብንክዥ 273–74.16
- ርም** “swallow” (verb 2-lit.) — ተብንክዥ 226.3, 228.3, 239.1–2, 273–74.33/53/59, 290.2, 318.2/5; ተብንክዥ 154.1, ተብንክዥ 204.3
- ርኅት** “fingernail” (noun f) — መሰረት 229.1, 283.1, 302.16, 318.6
- ርኅይ** “beautiful” (verb 3ae-inf.) — መሰረት 318.6
- ርሙ** “coil” (verb 2ac-gem.) — መሰረት መሰረት 284.2 (*sdm.f*)
- ርኅንተ** “coiling” (verbal noun f) — መሰረት መሰረት 284.2
- ርካብ** “live” (verb 3-lit.) — ተብንክዥ 210.12, 211.5, 212.4, 213.3, 216.5–7, 217.7/15/24/31, 219.1–2/5–6/9–10/13–14/17–18/21–22/25–26/29–30/33–34/37–38/41–42/45–46/52/56/60/64/68/72/77/82/87/92/97/102–103, 221.7, 224.14, 260.11/14, 263.5, 273–74.5/14/23/55/68; ተብንክዥ 213.1; ተብንክዥ 210.12, 219.97, 252.5, 269.6, 270.9, 302.1–2, 320.7
- ርካብ** “life, living” (verbal noun m) — ተብንክዥ 254.50; 297.2, (298.3) (ቤት)
- ስርካብ** “enliven” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — ተብንክዥ 301.12–13
- ርኅንጅ** “myrrh” (noun m) — መሰረት መሰረት 318.5–6
- ርኅድት** “Andjet” (toponym f) — መሰረት መሰረት 219.59
- ርኅድት-** “of Andjet” (nisbe) — መሰረት መሰረት 224.15 (ms)
- ርጥ** “jaw” (noun f) — መሰረት መሰረት 37.2
- ርጥ** “anus” (noun f) — መሰረት መሰረት 315.2
- ርጥዎት** “portico” (noun f) — መሰረት መሰረት 268.12, 272.1; መሰረት መሰረት 254.55
- ርብ** “palace” (noun m) — መሰረት መሰረት 215.7

- ch-hd** “White Palace” (phrase m) —  (219.71) ( omitted), 262.24
- ch** “gather” (verb 2-lit.) —  168.1,  215.9
- ch'** “fight” (verb 3-lit.) —  251.2, 260.12, 284.5, 301.12
- ch'** “stand” (verb 3-lit.) —  245.9, 246.16, 254.8;  81.8, 222.15/26, 296.1, 305.8;  223.3/12, 246.2/12–13, 255.14, 261.7, 267.8;  222.1, 230.2, 247.12, 263.8, 271.5, 278.1, 301.27
- ch'w** “time” (verbal noun m) —  273–74.60
- s ch'** “make stand” (verb 3-lit. caus.) —  254.40,  254.50
- chm** “extinguish” (verb 3-lit.) —  242.1
- ch** “cedar” (noun m) —  77.8
- chmw** “sacred image” (noun m) —  273–74.44
- cq** “enter” (verb 2-lit) —  207.2, 246.14, 263.11;  258.2
- cq'** “leash” (noun m) —  273–74.21, 319.6

w

- w'** “conspire” (verb 2-lit.) —  254.6
- wst** “path” (noun f) —  254.11;  81.7, 222.30;  273–74.45, 299.5;  251.1;  254.7, 257.8, 304.3/5, 310.4, 313.[3]/5;  288.1; see also *wp-w3wt*
- w3pt** “ewe” (noun f) —  246.4
- w3h** “lay” —  222.14;  255.7/[8]/[15], 275.4
- w3lj** “overwhelm” (verb 4ae-inf.) — see *j3lj* “overwhelm”
- w3h** “esteemed” (verb 3-lit.) —  93.3, 282.4;  238.3
- w3d** “papyrus-column” (noun m) —  217.1, 217.8, 217.16, 217.25
- w3d** “fresh, green, raw” (verb 3-lit.) —  271.1;  209.1–2, 222.21 ( for , 228.2, 317.2/5);  301.36;  162.1/3, 218.10, 273–74.53
- w3d** “malachite” (noun m) —  301.35
- w3dw** “green eyepaint” (noun m) —  79–80.7
- w3dt** “cobra” (noun f) —  233.1, 240.1, 285.4, 299.1;  262.26
- s3d** “freshen” (verb 3-lit. caus.) —  317.6
- wj** 1s dependent pronoun —  215.5, 232.3, 261.6, 311.7';  272.4'
- wj'** “(sacred) boat” (noun m) —  207.2;  256.9;  267.7/10–11/13, 309.2
- wjt** “?” (noun m) —  261.1
- wy** “hey” (proclitic particle) —  285.3,  281.4

w^r- “1” (number m/f) — 1 36.7, 47.4’/4, 48.3’/3, 49.3’/3, 51.3, 52.3, 53.3, 54.4, 55.3, 56.4, 57.3, 87.3, 88.3, 89.3, 90.3, 91.3, 92.3, 94–95.5, 96.3, 110.3, 111.3, 112.3, 126.3, 127.3, 128.3, 129.3, 131.3, 132.3, 133.3, 134.3, 135.3, 136.3, 137.3, 138.2, 139.3, 140.3, 141.3; ms  230.10, 246.9/11, 254.3/57, 258.12, 305.4

w^{rj} “alone, one, unique” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  262.9

w^{rt}- “sole” (nisbe) —  245.7 (ms)

w^{rb} “clean” (verb 3-lit.) —  210.4–5;  214.4, 216.6–7, 220.4;  214.9;  216.5;  222.32, 222.39, 258.5, 302.3, 303.2, 304.13, 305.7;  305.6;  249.2;  249.10, 252.6, 253.1–4, 301.33, 302.3’, 304.9

rw “cleanliness” (verbal noun m) —  220.5;  222.25;  222.32/40

rbwt “scrubbing” (verbal noun f) —  260.3

srw “cleanse” (verb 3-lit. caus.) —  36.5,  204.3,  268.7,  301.34

w^{rh} “carob bean” (noun m) —  168.3

wbn “rise, swell up” (verb 3-lit.) — see *bn

wbs “pile up” (verb 3-lit.) —  281.4

wpt “forehead, forelock” (noun f) —  314.1,  319.3;  273–74.11/25

wpj “part” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  54.3, 81.7, 93.5, 155.1, 156.1, 219.50;  252.6;  245.6, 254.19;  38.2, 153.1, 257.10;  48.2, 222.30

wp-w³wt “Paths-Parter” (name m) —  210.3, 301.27, 302.21

wpjw “Parter” (name m) —  210.1

wpp “part” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  34.2, 47.3

wpwt “dispatch, message” (noun f) —  214.2,  261.9,  262.21,  273–74.24,  288.3

wpwt- “messenger” (nisbe m) —  273–74.30,  309.6 (pl)

wfj “?” (a snake) (noun m) —  278.3

wmtt “thickness” (verbal noun f) —  254.28

wn “open” (verb 2-lit.) —  167.1, 271.10, 272.2, 304.3/5, 311.4, 313.2–[3];  220.1, 307.11–12/14, 309.4;  261.6, 268.10, 275.3

wnjs “Unis” (name m) —  passim (780 examples);  223.3/8/12, 224.6/16

wnw “Hermopolis” (toponym m) —  219.90,  219.95;  229.2, 258.20

wnwt “hour (of the night)” (noun f) —  251.1, 320.1

wnwnjt “motion” (verbal noun f) —  261.6

wnm “eat” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ 46.5; ⌈ 90.2, 145.1, 219.101, 273–74.15/23/33/45/53, 299.5, 317.10; ⌈ 123.1; ⌈ 254.7, ⌈ 210.8/11, 211.1, 212.5, 254.36

snm “feed” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — ⌈ 205.4 (verbal noun m)

wnn “be, exist” (verb 2ae-gem.) — ⌈ 223.13, 245.10; ⌈ 77.2–3, 269.5, 305.13, 306.18; ⌈ 214.5/14, 247.10, 254.47–48

wnt “be” (verbal noun f) — ⌈ 305.13

wnnt “in fact” (enclitic particle) — ⌈ 211.3/5

wnt “that” (proclitic particle) — ⌈ 301.8

wnb “dress” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ 224.19

wnbw “linen strip” (noun m) — ⌈ ⌈ 81.10

wrr “great, elder” (verb 2ae-gem.) — ⌈ 218.9; ⌈ 25+200.11, 220.3/9, 221.1–2/10–11, 222.9/34, 227.1, 239.1–2, 247.2, 249.4/8, 250.2/4/7, 254.1/40/43, 255.4/9, 262.23, 267.4, 271.10, 273–74.34, 301.17/27/29, 302.8, 305.14, 311.12, 317.3–4/7, 320.5; ⌈ 25+200.10, 81.4, 205.7, 210.3, 219.85, 220.10, 222.8/17, 247.6, 254.8/20/30/55, 255.14, 262.22/24, 271.3, 273–74.17/43/45/49, 275.5, 280.2

wrrt “(white) crown” (noun f) — ⌈ 268.4, 301.29

wrj “great one” (noun m) — ⌈ 222.15 (altered from ⌈), 257.11

wrw “greatness” (verbal noun m) — ⌈ 222.15

wrh “spend the day” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ 258.20

wrd “tire” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ 32.5a–b/d, 309.6; ⌈ 32.5 c

wh “hey” (particle) — ⌈ 223.2, 224.6

wḥt “cauldron” (noun f) — ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 273–74.39 (pl)

whwt “tribe” (collective f) — ⌈ ⌈ = 261.7

whm “repeat” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ 209.3, 273–74.50, 295.2

wḥ? “talon” (noun m) — ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 302.16 (pl)

whb “feed” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ 273–74.5, 273–74.54

hbw “food” (verbal noun m) — ⌈ ⌈ 94–95.4, ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 254.47

wzmw “innards” (noun m) — ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 273–74.15

wzh “urinate” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ ⌈ 317.10

wzht “urine” (noun f) — ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 210.6, 297.4

wsrt “neck” (noun f) — ⌈ ⌈ 217.22; ⌈ ⌈ 254.33–34

wsr “powerful” (verb 3-lit.) — ⌈ ⌈ 210.13; ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 251.7, 255.9; ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 260.16; ⌈ ⌈ 273–74.7; ⌈ ⌈ ⌈ 273–74.9

- wsrw** “power” (verbal noun m) — ፩፪፪ 254.44, ፩፪፫ 254.44, ፩፪ 273–74.13
- wsrt** “power” (verbal noun f) — ፩፪ 318.7
- wsht** “broadhall” (noun f) — ፩ 85.3, ፩ 223.4
- ssh** “broaden” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — ፩፭፻ 254.39
- wtwt** “wrap up” (verb 2-lit. redup.) — ፩፩፩ 311.9
- wtt** “beget” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩፩ 301.6
- ttt** “begetting” (verbal noun f) — ፩፩ 214.6
- wttwt-** “firstborn” (nisbe m) — ፩፩ 221.10, ፩፩ 221.11
- wtz** “hold aloft, wear” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩፩ 204.2, 247.15, 306.7; ፩ 214.11,
፩ 255.4
- wdj** “put” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ፩ 255.13, 270.12’, 273–74.38, 303.6, 307.7, 311.18
- dj** “put” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ፩ 23–24.4, 39.3, 115.1’, 122.1, 244.2, 246.10,
249.6, 251.4, 255.11, 256.5, 258.19, 260.3, 263.1–4, 269.1–2, 270.12, 283.2,
301.22, 303.3, 311.13; ፩ 115.1
- dd** “put” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) — ፩ 77.3
- ndj** “put down” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ፩ 222.5/33
- ndjt** “Nedit” (toponym f) — ፩፩ 247.12
- wdpw** “attendant” (noun m) — ፩ 205.2, ፩ 207.3
- wdn** “offer” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 46.6, ፩ 273–74.48
- wdhw** “libation-table” (noun m) — ፩ 50.5, ፩ 305.12
- wd** “command” (verb 2-lit.) — ፩ 213.4; ፩ 205.2–4, 213.3, 214.8, 224.7–9, 245.8,
246.9/11, 247.14, 252.4, 260.7, 303.10, 311.7, [318.3]; ፩ 252.9, 294.2, 311.7’;
፩ 294.2 (passive participle)
- wd** “command, decree” (verbal noun m) — ፩ 247.12, 271.8–9; ፩ 309.4
- wdz** “sound” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 44.6, 79–80.2, 125.1, 301.18–19, 319.2; ፩ 262.15
- sdz** “make sound” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — ፩ 319.9 (verbal noun m)
- wdc** “separate” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 222.26; ፩ 251.6, 254.43, 260.5; ፩ 252.5; ፩
273–74.19; ፩ 307.13 (*sdm.f* passive)
- wdb** “shore” (noun m) — ፩ 254.51
- wdb** “turn” (verb 3-lit.) — [፩ ፩ ፩] [199.1]
- wdb** “reversion” (verbal noun m) — [፩ ፩] [199.4]

b

b3 “ram” (noun m) — □ 246.2

b3 “leopard skin” (noun m) —  263.6

b3 “impressive” (verb 2-lit.) —  214.13, 215.14, 215.15, [222.19], 222.24, 273–74.4/12, 301.35:  218.6

b3w “impressiveness” (verbal noun m) —  306.3

b3 “ba” (noun m) —  223.6, 245.5, 246.6,  273–74.63/65; □ 262.22;  (du) 302.9;  (pl) 217.29, 302.9, 306.6

b33 “hole” (noun m) —  291.1–2

b3t (a grain) (noun f) —  165.3

b3t “bush” (noun f) —  212.1

b3b3 “hole” (noun m) —  230.1

b3by “Baboon” (name m) —  278.1;  313.1;  320.2/6

b3h “presence” (noun m) —  25+200.5; ≈ 25.5a–b, 25.6, 44.5, 309.3, 319.8;  25+200.6

b3hw “Bakhu” (toponym m) —    301.30

b3q “clear” (verb 3-lit.) —  204.3,  246.4

sb3q “clear” (verb 3-lit. caus.) —   301.33

b3gi “lazy” (verb 4ae-inf.)

sb3gj “slacken” (verb 4ae-inf. caus.) —  230.4,   247.12 (3ms stative)

bj “foot” (noun m) —  281.1

bjt- “hereditary king” (nisbe m) —  236

bj3 “metal” (noun m) —  38.3, 56.4'/4, 214.10, 257.7

bj3j “away” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  56.3

bjk “falcon” (noun m) —  275.1;  218.6, 245.4, 302.14;  301.36

bjkt “falcon-hen” (noun f) —   214.4

bjkt “Falcon-Town” (toponym f) —    304.10

b3hj “inundation” (verbal noun m) —   254.36

bw “place” (noun m) —  214.12, 217.4/11/19/28, 293.4, 300.3

bwj “abominate” (verb 3ae-inf.) —   210.7, 210.8;  258.2;  (sdm.f attributive fs) 210.6–7, 211.1–2, 260.22

bb “neckband” (noun m) —   285.3

***bn** “swell” (verb 2-lit.)

wbn “rise, swell up” (verb 3-lit.) — 217.4/11/19/28, 249.2 (, 254.23; 222.28, 222.34, 222.36, 269.1–2

sbn “manifest” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — 273–74.50

hbnnbn “bounce” (verb 2-lit. *h*-stem redup.) — 158.1, 120.1

hbnnhb “bounce” (verb 2-lit. redup.) — 158.1'

bnj “sweet” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 169.1/3; (participle fpl) 269.16

bhnj “restrain” (verb 4ae-inf.) — 260.12

bhz “calf” (noun m) — 35.5, 226.2

bhw “glow” (noun m) — 313.3–4

bh “spew” (verb 2-lit.) — 154.1, 285.2; 285.2

sbh “make spew” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — 273–74.56, 302.1

bz̥ “lactate” (verb 3-lit.) — 42.2

bzj “induct” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 252.3

bsk “entrail” (noun m) — 254.53, 275.2

bqsw “spine” (noun m) — 229.1, 230.16, 273–74.51

bt “run” (verb 2-lit.) — 215.1, 246.7

bd “natron” (noun m) — 34.8, 35.6, 109.3

bdj “natronize” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 109.1

bdd “natronization” (verbal noun m) — 25+200.12

bdt “wheat” (noun f) — 205.5–6

bd “ball” (noun m) — 254.14

P

p “Pe” (toponym m) — 247.13, 258.7, 306.6

p/pj/pw (demonstrative ms) — 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/[37]/41/45/49, 250.1, 273–74.21, 301.6, 313.6; 210.10, 211.1–4, 212.7, 231.3, 247.7–11, 248.1, 249.2/4/7, 250.8, 252.9, 258.12/15, 260.1–2/21, 261.1/3/9, 271.1–3, 272.3, 273–74.6/14/16/19/21'/23/33/43–44/47/60, 279.1, 282.2, 294.1, 296.2, 300.2, 307.16/18, 313.6, 315.1, 317.2/11, [318.1], 319.1/10, 320.3.6; 93.2–3, 209.3, 215.7/23/34, 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49, 220.10, 222.44, 224.18, 236, 238.3, 247.14, 249.1/8, 252.6, 254.34–35/57, 255.[6]/9/11, 258.1–2, 260.22, 269.14, 273–74.17/20/30, 293.5, 301.20–25/34, 304.8, 306.9/11/14, 309.1, 310.5, 311.12, 320.3

jppw (demonstrative mpl/du) —  210.9, 260.2, 263.7, 298.5, 300.4, 303.2/11, 311.8

pt “sky” (noun f) —  44.2, 50.2, 205.9, 210.9/16, 214.4, 215.11, 215.32'/32, 219.75, 230.13, 240.1, 245.6, 254.16/18/23/[53]/57, 257.1, 257.7, 258.9, 261.3, 262.16–17/25/29, 263.1–2/4/8/14, 267.14, 273–74.1/42, 299.1, 301.12, 302.1/4/7/13/18/20–21, 303.3, 304.1, 305.10, 306.2/6/8/10, 313.[2], 316.3, 319.7, 321.2–3;  210.16, 263.3, 270.2;  267.3/10, 273–74.7/14/38/40/50

p3wt- “original” (nisbe) — mpl  255.11, 257.2

p3j “fly” (verb 3ac-inf.) —  267.5,  267.6,  302.6,  302.24;  310.9, 312

p33 (verb 3ae-inf. gem.)  — 312

sp3j “make fly” (verb 3ae-inf. caus.) —  302.7,  302.21

p3r “laurelwood” (noun m) —  219.71

p3wt “bread-loaf” (noun f) —  44.6, 46.6, 123.3, 301.1/3/5/8,  46.5, 123.1

p3b “claw” (verb 3-lit.) —  297.3

p3z “feel pain” (verb 3-lit.) —  116.1

p3q “pita” (noun m) —  269.8,  307.9

p3tt “howl” (verb 3ae-gem.) —  315.1

p3d “kneecap” (noun m) —  269.8

p3d “kneecap-bread” (noun m) —  25+200.11,  258.13

p4t “elite” (collective f) —  268.3

pf (demonstrative ms) —  215.10, 269.17, 270.13, 284.4

jppf (demonstrative mpl) —  269.13

pn (demonstrative ms) —  77.3, 81.5–6, 93.7, 137.1, 199.[1], 205.11/16, 210.5, 215.10/12, 216.4/7, 217.1–2/6/9/13/17/21/26/30, 218.1/7/15–25, 219.2–4/6–8/10–12/14–16/18–20/22–24/26–28/30–219.31'/31/32'/32/34–36/38–40/44/46–48/52–54/56–58/60–62/64–66/68'/68/69'69–70/72–74/76–79/82–84/87–89/92–94/97–99/103–110, 221.4–6, 222.1/12–14/43, 223.5/12, 230.7, 245.2, 246.2/9/11, 253.4, 260.11/24, 262.18, 263.9–11/13–14, 267.5/9/11, 268.1/3–4/7–9/10'/11/13/16–17, 269.14–15, 271.10, 272.4'/4, 273–74.61/68, 284.4, 298.2–3, 305.4, 306.2, 313.4

jppn (demonstrative mpl) —  32.2, 300.4

pn4 “capsize” (verb 3-lit.) —  226.5,  227.4

p_{nq} “bail” (verb 3-lit.) — 262.27

p_{ndn} “fertilize” (verb 4-lit.) — 222.6

pr “house” (noun m) — 212.3, 223.4, 254.55, 262.22; 237.1, 242.1–2, 302.4, 214.6

prj “emerge” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 32.6 a', 221.9; 32.2, 32.5 b–d, 32.6b'–c', 32.6, 49.2, 55.2, 82.4, 93.4, 94–95.3, 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1, 210.3, 214.7, 215.32'/32, 218.5, 219.76, 222.1, 222.30/33–36, 226.2–3, 228.2, 233.1–2, 239.1, 241.2, 246.14, 247.2, 248.1, 249.8/10, 254.8, 260.11/24, 262.19, 267.3/12, 269.8/11, 271.1/6, 291.1–2, 294.1–3/5, 298.2, 301.28, 302.13'/13, 305.7, 306.8, 307.16, 308.5, 311.3'/3/12, 317.3, 321.2; 32.5 a, 260.13, 290.1, 304.10; 302.13

prjw “emergent” (noun m) — 269.9

prw “emergence” (verbal noun m) — 311.4

prt “emergence” (verbal noun f) — 303.3, 306.2

prt-hrw “invocation” (phrase) — 86.3

prwt “emergence” (verbal noun f) — 254.29

prr “emerge” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) — 215.32'/32, 254.12, 267.4, 311.6

phtj “?” (noun or name m) — / 281.2

ph “reach” (verb 2-lit.) — 262.25

p_{hwj} “end” (noun mdu) — 213.6, 275.2; 260.10

p_hȝ- “p_hȝ-beer” (nisbe m) — 150.3

p_{hn} “split” (verb 3-lit.) — 257.7

p_{hr} “go around” (verb 3-lit.) — 213.7; 219.76; 255.10; 257.5, 260.7, 260.14, 318.8; 273–74.40/42/48

p_{hrt} “circuit” (verbal noun f) — 251.2

p_{zn} “beer-bread” (noun m) — 116.3

p_{z̥h} “bite, sting” (verb 3-lit.) — 230.4 (, 230.5–7/10/12, 242.2, 284.1

p_{sh} “split apart” (verb 3-lit.) — 37.2

p_{sh} “splitter” (noun m) — 37.3

psg “spit” (verb 3-lit.) — 215.8

psd “back” (noun m) — 321.1

psdj “shine” (verb 4ae-inf.) — 257.10, 268.10', 268.10, 268.1

psdt “sunlight” (noun f) — 226.4, 293.6

psdt “nine” (collective f) —  218.1/7/15/17/19/21/23/25, 222.13

psdt “Ennead” (collective f) —  210.4, 218.5, 219.41/45, 222.13, 223.7, 246.10, 247.4, 248.1, 254.9, 257.3/5, 268.1, 302.3/5, 307.5, 318.3, 319.4;  246.13;  (du) 205.9, 268.4

ptr “look” (verb 3-lit.) —  247.8, 306.1;  273–74.12

ptrw “window” (noun m) —  304.1

pttj/ptttj “?” (noun or name m) —  281.2,  281.2''.  281.2'

pd “stretch” (verb 2-lit.) —  25+200.11

pdt “stretch” (noun f) —  273–74.2

pdw-hj “Spread-Lake” (toponym m) —  300.3

pdpd “stretch” (verb 2-lit. redup.) —  25.8, 25+200.8, 36.6

f

f 3ms suffix pronoun —  *passim* (904 examples)

f3j “lift” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  92.2, 93.2–3, 246.14, 252.1

f3t “lifting, curse” (verbal noun f) —  43.4, 92.3, 254.5

fwj “despise” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  273–74.56

fntw “worm” (noun m) —  291.1–2

fn̄d “nose” (noun m) —  215.30, 307.8;  301.31;  254.[49]

fh “loose” (verb 2-lit.) —  214.6, 219.102, 222.18/23/25/28, 245.3, 278.3;  /  205.10 (passive participle)

sfh “release” (verb 2-lit. caus.) —  222.32, 258.6, 268.8

sfhb “let loose” (verb 2ae-gem. caus.) —  /  23–24.5

fss “cook” (verb 3ae-inf. gem) —  273–74.32

fkk “bare” (verb 2ae-gem.)

sfkk “devastate” (verb 2ae-gem. caus.) —  74.2

ftk-t “Fetekte” (name m) —  205.2

fd- “4” (number m/f) —  23–24.5, 25.8 b, 25.9 a, 32.6 c', 32.6, 34.7, 46.2, 72.2, 79–80.2, 94–5.3, 115.3, 116.3, 117.2–3, 118.2–3, 119.3, 120.3, 122.3, 123.3, 124.3, 125.3, 130.2, 130.[3], 131.2, 137.2, 199.3, 207.4, 214.1, 217.1/8/16/25, 224.19, 301.36, 311.8; m **fdw**  260.2,  303.2,  263.7, 298.5, 303.11, 304.6, 308.4; f **fdt**  246.4

fdnw- “4th” (adjective) —  260.2 (ms)

m

m “here” (proclitic particle) —  41.2, 42.2, 43.2, 118.1, 122.1, 126.1, 135.1, 144.1, 262.19

m-n.k “here for you” (proclitic particle plus 2ms dative) —  41.2;  32.5, 39.2, 40.2, 45.2, 46.3, 47.2, 49.2, 51.2, 53.2, 54.2, 55.2, 56.2, 57.2, 73.2, 74.2, 75.2, 76.2, 84.2, 85.2, 87.2, 88.2, 89.2, 90.2, 91.2, 92.2, 94.2, 96.2, 109.1, 110.1, 111.1, 112.1, 116.1, 119.1, 120.1, 121.1, 123.1, 124.1, 128.1, 129.1, 130.1, 131.1, 132.1, 133.1, 134.1, 136.1, 137.1, 138.1, 139.1, 140.1, 141.1, 142.1, 145.1, 146.1, 147.1, 152.1, 154.1, 155.1, 156.1, 157.1, 158.1, 159.1, 160.1, 161.1, 162.1, 163.1, 164.1, 165.1, 166.1, 168.1, 169.1, 170.1

m-kw/tw “here, you” (proclitic particle plus 2ms dependent pronoun) —  218.6;  222.19/24;  218.12, 244.2, 254.21, 262.19/25, 301.17, 306.16

m “please” (post-imperative enclitic particle) —  285.2,  249.1 (du)

m/jm “in, from, as, with” (preposition) —  before a separate word *passim* (466 examples);  with pronominal suffix 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1;  with pronominal suffix 23–24.5, 25.7, 25+200.7, 32.5–6, 47.3, 48.2, 49.2, 54.3, 57.2, 76.2, 90.2, 94–95.3, 108.1, 145.1, 146.1, 153.1, 155.1, 156.1, 167.1, 214.13–14, 215.21–22, 219.76/81/86/91/96/102, 221.[9], 226.3, 283.2, 242.2, 243.3, 245.10, 246.9/11, 249.6, 254.35, 255.9, 256.5, 258.10, 262.26, 268.3, 269.17–18, 270.5, 273–74.32, 301.18–19/23–25/34, 311.6, 313.5;  adverbial 35.5, 93.4, 210.11–13, 211.9, 212.4–6, 217.4/11/19/28, 218.11, 247.10, 252.6, 254.19/37, 263.1–4, 267.3, 272.3, 275.4, 306.5, 313.4

jm- “in, from, as, with” (nisbe) —  134.1, 135.1, 136.1, 218.6;  44.2, 50.2, 73.2, 77.2, 81.3, 93.7, 144.1, 155.1, 214.4/10/13, 215.7, 217.14, 218.16/18/20/ 22/24, 219.55/59/63/67/71/75/80/85/90/95/100, 222.37, 223.6, 224.18, 237.1;  260.20, 262.13–14, 267.7, 273–74.17/40/46/56, 275.5, 304.[12], 307.13, 317.4–5/8, 319.8;  25+200.10, 204.3–4, 207.1–2, 210.2/5, 211.7, 222.17, 230.15, 231.2, 234.2, 240.4, 247.2/12, 250.7, 251.6, 252.1, 254.30, 260.9–10/14, 261.6, 268.15, 273–74.25/29.62, 276.2, 298.3/5, 303.11, 309.2, 317.3  (ms) 304.13; see also *jmj-t³* “in-the-ground (bread)” under *t³* “land”

m³² “see” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  44.4, 77.7, 205.10, 230.9/11, 254.37, 260.23, 308.6, 308.7, 308.8, 308.9, 311.1, 311.9;  93.4, 215.6, 245.8, 246.15, 254.16/29;  273–74.4;  167.1, 215.5/7, 219.76, 222.3, 226.5, 228.1, 239.2, 246.2, 247.2/7, 252.2, 256.6, 257.2, 262.26, 293.2, 297.5, 308.6–9

mꜣ “sight” (verbal noun m) —  249.10

mꜣw “sight” (verbal noun m) —  306.1

mꜣ-hꜣ.f “Sees Behind Him” (name m) —  270.1

mꜣj “lion” (noun m) —  287.3 (emended from  *mꜣ-hz*)

mꜣr “guide, correct” (verb 3-lit.) —  216.2, 254.13, 260.4;  260.11

mꜣr^t “Maat” (verbal noun f) —  249.6,  260.13,  260.24;  (du) 260.6–7

mꜣwj “new” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  220.7, 257.2;  257.10

mꜣfdt “Mafdet” (name f) —  230.3;  295.1, 297.2, 298.3

mꜣrw “misery” (noun m) —  222.26/28

mꜣst “knee, lap” (noun f) —  269.8

mꜣd “span(?)” (noun m) —  300.4 (pl)

mj “come” (imperative anom.) —  32.6 a', 32.6 a, 32.6 b', 32.6 b, 32.6 c', 32.6 c, 32.6 d;  83.3;  260.20 (pl)

mj/j.mj “give” (verb anom.) —  281.3;  240.5, 269.14, 272.2

mj “like” (preposition) — see *mr/mj* “like”

mjwt “mother” (noun f) —  222.31, 237.1, 256.8, 260.21, 269.14, 287.1,  232.2, 271.3–4, 273–74.5–6, 287.1, 297.5, 307.3

mjnt “mooring-post” (noun f) —  254.27

mjz “stem” (noun m) —  254.17

mjzt “liver” (noun f) —  132.3

mꜣr^r “upright (of a ladder)” (noun m) —  304.2 (du)

mꜣndt “dayboat” (noun f) —  222.36;  262.27;  307.12, 311.4

mꜣrq “bent tail” (noun m) —  275.2

mw “water” (noun m) —  108.1/3, 144.1, 207.3–4, 210.15, 217.14, 226.4, 230.2, 260.3, 285.3/5, 301.18

mwt “moisture” (noun f) —  205.12

mjt- “fluid” (nisbe) —  232.1 (ms),  232.2 (ms)

- mwmw** “?” (adverb) —  254.7, 273–74.45, 299.5
- mwt** “die” (verb 3-lit.) —  93.6, 219.68, 270.9,  213.1, 217.7/15/24/31, 219.2/6/10/14/18/22/26/30/34/38/42/46/52/56/60/64/68/72/77/82/87/92/97/103, 270.9, 296.3, 306.15
- mm** “among” (preposition) —  210.15, 301.24, 302.21, 315.3
- mn** “stay, set” (verb 2-lit.) —  261.7, 273–74.66, 306.17–18
- mn** “whoever” (imperative legend: “set (name here)”) —  25+200.10, 215.23
- j.mnw** “alpha bull” (noun m) —  306.16–17
- smn** “set” (verb 2-lit. caus.) —  37.2, 254.42, 257.14, 301.6
- mn** “suffer” (verb 2-lit.) —  140.1
- mnt** “thigh” (noun f) —  248.1, 269.11
- mnjw** “pavilion” (noun m) —  311.5
- mnw** “quartz” (noun m) —  47.4'/4, 48.3'/3, 49.3'/3, 54.4'/4, 55.3'/3
- mnw** “Min” (name m) —  246.15, 283.2
- mnwt** “pigeon-hen” (noun f) —  140.3
- mnh** “functional” (verb 3-lit.) —  268.16
- mnht** “functionality” (verbal noun f) —  268.16
- mnz** “jar” (noun m) —  42.3
- mnd** “breast” (noun m) —  41.2;  42.2, 269.14;  152.1
- mr/mj** “like” (preposition) —  81.5–6;  210.9;  210.15–16, 221.3, 308.7/9;  221.4/[5]/6, 273–74.8, 306.5, 308.8;  270.6/8', 301.32;  308.6
- mrn** “here, now” (adverb) —  317.1
- mr** “canal” (noun m) —  254.14,  279.1 (pl),  317.4
- mr-n-h** “Winding Canal” (toponym m) —  263.12,  304.4
- mr** “painful” (verb 2-lit.) —  246.6, 311.9
- mrj** “want” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  217.7/15/24/31;  260.8;  219.50;  254.19, 260.4, 269.7, 301.26
- mrr** “like, love” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  273–74.61, 317.12
- mrwt** “love” (verbal noun f) —  221.6
- mryt-** “beloved” (nisbe) —  278.2 (ms)
- mrht** “ointment” (noun f, root *wrh*) —  77.2
- mh** “fill” (verb 2-lit.) —  48.2, 72.2, 273–74.15, 301.28;  284.1

mḥȝ “back of the head” — see *ḥȝ*

mḥj “immersed” (verb 2-lit.) —  204.7,  204.7,  271.1

mht “immersion” (verbal noun f) —  254.43;  317.1/4

mhw “Delta” (toponym m) —  35.6, 38.3, 39.4, 153.3, 217.12, 222.14

mht “north” (noun f) —  263.11

mht- “northern” (nisbe) —  219.95;  304.[7];  (mpl) 218.22, 222.24, 260.17, 273–74.38, 303.1,  319.7

mlnt “countenance” — see *ḥntj*

mlnt “ferry” — see *hnj*

mlntj “ferryman” — see *hnj*

mlnmtj “pair” — see *hn̥m*

mhw-rw- “evening” (nisbe) —  273–74.32 (fpl),  273–74.35 (fs)

mz “bring” (verb 2-lit) —  138.1,  223.8

mzẉt (a grain) (noun f) —  144.3

msj “birth” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  35.5, 211.5/6/8, 215.10–11/14, 219.49, 220.7’, 220.8 ( as the result of a correction), 221.[10]–11, 222.38, 246.4, 247.4, 248.2, 254.22, 273–74.8–9, 307.18, 309.2, 320.4;  307.4 (3ms stative)

ms “child” (noun m) —  224.18

mswt “birth” (verbal noun f) —  247.6

mswt “progeny” (collective f) —  215.6

mss “birth” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  307.18

mswt “supper” (noun f) —  254.48

mshtjw “Striker” (name m) —  302.3

msḥȝt “memorial” — see *shȝt*

msqt “beaten path” — see *sqj*

msktt “nightboat” (noun f) —  216.1, 222.35, 307.11, 311.6;  262.26

mstwt “female relative” (noun f) —  263.15

msdt “tailed kilt” (noun f) —  275.4

msdm̥t “black eyepaint” — see *sdmj*

msdd “hate” (verb 4ae-inf. gem.) —  23–24.2 a,  23–24.2 b;  247.12, 273–74.61

msdr “ear” — see *sdr*

mkj “protect” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  254.37, 278.3;  260.17 (imperative pl)

mkt “protection” (verbal noun f) —  256.3, 260.15

mks “scepter” (noun m) —  213.4

mkt “proper place” (noun f) —  254.34, 273–74.13/46

mt- “vascular” (nisbe) —  232.1 (ms)

mtt “middle” (noun f) —  254.28

mt³ “kiln” — see *t³w*

mtwt “fluid, semen” (noun f) —  215.16',  215.16,  219.76,
 298.4,  303.9,  317.11

mtr “witness” (verb 3-lit.) —  262.28

mtr “witness” (verbal noun m) —  210.9

mtrw “testimony” (verbal noun m) —  260.6

mdw “staff” (noun m) —  224.14

mdwj “speak” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  23–24.2, 23–24.3 a;  23–24.3 b;
 254.6/9, 311.9

mdw “speech” (verbal noun m) —  213.3, 246.9/11, 306.11;  214.7;
 220.6, 245.8;  213.4, 307.13;  224.7–9;  252.4–5,
302.17/19, 318.[3];  254.43, 260.10;  273–74.19 — see also **dd-mdw**
“recitation”

mds “knife-bearer” — see *ds*

md³t “document” (noun f) —  309.5;  250.2/5

mdrj “turn” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  223.9, 307.7, 311.11;  230.13

md⁹ “press” (verb 3-lit.) —  260.19

n

n “to, for” (preposition) —  *passim* (478 examples)

n- “belonging to” (nisbe) — ms  93.6, 215.16'/16/17', 282.3, 293.5, 296.2,
300.2,  23–24.3 b, 35.5, 41.2, 46.2, 50.4', 152.1, 204.2/4'/4, 205.2/4/10/15,
210.4/14, 211.7/9, 213.3–4/6–7, 215.8/23–24, 217.34, 218.5, 219.107,
222.44/7–9, 230.3/6/9/15, 237.1, 238.1–2, 245.8, 246.9/11, 249.2/8, 251.9,
252–5, 253.5, 254.16/18/23/34–35/50/56–57, 255.3/[10], 256.4, 257.12,
260.2–3/11/21, 261.7, 263.8–9/13–14, 267.2/4, 268.8–9/11, 269.12, 270.12,
271.7, 273–74.14/20/59–61, 275.2, 281.2, 284.1, 300.1/20–25/32,

302.10/14/17, 306.9/14/16, 307.3/7, 311.2/12, 318.3, 320.3; fs  46.6, 207.4, 212.1, 219.106, 229.1, 235.2, 244.[1], 251.2, 271.4, 272.1, 297.1, 307.3; mpl/du  215.9,  230.15, ⚫ 210.15, 245.6, 273–74.39/41, 300.4

nj-sw “belonger” (nisbe phrase m) —  246.16

nswt (*nj-swt*) “king” (nisbe phrase m) —  23–24.2 b', 23–24.3 b';  86.3

nt- relative adjective (nisbe) —  293.4 (ms);  211.3 (mpl)

ntt “that” (proclitic particle) —  205.6–7;  205.8

n 1pl suffix pronoun —  257.2

nt “Red Crown” — see *jn*

nswt “undergrowth” (noun f) —  234.2,  240.4

nswbt “tress” (noun f) —  254.21

nshwt- “accursed” (nisbe) —  297.1 (ms)

nj negative proclitic particle —  32.5, 56.3, 127.1, 142.1, 157.1, 204.5, 209.1–2, 210.8, 211.1–2, 213.1, 215.4/12–13/16–22/35, 218.3–4/11, 219.2–3/6–7/10–11/14–15/18–19/22–23/26–27/30–31'/31/34–35/38–39/42–43/46–47/52–53/56–57/60–61/64–65/68–69'/69/72–73/77–78/82–83/87–88/92–93/97–98/103–104, 222.18/23/37, 230.7–8, 239.2, 242.1, 245.10, 246.6/17, 251.9, 254.6, 258.2/10–11/21, 260.23/25, 262.20/23–24, 268.16/18, 270.9–10, 272.1/4, 273–74.58/61/67, 299.3, 302.4–5/12/17–18, 305.13/15, 307.9–14, 311.3/13–14, 316.1;  240.3

nj “rebuff” (verb 2ae-inf.) —  241.2 (ms passive participle)

njt “town” (noun f) —  319.9;  214.8, 307.13;  219.100

njt “Neith” (name f) —  308.8,  317.9

njw “ostrich” (noun m) —  304.4

njinj “turn” (verb 2ae-inf. redup.) —  223.2,  224.6,   287.1

njinjw “one who turns around” (noun m) —  258.15

njs “call” (verb 3-lit.) —  307.8

njy “glide” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  281.5,  301.30

njy “glider” (noun m) —  281.5

njw “glider” (noun m) —  226.1,  230.4/12, 318.[1]

njt “glider” (noun f) —  230.12

nw demonstrative ms —  204.4, 230.15, 241.2, 249.2, 268.9, 272.2, 300.2, 300.4;  310.7 (remnant of original 1s dative);  210.8 (mdu)

nwt “adze” (noun f) —  258.20

nwj “Nu” (name m) — ☽ 211.8, 233.2, 250.9, 258.14, 260.10/14; ☽ 272.1;
— 222.26, 301.1

nwt “Nut” (name f) — ☵ 219.17, 222.31, 245.2/7, 270.2; ☵ 219.49; ☷
253.5/[12], 260.1, 297.5, 302.8

nwjt “Undersky” (toponym f) — ☷ 215.33

nwr “shake” (verb 3-lit.) — ☷ 215.11

nwh “rope” (noun m) — ☵ 214.10, ☷ 254.13, ☵ 256.9

nb “each, all, any” (adjective) — ms ☵ 77.7, 93.6, 214.7, 215.25, 218.3, 224.10,
248.3, 249.10, 273–74.14/59, 301.12, 301.13, 302.12, 307.7; fs ☵ 50.3–4, 169.3,
170.3, 224.13; mpl ☵ 77.6; mpl ☷ 23–24.2 a/b'/b, 273–74.46; fs ☷ 218.2

nbȝbȝ “flutter” (verb 3-lit. redup.) — ☷ 165.1

nbw “lord, owner” (noun m) — ☵ 44.2, 50.3, 217.1/8/16/25, 222.17, 247.15,
252.3 (☞ for ☵), 254.3–4/31, 255.1/5/9, 257.4/6, 262.6, 273–74.6/17/21/24/28/
50, 299.3, 301.11/30/35, 311.3'/3, 317.11, 319.3, 320.4–6; ☷ 34.6

nbt “lady” (noun f) — ☷ 258.7; ☷ (du “Two Ladies”) 44.3, 248.4

nbt-hwt “Nephthys” (name f) — ☷ 216.1, 217.5, 218.13, 219.29, 222.16/35,
268.5, 269.11

nbw “gold” (noun m) — ☷ 238.3, ☷ 282.3

nbwt “Ombos” (toponym f) — ☷ 222.17

nbwt- “Ombite” (nisbe) — ms ☷ 242.1, ☷ 268.2

nbs “sidder, sidder-fruit” (noun m) — ☷ 166.3, ☷ 167.3

npȝt (a bread) (noun f) — ☷ 143.3

nfȝ “blow” (verb 3-lit.) — ☷ 311.16

nfr “good” (verb 3-lit.) — ☤ 205.11, 263.9; ☤ 205.14–16, 247.13, 252.9,
254.21/25; ☤ 220.7, 263.5, 306.1

nfr-tm “Nefertem” (name m) — ☤ 249.9, ☤ 307.6

nmt “slaughter” (noun f) — ☷ 223.4

nmj “traverse” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ☷ 293.5

nmt “travel” (verb 3-lit.) — ☷ 261.5

nnnnm “move about” (verb 3ae-inf. redup.) — ☷ 273–74.2

nn demonstrative ms — ☤ 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45/49, 227.2–4,
229.1, 230.14, 238.3, 244.1, 254.46/58–59, 273–74.66, 282.4, 287.2, 297.1, 302.10

nnj “inert” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ☷ 214.8, ☤ 218.9

- nnt** “Undersky” (toponym f) —  218.24;  222.26, 301.1
- nnhm** “spleen” (noun m) —  133.3
- nr** “care” (verbal noun m) —  205.14–15
- nr** “herder” (noun m) —  240.2, 254.17
- nrj** “respect” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  81.6;  244.2, 254.15
- nrw** “respect” (verbal noun m) —  256.5
- nht** “sycamore” (noun f) —  299.4
- nhj** “miss” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  262.22;  292.1, 292.2;  238.1–2
- nht** “refuge” (noun f) —  260.15
- nhp* “go missing” (verb 2-lit. *n*-stem) — see *hp* “escape” (verb 2-lit.)
- nhpw** “first light” (noun m) —  294.4,  294.6
- nhmhm* “celebrate” (verb 2-lit. redup. *n*-stem) — see *hm*
- nhnj* “adulate” (verb 3ae-inf. *n*-stem) — see *hnj*
- nhzj** “rouse” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  210.2
- nhd* “quiver” (verb 3-lit.) — see *3hd/nhd* “quiver” (verb 3-lit.)
- nhj** “beseech” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  309.2
- nhb** “allocate” (verb 3-lit.) —  218.2;  258.18, 318.8
- nhbw-k3w** “Ka-Allocater” (name m) —  229.1,  263.10,  308.7
- nhbt** “lotus-bud scepter” (noun f) —  213.4,  224.14
- nhbt** “neck, neckbone” (noun f) —  295.1–2, 318.2
- nhm** “take away” (verb 3-lit.) —  54.2, 56.2, 218.2;  254.47–49, 258.18, 268.3, 291.2, 318.7;  273–74.58 (passive *sdm.f*)
- nhr** “resemble” (verb 3-lit.) —  114.1 (mdu participle)
- nhr** “cone bread” (noun m) —  114.3
- nhh** “continuity” (noun m) —  257.13, 273–74.68;  273–74.60/62
- nhh-** “continual” (nisbe) —  301.11
- nb** “juvenile” (verb 2-lit.)
- snb** “raise, nurture” (verb caus. 2-lit.) —  303.5
- nhj** “endure” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  246.18
- nhh** “endure” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  171.1, 199.3, 262.18;  223.11
- nhb** “bud” (noun m) —  260.21

- nḥb** “Nekheb” (toponym m) —  34.8
- nḥbḥb* — see ***ḥb**
- nḥbwṭ** “fertility” (noun f) —  205.13 ( for  254.1,  306.6
- nḥn-** “of Nekhen” (nisbe) —  255.1–2/5
- nḥt** “forceful” (verb 3-lit.) —  251.4, 254.51
- nḥtw** “force” (verbal noun m) —  254.45, 256.3, 260.16;  254.45
- nḥ** “differ” (verb 2-lit.) —  224.17
- nḥbḥb* — see ***ḥb**
- nḥf** “drop” (noun m) —  230.1
- nḥnj** “tempest” (noun m) —  255.11, 261.9
- nḥnm* “reassembling’ oil” — see *ḥnm*
- nḥnh* “spew” (verb 2ae-gem. n-stem redup.) — see *jḥh*
- nḥz** “?” (noun m) —  285.1
- nḥh* “sneeze” (noun m) — see *jḥh*
- nẓt** “Nezat” (toponym f) —  300.1
- ns** “tongue” (noun m) —  /  239.2
- nsbj** “lick” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  166.1,  228.3,  273–74.56
- nst** “seat” (noun f) —  256.2, 260.7, 267.7, 302.5/11
- nswt* “king” (nisbe phrase m) — see *n-*
- nsr** “flame” (noun m) —  254.2, 255.[10], 260.25;  255.3, 261.3;  256.4
- nṣr-** “fiery” (nisbe) —  fs 220.2, 221.2
- nsrsr** “conflagration” (noun m) —  249.5, 273–74.15
- nk** “mate” (verb 2-lit.) —  205.12/14, 235.2;  317.10
- nkn** “injure” (verb 3-lit.) —  215.8/12–13;  255.9
- ng̣w** “mangle” (verb 3-lit.) —  314.1
- ng̣w** “steer” (noun m) —  254.35,  270.10,  304.6,  314.1
- nt-* relative adj — see *n-*
- ntḳtk* “attack repeatedly” (verb 3ae-inf. n-stem redup.) — see *tkj*
- nt** “that” (proclitic particle) — see *n-*
- nt** “tongue” (noun m) —  285.3

ntb “parch” (verb 3-lit.) —  273–74.12

ntr “god” (noun m) —  25+200.9, 34.3, 36.4, 38.3, 76.2, 81.7, 207.2, 210.15, 211.7, 214.5, 215.4/16'/16/23–25, 217.5/12/20, 219.51/67, 220.8, 222.19/24, 223.5, 224.16, 227.3, 246.9–11/18, 247.6, 249.10, 250.2/5, 251.3/7, 252.1–2/6/9, 254.3, 256.6, 257.2/11, 258.11–12, 260.2/17/25, 261.6, 262.1, 268.10, 269.4–7/13, 270.3/5–6/8, 271.10, 272.4'/4, 273–74.5/11/14/23/47/49/52/59/64, 301.2/4–6/20/24/34, 302.6–7/18/21, 303.1/12, 306.1/6, 307.9–(10), 308.4, 309.1–2, 313.3–4, 318.7;  230.14, 247.6, 302.10, 303.5/8, 305.6, 306.2, 307.1/7–8, 319.4/8–9;  25.3, 25+200.3, 35.3, 36.3, 246.9/11

ntrt “goddess” (noun f) —  214.4

sntrj “divinization, censing” (caus. 3-lit. verbal noun m) —  35.3;  35.2–4, 36.2–5;  210.4

sntr “incense” (noun m) —  25.9 a,  25.9 b,  32.7 a,  36.7;  25+200.9/14;  269.2–3

ndj “put down” (verb 3ae-inf.) — see *wdj*

ndjt “Nedit” (toponym f) — see *wdj*

ndfdf “drip” (verb 2-lit. *n*-stem redup.) —  212.1

nd “show concern for” (verb 2-lit.) —  223.7, 254.46;  224.18, 263.11;  250.6 (passive participle)

j.nd-hr “greetings” (phrase *j.nd.(j) hr* “may I inquire about,” with following 2nd-person suffix pronoun) —  247.3;  25+200.9–10;  304.1/4/6/11–[12], 308.1–[4]

ndm “pleasant, easy” (verb 3-lit.) —  254.56

sndm “make pleasant” (verb 3-lit. caus.) —  77.4

ndrj “grasp” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  222.12, 269.12, 271.7

nds “little” (verb 3-lit.) —  90.2, 145.1, 219.45

nddnnd “endure” (verb 3ae-inf. *n*-stem redup.) — see *ddj*

r

r “mouth” (noun m) —  34.2, 35.5, 36.5, 39.3, 41.2, 42.2, 45.2, 54.3, 87.2, 110.1, 122.1, 155.1, 156.1, 238.3;  38.2, 47.3, 48.2, 93.5, 109.1, 153.1, 210.4, 210.5, 215.6, 218.5, 219.50, 230.3/15, 241.2, 246.10, 254.14, 269.15, 282.1–2, 284.1, 298.4, 317.10, 319.2; see also *jw-r* “mouth-washing”

r-stʒw “Rasetjau” (toponym m) —  300.2

r- “of the mouth” (nisbe) —  280.2 (ms)

r “with respect to” (preposition) — ↲ before a separate word 25+200.12–13, 42.2, 43.3, 78.2, 79–80.2, 81.9, 91.2, 147.1, 205.9/11, 210.5, 212.2, 215.32, 219.75, 221.8, 222.19/24, 223.3/8–9, 228.1, 230.8, 245.3/7, 246.12, 248.4, 249.9, 250.3, 251.3, 252.3/6, 254.5/11–12/25–26/28/59, 255.7–[8]/[15], 257.11, 258.9, 260.20, 261.3, 267.3, 267.14, 268.6, 268.11, 268.14, 269.4, 271.7, 273–74.30/39/47/62/64/68, 275.2–4, 282.4, 290.1, 293.5, 299.1, 301.22/30/32, 302.7, 302.13, 302.17–18, 302.21, 306.2–3, 306.16, 312, 316.3, 317.4–5/12, 319.9, 321.2–3; ↲ with suffix pronoun 25.8, 25+200.8, 39.2, 212.2, 215.14, 217.6/13/21/30, 218.1, 218.4/7/15/17/19/21/23/25, 227.2, 227.3, 227.4, 230.8, 241.2, 243.2, 245.9, 246.5, 254.2, 254.51, 255.4/14, 256.3, 257.6, 262.21, 263.7, 268.17, 273–74.3/9, 288.1, 301.33, 302.6/13/24, 306.2/8, 307.7–8/17, 311.7'/7; ↳ ↲ before a separate word 41.2, 47.3, 87.2, 92.2, 110.1, 204.5, 214.5/12/32'/33, 237.1, 240.1, 246.10, 252.7'/7, 254.[46], 255.[3]/8, 257.14, 258.6/13, 260.13, 263.1/3/13–14, 267.14, 269.3, 270.13, 271.10, 273–74.18, 285.1, 293.4, 295.1–2, 297.3, 298.2, 300.3, 301.9, 303.3–4'/4/12, 305.10, 306.2/8, 311.3'/3, 316.2; ↳ ↲ with suffix pronoun 56.3, 130.1, 132.1, 133.1, 142.1, 157.1, 214.2/4/9/12, 215.8/14–15, 218.6'/8–10/13–14, 219.49, 222.19/24, 223.9, 254.58, 255.13, 262.6/9/12/15/18/25, 269.3–4, 270.11, 276.1, 283.1, 301.20, 306.16, 307.15, 311.11

r- “pertinent” (nisbe) — ↲ 249.4/7, 302.4–5; ↳ ↲ 36.5, 205.1/8'/8, 214.8, 235.2, 254.53, 270.9–10, 273–74.65, 302.20, 306.6

r “goose” — ↲ 136.3

rjt “coil” (noun f) — ↲ ↳ 234.1

rč “sun” (noun/name m) — ⊙ 44.2, 50.2, 205.2–4/6/9/11, 207.1/10/15–16, 211.7, 214.2–3, 215.17/18'/19, 217.1/8/16/25/32, 222.[3]–4/33–34, 230.5, 248.3, 249.9–10, 250.2/5/8, 251.1, 252.5/8, 253.2/5, 254.29, 258.13/16, 262.4, 262.5/29, 263.1–4/9, 267.7/10–11/13, 268.1/9, 271.6, 272.4, 298.1, 301.12–13/21, 302.11, 304.6, 305.1/9, 307.2/5, 309.1–2, 311.1, 321.3; ⊙ ↳ 226.5, 302.13

rw “lion” (noun m) — ↲ 243.2, 281.2, 284.4–5, 294.2

rwtj “Lion Twins” (name f) — ↲ ↳ 301.5

rwt “threshhold” (noun f) — ↲ 235.2

rwj “leave” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ↲ ↳ 243.2, 260.14

rwh̄t “?” (noun f or phrase) — ↲ ↳ ○ 301.17

rwd “slope” (noun m) — ↲ ↳ 254.12

rwd “firm” (verb 3-lit.) — ↲ ↳ ○ 221.8, 244.[1]

rwd “string” (noun m) — ↲ ↳ ○ 298.5

rpw- “of the carrying-chair” (nisbe) —  222.29

rmj “weep” —  258.7

rm “weeping” (verbal noun m) —  218.12

rmwt “weeping” (verbal noun f) —  302.10

rnn “upper arm, shoulder” (noun m) —  213.5, 214.10, 245.7, 246.8;  255.13;   261.6, 268.9, 302.8

rnnj “associate with, lean against” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  218.3,  255.13

rnnwt- “associate” (nisbe) —  215.4–5

rnt “people” (collective m) —  246.18;  252.4, 273–74.23, 302.6/17/24, 305.11

rn “identity, name” (noun m) —  23–24–3, 25+200.11, 77.7, 214.7/10, 215.11/24, 219.55/59/63/67/71/75/80/85/90/95/100, 236, 246.18, 249.1, 254.3/34, 263.9, 273–74.6/19, 286.4, 293.5, 301.10–11/20–25, 306.9/14, 311.12

rnpj “young” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  170.3, 220.7

rnpt “year” (noun f) —  205.4, 301.11;  247.5

rnnwtt “Nurterer” (name f) —  256.4,  301.26

rr (enclitic particle) —  283.1', 283.1, 287.2

rhw “companion” (noun m) —  210.9

rh “learn” (verb 2-lit.) —  215.6, 240.3, 254.19, 262.1–2/4/7/10/13/16, 301.10, 311.2–3'/3/5

srhw “accusation” (verb 2-lit. caus. verbal noun m) —  270.9–10

rbwt “subjects” (collective f) —  230.13,  307.5,  320.5

rbs “butcher” (verb 3-lit.) —  273–74.20/31

rs “awake” (verb 2-lit.) —  /  81.2;  210.1–2, 262.15;  270.1,  317.2;  204.2 (= for )

rsj “fully” (adverb) —  228.2, 290.1

rsw- “southern” (nisbe) —  219.90, 304.7;  (mpl) 218.20, 260.17, 303.1, 319.7

rkh “kindle” (verb 3-lit.) —  207.3

rd “(lower) leg, foot” (noun m) —  25.6, 213.6, 215.32'/33, 222.37, 246.11, 257.14, 260.20, 267.2–3, 273–74.10/41;  25+200.6;   258.21, 267.1, 276.2, 306.4

rd “grow” (verb 2-lit.) —  245.4

srd “grow” (verb 2-lit. caus.) —  319.5

rdj “give” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  25+200.7, 205.6/15, 211.3, 254.36/[59], 255.10, 260.10/25, 273–74.49, 301.8, 302.12, 306.10, 316.1

rdj “giving” (verbal noun m) —  293.2

rdjt “giving” (verbal noun f) —  32.7d

rdw “outflow” (verbal noun m) —  32.5a/c;  32.5 b;  32.5d, 258.6

dj “give” (verb 2ae-inf.) —  25.7, 36.6, 77.5–6, 81.5–6, 83.2, 205.5, 214.13, 215.17/18'/19, 219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45, 221.3–8, 222.12–14, 223.10, 230.10–11, 254.31, 278.3, 295.1, 303.5, 311.3

djt “giving” (verbal noun f) —  32.7b

h

h “courtyard” (noun m) —  281.1,  260.18 (du)

hɔ “oh” (proclitic particle) —  25.5–6, 25+200.5, 32.2, 34.3, 37.2, 40.2, 93.2, 171.1, 199.1, 213.1, 214.1, 215.1, 223.3/8/11–13, 224.16

hɔj “descend” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  214.10, 215.33, 222.15/[25]/33–36'/36, 234.2, 254.18, 311.6/8;  271.5 (imperative pl)

hɔɔ “descend” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  215.33

hɔb “send” (verb 3-lit.) —  273–74.30;  307.10, 309.6

hɔbt “sending” (verbal noun f) —  307.10

hɔts “jar” (noun m) —  47.4, 48.3;  47.4', 48.3'

hj/hy “ha” (proclitic particle) —  221.1–2/9;  256.9, 260.3

hj “husband” (noun m) —  317.11

hjw “monster” (noun m) —  226.3, 237.2, 298.6;  240.5;  293.7;  236

hbj “plow” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  254.28

hp “escape” (verb 2-lit.) —  47.2, 54.2; for *nhp* 219.23/35/89/94/99

nhp “go missing” (verb 2-lit. *n*-stem) —  /  219.3–4/7–8/11–12/15–16/19–20/23–24/27–28/31–32'/32/35–36/39–40/43–44/47–48/53–54/57–58/61–62/65–66/69–70/73–74/78–79/83–84/88–89/93–94/98–99/104–105

hpnw (a snake) (noun m) —   227.2

hm “yell”

nhmhm “celebrate” (verb 2-lit. redup. *n*-stem) —   218.10

hmt “fare” (noun f) —   262.23

hmt “?” (a snake) (noun m) —  296.2

hmtt “?” (a snake) (noun f) —  296.2

hnj “ululate” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  257.15,  278.2

hnj “ululation” (verbal noun m) —  315.3

hntt “ululation” (verbal noun f) —  315.3

hnn “ululation” (verbal noun m) —  311.17

nhnj “adulate” (verb 3ae-inf. n-stem) —  263.6

hnw “cup” (noun m) —  281.4,  286.1

hnw “chest” (noun m) —  309.4 (pl)

hrww “day(time)” (noun m) — ☺ 35.5, 205.11, 302.9; ☺ 273–74.20;  ☺ 205.16, 254.19/35/50, 260.11/24

hh “blast” (noun m) —  254.2, 255.3–4, 319.2;  256.4

hkr (a snake) (noun m) —  288.1

hkrt (a snake) (noun f) —  288.1

ht³t “screech” (verb 4-lit.) —  275.2 (for ,  315.1)

hd “attack” (verb 2-lit.) —  273–74.14

h

h³ “Ha” (name m) —  204.6

h³ “behind, around” (preposition) — ☺ 32.7 b, 122.3, 219.81/86/91/96, 246.16, 255.10, 273–74.10, 293.1, 314.1;  230.13, 279.2, 280.2, 309.1; see also *m³-h³.f*

h³ “behind, back” (noun m) — ☺ 321.1

h³- “behind, around” (nisbe) —  251.3/7; ☺ 254.2, 255.3, 311.8

mh³ “back of the head” (noun m) —  310.7

h³t “front” (noun f) — ☽ 135.3, 214.13, 273–74.46; ☽ 77.2–3, 78.2, 81.9, 134.1, 135.1, 248.3, 251.8, 273–74.12, 301.22, 309.2, 317.2

h³t- “first-class” (nisbe) — ☽ 77.8, 78.3, 301.22

h³tj “heart” (noun m) — ☽ 215.18, 273–74.52/55; ☽ 215.20, 217.23, 254.52

h³j “naked” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  308.5

h³wt “nakedness” (verbal noun f) —  256.6

h³cwt “discord” (verbal noun f) —  256.5

h³w “excess” — ☺ 273–74.64

ḥšb “festival” (noun m) — ፩ 72.3, ፪ 250.7’, ፪ 250.7

ḥjpt “rudder” (noun f) — ፩ 254.27

ḥjpwj “Hapi” (name m) — ፩ 215.32’/32; ፩ 254.14

ḥjfgt (noun, name, or phrase f) — ፩ 236

ḥjm “fish and fowl” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 156.1

ḥjmw- “of Mariut” (nisbe) — ፩ 156.3 (ms)

ḥjmt “woman” (noun f) — ፩ 267.14, 273–74.41; ፩ 317.11

ḥjknw “jubilation” (verbal noun m) — ፩ 238.3

ḥr “sedan chair” (noun m) — ፩ 81.4

ḥr “joint” (noun m) — ፩ 134.3

ḥr̥t “youthful” (nisbe) — ፩ 315.3 (mpl)

ḥr̥j “excited, aroused” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ፩ 204.1

ḥrpj “inundation” (noun m) — ፩ 217.14; ፩ 254.55, 293.6

ḥw “would that” (proclitic particle) — ፩ 199.3, 245.8

ḥwt “compound” (noun f) — ፩ 81.3, 219.85, 258.17, 268.11, 299.3, ፩ 275.1, ፩ 205.8, 258.3, 308.4, 309.1, 312; see also *nbt-ḥwt*

ḥwt-ṣnb “Compound of Life” (phrase f) — ፩ 297.2, 298.(3)

ḥwt-hrw “Hathor” (name f “Horus’s Compound”) — ፩ 303.8

ḥwt-srjw “Official’s Compound” (phrase f) — ፩ 223.7

ḥwt-srq̥t “Scorpion Compound” (phrase f) — ፩ 219.63

ḥwt- “of the compound” (nisbe) — ms ፩ 284.3, ፩ 312’, ፩ 312

ḥww “announce” (verb 2ae-gem.) — ፩ 217.12, 246.8; ፩ 217.5/20/29

ḥw “announcement” (verbal noun m) — ፩ 255.16, ፩ 257.13

ḥwt- “announcer” (nisbe) — ፩ 215.1 (mpl)

ḥwj “hit” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ፩ 93.4, 246.14, 297.3; ፩ 205.7, 284.3; ፩ 302.23, 310.3; ፩ 235.1; ፩ 310.3

ḥwt “rain” (noun f) — ፩ 285.4

ḥwnt “pupil” (noun f) — ፩ 155.1

ḥwnt- “youthful” (nisbe) — ፩ 222.22 (ms)

ḥbnbn/ḥbnḥbn “bounce” (verb 2-lit. ḥ-stem redup.) — see ***bn**

ḥbnnt (a grain) (noun f) — ፩ 158.3

ḥbnnt- “ḥbnnt-bread” (nisbe) — ፩ 120.3 (ms)

hp “Apis” (name m) —  254.35

hfw “snake” (noun m) —  226.5, 242.2, 298.2

hfdj “climb” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  269.11

hfdw “climber” (noun m) —  269.9

hm “servant” (noun m) —  226.4, 243.4;  293.6

hm “also” (enclitic particle) —  205.15,  222.23

hm³tt (a cord) (noun m) —  268.12

hmj “turn back” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  214.8,  218.3,  234.3,  316.1

shmj “turn back” (verb 3ae-inf. caus.) —  86.2

hmwst “?” (noun f) —  273–74.10

hmn “Hemen” (name m) —  231.3

hmsj “sit” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  81.7, 210.12, 213.2, 223.3;  86.3, 210.12, 252.6/8, 257.6, 258.11, 260.18, 267.9, 271.10, 273–74.18, 305.8, 309.3, 315.3'/3;  316.2

hnt “pelican” (noun f) —  254.8

hn “with” (preposition) —  25.2–4, 25+200.2–4, 210.10, 210.10, 215.7, 218.12–13, 222.14/25/27–28/33–36, 252.6/8, 258.13/16, 260.5, 263.5, 269.5–6, 273–74.19, 301.1/3/5–6, 311.10/15

hnw “Sokar boat” (noun m) —  214.10

hnwt “bowl” (noun f) —  49.3', 49.3, 54.4', 54.4, 55.3', 55.3, 56.4', 56.4, 57.3', 57.3;  45.3, 89.3, 92.3, 96.3, 108.3, 109.3, 112.3, 118.3, 119.3, 120.3, 121.3, 123.3, 124.3, 125.3, 126.3, 127.3, 128.3, 130.[3], 131.3, 132.3, 133.3, 134.3, 135.3, 136.3, 137.3, 138.2, 139.3, 140.3, 143.3, 144.3, 145.3, 146.3, 147.3, 148.3, 149.3, 150.3, 152.3, 155.3, 156.3, 157.3, 158.3, 159.3, 160.3, 161.3, 162.3, 163.3, 164.3, 165.3, 166.3, 167.3, 168.3, 169.3, 170.3

hnwt “horn” (noun f) —  251.4/7

hnbw “lightning bolt” (noun m) —  261.4 (pl)

hnmmt “humanity” (collective f) —  214.11,  262.28

hnn “hoe” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  204.1

hnn “penis” (noun m) —  313.1,  317.10

hnzkt- “braid-wearer” (nisbe) —  263.7 (mpl)

hnq “foam” (noun m) —  49.2, 55.2, 73.2, 94–95.2, 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1

hnqt “beer” (noun f) —  49.3, 55.3, 56.4, 57.3, 148.3, 151.3, 205.5–6, 223.3, 305.12;  87.3, 110.3

hnk “dedicate” (verb 3-lit.) —  171.3, 304.2

hr “face” (noun m) —  25.7, 25+200.7, 36.6, 43.3, 79–80.2, 92.2, 93.2–3, 213.6, 215.8, 234.3, 246.14, 288.1, 302.14, 307.7, 311.9;  228.1, 251.2, 252.1, 255.9, 268.10, 271.10, 280.2, 290.1, 317.2, 320.4;  73.2, 113.1, 114.1, 219.76, 220.7, 234.1, 240.4, 297.3, 307.16

hr.f-h3.f “Face behind Him” (name m) —  270.1

hr “on” (preposition) —  199.[1], 212.1, 213.2, 214.10, 217.22, 220.5–6, 222.15/26, 230.16, 240.3, 245.8, 246.8, 247.5, 247.6/11, 254.3/32–34/51, 255.7–8, 256.2, 261.7, 262.22–24, 263.8, 267.4, 269.2/11, 271.6, 273–74.13, 288.1, 290.1, 305.12, 306.7, 307.5/8, 313.3, 315.2, 317.6, 319.1;  234.1, 240.4, 271.10;  74.2, 83.2, 84.2, 85.2, 94–95.2, 116.1, 220.5, 222.1–2, 234.2, 247.5, 250.4, 263.6, 297.1–2, 306.9/11, 307.8, 321.2; see also **j.nd-hr** “greetings”

hrj “above” (adverb) —  258.13

hr- “on” (nisbe) — ms  219.59, 254.20, 273–74.35, 311.5, 317.7;  205.1/4, 216.2, 217.14, 229.1, 234.1, 250.1/3, 251.1, 254.27, 258.12, 268.9, 273–74.27, 298.(3), 301.12, 304.1–2/4, 321.1

hrj “far” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  245.9,  267.14,  267.14

hr “being far” (verbal noun) —  223.9

hrt “the above” (nisbe f) —  217.3/10/18/27;  248.3,  261.8

hrw “Horus” (name m “Far One”) —  25.2/7–8a, 25+200.2/7–8/10/13, 32.2–3, 34.4/7, 35.2, 36.2/6, 39.2, 41.2, 43.2, 45.2, 46.3, 47.2, 51.2, 53.2, 54.2, 56.2, 57.2, 74.2, 75.2, 76.2, 77.2–3, 78.2, 79–80.2, 81.3/5, 82.4, 90.2, 91.2, 92.2, 93.5/7, 94–95.2, 110.1, 116.1, 120.1, 122.1, 123.1, 132.1, 144.1, 145.1, 146.1, 147.1, 154.1, 155.1, 156.1, 161.1, 162.1, 166.1, 169.1, 204.3, 212.1/3, 213.7, 214.10/13, 215.7–8/11/14/19/22/26, 217.29, 219.37/50/102, 220.10, 221.12, 222.22/38, 223.10, 224.7, 230.16, 240.1–3/5, 244.1, 245.3, 246.5–6, 247.1/5/14, 255.1–2/5, 256.2, 258.5, 260.1, 262.10–11, 263.2/4, 268.6, 269.8, 271.7, 277.1, 294.1, 299.1–2, 301.12/14–16/35, 303.4/7/10, 305.2/8, 306.12, 308.6, 310.5, 313.3/6;  25.8b, 83.2, 84.2, 85.2, 88.2, 89.2, 96.2, 109.1, 111.1, 112.1, 115.1, 119.1, 121.1, 124.1, 126.1, 128.1, 129.1, 133.1, 134.1, 135.1, 138.1, 140.1, 141.1, 142.1, 143.1, 152.1, 157.1, 158.1, 159.1, 160.1, 163.1, 164.1, 165.1, 168.1, 170.1, 199.[3], 257.3, 308.1

hrw- “Horian” (nisbe) —  308.1

- hz** “wild” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢂔 287.3'
- hzj** “bless” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 𢂔 222.16, 286.3; 𢂔 222.22
- hzp** “garden” (noun m) — 𢂔 210.3, 𢂔 226.2
- hzmn** “natronize” (verb 4-lit.) — 𢂔 34.7
- hs** “excrement” (noun m) — 𢂔 210.6, 297.4
- hsb** “break up” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢂔 273–74.51
- hsq** “decapitate” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢂔 227.1
- hq²-nd** “Dawn-Ruler” (toponym m) — 𢂔 222.40
- hqr** “hunger” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢂔 204.5, 𢂔 269.18
- hqr** “hunger” (verbal noun m) — 𢂔 204.6, 𢂔 211.1
- hk³** “magic” (noun m) — 𢂔 273–74.33/57; 𢂔 316.1
- hk³w** “magic powers” (noun mpl) — 𢂔 220.3/9–10, 221.2, 222.17, 245.5, 306.4; 𢂔 273–74.15/55
- hkn** “endow” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢂔 234.3, 301.25; 𢂔 282.3 (ms passive participle)
- hknw** “endowment” (verbal noun m) — 𢂔 291.1, 𢂔 291.2
- hknw** “‘endowment’ oil” (noun m) — 𢂔 73.3, 301.25
- hknwt-** “of endowment” (nisbe) — 𢂔 254.38 (fs)
- ht³** “awning” (noun m) — 𢂔 260.18
- htj** “smoke, vapor” (noun m) — 𢂔 267.4, 𢂔 301.19
- htjt** “throat” (noun f) — 𢂔 251.5
- htjt-jb-** “esophageal” (nisbe) — ms 𢂔 284.4, 𢂔 284.6
- htp** “content, rest” (verb 3-lit.) — 𢂔 / 𢂔 44.2–3, 85.2', 220.5–7, 224.16, 247.5–6, 257.9, 262.9, 271.2, 306.1; 𢂔 44.3, 83.2, 219.63, 273–74.55; 𢂔 84.2, 85.2
- htp** “contentment, peace” (verbal noun m) — 𢂔 44.4, 44.5'; 𢂔 81.2–3; 𢂔 / 𢂔 254.24, 270.1–3; 𢂔 254.32
- htpj** “rest” (verbal noun m) — 𢂔 304.11
- htpw** “contentment, rest” (verbal noun m) — 𢂔 212.3, 𢂔 317.5
- htpt** “contentment” (verbal noun f) — 𢂔 44.4–5; 𢂔 44.5; 𢂔 273–74.21; 𢂔 44.5, 321.1
- shtp** “content” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — 𢂔 44.2, 258.20, 301.8
- htp** “offering” (noun m) — 𢂔 210.14, 254.26/42; 𢂔 311.3; 𢂔 254.31 (pl)
- htp** “offering slab” (noun m) — 𢂔 85.3

htp-nswt “king’s offering” (phrase m) —  83.3,  84.3

htp-ntr “god’s offering” (phrase m) —  199.[4],  223.5

htp-dj-nswt “king-given offering” (phrase m) —  46.2, 224.10

htm “end” (verb 2-lit. *h*-stem) — see *tm* “fail”

htm “provide” (verb 3-lit.) —  57.2;  45.2, 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1, 219.86;  25.7 a,  25.7 b, 25+200.7, 219.81, 219.91, 219.96, 222.13, 223.5;  36.6, 94–95.3;  222.17/21;  222.22;  245.5;  219.91

htm “provision” (verbal noun m) —  262.6

htmwt “provisioning” (verbal noun f) —  307.14

htm “cadmia” (noun m) —  57.3'/3

hts “scepter” (noun m) —  243.1

htȝ (a bread) (noun m) —  113.3

htj “hyena” (noun m) —  285.5

hd “shiny, white” (verb 2-lit.) —  43.2, 45.2, 47.4'/4, 54.4'/4, 125.1, 161.1/3, 219.71, 262.24, 269.16, 291.1–2

hd “onion” (noun m) —  45.3,  125.3

hd “white jar” (noun m) —  43.4

hdt “White Crown” (noun f) —  239.1–2

shd “whiten” (verb 2-lit. caus.) —  43.3

hdt “rung” (noun f) —  271.5

h

ht “fire” (noun f) —  25.9 a,  25.9 b

hȝ “1,000” (number m) —  223.3, 273–74.48, 305.12

hȝt “offering-table” (noun f) —  82.5

hȝr “send off” (verb 3-lit.) —  273–74.24

hȝwj “night” (noun m) —  273–74.36

hȝbw “hippopotamus” (noun m) —  226.2

hȝz “clamber” (verb 3-lit.) —  282.1–2

hȝj “appear” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  248.4, 249.9, 254.51, 273–74.4/17/66, 298.1, 303.5/10, 317.9, 320.2;  268.1, 282.3 (3ms stative);  238.3 (3ms stative)

hȝw “appearance” (verbal noun m) —  273–74.50, 294.4/6;  319.10

hwj “exempt” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ○○ 88.2, 116.1, 140.1, 154.1, 161.1, 162.1, 163.1, 164.1, 168.1; ○☒ 93.6

hwrr “fledgling” (noun m) — ○☒ 218.1/7/15/17/19/21/23/25

***hb** “slide” (verb 2-lit.)

hbh “slide” (verb 2-lit. redup.) — ○○ 227.4

hbhb “slide” (verb 2-lit. redup.) — □□□ 222.21

nhbhb/nhbhb “slide” (verb 3-lit. *n*-stem redup.) — ▲▲□□ 94–95.2, ▲○□○ 220.1

hbnt “(legal) guilt” (verbal noun f) — ○]/▲ 302.18

hbzt “tail” (noun f) — ○☒ 317.3

hbs “hack up” (verb 3-lit.) — ○|| 273–74.67

hbđ “ugly” (verb 3-lit.) — ○☒ 255.6

hpj “walk” (verb 3ae-inf.)

shpj “conduct” (verb 3ae-inf. caus.) — ||○ 268.11

hpr “evolve” (verb 3-lit.) — ○□☒ 215.25, 222.2/41, 250.5; ○☒ 247.6, 252.2, 257.8, 275.5; ○☒ 306.16; □☒ 222.27, 246.18; ○□☒ 318.2

hpr “evolution” (verbal noun m) — □☒ 273–74.14

hprr “beetle” (noun m) — □☒ 222.1, ○□☒ 267.5, □! 267.6

hpħ “steal” (verb 3-lit.) — ○○ 126.1

hpħ “foreleg” (noun m) — ○□ 126.3, ○□ 260.3, ▷ 273–74.39

hfč “grab” (verb 3-lit.) — ○□ 205.5, 268.4

hħħf “swell” (noun m) — ○○▲ 255.11

hħħħf “swell” (noun f) — ○○▲ 255.4

hft “opposite” (preposition) — ○ 81.7, 305.1–2; ○= 317.12

hft- “opponent” (nisbe) — ○☒ 221.8 (mpl)

hm “Letopolis” (toponym m) — ○☒ 278.1

hm “not know” (verb 2-lit.) — ○☒ 218.12, 232.3, 311.3; ○☒ 240.3; ○☒ 267.8, 273–74.6, 320.3; ○☒ 254.3 (passive participle)

hm “not knowing” (verbal noun m) — ○☒ 262.1/4–5/7–8/10–11/13–14/16–17; ○☒ 320.7

j.hm-skjw “imperishable” (phrase) — ○☒|| 215.26, 215.27–28/30/31/34, 217.1/6/8/13/16/21/25/30, 218.1/7/15/17/19/21/23/25; ○☒☒ 214.11, 215.6/29, 268.13, 269.13, 302.3

- ḥmj** “turn away” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ○ 258.10
- ḥmṣj** “seize” (verb 4ae-inf.) — ○ 273–74.25
- ḥmbj** “divert” (verb 4ae-inf.) — ○, ○ 91.2, ○ 147.1
- ḥmt-** “3” (number) — ○ 205.9 (f)
- ḥmtnw-** “third” (adjective) — ○ 319.10 (ms)
- ḥnj** “alight” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ○ 267.5’ (marked *sdm,f*)
- ḥnn** “alight” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) — ○ 267.5–6, 310.9
- ḥnf** “snatch” (verb 3-lit.) — ○, ○ 119.1, ○ 159.1
- ḥnfw** (a bread) (noun m) — ○ 119.3, 159.3
- ḥnft** “oven” (noun f) — ○ 240.5
- ḥnms** (a drink) (noun m) — ○ 91.3, ○ 147.3
- ḥnm̄t** “nursemaid” (noun f) — ○ 211.4
- ḥnz** “wander” (verb 3-lit.) — ○, ○ 210.16, ○ 301.30
- ḥnzw** “Wanderer” (noun m) — ○ 273–74.28
- ḥnzwt** “wandering” (verbal noun f) — ○ 301.32
- ḥns** “back to back” (noun m) — ○ 275.3 (du)
- ḥntj** “go/be forward” (verb 4ae-inf.) — ○ 268.17
- ḥntj** “fore, front” (verbal noun m) — ○ 254.40, ○ 310.7, ○ 317.1
- ḥntt** “forward” (verbal noun f) — ○ 268.17
- ḥntj** “forward” (preposition) — ○ 81.7–8, 224.14–15; ○ 34.3, 214.14, 217.22, 221.7, 246.13/15; ○ ○ 306.18
- ḥnt-** “forward” (nisbe) — ○ 212.3, 308.4; ○ 250.9, 254.27/40, 263.7, 278.1, 297.2, 300.3, 301.29, 302.9; ○ 251.3, 268.2, 317.1
- mḥnt** “countenance” (noun m) — ○ 310.7
- ḥntj-jm̄ntjw** “Foremost of Westerners” (name m) — ○ ○ 212.2, ○ ○ 305.12
- ḥntj-jrtj** “Eyes Forward” (name m) — ○ ○ 25.4a, ○ ○ 25.4b, ○ ○ 25+200.4c, ○ ○ 215.27
- ḥnd** “tread” (verb 3-lit.) — ○ 240.2–3
- ḥndw** “chair” (noun m) — ○ 213.2
- ḥnd** “shank” (noun m) — ○ 207.4, 212.7

ḥr “by” (preposition) — ○ 32.2, 81.9, 86.2, 171.1, 199.[3] 205.9, 215.1, 216.1–3, 220.2–3/9, 222.4–11/40, 223.11, 224.19, 246.18, 260.13/24, 263.2–4, 270.4, 272.2, 273–74.63/65, 275.1, 301.9/14–16, 302.11/13/17–18, 305.13, 311.11

ḥr- “by” (nisbe) — ms ○ 44.5, 171.1, 217.1/8/16/25, 224.16, 248.3; ○ 254.59

ḥr “fall” (verb 2-lit.) — ○ 226.4, 228.1, 229.3, 233.1–3, 277.1–2, 289.1–2, 290.1, 293.6, 297.4–5; ○ 254.52, 314.2

šḥr “fell” (verb 2-lit. caus.) — ||○ 231.2

ḥrw “voice, noise” (noun m) — ||○ 32.6a'/a/b'/b; ○|| 32.6 c'/c/d, 308.5; ○|| 260.4, 311.14; see also *prt-ḥrw* “invocation”

ḥsbd “lapis-lazuli” (noun m) — ○|| 246.5, ○|| 319.5

ḥsf/ḥsb “bar” (verb 3-lit.) — ○|| 246.6, 251.9, 258.21, 262.24, ○|| 273–74.26; ○|| 310.4 (passive *sdm.f.*)

ḥsf/ḥsb “barring” (verbal noun m) — ○|| 273–74.30; ○|| 301.9

ḥsfj “meet” (verb 4ae-inf.) — ○|| 222.15, 278.1

ḥsf “meeting” (verbal noun m) — ○|| 222.16, 254.21

ḥsr “expel” (verb 3-lit.) — ○|| 227.3, ○|| 311.16

ḥt “wake” (noun m) — 25.5–6b, 136.1; 25.5a, 25+200.5–6, 44.5, 211.7, 214.3, 218.6, 245.3, 310.6; ○ 298.5

ḥtt “parcel (of land)” (noun f) — ○ 299.4

ḥtj “pervade” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ○ 240.5

ḥtht “throughout” (verb 3ae-inf. redup.) — ○○○○ 242.2

šḥtj “return” (verb 3ae-inf. caus.) — || 169.1

ḥtjw “terrace” (noun m) — ○ 311.5

ḥtm “seal” (verb 3-lit.) — ○ 309.5, 313.[2]

ḥdj “go downstream” (verb 3ae-inf.)

šḥdj “invert” (verb 3ae-inf. caus.) — ||○ 260.23

ḥ/s

ḥt “belly” (noun f) — 213.5, 219.101, 273–74.15/29/63; 273–74.57

ḥt “100” (number f) — ○○ 273–74.48 (pl)

ḥṣt “corpse” (noun f) — ○ 305.10

ḥṣt- “of Shat” (nisbe) — ○ 301.14 (ms)

ḥṣpt “deluge” (noun f) — ○ 311.16

- h̥s** “tread” (verb 3-lit.) — 217.3/10/18/27; 261.5, 299.2
- h̥s** “treading” (verbal noun m) — 260.22
- h̥d** “dig out” (verb 3-lit.) — 204.4
- hj** “depression, basin, lake” (noun m) — 214.1, 254.41, 262.22, 268.7–8, 271.1, 301.34; 219.100; 222.32, 286.1
- hj-** “of a depression” (nisbe) — 286.3 (ms)
- hjkw** (a mineral) (noun m) — 40.2–3
- h̥c** “cut” (verb 2-lit.) — 142.1, 298.3
- h̥ct** “incisiveness” (verbal noun f) — 77.6, 221.3, 221.3, 306.3
- h̥ct** “knife” (noun f) — 247.2
- h̥ct** “cut bread” (noun f) — 142.3
- hw** “shade” (noun m) — 301.2, 301.4 (l for ſ)
- hwt** “shadow” (noun f) — 273–74.65
- hwt** “plumage” (noun f) — 317.2
- hwt-** “feathered” (nisbe) — 245.4 (ms)
- hw̥z** “indigent” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 305.13
- hw̥zt** “indigence” (verbal noun f) — 254.54
- hwj** “empty” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 42.3; 205.14, 260.6, 261.4; 267.7
- hw** “Shu” (name m “Void”) — 209.1–2, 254.59, 255.[12], 261.1/5; 222.30/32, 253.6, 254.38, 301.6; 219.5
- hwst** “dryness” (noun f) — 205.12
- huj** “ascend” (verb 3ae-inf.)
- hwjw** “ascender” (noun m) — 269.10
- shwj** “make ascend” (verb 3ae-inf. caus.) — 253.6
- hbhb** “slide” — see *yb
- hbt-** “rib-meat” (nisbe) — 223.4 (ms)
- hp** “blind” (verb 2-lit.) — 230.14, 311.13
- shp** “dazzle” (verb 2-lit. caus.) — 222.20, 269.16
- hp̥w** “navel” (noun m) — 204.4
- hpsj** “special” (verb 4ae-inf.) — 249.1
- hpsw** “specialness” (verbal noun m) — 273–74.7

hmj “go” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  133.1, 213.1, 224.7–9, 258.16;  230.8, 269.17, 296.1, 305.3

hmt “going” (verbal noun f) —  246.9,  248.3

shmj “lead” (verb 3ae-inf. caus.) —  257.8, 268.13, 318.[1], 319.4

shmw “leader” (noun f) —  273–74.12

hmw “Nile Valley” (toponym m) —  34.8, 38.3, 39.4, 217.5, 222.14/17/19, 319.3/5

hmhw “hemp” (noun f) —  319.6

hmsj “follow” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  257.9, 272.4

hmsw “follower” (noun m) —  34.7

hmst “follower” (noun f) —  230.3

hnj “row” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  254.26,  256.8, 268.15,  262.26,  267.10 (*sdm.f* with 1s suffix pronoun)

hnn “row” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  252.8 (mpl participle)

mhnt “ferry” (noun f) —  262.23,  270.5,  310.8

mhnt- “ferryman” (nisbe) — (ms)  270.2–3;  300.1

hnj “encircle” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  215.2, 216.5–7, 217.33, 220.10, 221.12, 222.31, 226.1–2, 230.13–14;  218.3, 222.43;  219.101

shnj “encircle” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  146.1 (3pl stative)

hnj “curse” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  310.1

hnw “strife” (verbal noun m) —  251.6

hnjt “rain-cloud” (noun f) —  262.29,  311.16

hnw “interior” (noun m) —  215.2, 216.9, 217.33, 222.31/42–43, 247.6, 251.2, 255.14, 301.30;  252.5, 284.4–5

hnbt “chest” (noun f) —  204.3

hnm “associate” (verb 3-lit.) —  75.2;  254.25;  301.2/4

mhnmntj “pair” (noun fdu) —  301.2/4

nhnm “reassembling’ oil” (noun m) —  75.3

hnmw “Khnum” (name m “Associater”) —  300.1

hnn “disturb” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  254.43 (mdu participle)

hnw “disturbance” (verbal noun m) —  229.2, 257.1/10, 260.12

hns (a bread) (noun m) —  117.3

- hnt** “shun” (verb 3-lit.) — 299.3; 310.2 (passive *sdm.f*)
- hnd** “acacia” (noun m) — 294.1
- hndwt** “kilt” (noun f) — 267.14
- hr** “under” (preposition) — 77.4, 83.3, 273–74.10, 302.9; 32.3–5/5c’, 77.4, 82.2/4, 219.101, 255.[12], 313.3–4
- hr** “under” (nisbe) — 214.12, 242.1, 250.2/5, 251.5, 273–74.39, 300.3, 304.6, 306.14, 298.2 (ms)
- hrwj** “testicles” (mdu nisbe) — 215.9, 277.1
- hrt-** “netherworlder” (nisbe of fs nisbe) — 300.1 (ms)
- hrt** “nose” (noun f) — 249.4/9
- hrr** “little” (verb 2ae-gem.) — 272.3, 273–74.36, 305.15
- hrrw** “sparrow” (noun m) — 204.4
- hz** “?” (noun m) — □ 285.1 (du)
- hzy** “wretch” (noun m) — 285.4
- hzp** “receive” (verb 3-lit.) — 317.8; 81.4, 93.7, 117.1, 199.[2], 222.12, 262.23, 268.6’/6/10’/10, 269.12’, 301.18, 305.9/11, 317.8, 318.6; 222.40, 223.12, 247.13, 253.5, 317.12; 249.3; 317.8’
- hzp** “time, instance” (verbal noun m) — 230.9
- hzmt** “Malachite-land” (toponym f) — 301.31
- hzmt-** “of malachite” (nisbe) — 248.2, 301.15
- hzmw** “Winepress” (name m) — 273–74.31
- hs** “cord” (noun m) — 236
- hs̄t** “evening” (noun f) — 320.4/6
- hs̄w** “Shesau” (name m) — 285.3
- hs̄w** “tongue” (noun m) — 210.5
- hsr** “poke” (verb 3-lit.) — 273–74.41
- hshs** “?” (noun m) — 205.14
- hkr** “adorned” (verb 3-lit.)
- shkr** “adorn” (verb 3-lit. caus) — 81.4, 221.10, 221.[11]
- ht̄z** “remote, inaccessible” (verb 3-lit.) — 213.4
- ht̄zw** “remoteness, inaccessibility” (verbal noun m) — 260.9
- shtz** “make inaccessible” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — 254.11

hpt “Shetpet” (toponym f) —  35.6

hdt “Shedit” (toponym f) —  275.5

hdj “take” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  160.1, 210.10, 222.16, 254.59, 262.29, 271.7, 273–74.29, 316.3

hdt “taking” (verbal noun f) —  32.7 b

z

zt “pintail duck hen” (noun f) —  138.2,  270.10

z3 “son” (noun m) —  32.2, 214.6, 215.21, 217.2/9/17/26/32/34, 219.1/5/9/13/17/49–50/102, 222.44, 236, 246.3, 247.1, 261.1, 293.5, 302.2, 317.9, 320.3;  303.4/7–8

z3t “daughter” (noun f) —  219.81/86/96;  219.91;  304.1

z3tj “twins” (noun fdu) —  215.23/28–29/34;  308.4

z3j “guard” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  23–24.5, 214.1, 224.18, 246.6, 271.8–9;  280.2 (imperative sg);  294.2 (imperative sg)

z3 “protection” (verbal noun m) —  220.10, 221.12, 321.3;  254.30

z33 “guard” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  249.7, 273–74.26

z3j “inactive” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  268.16

z3b “jackal” (noun m) —  215.30,  301.34

z3b- “jackal” (nisbe) — ms  268.7,  301.34

z3bwt “rapacity” (“jackalness”) (noun f) —  273–74.6

z3t “libate” (verb 3-lit.) —  23–24.7a,  23–24.7b

zj “go” (verb 2ae-inf.) —  23–24.3, 25.2–4, 25+200.2–4, 39.2, 93.2, 215.1/16'/16–17, 217.20/29, 219.109–110, 254.26, 263.7, 288.1;  214.3, 246.7;  217.5/12 (imperative pl), 260.2 (stative 3ms);  132.1

szj “send away” (verb 2ae-inf. caus.) —  229.2

zj “man” (noun m) —  230.7

zj “ram” (noun m) —  246.3

zjt “ewe” (noun f) —  246.3–4

zjf (a bread) (noun m) —  141.3

zjzj “catch” (verb 2ae-inf. redup.) —  219.25/33, 251.8, 281.1

zjzjw “dust-devil” (noun m) —  258.1

zy “which” (interrogative pronoun) —  295.3, 310.8'/8

- zwt** “wheat” (noun f) — 163.3
- zwɔ̄** “slit (throat)” (verb 3-lit.) — 251.5
- zwnw** “suffer” (verb 4ae-inf.)
- szwnw** “make suffer” (verb 4ae-inf. caus.) — 144.1
- zwr** “drink” (verb 3-lit.) — 210.11, 211.2; 210.11, 212.6; 254.36
- zwr** “drinking bowl” (noun m) — 254.36
- zbj** “send off” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 320.1
- zbn** “crawl” (verb 3-lit.) — 226.3, 229.3, 233.3, 240.5, 277.1–2, 286.2, 289.2, 297.4–5, 298.6, 313.3–4, 314.2; 240.3 (*sdm,f* attributive fs)
- zp** “time, occasion” (noun m) — 23–24.5, 25.8b, 25.9a, 32.6/6c’, 34.7, 46.2, 72.2, 79–80.2, 94–95.3, 117.2, 118.2, 130.2, 131.2, 137.2, 199.3, 214.1, 224.19, 232.2, 243.1, 254.[56], 301.36, 311.8, 313.4
- zpɔ̄** “centipede” (noun m) — 240.1, 284.3, 299.1
- zpj** “remain” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 295.3
- zmɔ̄** “lung” (noun m) — 273–74.54
- zmɔ̄** “join” (verb 3-lit.) — 254.10, 260.10, 271.2, 319.7
- zmjt** “desert plateau” (noun f) — 300.4
- zmrn** “condensed milk” (noun m) — 34.2; 34.4–6
- znbt** “bulwark” (noun f) — 255.13
- znj** “pass, sever” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 218.8, 254.32
- znwt** “passing” (verbal noun f) — 254.55
- znn** “pass” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) — 218.8
- zrw** (a mineral) — 39.4
- zh** “booth” (noun m) — 34.3, 219.67; 210.14, 311.5
- zhzh** “stork” (noun m) — 271.4
- zlj** “strike” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 255.12
- zht** “blow” (verbal noun f) — 283.2
- zhn** “reedfloat” (noun m) — 263–4; 303.2
- zhn-** “reedfloater” (nisbe) — ms 222.9/34; 301.27
- zhn** “kidney” (noun m) — 53.3, 128.3
- zhnj** “embrace” (verb 4ae-inf.) — 53.2’, 128.[1]; 53.2; 258.17
- zhz** “wrench away” (verb 3-lit.) — 163.1, 164.1

z_hb “write” (verb 3-lit.) —  303.11, 305.13–15

z_hb “writing” (verbal noun m) —  303.13

z_{hzh}b “lotus” (noun m) —  249.2,  271.1

z_{hzhnj} “lotus flower” (noun m) —  249.9

zk “excavate” (verb 2-lit.) —  254.41

zkzk “burrow” (verb 2-lit. redup.) —  276.2

zkr “speed” (verb 3-lit.) —  237.1

zkrw “Sokar” (name m “Speedy”) —  300.2–3

s¹

s 3fs suffix pronoun —  25.7, 25+200.7, 32.3/5c'/5, 36.6, 39.2, 47.3, 54.3, 56.3, 57.2, 74.2, 76.2, 82.2, 83.2, 84.2, 85.2, 90.2, 93.4, 94–95.2, 108.1, 116.1, 120.1, 132.1, 133.1, 142.1, 144.1, 145.1, 146.1, 153.1, 155.1, 156.1, 157.1, 158.1'/1, 165.1, 205.15–16, 211.5, 214.13–14, 219.81/86/91/96/101–102, 220.1, 234.3, 239.1, 254.21–22/38–42, 255.[3]–4/10–11/13, 257.7, 260.13/19/24, 262.26, 270.5, 272.1, 273–74.12, 283.2, 295.2, 297.3, 301.18–26, 302.8, 305.12, 306.9/11, 310.9, 313.5, 319.9, 320.4, 321.2

sj 3fs dependent pronoun —  32.4, 86.2, 87.2, 88.2, 92.2, 110.1, 118.1, 120.1, 140.1, 154.1, 161.1, 162.1, 163.1, 164.1, 168.1, 169.1, 170.1, 204.5, 211.2, 219.102, 223.10, 224.17, 252.9, 254.21/48, 260.13, 262.27, 301.18/20/22, 302.12

s² “back” (noun m) —  213.5;  273–74.18, 316.2;  315.2 (emended from )

s^{3t}- “of the wall” (nisbe) —  280.1 (ms)

s³3 “experienced” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  247.3;  269.13, 273–74.54

s³ “experience” (verbal noun m) —  250.1,  250.4

s³b “dappled” (verb 3-lit.) —  228.2, 290.1

s³h “toe” (verb 3-lit.) —  247.15

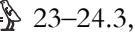
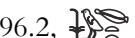
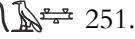
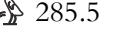
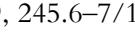
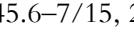
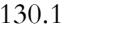
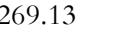
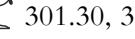
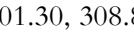
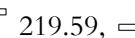
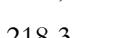
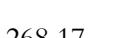
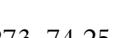
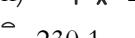
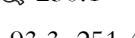
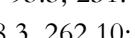
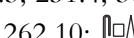
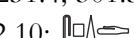
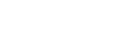
s³h “Orion” (name m) —  216.5, 219.75, 273–74.49

sj³ “perceive” (verb 3-lit.) —  262.27, 311.1

sj³ “perception” (verbal noun m) —  250.2/8;  255.16, 257.14, 273–74.59;  250.5

sjw “introduce” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  263.10

1 Causative stems are listed under the root: e.g., *s³h* under *3h*, *sbn* under *wbn*.

- sjn*** “hurry” (verb 3-lit.) —  246.7
- sCh*** “privilege, invest” (verb 3-lit.) —  320.2
- sCh*** “privilege, insignia” (noun m) —  224.10, 273–74.58/61,  255.7, 255.[8]/[15]
- sCh-*** “privileged” (nisbe) —  273–74.46
- sw*** 3ms dependent pronoun —  23–24.3, 77.4, 82.2, 199.[2], 205.3–4/10, 211.1/7, 214.8, 215.2, 216.4, 217.14/33, 222.16/43, 230.6–7, 245.5, 252.2, 253.6, 254.7/37/46–47, 256.8, 257.9, 257.12, 258.7, 260.8, 262.1–2/4/7/10/13/16/22/24/28–29, 267.13, 268.1/5–6/15, 269.7/15, 270.5, 270.12'/12, 271.7, 273–74.8–9/45, 285.5, 299.5, 301.10, 303.5, 311.2–3/7/13
- swt*** 3ms independent pronoun —  205.7/10, 217.15/24/31, 230.8, 247.15, 270.13
- swt-*** “his” (nisbe) — fs  96.2,  129.1
- swt*** “shank of meat” (noun f) —  96.3, 129.[3]
- swʒj*** “pass” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  251.2, 304.3/5/8;  254.11;  254.24/32, 262.22, 313.5
- sw*** “dangerous” (verb 2-lit.) —  285.5
- sb3*** “star” (noun m) —  214.9, 245.6–7/15, 273–74.1;  248.3–4
- sb3-*** “starry” (nisbe) —  215.4
- sbj*** “rebel” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  130.1
- sbq*** “thigh” (noun m) —  317.3
- sbq*** “wise” (verb 3-lit.) —  269.13
- sbkw*** “Sobek” (name m) —  301.30, 308.8';  308.8;  317.2/9
- spt*** “lip” (noun f) —  304.4
- sp3t*** “cultivation” (noun f) —  219.59,  224.15
- spr*** “petition” (verb 3-lit.) —  218.3
- spr*** “arrive” (verb 3-lit.) —  268.17
- sprw*** “rib” (noun m) —  130.3
- sph*** “lasso” (verb 3-lit.) —  273–74.25
- sph*** “lassoing” (verbal noun m) —  254.35
- spht*** “rib-meat” (noun f) —  230.1
- spd*** “sharp” (verb 3-lit.) —  93.3, 251.4, 301.35;  251.5,  302.1;  219.76, 222.11 (, 248.3, 262.10;  262.11)

spdt “Sothis” (name f “Sharp”) —  263.15, 302.2/7

spdt- “Sothic” (nisbe) —  216.6

spdw “Sopdu” (name m “Sharp”) —  215.31, 306.14;  222.10;  222.10'

sf “yesterday” (noun m) —  205.11

sfrt “salve” (noun f) —  321.1

sfh- “7” (number) — f  318.2,  318.2,  318.3

sft “pine oil” —  74.3

sm? “temple” (noun m) —  /  270.8

sm? “kill” (verb 3-lit.) —  306.15

sm? “wild bull” (noun m) —  222.8, 306.16–17;  246.2

sm?t “wild cow” (noun f) —  271.3–4

smw “vegetation” (noun m) —  271.4, 317.6;  304.[12] (pl)

smn “Nile goose” (noun m) —  302.22

smsw “senior” (noun m) —  256.2;  273–74.39/47;  257.11, 258.12, 263.7, 273–74.20/47, 303.8

sn 3pl suffix pronoun —  35.4, 77.7, 91.2, 146.1, 147.1, 152.1, 154.1, 166.1, 204.3/5, 215.6/8, 217.5/12/20/29, 222.19/24, 224.19, 245.10, 246.8/10/14–15, 247.2, 251.8, 254.16/36/51–55/58, 256.5/7, 260.3/20, 261.6, 262.29, 263.7–10, 273–74.3–4/15/29/32–37/39/41/55/57/63–65, 302.6, 305.11, 306.7/13/18, 311.10–11, 313.5, 317.11, 320.2

sn 3pl dependent pronoun —  139.1, 218.6, 257.2, 273–74.25–28/31, 303.6, 306.1

snj 3du suffix pronoun —  43.3, 81.5–6, 167.1, 246.13, 271.7, 301.2/4–5, 302.10, 305.4–5

snj 3du dependent pronoun —  43.3, 215.24;   302.9

sn “brother” (noun m) —  25+200.9, 36.4, 218.12/21/25/29/33, 224.16;  246.16, 247.15, 296.2;  (pl) 302.7/21, 307.9–10

snt “sister” (noun f) —  42.2;  258.7, 263.15

sn “kiss, smell” (verb 2-lit.) —  205.12, 261.5

ssn “smell” (verb 2-lit. caus.) —  301.31

sn- “2” (numeral) —  32.7a/c, 81.10, 84.3, 85.3, 108.3, 109.3, 113.3, 114.3, 142.3, 143.3, 144.3, 145.3, 146.3, 147.3, 148.3, 149.2, 150.3, 151.3, 152.3, 153.3, 154.3,

155.3, 156.3, 157.3, 158.3, 159.3, 160.3, 161.3, 162.3, 163.3, 164.3, 165.3, 166.3, 167.3, 168.3, 169.3, 170.3', 210.9, 230.15, 232.2, 243.1, 254.[56], 313.4; ፩ 285.1; *mdu snuwj* ፩ 230.11, ፩ 234.3, ፩ 300.4; *fdu snbj* ፩ 205.9

snnw- “second” (adjective) — ms ፩ 303.10, 307.6

snj “release” (verb 3ae-inf.) — ፩ 157.1', ፩ 157.1

snw- “Pelusian” (nisbe) — ፩ 157.3

snq “suckle, suck” (verb 3-lit. caus.) — ፩ 246.4 (*sdm.f* attributive ms), ፩ 268.5, ፩ 269.16

snk “deep” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 250.9

snkw “depth of night” (noun m) — ፩ 217.3/10/18/27

snkw- “of the depth of night” (nisbe) — ፩ 222.33/35

sn̄d “fear” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 220.4, 260.18

sn̄d “fear” (verbal noun m) — ፩ 221.4; ፩ 254.18

sr “grey goose” (noun m) — ፩ 139.3

sr “foretell” (verb 2-lit.) — ፩ 139.1, ፩ 254.8

srjw “serpent” (noun m) — ፩ 136.1

srqt “scorpion, Selket” (noun and name f) — ፩ 230.14, 308.7

shdw “Sehedu” (toponym m) — ፩ 262.24, ፩ 301.12

shd- “of Sehedu” (nisbe) — ፩ 316.1

sht “blow” (verbal noun f) — see *zlj* “strike”

sht “field” — ፩ 210.14, 254.15/26/41–42; ፩ 253.1–4, 263.11, 268.14, 301.30, 304.11, 306.13, 308.3, 317.5, 317.7

sh̄ “bring to mind” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 216.4

msh̄t “memorial” (noun f) — ፩ 216.3

shpt “date beer” (noun f) — ፩ 149.3

shm “scepter” (noun m) — ፩ 221.[7]

shm “control” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 77.5, 214.13, 215.14–15/21–22, 217.23, 222.19/24/37, 247.13, 249.4, 252.7, 255.16, 257.12, 273–74.43/67, 319.4/7; ፩ 215.18/20; ፩ 218.6; ፩ 223.6

shm “controlling power” (noun m) — ፩/፩ 273–74.43/49; ፩ 320.2

shmt “Sekhmet” (name f “Controller”) — ፩ 248.2

sht “net” (verb 3-lit.) — ፩ 93.4, ፩ 210.14

sht “barley” (noun f) — ፩ 161.3, 162.3

shʒʒ “beach” (verb 3ae-gem.) —  131.1

shm- “knapper” (nisbe) —  207.1

shr “milk” (verb 3-lit.) —  298.4

shrw “linen” (noun m) —  249.7 (pl)

shd “tie on” (verb 3-lit.) —  161.1, 162.1

sqj “flatten” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  251.8,  254.14,  267.3

msqt “beaten path” (noun f) —  254.13,  262.24

sqdj “sail” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  210.13,  267.13,  268.15

sqdd “sail” (verb 4ae-inf. gem.) —  210.13 (*sdm.f* attributive fs)

sk subordinating proclitic particle —  254.36/44/47–48, 260.11, 273–74.63/65, 307.5; see also *st*

sk “wipe” (verb 2-lit.) —  219.50, 302.20;  268.9

skj “wipe out” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  215.35, 219.3/7/11/15/19/23/27/31'/31/35/39/43/47/53/57/61/65/69'/69/73/78/83/88/93/98/104, 246.17, 302.4, 311.10

skjw “annihilation” (verbal noun m) — see *j.lym-skjw* “imperishable” under *lym* “not know”

skʒ “plow” (verb 3-lit.) —  254.20

stt 3fs independent pronoun —  211.5

stj “shoot” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  230.2

st “production” (verbal noun m) —  205.1

stp “choose” (verb 3-lit.) —  321.3

sth “Seth” (name m) —  25.2, 25+200.2, 34.5, 35.2, 36.2, 47.2, 54.2, 81.6, 90.2, 111.1, 136.1, 145.1, 160.1, 210.9, 213.7, 215.7, 215.9, 215.15, 217.5, 218.12, 219.25, 222.17, 222.21, 222.38, 224.8, 247.15, 254.59, 271.7, 305.8, 306.12, 308.2, 308.9;  135.1

sth- “Sethian” (nisbe) —  308.2

st proclitic subordinating particle —  262.1/4/7/10/13/16, 267.12–13; see also *sk*

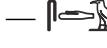
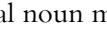
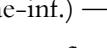
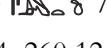
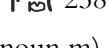
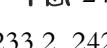
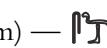
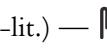
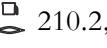
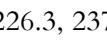
stʒ “draw” (verb 3-lit.) —  240.4,  298.4,  313.1; see also *r-stʒw* “Rasetjau”

stj “Bowland” (toponym m) —  151.3

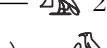
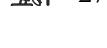
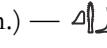
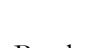
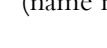
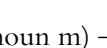
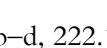
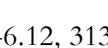
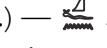
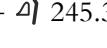
stj “scent” (noun m) —  25.8, 72.3, 25+200.12, 269.3–4;  25+200.8, 269.4

stp “jump” (verb 3-lit.) —  270.11;  295.1, 307.10

sttt “shoulders” (noun f) —  254.28

- sdȝ** “heron” (noun m) —  210.3
- sdȝ** “tremble” (verb 3-lit.) —  215.11, 254.18, 273–74.2;  247.2
- sdȝ** “trembling” (verbal noun m) —  252.3
- sdmj** “eye-paint” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  79–80.2,  254.23
- msdm̄t** “eye-paint” (noun f) —  79–80.7
- sd** “break” (verb 2-lit.) —  258.4, 260.12, 309.4, 311.16
- sd** “breaking” (verbal noun m) —  244.3
- sdt** “fire” (noun f) —  207.3, 233.2, 242.1, 269.1–2, 273–74.38
- sdb** “revive” (verb 3-lit.) —  219.1/5/9/13/17/21/25/29/33/37/41/45
- sdb** “obstruction” (noun m) —  246.14;  258.4–5/19
- sdm** “hear, listen” (verb 3-lit.) —  44.4, 77.7;  247.9, 311.14, 318.3
- sdr** “lie” (verb 3-lit.) —  210.2, 258.20;  226.3, 237.2, 293.7, 294.3, 294.5, 297.5, 298.6, 302.10
- msdr** “ear” (noun m) —  215.28
- sdh-** “of the shin” (nisbe) —  289.1

q

- qȝj** “high” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  25+200.13, 210.1, 222.2/27/41, 268.2
- qȝw** “height” (noun m) —  262.25
- qȝjt** “height” (noun f) —  217.22, 254.27;  272.1
- qȝr** “vomit” (verb 3-lit.) —  241.1
- qȝnt** “doorbolt” (noun f) —  220.1 (pl)
- qȝs** “bind” (verb 3-lit.) —  273–74.27
- qȝh** “bend” (verb 3-lit.) —  304.[8]
- qbb** “cool” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  32.3a/b;  32.3 c,  32.3 d;  216.8,  222.42
- qbh-snw.f** “Qebehsenuef” (name m “Coolest of His Brothers”) —  215.33'/33
- qbhw** “cool water” (noun m) —  32.2a, 32.7b–d, 222.12, 246.12, 313.[2];  32.2–d, 32.7a, 214.9;  268.15;  303.4–5/12
- qfn** “prostrate” (verb 3-lit.) —  302.9
- qmȝ** “cast” (verb 3-lit.) —  245.3, 261.6;  247.4'/4
- qmh** “wheat bread” (noun m) —  121.3

qn- “fatty, yellow” (nisbe) —  320.4 (ms)

qrr “boil” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  273–74.64 (3fs stative)

qrr “storm” (noun m) —  247.15,  254.18

qrs “entomb” (verb 3-lit.) —  305.11

qrqrt “tunnel” (noun f) —  276.2

qs “bone” (noun m) —  36.5, 214.4, 219.108, 222.30, 231.1, 273–74.64;  231.1;  258.4, 273–74.2

qs “bone” (verb 2-lit.) —  231.1

qsn “difficult” (verb 3-lit.) —  262.12,  311.10

qd “character” (noun m) —  255.6,  306.5

qd “build” (verb 2-lit.) —  301.13,  319.9

qdd “sleep” (verb 2ae-gem.) — verbal noun m  247.12,  258.3

k

k 2ms suffix pronoun —  *passim* (835 examples);  310.8;  216.2

k3 “ka” (noun m) —  25.2–6, 25+200.2–6, 36.3, 46.2, 50.4, 93.6, 214.2, 215.35, 216.3, 218.2/4, 219.63, 250.1/3, 258.18, 263.5, 268.8–9/11/17, 273–74.10, 318.8;  301.32

k3 “bull” (noun m) —  205.7, 227.1, 254.1, 260.1, 262.16–17, 273–74.14, 277.1, 289.1, 298.6, 299.3, 307.16, 318.[1], 319.1, 320.7;  284.5;  251.6;  238.3, 254.16, 282.4;  219.85, 254.23/57

k3p “cense” (verb 3-lit.) —  219.67 (verbal noun m)

k3pt “firewood” (noun f) —  273–74.37

k3r “shrine” (noun m) —  254.2;  255.3/14

kj “acclaim” (verb 2ae-inf.) —  214.11

kjt “acclaim” (verbal noun f) —  221.5

ky “other” (noun m) —  302.12

kw 2ms dependent pronoun —  93.5–6, 214.11, 215.17–19/23–24, 218.6, 223.8, 224.6, 235.1, 281.1;  214.1, 218.12, 244.2, 254.21, 262.19/25, 301.17, 306.16

kbw “sole” (noun m) — du  32.4a/d;  32.4c;  32.4b

kb3- “earthen” (nisbe) — ms  236, 281.1

kbn- “Byblite” (nisbe) —  286.2 (mpl)

kf “flint” (noun m) —  37.3

kfj “bare” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  302.8

khšw “?” (noun or name m) —  273–74.25

kkw “darkness” (noun m) —  251.6, 260.22, 311.13

kk- “of the darkness” (nisbe) — ms  52.2, 279.2

kmm “dark-colored” (verb 2ae-gem.) —  43.2, 48.3'/3, 49.3'/3, 55.3'/3;  227.1, 228.2, 290.1;  246.3

km “black jar” (noun m) —  43.4

knzt “Kenzet” (toponym f) —  205.7, 210.2, 254.16

ksj “bow” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  81.5,  (for ) 81.5

ksw “obeisance” (verbal noun m) —  257.10

kss “bow” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  265.7

ksbt “umbrella-thorn acacia” (noun f) —  301.30,  306.14 (pl)

ktt “hearthstone” (noun f) —  273–74.32/41 (pl)

g

gjft “guenon” (noun f) —  254.32

gbb “Geb” (name m) —  214.8, 218.5, 219.13, 230.5, 246.13, 247.4, 254.5–6, 256.1, 258.2, 260.1/7, 273–74.18, 296.2, 303.9, 306.5/11, 307.6;  127.1, 214.12, 215.15

gp “cloud” (verb 2-lit.) —  273–74.1

j.gp “cloud cover” (noun m) —  311.16

gmj “find” —  211.9, 242.1, 254.7, 273–74.45, 299.5

gmḥsw “hawk” (noun m) —  245.4

gnm “decan”? (noun or participle m) —  273–74.3

gr “still” (verb 2-lit.) —  86.3, 246.10, 273–74.3

grḥ “night” (noun m) —  44.3, 222.20;  211.6, 249.8, 320.1

gs “side” (noun m) —  214.5, 270.6 () 270.13, 271.10, 301.32, 305.4;  270.6;  247.11;  254.59, 261.7, 263.8/13–14, 306.3

gsz “Qus” (toponym m) —  258.6

t

t “bread” (noun m) — ə 88.3, 89.3, 111.3, 112.3, 141.3, 167.3, 223.4 (); ə 87.3, 92.3, 94–95.4, 110.3; ə 93.7, 199.[1], 205.15, 209.3, 211.3, 218.4, 238.1–2, 307.9; ə 205.5–6, 211.9, 223.3/5/12, 243.1, 247.13, 305.12, 312

tȝ “land” (noun m) — 81.5–6, 205.9, 215.11, 218.16/18/20/22, 219.75, 222.1, 224.18, 245.3, 249.2, 254.6/9/19/28/53/58, 255.7–[8]/[15], 258.2–3/6, 261.3, 267.3/11/14, 268.10, 269.17, 271.1–2, 273–74.68, 275.4, 298.2, 299.1, 302.5/17, 305.10, 306.6/10, 317.5, 319.7; — 226.3, 230.1/5/13, 240.1/5; — 233.1; — 227.4

jmj-tȝ “in-the-ground (bread)” (phrase) — 118.3

tȝjt “Ta’it” (name f) — ə 81.2

tȝjt- “of Ta’it-town” (nisbe) — 81.2

tȝw “heat” (noun m) — ə 238.3, 282.3

mtȝ “kiln” (noun m) — 231.2

tȝh “mud” (noun m) — ə 279.1

tȝ “pound” (verb 2ae-inf.) — ə 88.2–3, 111.3; ʃ 111.1, 243.1; ʃ 279.1–2, 285.6

tȝtȝ “trample” (verb 2ae-inf. gem.) — ʃʃ 236

ty “savannah” (noun m) — ə 307.16–17

tw demonstrative fs — ə 229.1, 244.1, 251.3, 255.13, 260.19, 270.5, 301.32

jptw demonstrative fpl — ʃ 269.16

twn “?” (a plant) (noun m) — 319.5

twr/twȝ “support” (verb 3-lit.) — 252.7, ə 254.38

twȝt “support” oil (noun f) — ə 76.3

twr/twȝ “reject” (verb 3-lit.) — 210.6; 210.9, 285.4; ə 214.8

twt “reconcile” (verb 3-lit.) — ə 34.6; əəʃ 308.4/9 (fdū participle)

tbj “Tebi” (name m) — ə 254.44–45

tbtb (a grain) (noun m) — ə 205.14

****tp*** “atop” (preposition) and ****tpj*** “atop, head” (nisbe) — see *dp*

tf demonstrative fs — ə 278.2

tf “spittle” (noun m) — see ***tff*** “spit out”

tfn “orphan” (noun m) — 260.5

tfnat “orphan” (noun f) — 254.38, 260.5

tfnwt “Tefnut” (name f) — 219.9, 301.6

tn “fail” (verb 2-lit.) — 246.17, 254.5, 255.8; 270.11, 311.14; 309.6; 237.1

htm “end” (verb 2-lit. *h*-stem) — 36.5, 254.58, 258.3, 302.5

shtm “end” (verb 2-lit. *h* caus.) — 254.12

tm “complete” (verb 2-lit.) — 36.5, 215.25; 273–74.42

tm “all” (noun m) — 257.6, 262.6

j.tmw “Atum” (name m) — 213.5–6, 215.1–2/17–19/23/28–29/34, 216.9, 217.1/8/16/25/32, 219.1, 222.[1]/25/27–28/40/42–43, 247.5/15, 256.2, 257.5, 269.12, 273–74.8, 301.5, 310.1–4; 229.1, 284.1, 306.10

tmm “close” (verb 2ae-gem.) — 230.3

tn demonstrative fs — 205.4, 271.6, 278.2, 282.1–2, 283.1, 310.4

tr “time” (noun m) — 218.11, 219.75

trr “?” (enclitic particle) — 243.3

tbñ “ibis” (noun m) — 284.5

thth “agitate” (verb 3ae-inf. redup.) — 272.4

tkw “lamp” (noun m) — 242.1

tkj “attack” (verb 3ae-inf.) — 292.1

ntktk “attack repeatedly” (verb 3ae-inf. *n*-stem redup.) — 292.1

tkn “near” (verb 3-lit.) — 292.2

t

t 2fs dependent pronoun — 25+200.13, 77.2–6, 81.2/5–7, 216.1/3, 219.9/17/21/29/49–50, 220.2–7/9, 221.3–[9], 230.14, 245.2, 269.14/16, 272.2, 286.4, 304.1/11–12

tʒ “pellet” (noun m) — 32.7a/c, 34.8, 35.6, 36.7, 45.3

tʒw “air” (noun m) — 254.49, 258.9, 261.3

tʒz “knot” (verb 3-lit.) — 230.16, 254.33–35, 305.1–2; 319.6, 273–74.21; 268.12 (passive *sdm.f*)

tʒz “knot, vertebra” (noun m) — 229.1, 234.2, 230.15, 273–74.51

tʒz-phr “vice-versa” (phrase) — 215.12

tw 2ms dependent pronoun — 25+200.11, 57.2, 148.1, 149.1, 150.1, 151.1, 218.12, 219.25/33.81/86/91/96, 221.10–11, 222.3/17/19/22/24/31, 224.18, 226.5, 227.4, 245.10, 246.15, 247.4, 247.4/11/15, 254.25, 255.7–8, 262.1–2/4/7/10/13/16, 267.8/12, 271.8–9, 280.2, 281.3, 293.1–2, 294.2, 297.3/5, 301.26, 306.13/15–16, 307.7/18, 311.2

- twt*** 2ms independent pronoun —  215.35, 245.7, 303.7–9, 304.9, 305.6;
 221.12, 245.9, 246.3
- twt-*** “yours” (nisbe) —  301.8
- tbwt*** “sandal” (nisbe f: see *kbw*) —  298.5,  299.2
- tpht*** “cave” (noun f) —  240.4,  250.9;  299.3
- tf*** “spit out” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  243.4;  287.3, 288.4
- tf*** “spittle” (noun m) —  237.1
- tm/ tn*** 2fs dependent pronoun —  77.3, 220.7–8;  219.49
- tmt*** 2fs independent pronoun —  286.1
- tn*** 2pl suffix pronoun —  210.15, 211.9, 216.4, 217.7, 219.41/45, 246.5–6,
 252.1–3, 254.2/32, 255.[3]–4/10, 260.19/25, 269.4–7'/7, 275.1, 301.7–9, 302.24,
 303.3, 308.6–8'/8–9, 318.7–8, 320.5
- tn*** 2pl dependent pronoun —  220.8, 269.7'/7, 301.8, 320.5
- tnj*** 2du suffix pronoun —  210.10–13, 217.3–4/10–11/18–19/27–28,
 218.13–14, 308.[4], 316.1
- tnj*** “distinct” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  215.24,  254.24
- tnj*** “where” (interrogative adverb) —  77.2,  296.1
- tnw*** “boundary” (noun m) —  254.10
- tnw*** “count” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  218.2,  219.51
- trt*** “willow” (noun f) —  301.23
- trw*** “gore” (noun m) —  301.19
- tr-*** “gory” (nisbe) —  285.2 (ms)
- trwt*** “redness” (noun f) —   216.2,   273–74.27
- trwrw*** “redden” (verb 3ae-inf. redup.) —     301.23
- trp*** “white-fronted goose” (noun m) —  137.3
- thnw*** “Libyan desert” (toponym m) —   78.3,   301.29
- thnt*** “faience” (noun f) —   301.24,   317.7
- thnhn*** “glitter” (verb 3-lit. redup.) —     301.24
- tzt-*** “of a chest” (nisbe) —   219.67 (ms)
- tzj*** “raise” (verb 3-lit.) —  247.11, 317.2;  254.[59];   260.8;  286.3
- ttw*** “?” (a snake) (noun m) —   296.1

d

dʒ “remove” (verb 2-lit.) — see *dr/dʒ* “remove”

dʒt “Duat” (noun f) —  216.5–6, 254.20, 262.13;  216.7, 262.14;  247.2,  252.1,  271.7

dʒt- “Duatian” (nisbe) —  215.26,  257.9,  268.8 (ms)

dʒb- “figgy” (nisbe) —  152.3

dʒp “offer” (verb 3-lit.) —  152.1

dj “put” (verb 3ae-inf.) — see *wdj* “put”

dj- “5” (number) —  34.8, 35.6, 45.3;  205.8' (f),  205.8 (f)

dwʒ “worship (at dawn)” (verb 3-lit.) —  217.14,  217.14;  254.29, 306.13, 307.7

dwʒ-mjwt.f “Duamutef” (name m “Whom His Mother Worships”) —
 215.31'–32'/32

dwʒw “dawn” (noun m) —  50.2,  50.2

dwʒw “Dawn God” (name m) —  306.14

dwʒ- “of dawn” (nisbe) —  211.7,  263.15 (fs),  273–74.34 (fs)

dbn “circle” (verb 3-lit.) —  210.16, 273–74.42

dbn- “of a coffer” (nisbe) —  219.67

dbħ “require” (verb 3-lit.) —  215.32–33;  215.32'–33'

dp “Dep” (toponym m) —  81.3,  219.80

dp “atop” (preposition)² —  36.5, 210.3, 246.11, 254.15/17–18/38, 258.3, 269.15, 270.12, 272.4, 273–74.11, 298.1, 311.18, 320.5;  306.3–4

dp- “atop” (nisbe) —  211.7, 251.1, 256.4;  248.4;  254.58, 298.4, 271.4

dpj “head” (noun m) —  41.2, 136.1, 215.26, 219.59, 222.14–15/29, 227.1, 245.8, 246.2, 251.4/6, 252.7, 254.32–34, 261.3, 273–74.26, 295.2, 298.3, 302.9, 307.5, 315.2, 319.3;  230.14, 254.35,  117.1

dpj “taste” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  34.3, 115.1';  51.2

dpt “taste” (verbal noun f) —  34.3

dpt “‘taste’ bread” (noun f) —  51.3, 115.3

dm “recite” (verb 2-lit.) —  272.1 (passive *sdm,f*)

2 For the reading, in place of traditional *tp*, see Werning 2004.

dmr “harbor” (noun m) —  256.8

dmdj “unite” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  205.13, 260.9;  271.3;  250.1/4;  254.10

dndn “rant” (verb 3ae-inf. redup.) —  222.7; see also *dnd*

dr/dʒ “remove” (verb 2-lit.) —  204.6, 215.8, 215.9 () 254.58, 255.7, 258.4–5/19, 267.8, 291.1, 302.19;  251.8

dr “removing” (verbal noun m) —  255.8

dh “hide” (verb 2-lit.) —  302.6

dhr “red/orange/yellow” (verb 3-lit.) —  246.6;  254.53, 273–74.53;  273–74.56

dhrt “redware” (noun f) —  244.3

ds “jug” (noun m) —  90.3, 91.3, 94–95.3, 151.3

ds “knife” —  221.8;  298.3,  251.5;  228.2, 290.1

mds “knifer” (noun m) —  254.18, 273–74.28

dgg “look” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  230.9

dgjw “looking” (verbal noun m) —  288.2

d

dt “cobra” (noun f) — see *w3d* “fresh, green, raw”

dt “person” (noun f) —  41.2, 50.3–4, 77.5, 217.34, 219.106, 222.37/44, 224.19 268.11, 301.5, 311.18;  307.8,  268.9 (error for )

dt “ever” (noun f) —  217.34, 222.44, 269.18, 273–74.62/68, 306.18;  273–74.60

d3j “cross” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  210.9, 258.21, 263.1–4/12, 269.15, 270.5/13, 301.9,  254.13, 268.14, 303.4;  263.13–14 (*sdm.tj.f*)

d3j “crossing” (verbal noun m) —  270.11,  311.11

d3t “crossing” (verbal noun f) —  263.13–14

d33 “cross” (verb 3ae-inf. gem.) —  270.5 (*sdm.f* s attributive)

d3d “gut” (verb 3-lit.) —  273–74.28

d3d3t “court, tribunal” (noun f) —  258.11

dj “give” (verb 3ae-inf.) — see *rdj* “give”

d3mjw “Djaamiu” (name m) —  296.3

d3mj “electrum staff” (nisbe m) —  254.38,  263.8

- dw*** “hill” (noun m) —  /  271.4
- dwj*** “bad” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  23–24.2–3/3b', 214.7
- dwj*** “call” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  93.6
- dbt*** “brick” (noun f) —  241.1
- dbȝ*** “array” (verb 3-lit.) —  217.22,  251.4,  252.3
- dbȝ*** “finger” (noun m) —  204.4, 268.6, 298.2, 303.4, 305.14–15, 314.1;  254.52
- dfȝw*** “sustenance” (noun m) —  212.3
- dmȝ*** “papyrus” (noun m) —  243.1 (du)
- dnj*** “dam” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  254.9
- dnjt*** “damming” (verbal noun f) —  254.9
- dnjt*** “stoppered jar” (noun f) —  294.3/5
- dnw*** “?” (noun m) —  212.1
- dnnwt-*** “of the skull” (nisbe) —  260.19
- dnh*** “wing” (noun m) —  245.4;  270.12, 302.15/23
- dnd*** “rage” (verbal noun m) —  93.6,  260.14; see also *dndn*
- dr*** “limit” (verb 2-lit.) —  218.4, 231.2
- drw*** “limit” (noun m) —  137.1, 224.18, 252.3, 261.3, 273–74.60;  261.3 (pl), 273–74.62;  275.3 (pl)
- dr*** “before” (preposition) —  261.2
- drt*** “henceforth” (adverb) —  307.18
- drȝ/dȝt*** “hand” (noun f) —  23–24.4a, 263.6;  23–24.4b;  207.4;  297.1, 298.3; see also *ndrȝ*
- drt*** “kite” (noun f) —  230.2, 258.5;  302.23
- dhȝj*** “grain-accountant” (nisbe m) —  309.1
- dhwȝtj*** “Thoth” (name m) —  23–24.3, 25.3, 25+200.3, 35.3, 36.2, 82.2, 210.1/10/16, 217.20, 218.12, 219.32–33, 262.7–8, 270.12, 279.2, 304.2
- ds*** “self” (noun m) —  205.3, 230.14, 241.2, 260.21, 262.20, 267.2, 273–74.22, 301.5, 307.4
- dsrȝ*** “sweep” (verb 4ae-inf.) —  50.5, 146.3;  246.8;  263.8, 316.2;  273–74.26, 295.2, 320.1
- dsrt*** “strained beer” (noun f) —  90.3,  145.3,
- dt*** “oil” (noun m) —  72.2

dd “say” (verb 2-lit.) —  215.23, 218.5, 219.49, 220.6, 227–4, 246.9/11, 249.1, 250.7, 252.6, 254.22, 262.6/9/12/15/18, 263.9, 301.7, 306.15, 309.7, 311.12

dd “saying” (verbal noun m) —  293.5

dd-mdw “recitation” (phrase) —  23–24.5, 25.9a, 32.6a–c'/d, 34.7, 46.2, 79–80.2, 130.2, 131.2, 199.3, 217.1, 223.2, 224.6, 226.1, 227.1, 228.1, 231.1, 232.1, 233.1, 234.1, 238.1, 239.1, 247.1, 248.1, 249.1, 250.1, 251.1, 252.1, 253.1, 255.1, 256.1, 257.1, 258.1, 260.1, 261.1, 262.1, 263.1, 267.1, 268.1, 270.1, 271.1, 275.1, 278.1, 279.1, 280.1, 283.1, 284.1, 285.1, 288.1, 289.1, 290.1, 291.1, 292.1, 293.1, 294.1, 295.1, 296.1, 298.1, 299.1, 300.1, 301.1, 303.1, 304.1, 305.1, 306.1, 307.1, 308.1, 309.1, 310.1, 311.1, 311.8, 312, 314.1, 318.[1], 319.1, 320.1, 321.1;  25.8b, 32.6c, 72.2, 86.2, 117.2, 118.2, 137.2, 205.1, 207.1, 209.1, 210.1, 211.1, 212.1, 214.1, 218.1, 219.1, 222.1, 229.1, 230.1, 235.1, 236, 237.1, 240.1, 241.1, 242.1, 269.1, 272.1, 276.1, 282.1, 286.1, 317.1

ddj “continue, stable” (verb 3ae-inf.) —  311.8

dd “upright (of a ladder)” (noun m) —  271.5

ddk/ddt “too” (adverb) —   25.4a, 35.4;  25.4b, 25+200.4;  36.4

ddt “necropolis” (noun f) —  219.55

ddt “Mendes” (toponym f) —  254.39

ddw “Busiris” (toponym m) —  254.39

ddwt “Djedut” (toponym f) —  254.39

nddndd “endure” (verb 3ae-inf. n-stem redup.) —     219.55

CONSECUTIVE TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

The following pages contain a consecutive transliteration and translation of Unis's Pyramid Texts, the subject of this book. Transliteration and translation face each other on opposite pages, with the transliteration on the left. The individual spells are arranged in the order in which they were intended to be read (for which, see Allen 2015, 17–67) rather than by the PT numbers given them by Sethe. As noted in the Preface, the lines of each spell are numbered according to the hieroglyphic concordance of Allen 2013 rather than Sethe's paragraph ("Pyr.") numbers. Transliteration and translation are provided only for the final edited version of the texts: thus, for instance, 115.1 *jsjr WNJS dj.n.(j) jrt.k* "Osiris Unis, I have placed your eye" rather than the original text (115.1', altered on the wall) *jsjr WNJS d.n.(j) jrt.k n hr dpt.k* "Osiris Unis, I have placed your eye for Horus, which you should taste."

The transliteration reflects the hieroglyphic text rather than the lexicon. Ideograms receive full transliteration but words spelled with phonograms generally reflect only the phonograms: thus, for example, the common name  "Horus" as *hru* but 83.2  as *hr*. The phoneme *h* is transcribed as such except where represented by — š: thus, for example, the common name  as *sth* but 135.1  as *stš*. In line with this convention, multiliteral signs containing *h* or later *š* are transliterated with *h* unless complemented by — š: for example, 257.5  as *pḥr* but 219.76  as *pšr*, and  as *hzp* rather than *šzp* (no examples with —). Unis's name is transcribed in small capitals (*WNJS*), reflecting the cartouche that sets it off from other text.

The translation generally reflects the original texts as closely as possible. The major exception is the substitution of first-person pronouns, marked by an asterisk, for Unis's name or third-person pronouns referring to Unis in texts that were edited from an original in the first person. Looser translations are also used where needed to convey the sense: for instance, 317.12 *ḥft hzp jb.f* as "according to *my mind's fancy" rather than "according as *my mind receives."

BURIAL CHAMBER WEST GABLE

PT 226

- 226.1 *dd-mdw hn n^rw jn n^rw*
 226.2 *hn bhz h³bw pr m hzp*
 226.3 *t³ j.^rm n.k prt jm.k hzw sdr zbn*
 226.4 *hr hm psdt m mw*
 226.5 *h³w pn^r m³ tw r^r*

PT 227

- 227.1 *dd-mdw hsq dp k³ km wr*
 227.2 *hpnw dd.(j) nn r.k*
 227.3 *hsr-ntr dd.(j) nn r.k*
 227.4 *pn^r tw hbb t³ dd.n.(j) nn r.k*

PT 228

- 228.1 *dd-mdw hr hr r hr m³.n hr hr*
 228.2 *pr.jn ds s³b km w³d rs*
 228.3 *r^rm.n.f n.f.j.nsb.n.f*

PT 229

- 229.1 *dd-mdw nt tw nn nt tm hrt t³z bqsw nhbw-k³w*
 229.2 *sz³t hnw m wnw*
 229.3 *j.hr zbn*

PT 230

- 230.1 *dd-mdw n³fwj.k m t³ sphjt.k m b³b³*
 230.2 *st mw h^r drt*
 230.3 *tmm r.k jn smst tmm r n smst jn m³fdt*
 230.4 *p^rz h sbg jn n^rw*
 230.5 *j r^r pzh n WNJS t³ pzh n WNJS gbb*
 230.6 *pzh n WNJS jt n pzh sw*
 230.7 *jn z pn pzh WNJS nj pzh sw WNJS*
 230.8 *swt j r WNJS nj sm WNJS rf*
 230.9 *h³zp 2 n m³.f WNJS h³zp 2 n dgg.f n WNJS*
 230.10 *pzh.k WNJS dj.f w^r.k*
 230.11 *m³.k WNJS dj.f snw.k*
 230.12 *pzh n^rw jn n^rt pzh n^rt jn n^rw*
 230.13 *hn pt hn t³ hn mdr h³ rhwt*
 230.14 *hn.t ntr šp dp.f hn.t.t ds.t nn srqt*
 230.15 *t³z 2 nw nw zb jmjw r n jsjr*
 230.16 *t³zw.n hrw hr bqsw*

PT 231

- 231.1 *dd-mdw qs.k qs qs.t.k*
 231.2 *jbw dr.w jwnu jnjw mt³ shr.w*
 231.3 *hm n pj*

PT 232

- 232.1 *dd-mdw mtj mtj mj^r mj^r*
 232.2 *z³w mwt.f zp 2 mj^r mj^r*
 232.3 *j^r.tj n.(j) m hm w*

APOTROPAIC SPELLS

PT 226

- 226.1 Recitation. Glider has been encircled by glider,
 226.2 the hippopotamus calf that emerged from the garden has been encircled.
 226.3 Earth, swallow up what has emerged from you! Monster, lie down, crawl away!
 226.4 Let the Sunlight's Servant fall into the water.
 226.5 Snake, overturn, that the Sun may see you!

PT 227

- 227.1 Recitation. The head of the great black bull has been cut off.
 227.2 *Hpnw*-snake, I say this about you!
 227.3 God-expelling scorpion, I say this about you!
 227.4 Overturn yourself, drive into the earth, for I have said this about you!

PT 228

- 228.1 Recitation. Face falls to face when face has seen face.
 228.2 So, the dappled knife, all dark and green, has emerged
 228.3 and swallowed the one it has licked.

PT 229

- 229.1 Recitation. This is the fingernail of Atum that is on the vertebra of Ka-
 Allocator's spine,
 229.2 the one that sent chaos away from Hermopolis.
 229.3 Fall down, crawl away!

PT 230

- 230.1 Recitation. Your two drops into the earth! Your two ribs into the hole!
 230.2 Liquid-shooter, the two kites stand up,
 230.3 your mouth is closed by Follower, the mouth of Follower is closed by Mafdet,
 230.4 if the one made slack has been bitten by Glider.
 230.5 Oh, Sun! Bite for *me the earth, bite for *me Geb,
 230.6 bite for *me the father of the one who would bite *me!
 230.7 This one is the one who would bite *me: *I would not bite him;
 230.8 he is the one who would come against *me: *I would not go against him,
 230.9 the two times he sees *me, the two times he looks at *me.
 230.10 Whenever you bite *me, *I give your one;
 230.11 whenever you see *me, *I give your two.
 230.12 Glider has been bitten by a glider, a glider has been bitten by Glider.
 230.13 Sky has been encircled, earth has been encircled, he who turns around the sub-
 jects has been encircled.
 230.14 Should the god be encircled while he is blind, you yourself will be encircled
 here, scorpion.
 230.15 These are the two spells of Elephantine that are in the mouth of Osiris,
 230.16 which Horus has knotted on the spine.

PT 231

- 231.1 Recitation. Your bone is boned and you are boned.
 231.2 Desires are restricted, the pillars in the kiln are felled.
 231.3 It is Hemen.

PT 232

- 232.1 Vascular one, vascular one! Seminal one, seminal one!
 232.2 You long one of his mother!—twice. Fluid one, fluid one,
 232.3 begone up for me: don't ignore me.

PT 233

- 233.1 *dd-mdw hr w³dt prt m t²*
 233.2 *hr sdt prt m nw*
 233.3 *j.hr zbn*

PT 234

- 234.1 *dd-mdw hr hr.k hr rjt.f*
 234.2 *h³ hr t³z.k jmj n³wt.f*
 234.3 *hm n.(j) lknt m hrwj.s snw*

PT 235

- 235.1 *dd-mdw kw 3w jm hw jm hw*
 235.2 *hw nk.n.k jrtj rwt C³ nt jtf.j j³.j*

PT 236

- 236 *dd-mdw kbb hj tjtj bjbj šs z³ hifgt m.k pw*

PT 237

- 237.1 *dd-mdw tfj.tn jm jbw zkr jr pr n mw³t.f*

- 237.2 *hjw sdr*

PT 238

- 238.1 *dd-mdw t n jt.k n.k jkj nh^y*
 238.2 *t.k ntk n jt.k n.k jk nh^y*
 238.3 *nbw hiknw b³γ t³w k³.k pw nn w³γ jrrw n r.f*

PT 239

- 239.1 *dd-mdw pr hdt Cm.n.s wrt*
 239.2 *Cm.n ns hdt wrt nj m³.tj ns*

PT 240

- 240.1 *dd-mdw w³dt jr pt zp³ hrw jr t²*
 240.2 *nr jhw hrw lnd.f*
 240.3 *lnd.n WNJS hr zbnr hrw b³m WNJS ny r³b WNJS*
 240.4 *hr hr.k jmj n³wt.f s³.tj jmj-tpht.f*
 240.5 *hnyt hrw h³t t³j.j.mj hjw zbn*

PT 241

- 241.1 *dd-mdw jšw jnb q³rw dbt*
 241.2 *ny nw pr m r.k r.k ds.k*

PT 242

- 242.1 *dd-mdw C³ym sdt nj gm tk³ m pr hr nbwt*
 242.2 *h³rw pzh htlt pr pzh.f jmn.f jm.f*

PT 243

- 243.1 *dd-mdw htsuj htsuj n dm³wj zp 2 t js tj*
 243.2 *rw rw r.k*
 243.3 *j.k trr C³ j.k trr jm*
 243.4 *j hm tf*

PT 233

- 233.1 Recitation. The cobra that came from the earth falls,
 233.2 the fire that came from Nu falls.
 233.3 Fall down, crawl away!

PT 234

- 234.1 Recitation. On your face, you on his coil!
 234.2 Go down on your vertebra, you in his undergrowth!
 234.3 Go back for me, you endowed with two faces!

PT 235

- 235.1 Recitation. You long one, beaten flank, beaten flank!
 235.2 You have now mated with the two threshold-keepers of my father, whom I praise.

PT 236

- 236 Recitation. Earthen One, monster whom the hereditary king tramples, Cord,
 Son of *hifgt*—that is your name.

PT 237

- 237.1 Recitation. The spittle has failed, what is in the sacs has sped to the house of its
 mother.
 237.2 Monster, lie down!

PT 238

- 238.1 Recitation. The bread of your father is for you, you whose strike misses!
 238.2 Your own bread of your father is for you, you whose strike misses!
 238.3 The Gold of Jubilation, Apparent in Heat, that is your esteemed bull at whose
 word one acts.

PT 239

- 239.1 Recitation. The White Crown has emerged and swallowed the great one.
 239.2 The White Crown's tongue has swallowed the great one with the tongue unseen.

PT 240

- 240.1 Recitation. Cobra to the sky! Horus's centipede to the earth!
 240.2 The oxherd, Horus, is treading.
 240.3 ★I have trod where Horus crawls, unconsciously, not knowing.
 240.4 On your face, you in his undergrowth! Be dragged off, you in his cave!
 240.5 Horus's oven that pervades the earth, O make the monster be off!

PT 241

- 241.1 Recitation. Wall sneeze! Brick vomit!
 241.2 That which has come from your mouth is rebuffed toward you yourself.

PT 242

- 242.1 Recitation. The fire has been extinguished, no lamp can be found in the house
 where the Ombite is.
 242.2 The biting snake is all over the house of the one he would bite, hiding in it.

PT 243

- 243.1 Recitation. Each pair of scepters is for two strips of papyrus each, as pounded
 bread.
 243.2 Lion, go away,
 243.3 Are you are here or are you are there?
 243.4 O servant, spit out!

BURIAL CHAMBER NORTH WALL, TO PASSAGE SOUTH WALL 1

PT 23–24 a

- 23–24.2 *jsjr jt n.k msddw WNJS nbw mdw m m.f dw*
 23–24.3 *dhwij j.zj jt sw n jsjr jn mdw m rn WNJS dw*
 23–24.4 *d n.k sw m drt.k*
 23–24.5 *dd-mdw zp 4 m sflj.k jm.f z3 m.k sfljw jm.f*
 23–24.7 *zt*

PT 25 a

- 25.2 *zj zj hn' k3.f zj hrw hn' k3.f zj sth hn' k3.f*
 25.3 *zj dhwtj hn' k3.f zj ntr hn' k3.f zj jsjr hn' k3.f*
 25.4 *zj hntj-jrtj hn' k3.f zj.t dd.k hn' k3.k*
 25.5 *h3 WNJS c k3.k m b3h.k h3 WNJS c k3.k m ht.k*
 25.6 *h3 WNJS rd k3.k m b3h.k h3 WNJS rd k3.k m ht.k*
 25.7 *jsjr WNJS dj.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw htm hr.k jm.s*
 25.8 *pdpd st jrt hrw r.k*
 25.9 *dd-mdw zp 4 sntr ht*

PT 32 a

- 32.2 *qbh.k jpn jsjr qbh.k jpn h3 WNJS prw hr z3.k prw hr hrw*
 32.3 *jw.n.(j) jn.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw qb jb.k hr.s*
 32.4 *jn.n.(j) n.k s hr kbuj.k*
 32.5 *m-n.k rdw prj jm.k nj wrd jb.k hr.s*
 32.6 *dd-mdw zp 4 m pr.tj n.k hrw*
 32.7 *qbhw sntr t3 2*

PT 34

- 34.2 *zmrn zmrn wpp r.k*
 34.3 *h3 WNJS j.dp.k dpt.f hnt zhw-ntrw*
 34.4 *jssw hrw zmrn*
 34.5 *jssw sth zmrn*
 34.6 *tt jb nbuj zmrn*
 34.7 *dd-mdw zp 4 hzmn.k m c b hmsw-hrw*
 34.8 *bd hm'w t3 5 nbb*

PT 35

- 35.2 *sntr.k sntr hrw sntr.k sntr sth*
 35.3 *sntr.k sntr dhwtj sntr.k sntr ntr*
 35.4 *sntr.k ddkt jmt.sn*
 35.5 *r.k r n blz jrt hrw ms.f jm*
 35.6 *bd mhw t3 5 stpt*

PT 36

- 36.2 *sntr.k sntr hrw sntr.k sntr sth sntr.k sntr dhwtj*
 36.3 *sntr.k sntr ntr sntr.k sntr k3.k sntr.k sntr sntr.k*
 36.4 *sntr.k ddlt pn jmt snw.k ntrw*

OFFERING RITUAL

PT 23–24 a

- 23–24.2 Osiris, acquire for yourself all those who hate Unis and anyone who speaks badly with his name.
 23–24.3 Thoth, go, acquire him for Osiris: get the one who speaks bad in Unis's name;
 23–24.4 put him in your hand.
 23–24.5 Recitation 4 times: Don't you let loose of him: beware that you let loose of him.
 23–24.7 Libation.

PT 25 a

- 25.2 Someone has gone with his ka: Horus has gone with his ka; Seth has gone with his ka;
 25.3 Thoth has gone with his ka; the god has gone with his ka; Osiris has gone with his ka;
 25.4 Eyes-Forward has gone with his ka: you too have gone with your ka.
 25.5 Oh, Unis! Your ka's arm is before you. Oh, Unis! Your ka's arm is after you.
 25.6 Oh, Unis! Your ka's foot is before you. Oh, Unis! Your ka's foot is after you.
 25.7 Osiris Unis, I have given you Horus's eye: your face has been provided with it.
 25.8 Let the scent of Horus's eye disseminate to you.
 25.9 Recitation 4 times. Incense, fire.

PT 32 a

- 32.2 These your cool waters, Osiris—these your cool waters, oh Unis—have come from your son, have come from Horus.
 32.3 I have come having gotten Horus's eye, that your mind may become cool with it;
 32.4 I have gotten it for you under your soles.
 32.5 Here for you is the outflow that comes from you: your mind will not become weary with it.
 32.6 Recitation 4 times: Come, you have been invoked.
 32.7 Cool water; 2 pellets of natron.

PT 34

- 34.2 Condensed milk, condensed milk, which parts your mouth,
 34.3 ho, Unis! may you taste its taste in front of the gods' booths:
 34.4 what Horus sneezes, condensed milk;
 34.5 what Seth sneezes, condensed milk;
 34.6 the reconciliation of the two gods' minds, condensed milk.
 34.7 Recitation 4 times: You have been natronized amid Horus's Followers.
 34.8 5 pellets of Nile-Valley natron of Nekheb.

PT 35

- 35.2 Your divinization is Horus's divinization; your divinization is Seth's divinization;
 35.3 Your divinization is Thoth's divinization; your divinization is the god's divinization;
 35.4 your divinization too is amongst them.
 35.5 Your mouth is the mouth of a milk-calf on the day he is born.
 35.6 5 pellets of Delta natron of Shetpet.

PT 36

- 36.2 Your divinization is Horus's divinization; your divinization is Seth's divinization;
 your divinization is Thoth's divinization,
 36.3 Your divinization is the god's divinization; your divinization is your ka's divinization;
 your divinization is your divinization's divinization,
 36.4 this your divinization too is amongst your brothers, the gods.

36.5 *sntr.k dp r.k s^cb.k qsw.k tm.jw htm.k jrt.k*

36.6 *jsjr dj.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw htm.(j) hr.k jm.s pdpd
36.7 sntr t³ 1*

PT 37

37.2 *h³ WNJS j.smn.(j) n.k rtj.k ps^s.t
37.3 ps^s kf*

PT 38

38.2 *jsjr WNJS wp.j n.k r.k
38.3 ntr hm^cw ntr mhw bj³*

PT 39

39.2 *WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw zjt.f r.s
39.3 jn.n.(j) n.k s d.(j) n.k s m r.k
39.4 zrw hm^cw zrw mhw*

PT 40

40.2 *h³ WNJS m-n.k šjkw jsjr
40.3 šjkw*

PT 41

41.2 *m dp n mnd n hrw n dt.f m n.k jr r.k
41.3 jrtt*

PT 42

42.2 *m mnd snt.k jst bz³t jt³.k r r.k
42.3 mnz³ šw*

PT 32 b

32.2 *qbh.k jpn jsjr qbh.k jpn h³ WNJS prw hr z³.k prw hr hrw*

32.3 *jw.n.(j) jn.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw qb jb.k hr.s*

32.4 *jn.n.(j) n.k s hr kbwj.k*

32.5 *m-n.k rdw prj jm.k nj wrd jb.k hr.s*

32.6 *dd-mdw zp 4 m pr.tj n.k hrw*

32.7 *djt qbhw ldt h³*

PT 43

43.2 *m jrtj hrw kmt hd^t
43.3 jt n.k sn r mlynt.k shd.sn hr.k
43.4 hd km^ft*

PT 44

44.2 *htp n.k r^cjm pt shtp.f n.k nbwj
44.3 htp n.k gr^h htp n.k nb^t
44.4 htpt jnt.k htpt m³3t.k htpt(t) sdmt.k*

44.5 *htpt m b³h.k htpt m ht.k htpt hrt.k*

44.6 *p³t wd³t*

PT 45

45.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jbhw hrw hdw htmw r.k
45.3 hd t³ 5 hnwt*

- 36.5 Your divinization is on your mouth and you have been cleansed; your bones are complete and you end what is against you.
 36.6 Osiris, I have given you Horus's eye: I provide your face with it disseminated.
 36.7 1 pellet of incense.

PT 37

- 37.2 Oh, Unis! I fix your jaws split for you.
 37.3 The flint splitter.

PT 38

- 38.2 Osiris Unis, I part your mouth for you.
 38.3 An ingot of Nile-Valley god's-metal; an ingot of Delta god's-metal.

PT 39

- 39.2 Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, for which he went;
 39.3 I have gotten it for you: I put it in your mouth.
 39.4 Nile-Valley *zrw*-salt; Delta *zrw*-salt.

PT 40

- 40.2 Oh, Unis! Here for you is Osiris's *šjkw*-mineral.
 40.3 *šjkw*-mineral.

PT 41

- 41.2 Here is the tip of the breast of Horus's own person, here for you at your mouth.
 41.3 Milk

PT 42

- 42.2 Here is your lactating sister Isis's breast, which you should take to your mouth.
 42.3 An empty jar.

PT 32 b

- 32.2 These your cool waters, Osiris—these your cool waters, oh Unis—have come from your son, have come from Horus.
 32.3 I have come having gotten Horus's eye, that your mind may become cool with it;
 32.4 I have gotten it for you under your soles.
 32.5 Here for you is the outflow that comes from you: your mind will not become weary with it.
 32.6 Recitation 4 times: Come, you have been invoked.
 32.7 Giving cool water, taking around.

PT 43

- 43.2 Here are Horus's two eyes, dark and white:
 43.3 take them to your countenance, that they may brighten your face.
 43.4 A white jar, a dark jar; lifting up.

PT 44

- 44.2 Content for you is the Sun in the sky, and he contents for you the Two Lords.
 44.3 Content for you is the night, content for you are the Two Ladies.
 44.4 Contentment is what you get: contentment is what you see, contentment is what you hear,
 44.5 contentment is in your presence, contentment is behind you, contentment is your lot.
 44.6 A whole bread-loaf.

PT 45

- 45.2 Osiris Unis, here for you are Horus's white teeth, which will provide your mouth.
 45.3 A bowl of 5 onions.

PT 46

- 46.2 *dd-mdw zp 4 htp-dj-nswt n k3 n WNJS*
 46.3 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw*
 46.5 *p3t.k wnm.k*
 46.6 *p3t nt wdn*

PT 47

- 47.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw hpt m c sth*
 47.3 *jtt.k jr r.k wppt.k r.k jm.s*
 47.4 *jrp mnw hd h3ts 1*

PT 48

- 48.2 *jsjr WNJS wp.(j) r.k m mht jm.k*
 48.3 *jrp mnw km h3ts 1*

PT 49

- 49.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k hnq pr jm.k*
 49.3 *hnqt mnw km hnt 1*

PT 50

- 50.2 *r dw3w.k jm pt dw3w.k n WNJS*
 50.3 *nb ht nb n dt.k ht nb*
 50.4 *n k3 WNJS ht nb n dt.f ht nb*
 50.5 *dsrt wdhw*

PT 51

- 51.2 *WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw dpjt.k*
 51.3 *dpt 1*

PT 52

- 52.2 *3h3hj kkj*
 52.3 *3h 1*

PT 53

- 53.2 *WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw zlynt.k*
 53.3 *zlyn 1*

PT 54

- 54.2 *WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw hpt m c sth nhmt n.k*
 54.3 *wp.(j) r.k jm.s*
 54.4 *jrp mnw hd hnt 1*

PT 55

- 55.2 *WNJS m-n.k hnq pr m jsjr*
 55.3 *hnqt mnw km hnt 1*

PT 56

- 56.2 *WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw nhmt n.k*
 56.3 *nj bj3.n.s jr.k*
 56.4 *hnqt bj3 hnt 1*

PT 57

- 57.2 *WNJS m n.k jrt hrw htm.(j) tw jm.s*
 57.3 *hnqt htm hnt 1*

PT 46

- 46.2 Recitation 4 times: A king-given offering for the ka of Unis.
 46.3 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye,
 46.5 your bread-loaf, that you may eat.
 46.6 A loaf of offering bread.

PT 47

- 47.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which escaped from Seth,
 47.3 which you should take to your mouth and keep parting your mouth with it.
 47.4 1 white quartzite jar of wine.

PT 48

- 48.2 Osiris Unis, I part your mouth with what is full of you.
 48.3 1 dark quartzite jar of wine.

PT 49

- 49.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is the foam that comes from you.
 49.3 1 dark quartzite bowl of beer.

PT 50

- 50.2 Sun, your dawn—you in the sky, your dawn—is for Unis.
 50.3 Lord of everything, everything is for your person,
 50.4 everything is for Unis's ka, everything is for his person.
 50.5 Sweeping the libation-table.

PT 51

- 51.2 Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which you should taste.
 51.3 1 “taste” bread.

PT 52

- 52.2 You of the soil, you of the darkness!
 52.3 1 porridge-loaf.

PT 53

- 53.2 Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which you should embrace.
 53.3 1 kidney.

PT 54

- 54.2 Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which escaped from Seth and was rescued for you:
 54.3 I part your mouth with it.
 54.4 1 white quartzite bowl of wine.

PT 55

- 55.2 Unis, here for you is the foam that comes from Osiris.
 55.3 1 dark quartzite bowl of beer.

PT 56

- 56.2 Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which was rescued for you:
 56.3 it cannot be away from you.
 56.4 1 metal bowl of beer.

PT 57

- 57.2 Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: I provide you with it.
 57.3 1 cadmic bowl of beer.

PT 72

- 72.2 *jsjr WNJS mh.n.(j) n.k jrt.k m dt dd-mdw zp 4*
 72.3 *st h3b*

PT 73

- 73.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k hnq jm hr.f*
 73.3 *hnkw*

PT 74

- 74.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw j.sflkkt.n.f hr.s*
 74.3 *sft*

PT 75

- 75.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw snmt n.f*
 75.3 *nšnm*

PT 76

- 76.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw jnt.n.f ntrw jm.s*
 76.3 *tw3t*

PT 77

- 77.2 *mrht mrht tn j.wn.t jmt h3t hrw tn j.wn.t*
 77.3 *wn.t m (h3t) hrw dd.(j) tm (m) h3t WNJS pn*
 77.4 *sn̄dm.t n.f hr.t s3h.t sw hr.t*

77.5 *dj.t shm.f m dt.f*

77.6 *dj.t št.f m jrtj 3lhyw nb1*

77.7 *m33tj.sn n.f sdmt.f nb1 rn.f jst*

77.8 *h3tt š*

PT 78

- 78.2 *jsjr WNJS jn.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw jt.t.n.f r h3t.k*
 78.3 *h3tt thnw*

PT 79–80

- 79–80.2 *dd-mdw zp 4 jsjr WNJS sdm.(j) n.k jrt hrw wd3.t jr hr.k*
 79–80.7 *w3d msdmnt*

PT 81

- 81.2 *rs.t m htp rs t3jt m htp rs t3jtt m htp*
 81.3 *jrt hrw jmt dp m htp jrt hrw jmt hwut nt m htp*
 81.4 *hzpt jrwt ss̄krt wr h̄*
 81.5 *dj.t ksj t3wj n WNJS pn jmr kflsw.sn n hrw*
 81.6 *dj.t nr t3wj n WNJS jmr nrw.sn n sth*
 81.7 *hms.t bft WNJS m ntr.f wp.t w3t.f bnt 3lhyw*
 81.8 *h̄f bnt 3lhyw jnpw js bnt jmnijw*
 81.9 *r h3t r h3t hr jsjr*
 81.10 *wnhyw 2*

PT 72

- 72.2 Osiris Unis, I have filled your eye for you with oil. Recitation 4 times.
 72.3 Festival-scent oil.

PT 73

- 73.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is the foam that is from his face.
 73.3 “Endowment” oil.

PT 74

- 74.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, on which he caused devastation.
 74.3 Pine oil.

PT 75

- 75.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, which was reassembled for him.
 75.3 “Reassembling” oil.

PT 76

- 76.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, with which he got the gods.
 76.3 “Support” oil.

PT 77

- 77.2 Ointment, ointment, where should you be? You on Horus’s forehead, where should you be?
 77.3 You were on Horus’s front, but I put you on this Unis’s front
 77.4 so that you may make it pleasant for him, wearing you; make him effective,
 wearing you;
 77.5 make him have control of his person,
 77.6 and give his incisiveness in the eyes of all the akhs
 77.7 who shall look at him and everyone who shall hear his name as well.
 77.8 First-class cedar oil.

PT 78

- 78.2 Osiris Unis, I have gotten for you Horus’s eye, which he acquired, to your forehead.
 78.3 First-class Libyan oil.

PT 79–80

- 79–80.2 Recitation 4 times. Osiris Unis, I paint for you Horus’s eye sound on your face.
 79–80.7 Green eyepaint, black eyepaint.

PT 81

- 81.2 May you awake in peace! Awake, Ta’it, in peace! Awake, you of Ta’it-Town, in peace!
 81.3 Horus’s eye in Dep, in peace! Horus’s eye in the Red-Crown compounds, in peace!—
 81.4 you whom the made-up women receive, you who adorn the great one in the sedan chair—
 81.5 and make the Two Lands bow to this Unis like they bow to Horus,
 81.6 and make the Two Lands respectful of Unis like they are respectful of Seth.
 81.7 May you sit opposite Unis in his divinity, may you part his path at the fore of the akhs,
 81.8 that he may come to stand at the fore of the akhs as Anubis at the fore of the westerners.
 81.9 To the front! To the front, unto Osiris!
 81.10 2 strips of linen.

PT 25 b

- 25.2 *zj zj hn^c k³.f zj hrw hn^c k³.f zj st^h hn^c k³.f*
 25.3 *zj d^lwtj hn^c k³.f zj n^{tr} hn^c k³.f zj jsjr hn^c k³.f*
 25.4 *zj hntj-jrtj hn^c k³.f zj.t dd.k hn^c k³.k*
 25.5 *h³ WNJS c k³.k m b³h.k h³ WNJS c k³.k m ht.k*
 25.6 *h³ WNJS rd k³.k m b³h.k h³ WNJS rd k³.k m ht.k*
 25.7 *jsjr WNJS dj.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw htm hr.k jm.s*
 25.8 *dd-mdw zp 4 p^dpd st jrt hr r.k*
 25.9 *sn^{tr} ht*

PT 32 c

- 32.2 *qbh.k jpn jsjr qbh.k jpn h³ WNJS prw hr z³.k prw hr hrw*
 32.3 *jw.n.(j) jn.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw qb jb.k hr.s*
 32.4 *jn.n.(j) n.k s hr kbwj.k*
 32.5 *m-n.k rdw prj jm.k nj wrd jb.k hr.s*
 32.6 *dd-mdw zp 4 m pr.tj n.k hrw*
 32.7 *qbhw t³ 2*

PT 82

- 82.2 *d^lwtj jn sw hr.s*
 82.4 *pr n.f hr jrt hrw*
 82.5 *h³t*

PT 83

- 83.2 *d^j n.f jrt hr htp.f hr.s*
 83.3 *j m hr htp-nswt*

PT 84

- 84.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr hpt.n.f hr.s*
 84.3 *htp-nswt 2*

PT 85

- 85.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr htp.t hr.s*
 85.3 *htp wsht 2*

PT 86

- 86.2 *dd-mdw shm.(j) n.k s hr.k*
 86.3 *hms j.gr prt-hrw-nswt*

PT 87

- 87.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw j^rb.(j) n.k s jr r.k*
 87.3 *j^rw-r t 1 hnqt 1*

PT 88

- 88.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr hw n.k t.f s*
 88.3 *t tw 1*

PT 89

- 89.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr jt^ht n.f*
 89.3 *t-jt^h hnt 1*

PT 25 b

- 25.2 Someone has gone with his ka: Horus has gone with his ka; Seth has gone with his ka;
- 25.3 Thoth has gone with his ka; the god has gone with his ka; Osiris has gone with his ka;
- 25.4 Eyes-Forward has gone with his ka: you too have gone with your ka.
- 25.5 Oh, Unis! Your ka's arm is before you. Oh, Unis! Your ka's arm is after you.
- 25.6 Oh, Unis! Your ka's foot is before you. Oh, Unis! Your ka's foot is after you.
- 25.7 Osiris Unis, I have given you Horus's eye: your face has been provided with it.
- 25.8 Recitation 4 times: Let the scent of Horus's eye disseminate to you.
- 25.9 Incense, fire.

PT 32 c

- 32.2 These your cool waters, Osiris—these your cool waters, oh Unis—have come from your son, have come from Horus.
- 32.3 I have come having gotten Horus's eye, that your mind may become cool with it;
- 32.4 I have gotten it for you under your soles.
- 32.5 Here for you is the outflow that comes from you: your mind will not become weary with it.
- 32.6 Recitation 4 times: Come, you have been invoked.
- 32.7 Cool water; 2 pellets.

PT 82

- 82.2 Thoth, get him with it.
- 82.4 Come forth to him with Horus's eye.
- 82.5 The offering-table.

PT 83

- 83.2 Give him Horus's eye, that he may become content with it.
- 83.3 O, come with the king's offering.

PT 84

- 84.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, with which he became content.
- 84.3 2 king's offerings.

PT 85

- 85.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: be content with it.
- 85.3 2 offering-slabs of the broadhall.

PT 86

- 86.2 Recitation: I cause it to revert for you unto you.
- 86.3 Sit down, be still. The king's invocation.

PT 87

- 87.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: I collect it for you to your mouth.
- 87.3 The “mouth-washing” (meal): 1 loaf of bread, 1 jug (of beer).

PT 88

- 88.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: it has been prevented for you that he pound it.
- 88.3 1 loaf of “pounded” bread.

PT 89

- 89.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which was pulled out for him.
- 89.3 1 bowl of “pulled” bread.

PT 90

- 90.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw nds wnmt.n sth jm.s*
 90.3 *dsrt ds 1*

PT 91

- 91.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw j.bmlyt.n.sn jr.f*
 91.3 *bnms ds 1*

PT 92

- 92.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw f3.(j) n.k s jr hr.k*
 92.3 *f3t t 1 hnnt 1*

PT 93

- 93.2 *f3 hr.k jsjr f3 hr.k h3 WNJS pw zj 3b.f*
 93.3 *f3 hr.k WNJS pw w3š spd*
 93.4 *m3.k n prt jm.k h.s slt jm*
 93.5 *j3.(j) kw WNJS wp.k r.k m jrt hrw*
 93.6 *duj.k k3.k jsjr js bw.f kw m 3 dnd nb nj mt*

 93.7 *WNJS hzp n.k t.k pn jm jrt hrw*

PT 94–95

- 94.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw n3b3bt.n.k hr.s*
 95.2 *htm.(j) k m hnq pr jm.k zp 4*
 94–95.3 *3bw t 1 ds 1*

PT 96

- 96.2 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k swtt jrt hr*
 96.3 *swt hnwt 1*

PT 108

- 108.1 *jsjr WNJS j3b n.k mw jm.s*
 108.3 *mw hnwt 2*

PT 109

- 109.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr bdt r.f*
 109.3 *bd hnwt 2*

PT 110

- 110.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw j3b.(j) n.k s jr r.k*
 110.3 *j3w-r t 1 hnqt 1*

PT 111

- 111.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr tjt sth*
 111.3 *t tw 1*

PT 112

- 112.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr jtlt n.f*
 112.3 *t-jtl hnwt 1*

PT 113

- 113.1 *jsjr WNJS jt n.k hr.k*
 113.3 *ht 2*

PT 114

- 114.1 *jsjr WNJS jn.n.(j) n.k nhrw hr.k*
 114.3 *nhr 2*

PT 90

- 90.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: what Seth has eaten of it is little.
 90.3 1 jug of strained beer.

PT 91

- 91.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which they diverted from him
 91.3 1 jug of *lnms*-beer.

PT 92

- 92.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: I lift it to your face.
 92.3 Lifting 1 loaf of bread and 1 bowl (of beer).

PT 93

- 93.2 Lift your face, Osiris; lift your face, oh Unis, who has gone to become akh.
 93.3 Lift your face, Unis, esteemed and sharp,
 93.4 and look at what has come from you, striking the one who is netted in it.
 93.5 I wash you, Unis, that you may part your mouth with Horus's eye.
 93.6 You should summon your ka, being Osiris, and he will defend you from any
 93.7 wrath of a dead person.
 Unis, receive to yourself this your bread, which is Horus's eye.

PT 94–95

- 94.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, on which you have slid forth.
 95.2 I provide you with the foam that comes from you. 4 times.
 94–95.3 The collation: 1 loaf of bread, 1 jug (of beer).

PT 96

- 96.2 Osiris Unis, here for you is what is his, Horus's eye.
 96.3 A bowl with 1 shank of meat.

PT 108

- 108.1 Osiris Unis, collected for you is the water from it.
 108.3 2 bowls of water.

PT 109

- 109.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which natronized his mouth.
 109.3 2 bowls of natron.

PT 110

- 110.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: I collect it to your mouth.
 110.3 The “mouth-washing” (meal): 1 loaf of bread, 1 jug (of beer).

PT 111

- 111.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which Seth pounded.
 111.3 1 loaf of “pounded” bread.

PT 112

- 112.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which was pulled out for him.
 112.3 1 bowl of “pulled” bread.

PT 113

- 113.1 Osiris Unis, acquire for yourself your face.
 113.3 2 loaves of *hʒ* bread.

PT 114

- 114.1 Osiris Unis, I have gotten for you those that resemble your face.
 114.3 2 loaves of cone bread.

PT 115

- 115.1 *jsjr WNJS dj.n.(j) jrt.k*
 115.3 *dpt 4*

PT 116

- 116.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr bw p³z.f hr.s*
 116.3 *pzn 4*

PT 117

- 117.1 *[js]jr WNJS hzp n.k dpj.k*
 117.2 *dd-mdw zp 4*
 117.3 *šns 4*

PT 118

- 118.1 *jsjr WNJS m jrt.k jt n.k s*
 118.2 *dd-mdw zp 4*
 118.3 *mt³ hnwt 4*

PT 119

- 119.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr bnf^f n.f*
 119.3 *bmfw hnwt 4*

PT 120

- 120.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw m s hbnbn.s*
 120.3 *hbnnt hnwt 4*

PT 121

- 121.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr jtht n.f*
 121.3 *qmḥ 4*

PT 122

- 122.1 *jsjr WNJS m jrt hrw d.t n.k m r.k*
 122.3 *jdt h³.k 4*

PT 123

- 123.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw p³t.k wnm.k*
 123.3 *p³t hnwt 4*

PT 124

- 124.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr jtht n.f*
 124.3 *ȝȝ hnwt 4*

PT 125

- 125.1 *jsjr WNJS jn n.k jbhw.f hdw w³dw*
 125.3 *hd hnwt 4*

PT 126

- 126.1 *jsjr WNJS m lypl jrt hr*
 126.3 *lypȝ hnwt 1*

PT 127

- 127.1 *jsjr WNJS jbȝ.(j) nj zf gbb m jw^rf jw^r*
 127.3 *j^r hnwt 1*

PT 128

- 128.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr [z]lnt.k]*
 128.3 *zln hnwt 1*

PT 115

- 115.1 Osiris Unis, I have placed your eye.
 115.3 4 loaves of “taste” bread

PT 116

- 116.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye: he has been prevented from feeling pain from it.
 116.3 4 loaves of flat beer-bread.

PT 117

- 117.1 Osiris Unis, receive for yourself your head.
 117.2 Recitation, 4 times.
 117.3 4 loaves of *šns*-bread.

PT 118

- 118.1 Osiris Unis, here is your eye: acquire it for yourself.
 118.2 Recitation, 4 times.
 118.3 A bowl of 4 “in-the-ground” breads.

PT 119

- 119.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, which was snatched from him.
 119.3 A bowl of 4 *ḥnfw* breads.

PT 120

- 120.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye: here it is bouncing around.
 120.3 A bowl of 4 *ḥbnnt*-breads.

PT 121

- 121.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, which was pulled out for him.
 121.3 4 wheat breads.

PT 122

- 122.1 Osiris Unis, here is Horus’s eye, put for you in your mouth.
 122.3 4 smooth-breads behind you.

PT 123

- 123.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, your bread-loaf, that you may eat.
 123.3 A bowl of 4 bread-loaves.

PT 124

- 124.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, which was pulled out for him.
 124.3 A bowl of 4 toast.

PT 125

- 125.1 Osiris Unis, his white, sound teeth have been gotten for you.
 125.3 A bowl of 4 onions.

PT 126

- 126.1 Osiris Unis, here is the one who stole Horus’s eye.
 126.3 1 bowl with a foreleg.

PT 127

- 127.1 Osiris Unis, I dance: Geb does not do wrong by his heir who inherits.
 127.3 1 bowl with a haunch.

PT 128

- 128.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus’s eye, which you should embrace.
 128.3 1 bowl with a kidney.

PT 129

- 129.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k swtt jrt hr*
 129.3 *[swt]t hnwt 1*

PT 130

- 130.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k sbw jr.k*
 130.2 *dd-mdw zp 4*
 130.3 *spr hnwt [4]*

PT 131

- 131.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k j.ss3w.k*
 131.2 *dd-mdw zp 4*
 131.3 *3šrt hnwt 1*

PT 132

- 132.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw j.z3.k jr.s*
 132.3 *mzt hnwt 1*

PT 133

- 133.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr šmt,fjr.s*
 133.3 *nnšm hnwt 1*

PT 134

- 134.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr jmt h3t,f*
 134.3 *h3t hnwt 1*

PT 135

- 135.1 *jsjr WNJS m jrt hr jmt h3t stš*
 135.3 *h3t if hnwt 1*

PT 136

- 136.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k dpjw m-h3t-sth srj*
 136.3 *r hnwt 1*

PT 137

- 137.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k dr jb pn*
 137.2 *dd-mdw zp 4*
 137.3 *trp hnwt 1*

PT 138

- 138.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr mz3t.n.f*
 138.2 *zt hnwt 1*

PT 139

- 139.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jw j.sr.f sn*
 139.3 *s hnwt 1*

PT 140

- 140.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr h3t mn,f s*
 140.3 *mnwt hnwt 1*

PT 141

- 141.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr jtht n,f*
 141.3 *t-zjf 1*

PT 142

- 142.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr nj š3.s jr.k*
 142.3 *š3t 2*

PT 129

- 129.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is what is his, Horus's eye.
 129.3 1 bowl with a shank of meat.

PT 130

- 130.1 Osiris Unis, here for you are those who rebelled against you.
 130.2 Recitation, 4 times.
 130.3 A bowl with 4 ribs.

PT 131

- 131.1 Osiris Unis, here for you are your beaters.
 131.2 Recitation, 4 times.
 131.3 1 bowl of roasted meat.

PT 132

- 132.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: I have gone for it.
 132.3 1 bowl of liver.

PT 133

- 133.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, for which he goes.
 133.3 1 bowl of spleen.

PT 134

- 134.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which is from his front.
 134.3 1 bowl with a joint.

PT 135

- 135.1 Osiris Unis, here is Horus's eye, which is from Seth's front.
 135.3 1 bowl of breast-meat.

PT 136

- 136.1 Osiris Unis, here for you are the heads of the followers of Seth, the serpent.
 136.3 1 bowl with a goose.

PT 137

- 137.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is all of this mind.
 137.2 Recitation, 4 times.
 137.3 1 bowl with a white-fronted goose.

PT 138

- 138.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which he has brought.
 138.2 1 bowl with a pintail duck-hen.

PT 139

- 139.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is the one who comes to foretell them.
 139.3 1 bowl with a grey goose.

PT 140

- 140.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: he has been prevented from suffering it.
 140.3 1 bowl with a pigeon-hen.

PT 141

- 141.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which was pulled out for him.
 141.3 1 *zjf*-bread.

PT 142

- 142.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: it cannot be cut away from you.
 142.3 2 cut-bread.

PT 143

- 143.1 *jsjr WNJS j.sp.(j) n.k jrt hr*
 143.3 *np³t hnwt 2*

PT 144

- 144.1 *jsjr WNJS m jrt hrw szwnt n.f mw jmw.s*
 144.3 *mzt hnwt 2*

PT 145

- 145.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw nds wnmt.n sth jm.s*
 145.3 *dsrt hnwt 2*

PT 146

- 146.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw jw.sn j.s̄n.w jm.s*
 146.3 *j³tt dsr hnwt 2*

PT 147

- 147.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw j.bmht.n.sn jr.f*
 147.3 *bmms hnwt 2*

PT 148

- 148.1 *jsjr WNJS htm.(j) tw m hnq pr jm.k*
 148.3 *hnqt hnwt 2*

PT 149

- 149.1 *jsjr WNJS htm.(j) tw m hnq pr jm.k*
 149.3 *shpt hnwt 2*

PT 150

- 150.1 *jsjr WNJS htm.(j) tw m hnq pr jm.k*
 150.3 *ph hnwt 2*

PT 151

- 151.1 *jsjr WNJS htm.(j) tw m hnq pr jm.k*
 151.3 *hnqt sj ds 2*

PT 152

- 152.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k mnd n hr d³p.sn*
 152.3 *d³b hnwt 2*

PT 153

- 153.1 *jsjr WNJS wp.(j) r.k jm.s*
 153.3 *jrp mh³w 2*

PT 154

- 154.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw b³t.n.sn hw c³m.f s*
 154.3 *c³s 2*

PT 155

- 155.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k hnwt jmt jrt hrw wp.(j) r.k jm.s*
 155.3 *jmt hnwt 2*

PT 156

- 156.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw hjmt n.f wp.(j) r.k jm.s*
 156.3 *hjmw hnwt 2*

PT 143

- 143.1 Osiris Unis, I allot to you Horus's eye.
 143.3 A bowl with 2 *np̣t*-bread.

PT 144

- 144.1 Osiris Unis, here is Horus's eye, the water in which was caused to suffer for him.
 144.3 A bowl with 2 *mzwt*-bread.

PT 145

- 145.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: what Seth has eaten of it is little.
 145.3 2 bowls of strained beer.

PT 146

- 146.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: they come rounded out from it.
 146.3 2 bowls of strained fermented milk.

PT 147

- 147.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which they diverted from him
 147.3 2 bowls of *lynms*-beer.

PT 148

- 148.1 Osiris Unis, I provide you with the foam that comes from you.
 148.3 2 bowls of beer.

PT 149

- 149.1 Osiris Unis, I provide you with the foam that comes from you.
 149.3 2 bowls of date-beer.

PT 150

- 150.1 Osiris Unis, I provide you with the foam that comes from you.
 150.3 2 bowls of *pḥt*-beer.

PT 151

- 151.1 Osiris Unis, I provide you with the foam that comes from you.
 151.3 2 jugs of Bowland beer.

PT 152

- 152.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is the breast of Horus, which they offer.
 152.3 2 bowls of fig-drink.

PT 153

- 153.1 Osiris Unis, I part your mouth with it.
 153.3 2 Delta wine.

PT 154

- 154.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which they spewed out: he has been prevented from swallowing it.
 154.3 2 wine-jars.

PT 155

- 155.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is the pupil in Horus's eye: I part your mouth with it.
 155.3 2 bowls of Imet wine.

PT 156

- 156.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which was captured for him: I part your mouth with it.
 156.3 2 bowls of Mariut wine.

PT 157

- 157.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr nj snj.s jr.k*
 157.3 *snw hnwt 2*

PT 158

- 158.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr hbnbn.s*
 158.3 *hbnnt hnwt 2*

PT 159

- 159.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr lnyt n.f*
 159.3 *lnfw hnwt 2*

PT 160

- 160.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr hdt.n.f m ḡ stḥ*
 160.3 *jšd hnwt 2*

PT 161

- 161.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw hdt hw sšd.f s*
 161.3 *sšt ḡdt hnwt 2*

PT 162

- 162.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw wʒdt hw sšd.f s*
 162.3 *sšt wʒdt hnwt 2*

PT 163

- 163.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr hw zlž.f s*
 163.3 *zt ḡt hnwt 2*

PT 164

- 164.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr hw zlž.f s*
 164.3 *jty ḡt hnwt 2*

PT 165

- 165.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr j.s nbʒbʒ.s*
 165.3 *bʒt hnwt 1*

PT 166

- 166.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw j.nsbt.n.sn*
 166.3 *nbs hnwt 2*

PT 167

- 167.1 *jsjr WNJS j.wn jrtj.k mʒ.k jm.sn*
 167.3 *t nbs hnwt 2*

PT 168

- 168.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr hw ḡh.f s*
 168.3 *w ḡt hnwt 2*

PT 169

- 169.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hrw bnjt sht.(j) n.k s*
 169.3 *jbt bnjt nb hnwt 2*

PT 170

- 170.1 *jsjr WNJS m-n.k jrt hr jp.(j) n.k s*
 170.3 *mpṭ nb hnwt*

PT 157

- 157.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: it is not released from you.
 157.3 2 bowls of Pelusium wine.

PT 158

- 158.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye bouncing.
 158.3 2 bowls of *hbnnt*.

PT 159

- 159.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which was snatched from him.
 159.3 2 bowls of *hnsf*.

PT 160

- 160.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which he took from Seth.
 160.3 2 bowls of *jšd* berries.

PT 161

- 161.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's white eye: he has been prevented from tying it on.
 161.3 2 bowls of white barley.

PT 162

- 162.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's fresh eye: he has been prevented from tying it on.
 162.3 2 bowls of fresh barley.

PT 163

- 163.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: he has been prevented from tearing it off.
 163.3 2 bowls of parched wheat.

PT 164

- 164.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: he has been prevented from tearing it off.
 164.3 2 bowls of parched barley.

PT 165

- 165.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: it is fluttering.
 165.3 2 bowls of *bȝt*.

PT 166

- 166.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye, which they have licked.
 166.3 2 bowls of sidder fruit.

PT 167

- 167.1 Osiris Unis, open your eyes and see with them
 167.3 2 bowls of sidder-bread.

PT 168

- 168.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: he has been prevented from gathering it.
 168.3 2 bowls of carob beans.

PT 169

- 169.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's sweet eye: I return it to you.
 169.3 2 bowls of the stalk of every sweet plant.

PT 170

- 170.1 Osiris Unis, here for you is Horus's eye: I allot it to you.
 170.3 A bowl of every young plant.

PT 171

- 171.1 *jsjr WNJS h³ n^hl^h n.k l^r.k l^r.k*
 171.3 *hnkt*

PT 223

- 223.2 *dd-mdw wh j.nn jh jh*
 223.3 *h³ WNJS ḫ^hms r h³ m t h³ m hnqt*
 223.4 *ȝ^ȝrt ṣbtjw.k m pr-nmt t-jt^h m wsht*

 223.5 *htm n^tr m htp-n^tr htm WNJS m t.f pn*

 223.6 *j.t n b³.k jsjr b³ jm ȝljw s^ȝlm jm jswt.f*
 223.7 *ndw psdt m hwt-sr*
 223.8 *h³ WNJS j.s^ȝ kw n.(j) j.mz kw jr.(j)*
 223.9 *m hr jr.(j) jz j.mdr.k jr.(j)*
 223.10 *dj.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw jp.n.(j) n.k s*
 223.11 *h³ n^hl^h n.k l^r.k*
 223.12 *h³ WNJS ḫ^hz p n.k t.k pn m ȝ.(j)*
 223.13 *h³ WNJS wn(n.j) n.k m ȝ^ȝ*

PT 224

- 224.6 *dd-mdw wh kw WNJS j.nn kw WNJS*
 224.7 *ȝm.n.k wd.k mdw n jȝwt hrw*
 224.8 *ȝm.n.k wd.k mdw n jȝwt st^ȝ*
 224.9 *ȝm.n.k wd.k mdw n jȝwt jsjr*
 224.10 *htp-dj-nswt m sȝh.k nb*
 224.13 *m jswt.k nb*
 224.14 *nȝbt.k l^ȝnt ȝnȝw mdw.k l^ȝnt ȝljw*
 224.15 *jnpw js l^ȝnt jmntjw ȝndt js l^ȝnt spȝwt jȝbtt*

 224.16 *htpw l^ȝrt.k ȝl^ȝ.k h³ WNJS m ȝb snw.k n^trw*

 224.17 *nȝw s nȝw s*
 224.18 *j.n^d ms w^ȝk l^ȝz t^ȝ tw dr.k pw jmj t^ȝ*
 224.19 *wnȝ dt.k jw^ȝt.k hr.sn zp 4*

PT 199

- 199.1 *h³ jsjr wn[js w^ȝdb.k hr t.k pn]*
 199.2 *[ȝz p n.k sw m ȝ.(j)]*
 199.3 *dd-mdw zp 4 h^ȝw n^hl^h jrt hr [j^r.k]*
 199.4 *[w^ȝdb] htp-n^tr*

PT 32 d

- 32.2 *qbh.k jpn jsjr qbh.k jpn h³ WNJS prw hr z^ȝ.k prw hr hrw*

 32.3 *jw.n.(j) jn.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw qb jb.k hr.s*
 32.4 *jn.n.(j) n.k s hr kbuj.k*
 32.5 *m-n.k rdw prj jm.k nj wrd jb.k hr.s*

 32.6 *dd-mdw zp 4 m pr.tj n.k hrw*
 32.7 d *rdjt qbh^ȝw*

PT 171

- 171.1 Osiris Unis, may the one you have endure for you with you.
 171.3 The dedication.

PT 223

- 223.2 Recitation. Hey! Turn around! Ah, ah!
 223.3 Oh, Unis! Stand up and sit down to a thousand of bread, a thousand of beer,
 223.4 your roast rib-meat from the slaughterhouse and “pulled” bread from the
 broadhall.
 223.5 The god has been provided with a god’s-offering: Unis has been provided with
 this his bread.
 223.6 You have come to your ba, Osiris, ba among the akhs, in control in his places,
 223.7 whom the Ennead tend in the Official’s Compound.
 223.8 Oh, Unis! Elevate yourself to me, bring yourself to me:
 223.9 do not go far from me, tomb-dweller, and turn toward me.
 223.10 I have given you Horus’s eye, I have allotted it to you:
 223.11 oh, may it endure for you with you.
 223.12 Oh Unis! Stand up, receive this your bread from me.
 223.13 Oh, Unis! I will ever be an attendant for you.

PT 224

- 224.6 Recitation. Hey, you Unis! Turn, you Unis!
 224.7 You have gone that you may govern Horus’s mounds,
 224.8 you have gone that you may govern Seth’s mounds,
 224.9 you have gone that you may govern Osiris’s mounds.
 224.10 A king-given offering of all your insignia
 224.13 in all your places,
 224.14 your lotus-bud scepter at the fore of the living, your staff at the fore of the akhs,
 224.15 as Anubis at the fore of the westerners, as Andjeti at the fore of the eastern cultiva-
 tion-lands.
 224.16 How content is your situation, as you become akh, oh Unis, among your broth-
 ers the gods.
 224.17 How different it is, how different it is.
 224.18 You whom your children tended, beware of this your limit in the world.
 224.19 Your person has been dressed: come unto them. 4 times.

PT 199

- 199.1 Oh, Osiris Unis, you should turn to this your bread;
 199.2 receive it from me for you.
 199.3 Recitation 4 times: May Horus’s eye endure with you.
 199.4 Reversion of the god’s-offering.

PT 32 d

- 32.2 These your cool waters, Osiris—these your cool waters, oh Unis—have come
 from your son, have come from Horus.
 32.3 I have come having gotten Horus’s eye, that your mind may become cool with it;
 32.4 I have gotten it for you under your soles.
 32.5 Here for you is the outflow that comes from you: your mind will not become
 weary with it.
 32.6 Recitation 4 times: Come, you have been invoked.
 32.7 Giving cool water.

PT 23–24 b

- 23–24.2 *jsjr jt n.k msddw WNJS nbw mdw m rn.f dw*
 23–24.3 *dhwij j.zj jt sw n jsjr jn mdw m rn n WNJS dw*
 23–24.4 *d n.k sw m dnt.k*
 23–24.5 *dd-mdw zp 4 m sfly.k jm.f z3 m.k sflyw jm.f*
 23–24.7 *z3t*

PT 25+200

- 25+200.2 *zj zj hn' k3.f zj hrw hn' k3.f zj sth hn' k3.f*
 25+200.3 *zj dhwtj hn' k3.f zj ntr hn' k3.f*
 25+200.4 *zj hntj-jrtj hn' k3.f zj.t dd.k hn' k3.k*
 25+200.5 *h3 WNJS c k3.k m b3h.k h3 WNJS c k3.k m ht.k*
 25+200.6 *h3 WNJS rd k3.k m b3h.k h3 WNJS rd k3.k m ht.k*
 25+200.7 *jsjr WNJS dj.n.(j) n.k jrt hrw htm hr.k jm.s*
 25+200.8 *pdpd st jrt hrw r.k*
 25+200.9 *j.nd hr.k sntr j.nd hr.k sn ntr*
 25+200.10 *j.nd hr.k mn wrjmj 'wt hrw*
 25+200.11 *wr jt.(j) pd tw m rn.k p3d*
 25+200.12 *st.k r wnjs bdd.k r wnjs*
 25+200.13 *jrt hrw q3.t c3.t r wnjs*
 25+200.14 *sntr*

PT 244

- 244.1 *jrt tw nn [nt hrw rwdt]*
 244.2 *d n.k sm m k nr.f n.k*
 244.3 *sd dhrt*

BURIAL CHAMBER SOUTH WALL TO PASSAGE SOUTH WALL**PT 213**

- 213.1 *h3 WNJS nj sm.n.k js mt.tj sm.n.k cnly.t*
 213.2 *hms hr lnd jsjr*
 213.3 *c b3.k m c.k wd.k mdw n cnlyw*
 213.4 *mks-nhbt.k m c.k wd mdw n sh3w jswt*
 213.5 *c wj.k m tm rmnwj.k m tm ht.k m tm s3.k m tm*
 213.6 *ph.k m tm rdwj.k m tm hr k m jnpw*
 213.7 *phr n.k j3wt hrw phr n.k j3wt sth*

PT 214

- 214.1 *h3 WNJS z3 k sj dd-mdw zp 4*
 214.2 *j wpwt k3.k jr.k j wpwt jt.k jr.k j wpwt r' jr.k*
 214.3 *j.zj m ht r'.k*
 214.4 *w' b.k jr.k qsw.k bkwt ntrwt jmt pt*
 214.5 *wn.k jr gs ntr*
 214.6 *j.fl.y.k pr.k n z3.k n tt.k*

PT 23–24 b

- 23–24.2 Osiris, acquire for yourself all those who hate Unis and anyone who speaks badly with his name.
- 23–24.3 Thoth, go, acquire him for Osiris: get the one who speaks bad in the name of Unis;
- 23–24.4 put him in your hand.
- 23–24.5 Recitation 4 times: Don't you let loose of him: beware that you let loose of him.
- 23–24.7 Libation.

PT 25+200

- 25+200.2 Someone has gone with his ka: Horus has gone with his ka; Seth has gone with his ka;
- 25+200.3 Thoth has gone with his ka: the god has gone with his ka;
- 25+200.4 Eyes-Forward has gone with his ka: you too have gone with your ka.
- 25+200.5 Oh, Unis! Your ka's arm is before you. Oh, Unis! Your ka's arm is after you.
- 25+200.6 Oh, Unis! Your ka's leg is before you. Oh, Unis! Your ka's leg is after you.
- 25+200.7 Osiris Unis, I have given you Horus's eye: your face has been provided with it.
- 25+200.8 Let the scent of Horus's eye disseminate to you.
- 25+200.9 Greetings, incense! Greetings, god's brother!
- 25+200.10 Greetings, great Whoever in Horus's limbs!
- 25+200.11 Great one of my father, spread yourself in your identity of the kneecap-cake (of incense):
- 25+200.12 let your scent be toward Unis and natronize toward Unis.
- 25+200.13 Horus's eye, may you become high and big toward Unis.
- 25+200.14 Incense.

PT 244

- 244.1 This is the eye of Horus that is firm.
- 244.2 The officiant sets (it) for you: here, he is respectful of you.
- 244.3 Breaking the redware.

RESURRECTION RITUAL**PT 213**

- 213.1 Oh, Unis! You have not gone away dead: you have gone away alive.
- 213.2 Sit on Osiris's chair,
- 213.3 with your baton in your arm, and govern the living;
- 213.4 with your lotus scepter in your arm, and govern those of the remote places.
- 213.5 Your lower arms are of Atum, your upper arms of Atum, your belly of Atum, your back of Atum,
- 213.6 your rear of Atum, your legs of Atum, your face of Anubis.
- 213.7 Horus's mounds serve you; Seth's mounds serve you.

PT 214

- 214.1 Oh, Unis! Beware of the lake! Recitation 4 times.
- 214.2 Dispatches of your ka have come for you, dispatches of your father have come for you, dispatches of the Sun have come for you, (saying),
- 214.3 "Go in the wake of your Sun.
- 214.4 You, for your part, should become clean, your bones falcon goddesses in the sky,
- 214.5 that you may be beside the god,
- 214.6 and leave your house to your son of your begetting."

214.7 *mdt.f nb m rn n WNJS dw pr.k*
 214.8 *wd.n sw gbb m tw3 m njt jrt hm,f nn,f*

214.9 *wC.b.k jr.k m qbhw sb3w*
 214.10 *h3.k hr nwhw bj3 hr rmnwj hrw m m.f jm hmw*

214.11 *kjw n.k hmmt wtz.n kw.j.lymw-sk*
 214.12 *j3q jr.k jr bw hr jt.k jr bw hr gbb*
 214.13 *djf n.k jmt h3t hrw b3.k jm.s shm.k jm.s*

214.14 *wn.k jm.s hnt jmntjw*

PT 215

215.1 *h3 WNJS zj jnw.k bt hwtw.k hr jt.k hr tm*

215.2 *tm sjC n.k sw hn n.k sw m hnw Cwj.k*
 215.4 *nj ntr sb3 jwjt mnwtj.f*
 215.5 *jnk rmmwtj.k m3 3 w*
 215.6 *m3.n.k jrw msut jtwn.j.rhw r.sn j.lymw-sk*

215.7 *m3.k jmw Ch hrw pw hn C sth*
 215.8 *psg.k hr n hrw n.f.j.dr.k nkn jr.f*
 215.9 *j.Ch.k hr n sth j.rd.k yj.f*
 215.10 *ms n.k pf jwr n.k pn*
 215.11 *ms.k hrw m m.f nwrw n.f t3 sd3w n.f pt*

215.12 *nj y pn nj nkn pn t3z phr*
 215.13 *nj nkn.k nj y.k*
 215.14 *ms.k hrw n jsjr b3.n.k r.f shm.n.k jr.f*

215.15 *jwr.k sth n gbb b3.n.k jr.f shm.n.k jr.f*

215.16 *nj mtwt ntr zj.t nj.f nj zj.k nj.f*
 215.17 *nj dj kw rC tm n jsjr*
 215.18 *nj jp.f jb.k nj shm.f m h3t.k*
 215.19 *nj dj kw rC tm n hrw*
 215.20 *nj jp.f jb.k nj shm.f m h3t.k*
 215.21 *jsjr nj shm.n.k jm.f nj shm.n z3.k jm.f*
 215.22 *hrw nj shm.n.k jm.f nj shm.n jt.k jm.f*
 215.23 *n kw mn ntr pw dd.n z3tj tm*
 215.24 *tn kw jn sn m rn.k n ntr*
 215.25 *bpr.k j.tm.t ntr nb*
 215.26 *dpj.k m hrw d3t j.lym-sk*
 215.27 *mlynt.k m lynt-jrtj j.lym-sk*
 215.28 *msdrwj.k z3tj tm j.lym-sk*
 215.29 *jrtj.k z3tj tm j.lym-sk*
 215.30 *fnd.k m z3b j.lym-sk*
 215.31 *jbhw.k spdw j.lym-sk*
 215.32 *Cwj.k hp dw3-mwt.f dbhl.k pr.k jr pt prr.k*

215.33 *rdwj.k mst qbhw-snw.f dbhl.k h3.k jr nwt h33.k*

- 214.7 Anyone who will speak bad with the name of Unis when you go forth,
 214.8 Geb has decreed him an outcast in the relevant town, so that he turns back and
 becomes inert.
 214.9 You, for your part, become clean in the cool waters of the stars
 214.10 and board (the sunboat) on ropes of metal, on the shoulders of Horus in his iden-
 tity of the one in Sokar's boat.
 214.11 Humanity cry out to you once the Imperishable Stars have raised you aloft.
 214.12 So, mount to the place where your father is, where Geb is,
 214.13 and he gives you what is on Horus's brow. You become impressive through it,
 you take control through it,
 214.14 and are through it at the fore of the westerners.

PT 215

- 215.1 Oh, Unis! Your fetchers have gone, your heralds have run, unto your father,
 unto Atum (to say for you),
 215.2 "Atum, elevate him to you, encircle him inside your arms.
 215.4 There is no star-god without his associate:
 215.5 I am your associate. Just see me,
 215.6 and you have seen the form of their fathers' progeny, who know their spells, the
 Imperishable Stars,
 215.7 and see (in me) the two in the palace—that is, Horus and Seth.
 215.8 May you spit on Horus's face for him and remove the injury from him;
 215.9 may you gather the testicles of Seth and remove his hurt.
 215.10 That one has been born to you, this one has been conceived to you.
 215.11 You have been born, Horus in his identity at which the earth shakes and the sky
 trembles."
 215.12 This one has no hurt, that one has no injury, and vice-versa:
 215.13 you have no injury, you have no hurt.
 215.14 You have been born, Horus, to Osiris, but have become more impressive than
 he, more in control than he.
 215.15 You have been conceived, Seth, to Geb, but have become more impressive than
 he, more in control than he.
 215.16 There is no god's own seed that has gone, you his own: you, his own, do not go.
 215.17 Sun Atum does not give you to Osiris:
 215.18 he does not claim your mind, he does not have control of your heart.
 215.19 Sun Atum does not give you to Horus:
 215.20 he does not claim your mind, he does not have control of your heart.
 215.21 Osiris, you cannot control him; your son cannot control him.
 215.22 Horus, you cannot control him; your father cannot control him.
 215.23 You belong, *insert name*, to that god of whom Atum's twins said,
 215.24 "You are distinguished," they said, "in your identity of a god."
 215.25 You become completed as every god:
 215.26 your head as Horus of the Duat—an Imperishable Star;
 215.27 your face as Eyes-Forward—an Imperishable Star;
 215.28 your ears, Atum's twins—an Imperishable Star;
 215.29 your eyes, Atum's twins—an Imperishable Star;
 215.30 your nose as the Jackal—an Imperishable Star;
 215.31 your teeth, Sopdu—an Imperishable Star;
 215.32 your arms, Hapi and Duamutef—whenever you require to go up to the sky, you
 go up;
 215.33 your legs, Imseti and Qebehsenuef—whenever you require to go down to the
 Undersky, you go down;

215.34 *‘wt.k z3tj tm.j.ḥm-sk*
 215.35 *nj sk.k nj sk k3.k twt k3*

PT 216

216.1 *dd-mdw jw.n ḥr.t nbt-ḥwt jw.n ḥr.t msktt*
 216.2 *jw.n ḥr.t k1 m3t ḥr t̄wt*
 216.3 *jw.n ḥr.t msh3t k3w*
 216.4 *sh3.tn sw WNJS pn*
 216.5 *ḥn s3h jn d3t w̄b ḡnḥ m 3ḥt*
 216.6 *ḥn spdt jn d3t w̄b ḡnḥ m 3ḥt*
 216.7 *hn WNJS pn jn d3t w̄b ḡnḥ m 3ḥt*
 216.8 *3ḥ.n.f n.sn qbb.n.f n.sn*
 216.9 *n hn̄w ḡwj jt.f m hn̄w ḡwj tm*

PT 217

217.1 *dd-mdw r̄ tm.j n.k WNJS pn 3ḥj.j.ḥm-sk nb ḥrwt jst w3d 4*
 217.2 *j n.k z3.k j n.k WNJS pn*
 217.3 *ṣṣs.tn ḥrt j̄b.twn m snkw*
 217.4 *wbn.tn m 3ḥt m bw 3ḥ.n.tn jm*
 217.5 *stḥ nbt-ḥwt j.zy ḥw n n̄rw ḥm̄w 3ḥjw.sn jst*
 217.6 *j r.f WNJS pn 3ḥj.j.ḥm-sk*
 217.7 *mrw.f mt.tn mt.tn mrw.f ḡnḥ.tn ḡnḥ.tn*
 217.8 *r̄ tm.j n.k WNJS 3ḥj.j.ḥm-sk nb ḥrwt jst w3d 4*
 217.9 *j n.k z3.k j n.k WNJS pn*
 217.10 *ṣṣs.tn ḥrt j̄b.twn m snkw*
 217.11 *wbn.tn m 3ḥt m bw 3ḥ.n.tn jm*
 217.12 *jsjr jst j.zy ḥuw n n̄rw ḥmw 3ḥjw.sn jst*
 217.13 *j r.f WNJS pn 3ḥj.j.ḥm-sk*
 217.14 *du3 js hr h̄p dw3 sw 3ḥjw jmw mw*
 217.15 *mrw.f ḡnḥ.f swt ḡnḥ.f mrw.f mt.f swt mt.f*
 217.16 *r̄ tm.j n.k WNJS pn 3ḥj.j.ḥm-sk nb ḥrwt jst w3d 4*
 217.17 *j n.k z3.k j n.k WNJS pn*
 217.18 *ṣṣs.tn ḥrt j̄b.twn m snkw*
 217.19 *wbn.tn m 3ḥt m bw 3ḥ.n.tn jm*
 217.20 *dhwtj.j.zj ḥw n n̄rw jmnjw 3ḥjw.sn jst*
 217.21 *j r.f WNJS pn 3ḥj.j.ḥm-sk*
 217.22 *db3 m jnpw hr wsrt ḥnt q3t jmnrtt*
 217.23 *jp.f jbw shm.f m h̄t̄tw*
 217.24 *mrw.f ḡnḥ.f swt ḡnḥ.f mrw.f mt.f swt mt.f*
 217.25 *r̄ tm.j n.k WNJS pn 3ḥj.j.ḥm-sk nb ḥrwt jst w3d 4*
 217.26 *j n.k z3.k j n.k WNJS pn*
 217.27 *ṣṣs.tn ḥrt j̄b.twn m snkw*

215.34 your limbs, Atum's twins—an Imperishable Star.
 215.35 You do not perish, your ka does not perish: you are ka.

PT 216

216.1 Recitation. Someone has come unto you, Nephthys; someone has come unto
 you, Nightboat;
 216.2 someone has come unto you, Gore-covered pilot;
 216.3 someone has come unto you, Place where kas are remembered:
 216.4 may you remember him, this Unis.
 216.5 As Orion has become encircled by the Duat but is clean and alive from the Akhet,
 216.6 as the Sothic one has become encircled by the Duat but is clean and alive from
 the Akhet,
 216.7 this Unis has become encircled by the Duat but is clean and alive from the Akhet.
 216.8 He has become akh for them, he has grown cool for them,
 216.9 inside the arms of his father, inside the arms of Atum.

PT 217

217.1 Recitation. Sun Atum, this Unis comes to you—an imperishable akh, lord of the
 property of the place of the four papyrus-columns.
 217.2 Your son comes to you, this Unis comes to you,
 217.3 that you both may tread the above, after combining in the depth of night,
 217.4 and rise from the Akhet, from the place in which you have both become akh.
 217.5 Seth and Nephthys, go, announce to the gods of the Nile Valley as well as their
 akhs,
 217.6 “This Unis, for his part, comes, an imperishable akh.
 217.7 Should he be wanting you to die, you die; should he be wanting you to live, you
 live.”
 217.8 Sun Atum, Unis comes to you—an imperishable akh, lord of the property of the
 place of the four papyrus-columns.
 217.9 Your son comes to you, this Unis comes to you,
 217.10 that you both may tread the above, after combining in the depth of night,
 217.11 and rise from the Akhet, from the place in which you have both become akh.
 217.12 Osiris and Isis, go, announce to the gods of the Delta as well as their akhs,
 217.13 “This Unis, for his part, comes, an imperishable akh.
 217.14 as the one who is worshiped, (Osiris) who is over the inundation, and the akhs in
 the water worship him.
 217.15 The one he wants to live, he lives; the one he wants to die, he dies.”
 217.16 Sun Atum, this Unis comes to you—an imperishable akh, lord of the property
 of the place of the four papyrus-columns.
 217.17 Your son comes to you, this Unis comes to you,
 217.18 that you both may tread the above, after combining in the depth of night,
 217.19 and rise from the Akhet, from the place in which you have both become akh.
 217.20 Thoth, go, announce to the western gods as well as their akhs,
 217.21 “This Unis, for his part, comes, an imperishable akh.
 217.22 arrayed on the neck as Anubis at the head of the western height,
 217.23 that he might claim minds and control hearts.
 217.24 The one he wants to live, he lives; the one he wants to die, he dies.”
 217.25 Sun Atum, this Unis comes to you—an imperishable akh, lord of the property of
 the place of the four papyrus-columns.
 217.26 Your son comes to you, this Unis comes to you,
 217.27 that you both may tread the above, after combining in the depth of night,

- 217.28 *wbn.tn m ȝbt m bw ȝb.j.n.tn jm*
 217.29 *ḥrw j.zj ḥw n bȝw jȝbtjw ȝbjw.sn jst*
 217.30 *j r.f WNJS pn ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 217.31 *mrv.f ȝnb.f swt ȝnb.f mrv.f mt.f swt mt.f*
 217.32 *rȝ tm j n.k zȝ.k j n.k WNJS*
 217.33 *ȝjȝ n.k sw ḥn n.k sw m ḥnw ȝwj.k*
 217.34 *zȝ.k pw n dt.k n dt*

PT 218

- 218.1 *dd-mdw jsjr j.r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 218.2 *jp.f jbw ḥbm.f kȝw ḥkb.f kȝw m tnt.f nbt*
 218.3 *ȝnt mn.f n.f spr n.f nj ḥmw.f nb*
- 218.4 *nj t.f nj t kȝ.f dr t.f r.f*
 218.5 *dd.n gbb pr m r n psdt*
 218.6 *bk m ȝt jt.f jn sn m kw bȝ.tj shm.tj*
- 218.7 *j r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 218.8 *zn jr.k znn jr.k*
 218.9 *mn jr.k wrr jr.k*
 218.10 *wȝd jr.k nhmhm jr.k*
 218.11 *nj tr.k jgr jm*
 218.12 *m k jrt.n stȝ hnȝ dȝwtj snuj.k j.ḥmw rm tw*
 218.13 *jst hnȝ nbt-ḥwt jnq jr.ȝn jnq jr.ȝn*
 218.14 *jȝb jr.ȝn jȝb jr.ȝn*
 218.15 *j r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 218.16 *jmntjw jmw tȝ n WNJS pn*
 218.17 *j r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 218.18 *jȝbtjw jmw tȝ n WNJS pn*
 218.19 *j r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 218.20 *rsu jmw tȝ n WNJS pn*
 218.21 *j r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 218.22 *mhtjw jmw tȝ n WNJS pn*
 218.23 *j r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*
 218.24 *jmw nnt n WNJS pn*
 218.25 *j r.f WNJS pn ḥwrr 9t ȝbj.j.ḥm-sk*

PT 219

- 219.1 *dd-mdw tm zȝ.k pw p-nn jsjr ȝj.n.k sdb.f ȝnb.f*
- 219.2 *ȝnb.f ȝnb WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.3 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.4 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.5 *ȝw zȝ.k pw p-nn jsjr ȝj.n.k sdb.f ȝnb.f*
- 219.6 *ȝnb.f ȝnb WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.7 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.8 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.9 *tfnwt zȝ.t pw p-nn jsjr ȝj.n.t sdb.f ȝnb.f*

217.28 and rise from the Akhet, from the place in which you have both become akh.
 217.29 Horus, go, announce to the eastern bas as well as their akhs,
 217.30 “This Unis, for his part, comes, an imperishable akh.
 217.31 The one he wants to live, he lives; the one he wants to die, he dies.”
 217.32 Sun Atum, your son comes to you, Unis comes to you.
 217.33 Elevate him up to you, encircle him inside your arms:
 217.34 he is your personal son forever.

PT 218

218.1 Recitation. Osiris, this Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.
 218.2 He will allot minds, take away kas and allocate kas, as all that he reckons,
 218.3 which includes whomever he associates to himself or petitions to him. There is
 none who will be excluded
 218.4 without his bread, without his ka’s bread, his bread limited for him.
 218.5 Geb has spoken, and it has come from the mouth of the Ennead,
 218.6 “O next falcon who acquires (the throne),” they said, “here you are, impressive
 and in control.”
 218.7 This Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.
 218.8 who surpassed you and keeps surpassing you,
 218.9 more inert than you and continually greater than you,
 218.10 fresher than you and more celebrated than you,
 218.11 and your time therein is no more.
 218.12 Here is what Seth and Thoth have done, your brothers who do not weep for you.
 218.13 Isis and Nephthys, assemble, assemble,
 218.14 gather, gather:
 218.15 This Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.
 218.16 The westerners in the earth are for this Unis:
 218.17 This Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.
 218.18 The easterners in the earth are for this Unis:
 218.19 This Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.
 218.20 The southerners in the earth are for this Unis:
 218.21 This Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.
 218.22 The northerners in the earth are for this Unis:
 218.23 This Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.
 218.24 Those in the Undersky are for this Unis
 218.25 This Unis comes, the Nine’s fledgling, an imperishable akh.

PT 219

219.1 Recitation. Atum, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and
 live:
 219.2 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
 219.3 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
 Unis does not go missing:
 219.4 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
 219.5 Recitation. Shu, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and
 live:
 219.6 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
 219.7 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
 Unis does not go missing:
 219.8 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
 219.9 Tefnut, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live:

- 219.10 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.11 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.12 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.13 *gbb z3.k pw p-nn jsjr dj.n.k sdb.f ‘nḥ.f*
 219.14 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.15 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.16 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.17 *nwt z3.t pw p-nn jsjr dj.n.t sdb.f ‘nḥ.f*
 219.18 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.19 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.20 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.21 *jst z3.t pw p-nn jsjr dj.n.t sdb.f ‘nḥ.f*
 219.22 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.23 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj (n)hp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.24 *(n)hp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.25 *sth sn.k pw p-nn jsjr dy sdb.f ‘nḥ.f zz.f tw*
- 219.26 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.27 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.28 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.29 *nbt-hwt sn.t pw p-nn jsjr dj.n.t sdb.f ‘nḥ.f*
 219.30 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.31 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.32 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.33 *dhwtj sn.k pw p-nn jsjr dy sdb.f ‘nḥ.f zz.f tw*
- 219.34 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.35 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj (n)hp WNJS pn*
- 219.36 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.37 *ḥrw jt.k pw (p)-nn jsjr dj.n.k sdb.f ‘nḥ.f*
 219.38 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.39 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.40 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.41 *psdt 3t jsjr pw p-nn dj.n.tn sdb.f ‘nḥ.f*
 219.42 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.43 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.44 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
 219.45 *psdt ndst jsjr pw p-nn dj.n.tn sdb.f ‘nḥ.f*
 219.46 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
 219.47 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
 219.48 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*

219.10 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.11 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.12 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.13 Geb, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live:
219.14 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.15 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.16 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.17 Nut, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live:
219.18 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.19 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.20 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.21 Isis, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live:
219.22 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.23 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.24 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.25 Seth, this Osiris here is your brother, who was made to revive and live that he
might catch you:
219.26 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.27 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.28 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.29 Nephthys, this Osiris here is your brother, whom you have made revive and live:
219.30 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.31 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.32 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.33 Thoth, this Osiris here is your brother, who was made to revive and live that he
might catch you:
219.34 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.35 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.36 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.37 Geb, this Osiris here is your son, whom you have made revive and live:
219.38 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.39 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.40 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.41 Big Ennead, this one here is Osiris, whom you have made revive and live:
219.42 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and Unis does not die,
219.43 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.44 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.45 Little Ennead, this one here is Osiris, whom you have made revive and live:
219.46 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and Unis does not die,
219.47 he does not perish and Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.48 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.

- 219.49 *nwt z3.t pw p-nn jsjr dd.n.t jr.f ms.n.t n.(j) j.t tn*
- 219.50 *sk.n.t n.f r.f wp r.f jn z3.f hrw mry.f*
- 219.51 *tnw ḡwt,f jn ntrw*
- 219.52 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.53 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.54 *nhp,f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.55 *m m.k jmj jwnw nddndd,f m ddt,f*
- 219.56 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.57 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.58 *nhp,f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.59 *m m.k jmj ‘ndt hr dp sp3wt,f*
- 219.60 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.61 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.62 *nhp,f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.63 *m m.k jmj ḡwt-srq t k3 htp*
- 219.64 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.65 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.66 *nhp,f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.67 *m m.k jmj zḥ-ntr jmj k3p dbn tz̄tj jnqtj*
- 219.68 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.69 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.70 *nhp,f [nh]p WNJS pn*
- 219.71 *m m.k jmj (‘h) ḡd p3r*
- 219.72 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.73 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.74 *nhp,f [nh]p WNJS pn*
- 219.75 *m m.k jmj s3ḥ tr.k r pt tr.k r t3*
- 219.76 *jsjr pšr ḡr.k m3.k n WNJS pn mtwt.k prt jm.k spd.t*
- 219.77 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn [nj] mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.78 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.79 *nhp.[f] nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.80 *m m.k jm dp*
- 219.81 *‘wj.k h3 jlt z3t.k htm tw jm.s*
- 219.82 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.83 *nj sk,f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp,f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.84 *nhp,f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.85 *m m.k jmj ḡwt wr k3*
- 219.86 *‘wj.k h3 jlt z3t.k htm tw jm.s*
- 219.87 *‘nḥ.f ‘nḥ WNJS pn nj mt,f nj mt WNJS pn*

219.49 Nut, this Osiris here is your son, of whom you said, “Someone has been born to
me,” you said,
219.50 and you wiped his mouth for him after his mouth had been parted by his be-
loved son Horus
219.51 and his limbs counted by the gods:
219.52 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.53 he does not perish and Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.54 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.55 In your identity that is in Heliopolis, enduring in his necropolis:
219.56 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.57 he does not perish and Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.58 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.59 In your identity that is in Andjet, at the head of his cultivable lands:
219.60 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.61 he does not perish and Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.62 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.63 In your identity that is in the Scorpion Compound, the Ka At Rest:
219.64 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.65 he does not perish and Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.66 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.67 In your identity that is in the god’s booth, in the censing, the one of the coffer,
the chest, and the sack:
219.68 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.69 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.70 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.71 In your identity that is in the white palace of laurelwood:
219.72 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.73 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.74 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.75 In your identity that is Orion, with your season at the sky and your season at the
earth.
219.76 Osiris, turn your face and look at this Unis, your seed that came forth from you
active:
219.77 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.78 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.79 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.80 In your identity of the one in Dep—
219.81 your arms be about the meal, your daughter; provide yourself with it:
219.82 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
219.83 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this
Unis does not go missing:
219.84 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
219.85 In your identity that is in the Compound of the Bull’s Elder —
219.86 your arms be about the meal, your daughter; provide yourself with it:
219.87 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,

- 219.88 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.89 *{n}hp.f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.90 *m m.k jm wnw rs*
- 219.91 *‘uj.k h³ jht z³t.k htm tw jm.s*
- 219.92 *‘nl³.f ‘nl³ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.93 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.94 *nhp.f {n}hp WNJS pn*
- 219.95 *m m.k jm wnw m³t*
- 219.96 *‘uj.k h³ jlt z³t.k htm tw jm.s*
- 219.97 *‘nl³.f ‘nl³ WNJS pn nj mt.f nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.98 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.99 *{n}hp.f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.100 *m m.k jm njt šjw*
- 219.101 *wmmt.n.k jrt j.šn ht.k hr.s*
- 219.102 *j.fl³ n.k s z³.k hrw ‘nl³.k jm.s*
- 219.103 *‘nl³.f ‘nl³ WNJS pn nj mt.ʃj nj mt WNJS pn*
- 219.104 *nj sk.f nj sk WNJS pn nj nhp.f nj nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.105 *nhp.f nhp WNJS pn*
- 219.106 *dt.k dt nt WNJS pn*
- 219.107 *jf.k jf n WNJS pn*
- 219.108 *qsw.k qsw WNJS pn*
- 219.109 *zj.k zj WNJS pn*
- 219.110 *zj WNJS pn zj.k*

PT 220

- 220.1 *wn ‘3uj ʒht nlbbhb q³nwt.s*
- 220.2 *jw.n.f hr.t nt jw.n.f hr.t nzrt*
- 220.3 *jw.n.f hr.t wrt jw.n.f hr.t wrt-hk³w*
- 220.4 *w³b n.t snd n.t*
- 220.5 *htp.t hr.f htp.t hr ‘bw.f*
- 220.6 *htp.t hr md.f j.dd.f n.t*
- 220.7 *nf³w hr.t htp.t m³.tj rmpw.tj*
- 220.8 *ms.n tm ntr jt ntrw*
- 220.9 *jw.n.f hr.t wrt-hk³w*
- 220.10 *hrw pw hn m z³ jrt.f wrt-hk³w*

PT 221

- 221.1 *hj nt hj jnt hj wrt*
- 221.2 *hj wrt-hk³w hj nzrt*
- 221.3 *dj.t ſt WNJS mr ſt.t*
- 221.4 *dj.t snd WNJS pn mr snd.t*
- 221.5 *dj.t kjt WNJS pn mr kjt.t*
- 221.6 *dj.t mrwt WNJS pn mr mrwt.t*
- 221.7 *dj.t ‘b³.f hnt ‘nl³w [dj.t shm].f hnt ʒhtw*
- 221.8 *dj.t rvd ds.f r hftjw.f*
- 221.9 *hj jnt pr.n.[t jm.f pr.n.f jm.t]*
- 221.10 *[ms.n tw] jht wrt sškr.n tw jht-wtt*
- 221.11 *ms.n tw jht-w[tt sškr.n tw] jht wrt*
- 221.12 *n twt js hrw hn m z³ jrt.f*

219.88 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this Unis does not go missing:
 219.89 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
 219.90 In your identity that is in Southern Hermopolis—
 219.91 your arms be about the meal, your daughter; provide yourself with it:
 219.92 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
 219.93 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this Unis does not go missing:
 219.94 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
 219.95 In your identity that is in Northern Hermopolis—
 219.96 your arms be about the meal, your daughter; provide yourself with it:
 219.97 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
 219.98 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this Unis does not go missing:
 219.99 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
 219.100 In your identity that is in the Town of Basins—
 219.101 what you have eaten, the Eye, your belly grows round from it,
 219.102 your son Horus releasing it to you so that you might live from it:
 219.103 he lives and this Unis lives, he does not die and this Unis does not die,
 219.104 he does not perish and this Unis does not perish; he does not go missing and this Unis does not go missing:
 219.105 he will go missing should this Unis go missing.
 219.106 Your person is the person of this Unis,
 219.107 your flesh is the flesh of this Unis,
 219.108 your bones are this Unis's bones.
 219.109 You go and this Unis goes;
 219.110 this Unis goes and you go.

PT 220

220.1 The Akhet's door opens, its doorbolts slide back.
 220.2 He has come unto you, Red Crown; he has come unto you, Fiery One;
 220.3 he has come unto you, Great One; he has come unto you, Great of Magic—
 220.4 clean for you and respectful of you.
 220.5 May you be content with him, may you be content with his cleanliness,
 220.6 may you be content with his speech that he says to you:
 220.7 “How fine you look, content, renewed, and rejuvenated,
 220.8 for the god who is the gods' father has given you birth!”
 220.9 He has come unto you, Great of Magic:
 220.10 he is Horus, encircled by the aegis of his eye, the Great of Magic.

PT 221

221.1 Ha, Red Crown! Ha, Curl! Ha, Great One!
 221.2 Ha, Great of Magic! Ha, Fiery One!
 221.3 May you make Unis's incisiveness like your incisiveness,
 221.4 may you make this Unis's fearsomeness like your fearsomeness,
 221.5 make this Unis's acclaim like your acclaim,
 221.6 make this Unis's love like your love,
 221.7 make his baton at the head of the living, make his scepter at the head of the akhs,
 221.8 and make his knife sturdy against his enemies.
 221.9 Ha, Curl! You have emerged in him and he has emerged in you.
 221.10 The Great Thing has given you birth, the Firstborn's Thing has adorned you;
 221.11 the Firstborn's Thing has given you birth, the Great Thing has adorned you:
 221.12 for you are Horus, encircled by the aegis of his eye.

PT 222

- 222.1 *dd-mdw ḥr. k hr.f tȝ pn [pr m tm nšš] pr m ḥpr̩r̩*
- 222.2 *ḥpr.k ḥr.f qȝ.k hr.f*
- 222.3 *mȝ tw jt.k mȝ tw [r̩]*
- 222.4 *[jw].n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k r̩*
- 222.5 *jw.n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k ndj*
- 222.6 *jw.n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k pndn*
- 222.7 *jw.n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k dndn*
- 222.8 *jw.n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k smȝ wr*
- 222.9 *jw.n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k zȝn wr*
- 222.10 *jw.n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k spdw*
- 222.11 *jw.n.f ḥr.k jt.f jw.n.f ḥr.k spd-jbȝw*
- 222.12 *dȝ.k ndr WNJS pn qbȝw hȝp.f ȝȝt*
- 222.13 *dȝ.k jȝq WNJS pn 9t ḥtm.f psdt*
- 222.14 *dȝ.k ḥwt m ḥWNJS pn wȝȝt dp mȝw ḥn̩r̩ hm̩w*
- 222.15 *hȝ.f ḥsf.f ḥr.f ḥr dp wrj m wrw.f*
- 222.16 *hȝ.n sw nbt-hwt hd n.f ḥsf*
- 222.17 *ḥtm.rj n.k tw m wr hȝȝw sȝt jm nbwt nb tȝ hm̩w*
- 222.18 *nj ḥf.tj n.k nj jȝb.t n.k*
- 222.19 *m tw jr.k bȝ.tj ḥsm.tj r ntrw hm̩w ȝȝjw.sn jst*
- 222.20 *nšnȝ.n juwt j.spȝ.n.k grȝ*
- 222.21 *ḥtm.tj m stȝ ȝ[bsb] wȝȝdw*
- 222.22 *hȝ.n jst ḥtm.n.k tw m ḥrw ḥuntj*
- 222.23 *nj hm̩f.tj n.k nj hm̩ [jȝb.t] n.k*
- 222.24 *m tw jr.k bȝ.tj ḥsm.tj r ntrw mȝtjw ȝȝjw.sn jst*
- 222.25 *j.ȝf.k ḥb.k n tm m [jwnw hȝ.k] hm̩r̩f*
- 222.26 *wȝȝ.k mȝrw nn ḥr. k hr.jswt nwȝ*
- 222.27 *ḥpr.k hm̩r̩ jt.k tm qȝ.k hm̩r̩ j[t.k tm]*
- 222.28 *wbn.k hm̩r̩ jt.k tm j.ȝf.k mȝrw*
- 222.29 *dpȝ.k n rpwt juwt*
- 222.30 *pr.k wp.k wȝȝt.k m qsw hw*
- 222.31 *hn tw hnw ȝȝj mwȝt.k nwȝ*
- 222.32 *wȝȝb.k m ȝȝt ḥf.y.k ḥb.k m ȝȝw hw*
- 222.33 *pr.k hȝ.k hȝȝw.k hm̩r̩ r̩ snkw hm̩r̩ ndj pr.k*
- 222.34 *hȝȝw.k pr.k hm̩r̩ r̩ wbn.k hm̩r̩ zȝn-wr*
- 222.35 *pr.k hȝ.k hȝȝw.k hm̩r̩ nbt-hwt snkw hm̩r̩ msktt pr.k*
- 222.36 *hȝȝw.k pr.k hm̩r̩ jst wbn.k hm̩r̩ m̩ndt*
- 222.37 *ȝȝm.k m dt.k nj jm rd.k*
- 222.38 *ms.k n ḥrw juwr.k n stȝ*
- 222.39 *wȝȝb.n.k m jmnt*
- 222.40 *hȝȝp.n.k ḥb.k m hqȝ-ȝnd ḥr jt.k ḥr tm*

PT 222

- 222.1 Recitation. You stand up on it, this land that came from Atum, the sneeze that came as the Beetle,
- 222.2 you evolve on it and become high on it,
- 222.3 and your father sees you, the Sun sees you.
- 222.4 He has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, Sun;
- 222.5 he has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, Downcast;
- 222.6 he has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, Fertilizer;
- 222.7 he has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, Ranter;
- 222.8 he has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, great wild bull;
- 222.9 he has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, great one of the reed-float;
- 222.10 he has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, Sopdu;
- 222.11 he has come unto you, his father: he has come unto you, Sharp-teeth.
- 222.12 May you make this Unis grasp the Cool Waters and receive the Akhet;
- 222.13 may you make this Unis rule the Nine and provide the Ennead;
- 222.14 may you give in this Unis's arm the crook that lowers the head of the Delta and the Nile Valley.
- 222.15 Let him descend and meet, and stand up over the Great One in his inundation.
- 222.16 Nephthys has blessed him, taken for himself and met:
- 222.17 "You have provided yourself as Great of Magic, Seth in Ombos, lord of the Nile-Valley land;
- 222.18 nothing is lost to you, nothing is wanting for you:
- 222.19 here, you for your part are more impressive and more in control than the gods of the Nile Valley or its akhs,
- 222.20 She who conceived spewed forth and you dazzled the night,
- 222.21 provided as Seth, who slid forth raw."
- 222.22 Isis has blessed: "You have provided yourself as Horus the Youthful;
- 222.23 nothing else is lost to you, nothing else is wanting for you:
- 222.24 here, you for your part are more impressive and more in control than the northern gods or their akhs.
- 222.25 You release your cleansing for Atum in Heliopolis, descend with him,
- 222.26 separate the Undersky's misery, and stand up over Nu's places."
- 222.27 You evolve with your father Atum, you go high with your father Atum,
- 222.28 you rise with your father Atum, having released misery,
- 222.29 your head to the Heliopolitan in the carrying-chair.
- 222.30 You go forth, part your path through Shu's bones,
- 222.31 and the inside of your mother Nut's arms encircles you.
- 222.32 You become clean in the Akhet and release your cleaning in Shu's Lakes.
- 222.33 You go up when you go down. When you are going down with the Sun, one of the depth of the night with the Downcast, you will go up.
- 222.34 When you are going down, you will go up with the Sun and rise with the Great One of the Reedfloat.
- 222.35 You go up when you go down. When you are going down with Nephthys, one of the depth of the night with the Nightboat, you will go up.
- 222.36 When you are going down, you will go up with Isis and rise with the Dayboat.
- 222.37 You gain control of your person, without your impediment,
- 222.38 having been born for Horus and conceived for Seth,
- 222.39 having become clean in the Western nome,
- 222.40 having received your cleaning in the Bubastite nome, with your father, with Atum.

- 222.41 *ḥpr.n.k qȝ.n.k ȝḥ.n.k*
 222.42 *qbb.n n.k m ḥnw ḫwj jt.k m ḥnw ḫwj tm*
 222.43 *tm sjȝ n.k WNJS pn šn n.k sw m ḥnw ḫwj.k*
 222.44 *zȝ.k pw n dt.k n dt*

PT 245

- 245.2 *j n.t WNJS pn nwt j n.t WNJS pn nwt*
 245.3 *qmȝ.n.f jt.f r tȝ flȝ.n.f hrw m ht.f*
 245.4 *rd dnḥwȝ.f m bk j.šwtj m gmḥsw*
 245.5 *jn.n sw bȝ.f ḥtm.n sw ḥkȝw.f*
 245.6 *wp.k jst.k m pt m ḫb sbȝw nw pt*
 245.7 *n twt js sbȝ wȝtj r rmn nwt*
 245.8 *ḥwv ȝ mȝ.k hr dp jsjr wd.f mdw n ȝḥjw*
 245.9 *twt ḫȝ.tj ḫr.t r.f*
 245.10 *nj tw jm.sn nj wnn.k jm.sn*

PT 246

- 246.2 *mȝ ḫȝ.t WNJS pn m bȝ ḫbwj dp.f smȝwj*
 246.3 *n twt js zj km zȝ zjt kmt*
 246.4 *msw zjt bȝqt snqw fdt wȝpt*
 246.5 *j r.tn ḥrw ḥsbȝ jrtj*
 246.6 *zȝ tn ḥrw dȝr jrtj mr ȝt nj ḥsf bȝ.f*

 246.7 *zj jnw.f bt sjn.f*
 246.8 *ḥwv.sn n dsr rmn hr jȝbtt*
 246.9 *ȝmt wȝ pn jm.k dd ntr wd.f mdw n jtw ntrw*

 246.10 *j.gr n.k ntrw d.n psdt ḫ.sn jr r.sn*
 246.11 *dp rdwȝ wȝ pn jm.k ddw ntr wd.f mdw n jtw ntrw*

 246.12 *ȝȝr r ḫȝwj ȝȝt jzn ḫȝwj qbȝhw*
 246.13 *ȝȝr.k ḥnt.sn gbb js ḥnt psdt.f*
 246.14 *ȝȝr sn j.ḥ.sn sȝb pr.sn fȝ.sn hr.sn*
 246.15 *mȝ.sn tw mnw js ḥnt jtrtj*
 246.16 *ȝȝr ḫȝr hȝ.k ḫȝr sn.k hȝ.k ḫȝr ns.k hȝ.k*

 246.17 *nj sk.k nj tm.k*
 246.18 *nlȝj rn.k hr mt ḡpr rn.k hr ntrw*

BURIAL CHAMBER, EAST GABLE**PT 204**

- 204.1 *j.ḥȝj j.ḥnnw*
 204.2 *wȝz jb n frls*
 204.3 *sȝbw šnbȝ ḫm.n.sn jrt ḥrw bȝqt jmt juvw*

 204.4 *ȝȝr WNJS šrrw ḥd nw jmȝ ḫpȝ sjȝr*
 204.5 *nj jb WNJS n ḥqr.f nj sj r jb n WNJS*
 204.6 *jn ḫwj hȝ.j.dr ḥqr.f*
 204.7 *j mȝy j mȝy jbw*

222.41 You have developed, you have gone high, you have become effective,
 222.42 it has become cool for you, inside your father's arms, inside Atum's arms.
 222.43 Atum, elevate this Unis to you, encircle him inside your arms:
 222.44 he is your son of your person, forever.

PT 245

245.2 This Unis comes to you, Nut; this Unis comes to you, Nut,
 245.3 having laid his father in the ground, having left Horus in his wake,
 245.4 his wings growing as a falcon, feathered as a hawk,
 245.5 his ba having fetched him, his magic having provided him.
 245.6 You part your place in the company of the stars of the sky,
 245.7 for you are the lone star at Nut's shoulder.
 245.8 May you just look upon Osiris's head as he governs the akhs,
 245.9 while you yourself stand far from him:
 245.10 you are not of them, you will never be of them.

PT 246

246.2 You have been seen standing, Unis, as a ram with two wild-bull horns on his head.
 246.3 For you are a dark ram, son of a dark ewe,
 246.4 whom a white she-goat bore and four ewes suckle.
 246.5 Blue-eyed Horus comes against you:
 246.6 beware of red-eyed Horus, the one with painful wrath, whose ba cannot be
 barred!
 246.7 His fetchers go, his hurrier runs,
 246.8 and they are announcing to the one with sweeping upper arm in the east,
 246.9 the going of this one, who is you, of whom the god says that he will govern the
 gods' fathers.
 246.10 The gods grow still for you, the Ennead have put their arm to their mouth,
 246.11 before this one, who is you, of whom the god says that he will govern the gods'
 fathers.
 246.12 Go stand at the Akhet's door; pull open the Cool Waters' door,
 246.13 and stand at their fore, as Geb at the fore of his Ennead.
 246.14 When they enter they strike obstruction; when they exit they lift up their face
 246.15 and see you as Min at the fore of the Dual Shrines.
 246.16 Someone stands up behind you: your brother stands up behind you, your partner
 stands up behind you.
 246.17 You will not perish, you will not cease:
 246.18 your identity will endure with people even as your identity comes to be with the
 gods.

PERSONAL SPELLS FOR SUSTENANCE**PT 204**

204.1 The hoers grow excited.
 204.2 The mind of him who is awake has been uplifted.
 204.3 Those who cleanse the breast, they have swallowed Horus's clear eye that is in
 Heliopolis.
 204.4 *My finger, little bird, dig out that which is in Osiris's navel,
 204.5 and *I will not thirst, *I will not hunger: it will not be on *my mind.
 204.6 Ha's arms are what remove *my hunger.
 204.7 Oh, become immersed! Oh, become immersed, minds!

PT 205

- 205.1 *dd-mdw j hrw st jrw ȝgb*
 205.2 *wd WNJS n ftk t wdpw n r̄*
 205.3 *wd n.f sw r̄ ds.f*
 205.4 *wd sw r̄ n hr snm n mpt tn*
 205.5 *ḥf̄.sn dȝ.sn n.f ȝm.sn dȝ.sn n.f jtj bdt t hnqt*
 205.6 *n nt n WNJS jn jt.f rdj n.f jn r̄ rdj n.f jt bdt t hnqt*
- 205.7 *n nt swt js kȝ wr h knȝt*
 205.8 *n nt WNJS js jr 5t jȝtt m hwt*
 205.9 *jw ḥmtt r pt ḥr r̄ jw snt r tȝ ḥr psdtj*
 205.10 *n sw ḥlȝj swt ḥlȝj n sw mȝȝj swt mȝȝj*
- 205.11 *j r̄ nfr n.f m hrw pn r sf*
 205.12 *jw nk.n WNJS mwȝt jw sn.n WNJS šwst*
 205.13 *jw dmd.n WNJS m nhbwȝt*
 205.14 *jw nk.n WNJS nfȝt nr.f šw tbȝt šsšs*
 205.15 *jn ḥm nfȝt nr n WNJS rdȝ.s t n WNJS*
 205.16 *jr.s n.f nfȝt m hrw pn*

PT 207

- 207.1 *dd-mdw ḥt n.(j) shmj ḥt n.(j) shmj ḥt jmj jrt r̄*
 207.2 *ḥt n.(j) ḥq-wȝȝ jmj jrt nȝt*
 207.3 *wdpw ḥȝȝ mw rkȝ sȝt*
 207.4 *ḥnd m ḥȝȝ sȝȝt dȝȝt 4 nt mw*

PT 209

- 209.1 *dd-mdw wȝȝ šw nj jt.n WNJS jȝt.f*
 209.2 *wȝȝ WNJS nj jt.n šw jȝt.f*
 209.3 *wȝȝ jnw jȝȝbtjw t.k pw*

PT 210

- 210.1 *dd-mdw rs upw j.qȝ dȝhwȝj*
 210.2 *rs sdw nȝȝj jmjw knȝt*
 210.3 *dp ḥwȝ sdȝ ur pr m hȝȝp wp-wȝȝwt pr m jzrt*
- 210.4 *wȝȝ r n WNJS sntr psdtj WNJS*
 210.5 *wȝȝ r.f šsȝw pn jmj r.f*
 210.6 *bt WNJS hȝ tur WNJS wȝȝt*
 210.7 *bw WNJS bt.f*
 210.8 *bwt WNJS nwȝ nj wnm.n.f bwt nwȝ*
 210.9 *jmr twr stȝ mt rȝw 2 jpw dȝȝt pt*
 210.10 *r̄ pj hnȝ dȝhwȝj hd n.tn WNJS hnȝ.tn*
 210.11 *wnm.f m wnm.tn jm zwȝr.f m zwȝrt.tn jm*
 210.12 *cnȝ.f m cnȝt.tn jm hmȝs.f m hmȝst.tn jm*
 210.13 *wsr.f m wsrt.tn jm sqd.f m sqddt.tn jm*
 210.14 *ȝȝ n WNJS sȝt m jȝȝrw ȝȝb n WNJS m sȝt htȝ*
 210.15 *ȝȝbt.f mm.tn nȝȝw mw nw WNJS m jȝȝ mr r̄*
 210.16 *dbn WNJS pt mr r̄ hnȝ WNJS pt mr dȝhwȝj*

PT 211

- 211.1 *dd-mdw bt WNJS pj hȝr nj wnm.n.f sw*
 211.2 *bt WNJS pj jbt nj zwȝr.n.f s*

PT 205

- 205.1 Recitation. O you in charge of production, who pertain to the flood,
 205.2 ★I have been commended to Fetekte, the attendant of the Sun
 205.3 The Sun himself commands ★me to him:
 205.4 the Sun commends ★me to the one in charge of feeding for this year.
 205.5 They grab barley and give ★me beer; they grasp wheat and give ★me bread.
 205.6 For to ★me, ★my father is the one who gave ★me barley and beer, the Sun is the
 one who gave ★me wheat and bread.
 205.7 For ★I am the great bull who strikes Kenzet.
 205.8 For ★I am one who has five meals in the compound:
 205.9 three are for the sky with the Sun, two are for the earth with the Dual Ennead.
 205.10 ★I belong to the one who is let loose: ★I am the one who is let loose. ★I belong
 to the one who is seen: ★I am the one who is seen.
 205.11 Oh, Sun! It is better for ★me today than yesterday,
 205.12 for ★I have now mated with moisture, ★I have now kissed dryness,
 205.13 ★I have now joined with fertility.
 205.14 ★I have now mated with the young girl of ★my care, *tbtb* and *sss* being absent,
 205.15 and it is the young girl of ★my care that gives ★me bread
 205.16 and makes for ★me what is good today.

PT 207

- 207.1 Recitation. A meal for me, knapper! A meal for me, knapper! A meal, you in the
 Sun's eye!
 207.2 A meal for me, you with access to the (sun's) boat, which is the God's Eye!
 207.3 Attendant, serve water! Light the fire!
 207.4 A shank along with a roast; 4 handfuls of water.

PT 209

- 209.1 Recitation. Shu flourishes, for ★I do not acquire his things:
 209.2 ★I flourish, for Shu does not acquire ★my things.
 209.3 The eastern fetchers repeat: "It is your bread."

PT 210

- 210.1 Recitation. Awake, Parter! Go on high, Thoth!
 210.2 Awake, sleepers! Rouse, you in Kenzet!—
 210.3 before the Great Heron that comes from the garden, Paths-Parter who comes
 from the tamarisk.
 210.4 ★My mouth is clean, the Dual Ennead censes ★me,
 210.5 and for its part, this tongue in ★my mouth is clean.
 210.6 What ★I abominate is excrement, ★I reject urine.
 210.7 ★I abominate what ★I abominate.
 210.8 Those two are what ★I abominate: ★I do not eat the abomination of those two,
 210.9 like Seth rejects the witness of the two companions who cross the sky:
 210.10 they are the Sun and Thoth. Take ★me with you,
 210.11 that ★I may eat of what you eat of, drink of what you drink of,
 210.12 live on what you live on, sit where you sit,
 210.13 grow powerful from what you grow powerful from, and sail in what you sail in.
 210.14 ★My booth is plaited of reeds; ★my flood is in the Field of Offerings;
 210.15 ★my feast is among you, gods; ★my water is wine, like the Sun.
 210.16 ★I circumnavigate the sky like the Sun, ★I wander the sky like Thoth.

PT 211

- 211.1 What ★I abominate is hunger: ★I do not eat it.
 211.2 What ★I abominate is thirst: ★I do not drink it.

- 211.3 *WNJS pj wnnt rdj.f t n ntjw*
 211.4 *ḥnmmtt.f pj jȝtt*
 211.5 *s̄t̄ jr.s ḥnḥ.f s̄t̄ wnnt mst WNJS*
 211.6 *jwȝ WNJS m grḥ ms WNJS m grḥ*
 211.7 *n sw jn̄jw ht rȝ dpw ḥw ntr dwȝ*
 211.8 *jwr WNJS m nw ms.f m nw*
 211.9 *j.n.f jn.n.f n.tn t n gmw.n.f jm*

PT 212

- 212.1 *dd-mdw ndndf jrt hrw hr bȝt nt dnw*
 212.2 *j rȝ rȝ ḥntj-jmmtjw*
 212.3 *jn.n.f ḥtpw n hrw ḥnt prw*
 212.4 *ȝnlt.f jm ḥnȝt WNJS jm*
 212.5 *wnmt.f jm wnm.f jm*
 212.6 *ȝwrt.f jm ȝwrf jm*
 212.7 *ȝnd sȝȝrt ȝwt.f pj*

ANTECHAMBER, WEST AND SOUTH WALLS**PT 247**

- 247.1 *dd-mdw jr.n n.k zȝ.k hrw*
 247.2 *sdȝ wrw mȝ.n.sn ḥt̄ jmt ḥ.k pr.k m dwȝt*
- 247.3 *j.nd hr.k sȝj*
 247.4 *qmȝ.n tw gbb ms.n tw psdt*
 247.5 *ȝtp hrw hr jt.f ȝtp tm hr mpwȝt.f*
 247.6 *ȝtp ntrw jȝbt jmmt hr wrt ȝprt m ḥnw ȝwȝ msyt ntr*
- 247.7 *WNJS pj WNJS mȝ*
 247.8 *WNJS pj WNJS ptr*
 247.9 *WNJS pj sdm*
 247.10 *WNJS pj WNJS wn jm*
 247.11 *WNJS pj WNJS tȝw tw hr gs.k*
 247.12 *jr wd msdd qdd sbȝgy ḥ.ȝjmj ndjt*

- 247.13 *jr t.k nfr m p ȝzp sȝm.k m jwnw*
 247.14 *hrw pw wd n.f jrt n.jt.f*
 247.15 *nb qj sh sn.f jsd stȝ wȝz.f tw swt wȝz.f tm*

PT 248

- 248.1 *dd-mdw WNJS pj ȝȝ pr.n WNJS jmt mntj psdt*
 248.2 *jwr WNJS jn slmt jn ȝzmmt mst WNJS*
 248.3 *sbȝ spd ȝȝt ȝw ȝmwȝt jnn ȝrt hrt n rȝ rȝ nb*
- 248.4 *j.n WNJS r jst.f dpt nbtj ȝȝ WNJS m sbȝ*

PT 249

- 249.1 *dd-mdw j jȝȝw dd my n ȝpsj m rn.f pw*
 249.2 *WNJS pj nw n zȝȝȝ wȝlȝnȝ m tȝ wȝb*
 249.3 *ȝzp WNJS jn jr jst.f*
 249.4 *WNJS pj r ȝrt slȝm wr*
 249.5 *j.n WNJS m jw nsjsj*

- 211.3 ★I in fact am one who gives bread to those who are.
 211.4 ★My nursemaid is the Milk-Goddess.
 211.5 She makes it possible that ★I live: she in fact is the one who bore ★me.
 211.6 ★I was conceived in the night, ★I was born in the night:
 211.7 ★I belong to those who are in the Sun's wake, who precede the morning god.
 211.8 ★I was conceived in Nu, ★I was born in Nu:
 211.9 ★I have come having gotten for you the bread of those ★I found there.

PT 212

- 212.1 Recitation. Horus's eye drips on a *dhw*-bush,
 212.2 at which Foremost of Westerners, for his part, comes for it,
 212.3 having fetched sustenance and offerings for Horus, foremost of the houses.
 212.4 What he lives on, ★I live on;
 212.5 what he eats of, ★I eat of;
 212.6 what he drinks of, ★I drink of.
 212.7 A shank and a roast, it is ★my spread.

PERSONAL SPELLS FOR EMERGENCE FROM THE DUAT**PT 247**

- 247.1 Recitation. Your son Horus has acted for you.
 247.2 The great ones tremble, having seen the knife in your arm as you emerge from
 the Duat.
 247.3 Greetings, experienced one!
 247.4 Geb has created you, the Ennead has given you birth.
 247.5 Horus is content about his father, Atum is content about his years,
 247.6 the gods of the east and west are content about the great thing that has happened
 in the embrace—the god's birth.
 247.7 It is Unis: Unis is seen.
 247.8 It is Unis: Unis is observed.
 247.9 It is Unis, heard.
 247.10 It is Unis: Unis is existent there.
 247.11 It is Unis: Unis, raise yourself from your side!
 247.12 Do the command, you who hate sleep but were made slack. Stand up, you in
 Nedit.
 247.13 Your good bread has been made in Pe; receive your control of Heliopolis.
 247.14 It is Horus, who has been commanded to act for his father.
 247.15 The storm-cloud lord, who kicked his brother and spat, Seth—he bears you: he
 is the one who bears Atum.

PT 248

- 248.1 Recitation. ★I am a great one: ★I have emerged between the Ennead's thighs.
 248.2 ★I was conceived by Sekhmet, and it is She of Malachite who gave ★me birth.
 248.3 a star with sharp front and extensive goings, who fetches what the above has for
 the Sun every day.
 248.4 ★I have come to ★my seat with the Two Ladies atop it, and ★I appear as a star.

PT 249

- 249.1 Recitation. O you two reeds, please tell the noble one, of whatever identity,
 249.2 ★I am that lotus that rises clean into the world.
 249.3 ★I have been received by the one who made ★my seat;
 249.4 ★I am the one at the great controlling power's nose.
 249.5 ★I have come from the Isle of Conflagration,

- 249.6 *d.n WNJS m³t jm.f m jst jzft*
 249.7 *WNJS pj r s̄rw z³ j^rwt*
 249.8 *grh pw n ȝgbj wr pr m wrt*
 249.9 *ḥr WNJS m nfr-tm z³sn r šrt r^r*
 249.10 *pr.f m ȝbt r^r nb w^rbw n^rtrw n m³.f*

PT 250

- 250.1 *dd-mdw WNJS p hr k³w dmd jbw n hr s³*
 250.2 *wr hr md³t-ntr sj³ jmmt r^r*
 250.3 *j.n WNJS r jst.f hrt k³w*
 250.4 *dmd WNJS jbw hr s³ wrt*
 250.5 *bpr WNJS m sj³ hr md³t-ntr jmmt r^r*
 250.6 *ndd m ḥ WNJS*
 250.7 *jn WNJS dd jmt jb wrt m h³b jns*
 250.8 *WNJS pj WNJS pj sj³ jmmt r*
 250.9 *snk jb hmt tpht nw*

PT 251

- 251.1 *dd-mdw j hrw unwt dpw ḥwj r^r jry w³t n WNJS*
 251.2 *sw³ WNJS m hnw phrt nt h³w hr*
 251.3 *jw WNJS r jst.f tw hnt jsut h³ ntr*
 251.4 *d dp db³ hnwt spdt nbt*
 251.5 *hr js ds spd zw³ h³t*
 251.6 *wd^rt hnw m dp k³ s³hdj jmjw kkw*
 251.7 *hnwt wsrt h³t ntr ḥ³*
 251.8 *jw d³.n WNJS zzw sq.n WNJS h³t.sn*
 251.9 *nj hsf^r n WNJS m ȝbt*

PT 252

- 252.1 *dd-mdw f^r hr.tn ntrw jmjw dw³t*
 252.2 *j.n WNJS m³.tn sw bpr m ntr ḥ³*
 252.3 *jbz WNJS m sd³ db³ WNJS m hnbt.tn r dr.tn*
 252.4 *wd WNJS mdw n rm̄t*
 252.5 *wd^r WNJS mdw n nhw m hnw jdb r^r*
 252.6 *dd WNJS r jdb pw w^rb jr.n.f hms.f jm hn^r wp ntrw^r*
 252.7 *shm WNJS jr dp.f ȝms WNJS twr.f WNJS*
 252.8 *hms WNJS hn^r hnww r^r*
 252.9 *wd WNJS nftr jr.f s WNJS pj ntr ḥ³*

PT 253

- 253.1 *dd-mdw w^rb.n w^rb.n m slt j³rw*
 253.2 *w^rb.n r^r m slt j³rw*
 253.3 *w^rb.n w^rb.n m slt j³rw*
 253.4 *w^rb.n WNJS pn m slt j³rw*
 253.5 *ȝ n WNJS m ḥ³ nwt h³z p^r f*
 253.6 *hw s̄w sw hnw s̄w sw*

PT 254

- 254.1 *jdy wrt n k³ nhn*
 254.2 *ns hh.(j) r.tn h³w k³r*

- 249.6 having put Maat in it in place of disorder.
 249.7 *I am one to whom pertains linens that the uraei guard
 249.8 during the night of the great flood that comes from the great goddess.
 249.9 *I appear as Nefertem, the lotus flower at the Sun's nose
 249.10 when he emerges from the Akhet every day, the one at the sight of whom the gods become clean.

PT 250

- 250.1 Recitation. *I am the one in charge of kas, the one who unites minds for the one in charge of experience,
 250.2 the great one who carries the god's document—Perception, at the Sun's west.
 250.3 *I have come to *my seat that is in charge of kas.
 250.4 *I unite minds about experience of the great thing;
 250.5 *I become Perception, who carries the god's document at the Sun's west,
 250.6 who is tended by *my agency;
 250.7 *I am the one who says the great thing in the mind on the festival of red linen.
 250.8 That is *I: *I am Perception at the Sun's west,
 250.9 deep of mind, at the fore of Nu's cavern.

PT 251

- 251.1 Recitation. O you in charge of hours, who precede the Sun, make way for *me
 251.2 that *I may pass within the circuit of those with belligerent faces.
 251.3 *I am now off to *my seat, (as) one foremost of seats, who is behind the god,
 251.4 with a set head arrayed with a horn sharp and forceful,
 251.5 like one who carries a sharp, throat-cutting knife,
 251.6 (a horn) that severs strife from the bull's head and makes those in the darkness
 251.7 quiver,
 251.8 a powerful horn that is behind the great god.
 251.9 *I have now removed those who were caught and flattened their front.
 *My arm cannot be barred in the Akhet.

PT 252

- 252.1 Recitation. Lift your face, you gods in the Duat:
 252.2 *I have come that you might see *me changed into the great god.
 252.3 Induct *me trembling, array *me as lord of you all.
 252.4 *I govern the people
 252.5 and judge the living within the Sun's shore;
 252.6 *I speak at the clean shore where *I have made *my seat with the one who
 parted the two gods.
 252.7 *My control is at *my head, *my staff is supporting *me.
 252.8 *I sit with those who row the Sun,
 252.9 and when *I command something good he does it: *I am the great god.

PT 253

- 253.1 Recitation. Someone has become clean, someone has become clean in the Field of Reeds:
 253.2 the Sun has become clean in the Field of Reeds.
 253.3 Someone has become clean, someone has become clean in the Field of Reeds:
 253.4 *I have become clean in the Field of Reeds.
 253.5 *My title is from the Sun: Nut, receive *my title;
 253.6 Shu, raise *me up; Shu, raise *me up.

PT 254

- 254.1 Cense the Great One for the Bull of Nekhen!
 254.2 The flame of my blast is against you who are around the shrine.

- 254.3 *j ntr ⲉ Ⲱmm rn.f ht hr jst n nb w̄*
 254.4 *j nb Ⲱht jr jst n WNJS*
 254.5 *jr tm.k jr jst n WNJS jr.k Ⲱ WNJS ⲓt m jt.f gbb*
 254.6 *t Ⲱ nj mdw.n.f gbb nj w̄.n.f*
 254.7 *gmy WNJS m w̄t.f unm.f n.f sw muwmw*
 254.8 *sr hnt pr psdt ⲉh̄ wr*
- 254.9 *mdw psdw t Ⲱ dnj dnjt*
 254.10 *dmd tnuj zm Ⲱ jlmwt*
 254.11 *s Ⲱt Ⲱ w̄wt r sw̄w*
 254.12 *shtm rwdw r prrw*
 254.13 *m Ⲱ nvh Ⲱ msqt*
 254.14 *sq b Ⲱw m r-mr h̄ipuj*
 254.15 *j nr shwt.k j̄d dp ⲉwj jwn sb̄w*
 254.16 *m Ⲱ.n.sn jwn knzt k Ⲱ n pt*
 254.17 *j̄h nr jhw dp mjz.f*
 254.18 *h Ⲱ snd sd Ⲱ mdsw dp ⲉwj qrr n pt*
 254.19 *wp.n.f t Ⲱ m rbt.n.f hrw mr.n.f jw̄t jm*
- 254.20 *j jn ur sk̄t hr jb d̄t*
 254.21 *m k s jw.s m h̄sf.k jmnnt nfrit m h̄sf.k m n̄bwt.s nfrit*
- 254.22 *j.s dd.s j ms.n.(j)*
 254.23 *wbn ⲉb.f jwn sdm k Ⲱ n pt*
 254.24 *tnj jrw.k sw̄ m htp*
 254.25 *h̄mm n.(j) tw.j.t jn jmnnt nfrit r WNJS*
 254.26 *j.zj h̄n.k r sh̄t htp*
 254.27 *jt.k h̄jpt n hr-q̄t.f jn h̄mt mnjt.f*
- 254.28 *hb.k m t Ⲱ r wmtt.k r mtt.k r sttt.k*
 254.29 *m Ⲱ.k r Ⲱ m jnwt.f dw̄.k r Ⲱ m prjwtf*
 254.30 *m z̄-wr jm jnsw.f*
 254.31 *nb htpw dj.f n.k ⲉ.k*
 254.32 *gfwt.f znt dpw sw̄ WNJS hr.tn m htp*
 254.33 *tz.n.f dp.f hr wsrt.f*
 254.34 *jw wsrt WNJS hr mkt.f m rn.f pw n tz-dp*
 254.35 *tz.f dp n h̄pw jm.f hrw pw n sph̄ ng*
 254.36 *sk rdj.n WNJS unm.sn m zwr.sn zwr.sn m b̄h.sn*
- 254.37 *j̄b mk.t WNJS jm jn m̄3w sw*
 254.38 *h̄knwtt dp d̄f m.s tfnt WNJS tw̄t h̄w*
 254.39 *ssy.s jst.f m ddw m ddt m ddwt*
 254.40 *s ⲉh̄.s j̄tj m h̄nt wrw*
 254.41 *zk.s ūj n WNJS m sh̄t j̄ru*
 254.42 *smn.s ȝlt.f m sh̄t htp*
 254.43 *wd̄f WNJS mdw m mht-wrt jmt h̄nuj*
 254.44 *sk wsrf m wsrw jrt tbj*
 254.45 *nlyt.f nlytw jrt tbj*
 254.46 *jw nd.n sw WNJS m ⲉ jrw nn j[r,f]*
 254.47 *nlymw ȝb.f m ⲉfsk sw wn*
 254.48 *nlymw mswt.f m ⲉfsk s wn.t*

254.3 O great god whose identity is unknown, a meal in place for the sole lord!
 254.4 O lord of the Akhet, make a place for *me.
 254.5 If you fail to make a place for *me, *I will make a curse on *my father Geb:
 254.6 “The earth cannot speak, Geb cannot conspire.”
 254.7 Anyone *I find in *my way, *I will devour.
 254.8 The pelican will prophesy, the Nine’s-bird will come forth, the Great One will stand up,
 254.9 and the Enneads will speak, (saying), “The earth is completely dammed up,
 254.10 the mountain ranges flanking the river have been united and the two banks joined,
 254.11 the roads have been made inaccessible to those who would pass,
 254.12 and the slopes have been ended for those who would go up.”
 254.13 Guide the rope, cross the Beaten Path,
 254.14 smash the ball at the mouth of Hapi’s canal.
 254.15 “O let your fields show respect, Climbing Star, before the Star’s Pillar,
 254.16 when they having seen Kenzet’s pillar, bull of the sky.
 254.17 The Oxherd becomes replete upon his stem;
 254.18 fear descends and the Knife-Bearers tremble before the storm of the sky,
 254.19 for he has parted the earth through what he has learned, on the day when he wanted to come”—
 254.20 so says the god of much plowing who is in the midst of the Duat.
 254.21 “Here she comes, the beautiful West, to meet you, to meet you with her beautiful tresses,
 254.22 and she is saying: ‘Welcome, you to whom I gave birth,
 254.23 with rising horn, eye-painted pillar, bull of the sky:
 254.24 your form is distinguished; pass in peace,
 254.25 associate yourself to me”—so says the beautiful West about *me.
 254.26 “Go and row to the Field of Offerings,
 254.27 taking the rudder for the one on his height”—so says he in front of his mooring post—
 254.28 “and plow into the earth to your thickness, to your middle, to your shoulders.
 254.29 You see the Sun in his fetters, you worship the Sun in his escape from fetters
 254.30 as the great protection in his red linens,
 254.31 and the lord of offerings is giving you your title.”
 254.32 You female guenons of his who sever heads, *I pass by you in peace,
 254.33 for *I have tied *my head on *my neck—
 254.34 and *my neck is now on *my proper place—in *my identity of Head-Tier,
 254.35 in which *I tie the head of the Apis on him on the day of lassoing the steer.
 254.36 Since *I have let them eat from their drinking-bowl and drink from their flood,
 254.37 so am *I protected in the same by those who see *me.
 254.38 The Endowment uraeus is atop her staff, *my orphaness, who supports Shu,
 254.39 and she widens *my place in Busiris, in Mendes, in Djedut,
 254.40 erects dual standards at the fore of the great ones,
 254.41 excavates a basin for *me in the Field of Reeds,
 254.42 and establishes *my farmland in the field of the Field of Offerings.
 254.43 *I judge between the two contestants in the Great Immersion.
 254.44 Since *my power is the power of Tebi’s eye
 254.45 and *my force, the force of Tebi’s eye,
 254.46 *I have now saved *myself from those who would do this against *me:
 254.47 who would take *my food from *me when it is present,
 254.48 who would take *my supper from *me when it is present,

- 254.49 *nḥmw tȝw m [fnd.f]*
 254.50 *s᷉ḥw hrw.f n ḥn*
 254.51 *nḥt WNJS r.sn ḥr hr wdb.f*
 254.52 *j.ḥr ḥȝtw.sn n ḫb̄w.f*
 254.53 *bskw.s[n n jrw pt] dšrw.sn n jrw tȝ*
- 254.54 *jw̄.sn n ḫwȝt*
 254.55 *prw.sn n znwt ḥrrwt.sn n ḥp wr*
 254.56 *ndm jb n [WNJS zp 2]*
 254.57 *WNJS pw w̄ kȝ n pt*
 254.58 *jw dr.n.f jrw nn jr.f jw ḥtm.n.f dpjw.sn tȝ*
- 254.59 *jr.f ḥd.f [tz.f nn rdj.n n.f] jt.f ḫw r gs sth*

PT 255

- 255.1 *dd-mdw jd ȝlt n ḥrw nḥn ḥt n.(j) nbw*
 255.2 *jd ȝlt n ḥrw nḥn*
 255.3 *nsr n [hh.s jr.tn] ḥȝw kȝr*
 255.4 *ḥflfȝt hh.s r.tn wȝzw wrt*
 255.5 *jd ȝlt n ḥrw nḥn ḥt n.(j) nbw*
 255.6 *[j ḥbd pw] ḥbd qd ḥbd jrw*
 255.7 *j.dr tw ḥr jst.k wȝh.k s᷉ḥ.k r tȝ n WNJS*
 255.8 *jr tm.k dr tw ḥr jst.k [wȝh.k n.f s᷉ḥ.k r tȝ]*
- 255.9 *jw.kȝ WNJS ḥr.f m wr pw nb ȝt wsр m nknt jm.f*
- 255.10 *rd.kȝ [WNJS ns n jrt.f] phr.s ḥȝ.tn*
 255.11 *d.s nṣn m jrw jrw ḥflf.s m pȝwtjw pw*
 255.12 *ȝḥ.kȝ.[f ḫw] ḫw hr nwt]*
 255.13 *wd.kȝ WNJS mn.f m znbtw tw mnnt.k jr.s*
 255.14 *ḥr r.f ur m hnw kȝr.f*
 255.15 *[wȝh.f s᷉ḥ.f r tȝ n] WNJS*
 255.16 *jt.n.f ḥw shȝm m sjȝ*

PT 256

- 256.1 *dd-mdw w̄.n WNJS gbb w̄.n WNJS gbb*
 256.2 *jw w̄.n.f tm j.f hr nst ḥrw smsw*
 256.3 *jw jrt.f m nh̄t.f jw mkt.f m jryt r.f*
 256.4 *jw nsr n hh n ȝlt.f m mnwtt dpt.f*
 256.5 *jw d.n WNJS nrw.f m jb.sn m jrt ḥȝt jm.sn*
 256.6 *jw mȝ.n.(j) ntrw m ḥȝwt*
 256.7 *kss.sn n WNJS m jȝ*
 256.8 *hn sw mnwt.f jth sw dmj*
 256.9 *hy wȝȝ nwȝh.k*

PT 257

- 257.1 *dd-mdw ḥmw m pt*
 257.2 *mȝ.n mȝt jn sn ntrw pȝwtjw*
 257.3 *psdt hr m jȝȝw*
 257.4 *snhd.n.f nbw jrw*
 257.5 *phr n.f psdtj tm*
 257.6 *hm̄s r.f m jst nb tm*

254.49 who would take the air from * my nose,
 254.50 who would bring to a standstill *my day of life.
 254.51 *I am more forceful than them, apparent on *my shore.
 254.52 Their hearts fall to *my fingers,
 254.53 their entrails to those who belong to the sky, their red parts to those who belong
 to the earth,
 254.54 their heir to indigence,
 254.55 their houses to naught, their porticos to a high inundation.
 254.56 *My mind is at ease, *twice*.
 254.57 *I am the unique one, bull of the sky.
 254.58 *I have now removed those who would do that against *me, *I have now ended
 their survivors.
 254.59 That is the seat *I have, the one *I take, the one *I raise, which *my father Shu
 gave *me beside Seth.

PT 255

255.1 Recitation. The Akhet has been censed for Horus of Nekhen. A meal for me, lords!
 255.2 The Akhet has been censed for Horus of Nekhen.
 255.3 The flame of its blast is toward you who are around the shrine,
 255.4 the swell of its blast is toward you who bear the great goddess.
 255.5 The Akhet has been censed for Horus of Nekhen. A meal for me, lords!
 255.6 O ugly one, ugly of character, ugly of form,
 255.7 remove yourself from your place, lay down your insignia for *me.
 255.8 If you do not remove yourself from your place and lay down your insignia for
 *me,
 255.9 *I will come with *my face of the great god, lord of wrath, powerful from the
 eye-injury in him;
 255.10 *I will give the flame of *my eye as it goes around you
 255.11 and puts tempest in those who do deeds and its swell among those original gods;
 255.12 *I will strike Shu's arms from under Nut;
 255.13 and *I will put *my shoulder to the bulwark you lean on.
 255.14 For his part, the great one stands up inside his shrine
 255.15 and lays down his insignia for *me,
 255.16 for *I have acquired Announcement and have control of Perception.

PT 256

256.1 Recitation. *I have inherited from Geb, *I have inherited from Geb.
 256.2 *I have now inherited from Atum: *I am on the seat of Senior Horus,
 256.3 *my eye is *my force, *my protection is what was done to *me,
 256.4 and the flame of the blast of *my effective uraeus is Nurterer on *my head.
 256.5 *I have now put respect of *me in their mind by making discord among them
 256.6 and have seen the gods in nakedness,
 256.7 repeatedly bowing to *me in praise.
 256.8 Let *my mother row *me and the harbor pull *me.
 256.9 Ha, boat, your rope!

PT 257

257.1 Recitation. Chaos in the sky!
 257.2 "We see something new," say the original gods.
 257.3 Ennead, Horus is in the sunlight.
 257.4 having made quiver those who have forms.
 257.5 Let Atum's Dual Ennead serve *me
 257.6 as *I sit in the place of the Lord of All.

- 257.7 *jt WNJS pt pšn.f bjȝ.s*
 257.8 *shmw WNJS wȝwt n hpr*
 257.9 *hȝp WNJS m ȝnl m jmnt ȝms sw dȝtjw*
 257.10 *psd WNJS mȝ m jȝbt jwȝt n.f wp hnw m ksw*
 257.11 *snhd.n WNJS ntrw smsw r wrj*
 257.12 *n sw shm m jst.f*
 257.13 *jt WNJS hȝw jn.t n.f nhȝ*
 257.14 *snn.t n.f sjȝ jr rdwȝ.f*
 257.15 *hny n WNJS jt.n.f ȝlt*

PT 258

- 258.1 *dd-mdw jsjr pw WNJS m zzw*
 258.2 *bwt.f pw tȝl nj ȝq WNJS m gbb*
 258.3 *htm.f qd.f m hwt.f dp tȝ*
 258.4 *sd qsw.f dr sdbw.f*
 258.5 *wȝb.n WNJS m jrt hnw dr sdb.f m drtj jsjr*

 258.6 *ȝȝy.n WNJS rdw.f m gsȝ jr tȝ*
 258.7 *jn snt.f nbt-p rmt sw*
 258.9 *jw WNJS r pt jw WNJS r pt m tȝw m tȝw*
 258.10 *nj hm.f nj hmwt.f jm.f*
 258.11 *nj hmȝ.f m ddȝt ntr*
 258.12 *WNJS pj hr wȝ.f smsw ntrw*
 258.13 *jw pȝd.f jr hr hnȝ rȝ*
 258.14 *jw ȝȝbt.f m nw*
 258.15 *WNJS pj nnw*
 258.16 *ȝm.f jw.f hnȝ rȝ*
 258.17 *ȝȝn.f hwt.f*
 258.18 *nhȝb WNJS kȝw nhȝm.f kȝw*
 258.19 *d.f sdb j.dr.f sdb*
 258.20 *wȝs WNJS sdr.f shtp.f nwȝt m unw*
 258.21 *nj dȝ rd.f nj hsf jb.f*

PT 260

- 260.1 *dd-mdw j gbb kȝ nwȝt hnw pj WNJS jwȝ jt.f*
 260.2 *WNJS pj zy jy fdnw n fdu jpw ntrw*
 260.3 *jnw mw dw ȝȝbt jrrw hy m hpȝ n jtw.sn*

 260.4 *j.mr.f mȝt hrw.f m jrt.n.f*
 260.5 *jw wdȝ n WNJS tfn hnȝ tfnt*
 260.6 *jw sdm.n mȝtj jw ȝw m mtrw*
 260.7 *jw wd.n mȝtj phr n.f nsut gbb*
 260.8 *tzy.f sw n mrt.n.f*
 260.9 *dmd ȝwt.f jmt ȝȝw*
 260.10 *zmȝ.f jmw nw rdȝ.f phw mdw m jwmw*
 260.11 *sk WNJS pr m hrw pn m jrw mȝt n ȝȝj ȝnl*
 260.12 *j.sd WNJS ȝȝb bȝn.f hnw*
 260.13 *prj WNJS jr mȝt jnt.f s.j.s hr.f*
 260.14 *rw n.f dndw phr n.f jmjw nw ȝȝj*
 260.15 *jw nht WNJS m jrt.f jw mkt WNJS m jrt*
 260.16 *jw nltj WNJS m jrt.f jw wsj WNJS m jrt.f*
 260.17 *j ntrw rsj mȝtjw jmntjw jȝbtjw mky WNJS*
 260.18 *snd n.f hmȝs.n.f m htȝ hwj*

257.7 *I acquire the sky and split its metal;
 257.8 *I lead the ways for Evolver:
 257.9 when *I set in the west, those of the Duat follow *me;
 257.10 when *I shine renewed in the east, he who parted chaos comes to *me bowing.
 257.11 *I have made the gods quiver, being senior to the great one:
 257.12 he belongs to the one who has control of his seat.
 257.13 *I acquire Authoritative Utterance, Continuity is fetched for *me,
 257.14 and Perception is set for *me at *my feet.
 257.15 Ululate for *me, for *I have acquired the Akhet!

PT 258

258.1 Recitation. *Osiris am *I in a dust-cloud.
 258.2 What *I abominate is the ground: *I do not enter Geb.
 258.3 *I end *my sleep in *my compound on earth
 258.4 with *my bones broken, *my obstructions having been removed.
 258.5 *I have become clean through Horus's eye, *my obstruction has been removed
 through Osiris's two kites,
 258.6 and *I have released *my outflow to earth in Qus.
 258.7 *My sister, the Lady of Pe, is the one who cries for *me:
 258.8 “*He is off to the sky, *he is off to the sky, in the wind, in the wind.”
 258.9 *I am not turned away, and there is none who will turn away from *me.
 258.10 *I do not sit in the god's court.
 258.11 *I am one who is on his own, senior of the gods:
 258.12 *my pita is now for above with the Sun,
 258.13 *my feast is now from Nu.
 258.14 *I am one who turns around,
 258.15 who goes and comes with the Sun.
 258.16 *I embrace *my compounds.
 258.17 *I allocate kas and take away kas,
 258.18 set obstruction and remove obstruction.
 258.19 *I spend the day and night pacifying the two adzes in Hermopolis.
 258.20 *My leg is not crossed, *my mind is not barred.

PT 260

260.1 Recitation. O Geb, Nut's bull, Horus, heir of his father, am *I.
 260.2 It is *I, who have gone and come back, the fourth of those four gods
 260.3 who fetch water, administer scrubbing, and make “Ha!” with the foreleg of their
 fathers,
 260.4 and *I want to be justified in what *I have done.
 260.5 There has now been judgment for *me, an orphan, with the orphaness.
 260.6 The Dual Maat have heard, there was lack of testimony,
 260.7 and the Dual Maat have commanded that Geb's seats serve *me
 260.8 and *I raise *myself to what *I wanted.
 260.9 *My limbs that were in remoteness have been reassembled,
 260.10 and *I join those in Nu and put an end to words in Heliopolis.
 260.11 Now that *I have emerged today in the true form of a living akh,
 260.12 *I break up fighting and restrain disturbance.
 260.13 *I emerge for Maat, that *I might get her, and she is with *me.
 260.14 Rage departs for *me, and those in Nu serve *me alive,
 260.15 *My refuge is now *my eye, *my protection is my eye,
 260.16 *my force is *my eye, *my power is *my eye.
 260.17 O southern, northern, western, and eastern gods, protect *me
 260.18 and be respectful of *me, for *I have sat down in the dual courtyard's awning.

- 260.19 *ȝm n.tn ȝbt tw dnnwtt mdd.s jbw.tn*
 260.20 *jwt.sn r WNJS m jmj rd my n.f my n.f*
 260.21 *WNJS pj ȝs ȝs n jt.f nlb nj mw.t.f*
 260.22 *bt WNJS pw hȝs m kkw*
 260.23 *nj mȝȝ.f shdw*
 260.24 *pr WNJS m hrw pn jnt.f mȝȝt j.s hr.f*
 260.25 *nj rdjw WNJS n ns.tn ntaw*

PT 261

- 261.1 *dd-mdw WNJS pj wjt zȝ jb šw*
 261.2 *ȝwy ȝwt ȝzb jȝȝw*
 261.3 *WNJS pj nsr m dp tȝw r drw pt r dr tȝ*
 261.4 *dr šwt ȝwj hnbw m WNJS*
 261.5 *hȝs WNJS šw nmt.f ȝkr sn.f nt*
 261.6 *qmȝ w ntaw n.f jmw umwnjt rmnw.sn*
 261.7 *ȝhȝ WNJS hr gs jȝȝbtj n mn-wȝwt*
 261.8 *jn.n.f ȝt n hr*
 261.9 *WNJS pj jr wpt nšn*

PT 262

- 262.1 *dd-mdw m hm WNJS ntaw st tw rh.t sw st sw rh tw*
 262.2 *st sw rh tw*
 262.4 *m hm WNJS rȝ st tw j.rh.t sw st sw j.rh tw*
 262.5 *m hm WNJS rȝ*
 262.6 *dd.(j) jr.k ȝȝ htm nb tm*
 262.7 *m hm WNJS dhwtj st tw j.rh.t sw st sw j.rh tw*
 262.8 *m hm WNJS rȝ*
 262.9 *dd.(j) jr.k ȝȝ htp wȝ*
 262.10 *m hm WNJS hrw spd st tw j.rh.t sw st sw rh tw*
 262.11 *m hm WNJS hrw spd*
 262.12 *dd.(j) jr.k qsn*
 262.13 *m hm WNJS jm dȝt st tw j.rh.t sw st sw rh tw*
 262.14 *m hm WNJS jm dȝt*
 262.15 *dd.(j) jr.k rs wȝȝ*
 262.16 *m hm WNJS kȝ pt st tw j.rh.t sw st sw rh tw*
 262.17 *m hm WNJS kȝ pt*
 262.18 *dd.(j) jr.k nlbȝ pn*
 262.19 *m WNJS j.j m WNJS j.j m k WNJS pr*
 262.20 *nj jw.n js WNJS ds.f*
 262.21 *jn wpt jt r.f*
 262.22 *swȝ.n WNJS hr pr-bȝ.f nh.n sw ȝt ȝj wr*
 262.23 *nj hȝȝp hmt.f hr mlnt wrt*
 262.24 *nj hȝȝf n.f sw m ȝh-ȝd wrw hr msqt shd*

 262.25 *m k jr.k ph.n WNJS qȝwv pt*
 262.26 *mȝȝ.n.f wȝȝdt.f m msktt jn WNJS hn jm.s*
 262.27 *sjȝȝ.n.f jȝȝrt m mȝȝndt jn WNJS pnq s*
 262.28 *mtr.n sw hnmmmt*
 262.29 *ȝd.n sw ȝnjt pt sjȝȝ.sn WNJS n rȝ*

PT 263

- 263.1 *dd-mdw d zȝnwj pt n rȝ dȝȝ.f jm jr ȝbt*

260.19 This effective skull-uraeus burns for you and presses your minds.
 260.20 You who would come against *me as impediment, come to *me, come to *me!
 260.21 *I am the very self of *my father, the bud of *my mother.
 260.22 Treading in darkness is *my abomination:
 260.23 *I do not see those who are upside down.
 260.24 *I emerge today that *I might get Maat, and she is with *me.
 260.25 *I am not given to your flame, O gods.

PT 261

261.1 Recitation. *I am *ujt*, son of Shu's mind,
 261.2 extensively extended, with scorching sunlight.
 261.3 *I am the flame in the wind's top, to the sky's limit, to the earth's limit,
 261.4 before the lightning bolts' arms become empty of *me.
 261.5 *I tread Shu, travel the horizon, and kiss the Red Crown.
 261.6 The god casts me and those in motion open their arms to *me.
 261.7 *I stand up on the eastern side of where the celestial tribe stays,
 261.8 having used the ascent to the above.
 261.9 *I am the one who does the tempest's mission.

PT 262

262.1 Recitation. Do not be unaware of *me, god: you know *me as *I know you,
 262.2 as *I know you.
 262.4 Do not be unaware of *me, Sun: you know *me as *I know you,
 262.5 Do not be unaware of *me, Sun;
 262.6 I call you Great of Provision, Lord of All.
 262.7 Do not be unaware of *me, Thoth: you know *me as *I know you,
 262.8 Do not be unaware of *me, Thoth;
 262.9 I call you He Who Rests Alone.
 262.10 Do not be unaware of *me, Sharp Horus: you know *me as *I know you,
 262.11 Do not be unaware of *me, Sharp Horus;
 262.12 I call you Difficult.
 262.13 Do not be unaware of *me, you in the Duat: you know *me as *I know you,
 262.14 Do not be unaware of *me, you in the Duat;
 262.15 I call you He Who Wakes Sound.
 262.16 Do not be unaware of *me, Sky Bull: you know *me as *I know you,
 262.17 Do not be unaware of *me, Sky Bull;
 262.18 I call you This One Who Endures.
 262.19 Here am *I come. Here am *I come. Here am *I emerged.
 262.20 *I would never have come of *my own accord:
 262.21 a dispatch is what came for *me.
 262.22 *I have passed by *my ba's house; the Great Lake's wrath has missed *me.
 262.23 *My fare is not received on the great ferry,
 262.24 there is no one who bars *me from the White Palace of the great ones on the
 Beaten Path of Sehedu.
 262.25 So, here *I have reached the sky's heights.
 262.26 *I have seen *my cobra in the Nightboat: *I am the one who rows in it.
 262.27 *I have recognized the uraeus in the Dayboat: *I am the one who bails it.
 262.28 Humanity have witnessed to *me.
 262.29 The sky's rain-clouds have taken *me and they might elevate *me to the Sun.

PT 263

263.1 Recitation. The sky's two reedfloats have been placed for the Sun, that he might
 cross on them to the Akhet;

- 263.2 *d zḥnwj pt n ḥrw ʒḥtj dʒ ḥrw ʒḥtj jm hr r'*
 263.3 *d zḥnwj pt n WNJS dʒ.fjm jr ʒḥt ḥr r'*
 263.4 *d zḥnwj pt n WNJS dʒ.fjm hr ḥrw ʒḥtj hr r'*
 263.5 *nfr.n n WNJS hn' kʒ.f' nḥ WNJS hn' kʒ.f'*
 263.6 *bʒ.f ḥr.f mdw.f m ʃ.f' bʒ.f m drt.f nhnj.f n.f*
 263.7 *zj r.sn jn.sn n.f fd jpw ʒlqjw smsw hn̄tjw hn̄zktjw*
 263.8 *ᶜḥw m gs jʒbt n pt dsrw hr dʒmw.sn*
 263.9 *dd.sn m nfr n WNJS pn n r'*
 263.10 *sjw.sn WNJS p(n) n nḥb-kʒw*
 263.11 *nd ʃq WNJS pn m ml̄t sht jʒrw*
 263.12 *dʒ WNJS m mr-n-hʒ*
 263.13 *dʒ.t dʒt WNJS pn jr gs jʒbt n ʒḥt*
 263.14 *dʒ.t dʒt WNJS pn jr gs jʒbt n pt*
 263.15 *snt.f spdt mstwt.f dwʒt*

PT 267

- 267.1 *dd-mdw jb.k n.k jsjr rdwvj.k n.k jsjr ʳwj.k n.k jsjr*
 267.2 *jb n WNJS n.f dʒ.f rdwvj.f n.f dʒ.f ʳwj.f n.f dʒ.f*
 267.3 *sq.t n.f tʒ rdw r pt pr.f jm r pt*
 267.4 *prr.f ḥr ḥtj n jdt wrt*
 267.5 *j.pʒ WNJS pn m ʒpd hn̄m.f m h̄pr*
 267.6 *j.pʒ.f m ʒpd hn̄m.f m h̄pr*
 267.7 *m nst hwt jmt wjʒ.k r'*
 267.8 *ᶜḥr.j.dr tw j.hm-jwt*
 267.9 *hn̄s WNJS pn m jst.k*
 267.10 *hn̄y.f m pt m wjʒ.k r'*
 267.11 *jwd WNJS pn tʒ m wjʒ.k r'*
 267.12 *st tw pr.k m ʒḥt*
 267.13 *st sw ʳbʒ.f m ʳf.m sqd wjʒ.k r'*
 267.14 *j'.k n pt ḥr.k r tʒ ḥr.t jr ḥjmt ūndwt*

PT 268

- 268.1 *dd-mdw j' sw WNJS pn h̄j r' psdj psdt wrt*
 268.2 *qʒ nbwt m hn̄t jt̄t*
 268.3 *nḥm WNJS pn p' t m ʳt jm.f*
 268.4 *ḥf' WNJS pn wrt m ʳpsdtj*
 268.5 *ʒt sw jst snq sw nbt-hwt*
 268.6 *ḥzp sw ḥrw r db'uj.f*
 268.7 *s' b.f WNJS pn m ʃj zʒb*
 268.8 *sflw.f kʒ n WNJS pn m ʃj dʒtj*
 268.9 *j.sk.f jf n kʒ n WNJS pn n dt.f m nw ḥr rm̄nuj r' m ʒḥt*
 268.10 *ḥzp.w.f psd tʒwj.j.wn.f ḥr n̄trw*
 268.11 *slyp.f kʒ n WNJS pn n dt.f r hwt ʳt*
 268.12 *jrw n.f rrwt tzz n.f hmʒt*
 268.13 *shm WNJS pn j.hmw-sk*

263.2 the sky's two reedfloats have been placed for Horus of the Akhet, that Horus of
the Akhet might cross on them unto the Sun;
263.3 the sky's two reedfloats have been placed for *me, that *I might cross on them
to the Akhet, unto the Sun:
263.4 the sky's two reedfloats have been placed for *me, that *I might cross on them
unto Horus of the Akhet, unto the Sun.
263.5 It has become good for *me with *my ka: *I live with *my ka,
263.6 *my leopard-skin on *me, *my staff in *my arm, *my baton in *my hand, *my
adulation *mine.
263.7 Those who have gone off fetch for *me the four senior akhs at the fore of the
braid-wearers,
263.8 who stand in the eastern side of the sky and sweep with their electrum staves.
263.9 They tell the Sun *my nickname
263.10 and introduce *me to Ka-Allocator:
263.11 When *my entrance into the north of the Field of Reeds has been greeted.
263.12 *I cross on the Winding Canal,
263.13 *I am fully transported over to the eastern side of the Akhet,
263.14 *I am fully transported over to the eastern side of the sky.
263.15 *My sister is Sothis, *my female relative is the Morning Star.

PT 267

267.1 Recitation. You have your mind, Osiris; you have your legs, Osiris; you have
your arms, Osiris:
267.2 *I have *my own mind, *I have *my own legs, *I have *my own arms.
267.3 A footpath to the sky is laid down for *me, that *I may go up on it to the sky,
267.4 but *I go up on the smoke of a great censing,
267.5 *I fly as a bird but always alight as a beetle.
267.6 *I fly as a bird and always alight as a beetle
267.7 in the empty seat in your boat, Sun.
267.8 Stand up and remove yourself, you who do not know the reeds,
267.9 that *I may sit in your place.
267.10 *I row in the sky in your boat, Sun;
267.11 *I push off from land in your boat, Sun.
267.12 When you are emerging from the Akhet,
267.13 then *I, *my baton is in *my arm, as the one sailing your boat, Sun,
267.14 that you may ascend to the sky and go away from the land, away from wife and
kilt.

PT 268

268.1 Recitation. *I wash *myself, the Sun appears, and the Elder Ennead shines.
268.2 When the Ombite rises as foremost of the shrine,
268.3 *I take away the elite as a limb of his,
268.4 *I seize the crown from the Dual Ennead.
268.5 Isis nurtures *me, Nephthys suckles *me.
268.6 Horus receives *me at his two fingers,
268.7 that he might cleanse *me in the Jackal Lake.
268.8 As he is releasing *my ka in the Duat Lake,
268.9 he wipes the flesh of *my ka and of *my person with that which is on the Sun's
shoulders in the Akhet,
268.10 which he receives when the Two Lands shine and he opens the gods' face.
268.11 He conducts *my ka of *my person to the Big Compound.
268.12 As porticos are being made for *me and the *hm3t* is being tied on for *me,
268.13 *I lead the Imperishable Stars.

- 268.14 *dʒ.f jr sħwt jʒrw*
 268.15 *ħn sw jmjw ʒħt sqd sw jmjw qbħw*
 268.16 *mnħ WNJS pn mnħt nj zʒ ˤwj.f*
 268.17 *ħnt WNJS pn hntt spr kʒ.f r.f*

PT 269

- 269.1 *dd-mdw d sdt wbn sdt*
 269.2 *d sntr hr sdt wbn sntr*
 269.3 *j st.k jr WNJS sntr j st WNJS jr.k sntr*
 269.4 *j st.tn r WNJS ntrw j st WNJS jr.tn ntrw*
 269.5 *wn WNJS ħn'.tn ntrw wn.tn ħn' WNJS ntrw*
 269.6 *ˤnh WNJS ħn'.tn ntrw ˤnh.tn ħn' WNJS ntrw*
 269.7 *mr tn WNJS ntrw mr sw ntrw*
 269.8 *j pʒq j pʒd pr m mʒst ħrw*
 269.9 *j prjw j prjw j hfdw j hfdw*
 269.10 *j šujw j šujw*
 269.11 *pr WNJS hr mntj jst hfd WNJS pn hr mntj nbt-ħwt*
 269.12 *ndrw n.f jt WNJS tm ˤn WNJS*
 269.13 *sjp.f WNJS n ntrw jpf sbqjw sʒʒjw j.ħmw-sk*
 269.14 *mwt WNJS jpy j.mj n WNJS pn mnd.t pw*
 269.15 *dʒ n.f sw WNJS pn dp r.f*
 269.16 *snq WNJS jrt.t jptw hħjt sħpt bnjt*
 269.17 *tʒ pf.j.ħm WNJS jm.f*
 269.18 *nj jb WNJS jm.f nj ħqr WNJS jm.f dt*

PT 270

- 270.1 *dd-mdw rs.k m htp hr.f hʒ.f m htp mʒ hʒ.f m htp*

 270.2 *mlħnt pt m htp mlħnt nwt m htp*
 270.3 *mlħnt ntrw m htp*
 270.4 *j.n WNJS hr.k*
 270.5 *dʒ.k sw (m) mlħnt tw dʒʒt.k ntrw jm.s*
 270.6 *j.n WNJS n gs.f mr jwt ntr n gs.f*
 270.8 *j.n WNJS n smʒ.f mr jwt ntr n smʒ.f*
 270.9 *nj srħw ˤnh jr WNJS nj srħw mt jr WNJS*

 270.10 *nj srħw zt jr WNJS nj srħw gn jr WNJS*

 270.11 *j.tn.k jr.k dʒ WNJS stp.f*
 270.12 *d.f sw dp dħħi n dħwnej*
 270.13 *swt dʒ.f WNJS jr gs pf*

PT 271

- 271.1 *dd-mdw WNJS pj mlħj tʒ pr m ʃj WNJS pj zżżż wʒd*

 271.2 *WNJS pj htp tʒwj WNJS pj zmʒy tʒwj*

 271.3 *WNJS pj dmdy mwt.f smʒt wrt*
 271.4 *mwt nt WNJS smʒt jdt dpt dw sm dpt dw zħżiħ*

 271.5 *ˤħ ˤħ dħwnej hʒy hħdwt*
 271.6 *pr WNJS hr mʒqt tn jrt.n n.f jt.f r'*
 271.7 *ndr hrw sħi m ˤn WNJS hħ.su sw r dʒt*

- 268.14 *I cross to the Fields of Reeds
 268.15 with those in the Akhet rowing *me and those in the Cool Waters sailing *me.
 268.16 *I become fully functional, and *my arms are not inactive.
 268.17 *I become fully foremost when *my ka reaches *me.

PT 269

- 269.1 Recitation. The fire has been set, the fire rises.
 269.2 The incense has been set on the fire, the incense rises.
 269.3 Your scent comes to *me, incense: *my scent comes to you, incense.
 269.4 Your scent comes to *me, gods: *my scent comes to you, gods.
 269.5 *I am with you, gods; you are with *me, gods.
 269.6 *I live with you, gods; you live with *me, gods.
 269.7 *I desire you, gods; desire *me, gods.
 269.8 The pita comes, the cap that comes from Horus's knee comes:
 269.9 the emerger comes, the emerger comes; the climber comes, the climber comes;
 269.10 the ascender comes, the ascender comes.
 269.11 *I go up on Isis's thighs, *I climb on Nephthys's thighs.
 269.12 As *my father Atum is grasping *my arm,
 269.13 he allots *me to yonder wise and experienced gods, the Imperishable Stars.
 269.14 *My mother Ipy, give *me that breast of yours,
 269.15 that *I may transport it to *my mouth
 269.16 and suck that white, dazzling, sweet milk of yours.
 269.17 Yonder land in which *I go,
 269.18 *I do not thirst in it, *I do not hunger in it, forever.

PT 270

- 270.1 Recitation. May you awake in peace: Face Behind Him, in peace; Sees Behind Him, in peace;
 270.2 the sky's ferryman, in peace; Nut's ferryman, in peace;
 270.3 the gods' ferryman, in peace.
 270.4 *I have come unto you
 270.5 that you may transport *me in the ferryboat in which you transport the gods.
 270.6 *I have come to his side like a god comes to his side;
 270.8 *I have come to his proximity like a god comes to his proximity.
 270.9 There is no accusation of one alive against *me, there is no accusation of one dead against *me,
 270.10 there is no accusation of a duck against *me, there is no accusation of a steer against *me.
 270.11 Should you, for your part, fail to transport *me, *I will jump up
 270.12 and put *myself on a wing of Thoth,
 270.13 and he will transport *me to yonder side.

PT 271

- 271.1 Recitation. *I am the immersed, the land that emerged from the lake: *I am a fresh lotus.
 271.2 It is *I: be content, Two Lands. It is *I: join, Two Lands.
 271.3 It is *I: unite, *my mother the great wild cow
 271.4 and *my mother the female wild cow, you on the hill of grass and you on the hill of the stork.
 271.5 Stand up, you two uprights, and descend, you crossbars,
 271.6 that *I may go up on the ladder that *my father the Sun has made for *me.
 271.7 Horus and Seth take hold of *my arm and take *me to the Duat.

- 271.8 *γ n.f z³ t^w w^d n.f*
 271.9 *w^d n.f z³ t^w γ n.f*
 271.10 *j.wn hr n^tr n WNJS h^ms WNJS pn hr jst wrt jr gs n^tr*

PT 272

- 272.1 *dd-mdw q³jt nj dmm.s ḡrrwt nt nw*
 272.2 *j.n WNJS hr.t j.mj j.wn.tj n.f nw*
 272.3 *WNJS pj šrr jm*
 272.4 *jw WNJS pn dp šmsw r^c nj WNJS pn dp ntrw t^hth*

ANTECHAMBER, EAST WALL**PT 273–74**

- 273–74.1 *gp pt jhy sb³w*
 273–74.2 *nnnn pdwt sd³ qsw ȝkrw*
 273–74.3 *gr r.sn gnmw*
 273–74.4 *m³.n.sn WNJS b^c b³*
 273–74.5 *m ntr ḡn^h m jtw.f w^šb m mwwt.f*
 273–74.6 *WNJS pj nb z³bwt ḡm.n mwt.f rn.f*
 273–74.7 *jw špsw WNJS m pt jw ws^r.f m ȝht*
 273–74.8 *mr tm jt.f ms sw*
 273–74.9 *jw ms.n.f sw ws^r sw r.f*
 273–74.10 *jw k³w WNJS h³.f jw ḡmuwt.f hr rdwj.f*
 273–74.11 *jw n^trw.f dp.f jw j^crvt.f m wpt.f*
 273–74.12 *jw shmw^t WNJS m h³t.f p^trt b³ ȝht n^tb.s*

 273–74.13 *jw ws^rw WNJS hr mkt.f*
 273–74.14 *WNJS pj k³ pt n hd m jb.f ḡn^h m ḡpr n n^tr nb*

 273–74.15 *wnm wzmw.sn jw.w m^h ht.sn m h^kzw m jw nsjsj*

 273–74.16 *WNJS pj ḡpr j^cb ȝhw.f*
 273–74.17 *jw WNJS b^c m wr pw nb jmjw-jst-^cwj*
 273–74.18 *h^ms.f s³.f jr gbb*
 273–74.19 *WNJS pj w^d mdw.f h^mC jmn m.f*
 273–74.20 *hrw pw n r^hs smsw*
 273–74.21 *WNJS p nb h^tpt t³z ḡq³*
 273–74.22 *jr ȝwi.f ds.f*
 273–74.23 *WNJS pj wnm rm^t ḡn^h m n^trw*
 273–74.24 *nb jnw h³C wpwt*
 273–74.25 *jn.j.ȝhmC wpwt jmj klhzw sp^h sn n WNJS*
 273–74.26 *jn dsr-dpj z³³ n.f sn hsf n.f sn*
 273–74.27 *jn hr-ȝrvt q³s n.f sn*
 273–74.28 *jn h^{hn}zw mds nbw d³d.f sn n WNJS*
 273–74.29 *ȝd.f n.f jmt ht.sn*
 273–74.30 *wpt pw h³bw.f r hsf*
 273–74.31 *jn h^{hn}zw r^hs.f sn n WNJS*
 273–74.32 *fss n.f jlt jm.sn m ktjw^t.f m^hrvt*
 273–74.33 *WNJS pj wnm h^kz.sn j.ȝm ȝhw.sn*
 273–74.34 *jw wrw.sn n j^ct.f dw³t*
 273–74.35 *jw hrw-jb.sn n m^hrvt.f*

271.8 You with the eye-hurt, beware of him with the command;
 271.9 You with the command, beware of him with the eye-hurt.
 271.10 The god's face opens to *me, and *I sit on the great seat beside the god.

PT 272

272.1 Recitation. Height that never is mentioned, portico of Nu!
 272.2 *I have come unto you: have this opened to *me;
 272.3 *I am the tiny one in it.
 272.4 *I am now at the head of the Sun's followers; *I am not at the head of the gods of agitation.

APOTROPAIC SPELLS**PT 273–74**

273–74.1 The sky is cloudy, the stars obscured;
 273–74.2 the stretches quake, the horizons' bones tremble;
 273–74.3 and the decans, for their part, grow still,
 273–74.4 for they have seen *me apparent and impressive
 273–74.5 as a god who lives on his fathers and feeds on his mothers.
 273–74.6 *I am a lord of jackal-like rapacity, whose identity his mother does not know:
 273–74.7 *my nobility is now in the sky and *my power is now in the Akhet,
 273–74.8 like Atum, *my father who birthed *me—
 273–74.9 he has birthed *me, but *I am more powerful than him;
 273–74.10 *my kas are now about *me, *my *hmust* now under *my feet,
 273–74.11 *my gods now atop *me, *my uraei now on *my forehead;
 273–74.12 *my lead uraeus is now in *my fore, she who looks impressively and is effective
 when she parches;
 273–74.13 *my power is now on *my proper place.
 273–74.14 *I am a sky-bull, with attacking in his mind, who lives on the evolution of every
 god,
 273–74.15 who eats their innards whenever they have come from the Isle of Conflagration
 with their belly filled with magic.
 273–74.16 *I am an equipped one who collects his effectiveness,
 273–74.17 and *I have now appeared as the great one who has assistants,
 273–74.18 sitting down with *my back to Geb.
 273–74.19 *I am the one whose case against him whose identity is hidden was decided
 273–74.20 on the day of butchering the senior one.
 273–74.21 *I am one who has contentment, who ties on the leash
 273–74.22 who makes his spread himself.
 273–74.23 *I am one who eats people and lives on gods,
 273–74.24 one who has fetchers and sends off dispatches.
 273–74.25 Seizer of Forelocks in *kh3w* is the one who lassoes them for *me;
 273–74.26 Sweeping Head is the one who guards them for *me and bars them for *me;
 273–74.27 Gore-Covered is the one who binds them for *me;
 273–74.28 Wanderer, the lords' knife-bearer, is the one who guts them for *me
 273–74.29 and takes for *me what is in their belly—
 273–74.30 the messenger *I send to confront;
 273–74.31 Winepress is the one who butchers them for *me,
 273–74.32 who cooks a meal of them for *me on *my evening hearthstones.
 273–74.33 *I am the one who eats their magic and swallows their effectiveness:
 273–74.34 their adults are now for *my morning meals,
 273–74.35 their middle-sized ones for *my supper,

- 273–74.36 *jw šrrw.sn n jšt.f hžw*
 273–74.37 *jw jžw.sn jžwt.sn n kžpt.f*
 273–74.38 *jn ḡtjw mhtjw pt wdw n.f sdt*
 273–74.39 *r whžwt hrt.sn m hphw nw sms.sn*
 273–74.40 *jw phr jmjw pt n WNJS*
 273–74.41 *šsr.t n.f ktjwt m rdw nw ljmwt.sn*
 273–74.42 *jw dbn n.f ptj tm.tj jw phr n.f jdbuwj*
 273–74.43 *WNJS pj šhm wr šhm m šhmuw*
 273–74.44 *WNJS pj Šm Šm Šmw*
 273–74.45 *wr gmy.f m wžt.f wnm.f n.f sw mwmuw*
 273–74.46 *jw mkt WNJS m hžt sčhw nbw jmjw žht*
 273–74.47 *WNJS pj ntr sms r smsw*
 273–74.48 *jw phr n.f hžw jw wdn n.f hwt*
 273–74.49 *jw rdj n.f m šhm wr jn sžh jt ntrw*
 273–74.50 *jw wlm.n WNJS h̄w m pt j.f sbn m nb žht*
 273–74.51 *jw hsb.n.f tžzw bqsw*
 273–74.52 *jw jt.n.f hžtw ntrw*
 273–74.53 *jw wnm.n.f dšrt jw ĉm.n.f wždt*
 273–74.54 *wšb WNJS m zmžw sžžw*
 273–74.55 *h̄tp.f m ĉnl m hžtw h̄kžw.sn jst*
 273–74.56 *fuj WNJS nsb.f sbšw jmjw dhrt*
 273–74.57 *j.f wžh.f jw h̄kž.sn m ht.f*
 273–74.58 *nj nhmm sčhw WNJS m ĉ.f*
 273–74.59 *jw ĉm.n.f sjž n ntr nb*
 273–74.60 *h̄w pj n WNJS nh̄h dr.f pj dt*
 273–74.61 *m sčh.f pn n mrr.f jrr.f msdd.f nj jr.n.f*
 273–74.62 *jmj drw žht dt r nh̄h*
 273–74.63 *sk bž.sn m ht WNJS žhtjw.sn hr WNJS*
 273–74.64 *m hž ht.f r ntrw qrr.t n WNJS m qsw.sn*
- 273–74.65 *sk bž.sn hr WNJS h̄wwt.sn m ĉ jrw.sn*
 273–74.66 *jw WNJS m nn h̄c h̄c j.mn j.mn*
 273–74.67 *nj šhm jrw jrw m h̄bs jst jb WNJS*
 273–74.68 *m ĉnlw m tž pn dt r nh̄h*

PT 275

- 275.1 *dd-mdw j.n WNJS hr.tn bjkw m h̄wwt.tn*
 275.2 *h̄lžt! WNJS m̄rq.f r ph.f n bsk n jčn*
 275.3 *wn WNJS hns.j.n WNJS r drw žht*
 275.4 *wžh.n WNJS msdt.f jm r tž*
 275.5 *hpr WNJS m wr jm hdt*

PT 276

- 276.1 *dd-mdw jr.k jr.k jrt.k jr.k*
 276.2 *zkzk jm qrqt.f jm rd*

PT 277

- 277.1 *hr hrw n jrt.f zbn kž n hrwj.f*
 277.2 *j.hr zbn*

PT 278

- 278.1 *dd-mdw ĉh̄c bžbj h̄sf m hnt h̄m*
 278.2 *hn tf hn tn mytj mytj*
 278.3 *fb.tj wfj dj mk.tj WNJS*

273–74.36 their little ones for *my nighttime meals,
 273–74.37 their old men and old women for *my firewood.
 273–74.38 The gemlike ones in the sky's north are the ones who set fire for *me
 273–74.39 to the cauldrons containing them with the forelegs of their senior one;
 273–74.40 those in the sky now serve *me,
 273–74.41 the hearthstones being poked for *me with the legs of their women;
 273–74.42 both skies now circle for *me and the two shores now serve *me.
 273–74.43 *I am the most controlling power, who controls the controlling powers;
 273–74.44 *I am the sacred image who is most sacred of sacred images:
 273–74.45 the great one *I find in *my way *I devour.
 273–74.46 *My proper place is now in front of all the privileged ones in the Akhet.
 273–74.47 *I am the god who is senior to the senior one,
 273–74.48 thousands now serve *me and hundreds now present offering to *me;
 273–74.49 *I have now been given title as the great control by Orion, the gods' father;
 273–74.50 *I have now reappeared in the sky and am now manifested as lord of the Akhet.
 273–74.51 *I have now broken up the vertebrae of spines.
 273–74.52 and *I have now acquired the gods' hearts.
 273–74.53 *I have now eaten the red and swallowed the raw;
 273–74.54 *I feed on the lungs of the experienced
 273–74.55 and grow content from living on hearts and their magic powers as well;
 273–74.56 *I get disgusted if *I lick the emetic parts in the red,
 273–74.57 but *I am becoming replete, now that their magic is in *my belly.
 273–74.58 *My privileges are not taken from *me,
 273–74.59 now that *I have swallowed the Perception of every god.
 273–74.60 *My lifetime is Continuity, *my limit is eternity,
 273–74.61 in *my privilege of "He Likes, He Acts; He Dislikes, He Does Not Act,"
 273–74.62 which is in the Akhet's limit forever continually.
 273–74.63 Since their ba is now in *my belly, their effectiveness is with *me,
 273–74.64 as the excess of *my meal with respect to the gods, in that it was boiled for *me
 with their bones.
 273–74.65 Since their ba is with *me, while their shadows are with those they pertain to,
 273–74.66 *I am now in this (state), ever apparent, ever set.
 273–74.67 Those who do deeds will not be able to hack up *my mind's place
 273–74.68 among the living in this world forever continually.

PT 275

275.1 Recitation. *I have come unto you, falcons, in your compounds.
 275.2 screeching, with *my bent tail, of the intestine of a baboon, at *my rear.
 275.3 *I open the two opposing doorleaves, *I get to the Akhet's limit.
 275.4 When *I have set *my tailed kilt down there,
 275.5 *I become the great one in Shedit.

PT 276

276.1 Recitation. You act against yourself: what you do is against yourself,
 276.2 you Burrower in his tunnel, you impediment!

PT 277

277.1 Horus fell because of his eye, the bull slid off because of his testicles.
 277.2 Fall down, crawl away!

PT 278

278.1 Recitation. Baboon stands up to meet the Foremost of Letopolis.
 278.2 That one ululates and this one ululates: "Beloved! Beloved!"
 278.3 The *wjj*-snake is released; *I have been made protected.

PT 279

- 279.1 *dd-mdw WNJS pj tj jkj t3h mrw*
 279.2 *dhwjtj h3.j WNJS tj kkj tj kkj*

PT 280

- 280.1 *dd-mdw jrtj jrtj s3tj s3tj*
 280.2 *hr.k h3.k z3w tw ry wr*

PT 281

- 281.1 *j zz h kw kbb h 3w bj*
 281.2 *rw n phtj rw n pttj phtj p(t) tj*
 281.3 *mj n.(j) jwn 3w t(w)*
 281.4 *wbs jj w jwn hnw*
 281.5 *n'γ n'γ n'γ n'γ*

PT 282

- 282.1 *dd-mdw j b3zt tn r 3.j*
 282.2 *jkt.k pj b3zt tn r 3.j*
 282.3 *nj nbw hknw h'j t3w hknw*
 282.4 *k3.k nn u3'jrrw nn jr.f*

PT 283

- 283.1 *dd-mdw jk rr WNJS nt.f tn jr.k j3bt*
 283.2 *d.f sht jm.s n mnw jkjw*
 283.3 *j jt m jt*

PT 284

- 284.1 *dd-mdw pzh.n tm mh.n.f r n WNJS*
 284.2 *mn.f nnnt*
 284.3 *h zp3 jn hwjtj h hwjtj jn zp3*
 284.4 *pj rw m hnw pn rw*
 284.5 *h3 k3wj m hnw tln*

PT 285

- 285.1 *dd-mdw jw n'z.k 2 jr szwj.k*
 285.2 *b's jwn trj j.bh m*
 285.3 *wy m mw j y bb nt h's3w*
 285.4 *hwjt hzy w3dt twr htt-jbj*
 285.5 *j htj jbnw sw rw m mw*
 285.6 *3w 3w 3 htt-jbj tj*

PT 286

- 286.1 *dd-mdw b'sw m 3w szw tmjt hnw*
 286.2 *kbnw zbn.w*
 286.3 *hz nwt 3w sz 3w sz n tzj nwt*
 286.4 *j3.t m.j*

PT 287

- 287.1 *nnj mwt.f nnj mwt.f*
 287.2 *j.k rr m nn j.k rr m nn*
 287.3 *m3 tfj*

PT 279

- 279.1 Recitation. *I am a pounder, who chops the canals' mud.
 279.2 Thoth, behind me! Pound the one of the dark, pound the one of the dark!

PT 280

- 280.1 Recitation. You of the deed, you of the deed! You of the wall, you of the wall!
 280.2 Your face behind you! Beware the one with great mouth!

PT 281

- 281.1 O, caught one of the courtyard, you! Hey, earthen one of the courtyard, long of foot,
 281.2 lion of *phj*, lion of *ptj*! *Phtj*, *ptj*,
 281.3 give me now, extend yourself!
 281.4 Meat has been piled up: hey now, the pot!
 281.5 Glide off, glide off, Glider, Glider!

PT 282

- 282.1 Recitation. O, this clamberer, my vulture's mouth!
 282.2 This clamberer is the one you should attack, my vulture's mouth.
 282.3 The one to whom endowed gold belongs, apparent in endowed heat,
 282.4 that is your bull, the esteemed one against whom this is done.

PT 283

- 283.1 Recitation. Shall *I chop this left nail of *mine against you
 283.2 and set a blow with it for Min, chopper?
 283.3 O you who acquire, don't acquire!

PT 284

- 284.1 Recitation. The one Atum has bitten has filled *my mouth,
 284.2 coiling all up.
 284.3 The centipede has been hit by him of the compound, he of the compound has
 been hit by the centipede:
 284.4 that lion is inside this lion;
 284.5 the two bulls fight inside the ibis.

PT 285

- 285.1 Recitation. Your two *nšz* are off to your two *šz*.
 285.2 Spew out now, Gory; please, spew out!
 285.3 Hey, in the water! O eye-hurt, tongue-neckband of Shesau!
 285.4 Rain of the wretch, cobra of rejection, esophageal one!
 285.5 O, hyena, alum! Damgerous one, lion, into the water!
 285.6 Extender, just extend! Let the esophageal one be pounded.

PT 286

- 286.1 Recitation. The submerged ones are the long ones of the depressions. You! Ac-
 quire the pot!
 286.2 The Byblites have crawled off.
 286.3 Let the Red Crowns of the depression's long ones bless the the depression's long
 ones for him who raises the Red Crowns.
 286.4 You should honor my name.

PT 287

- 287.1 You whose mother turned him away, you whose mother turned him away,
 287.2 aren't you now such, aren't you now such?
 287.3 Lion, spit out!

PT 288

- 288.1 *dd-mdw hkj hkrt j.zj r.k hr hr wȝt*
 288.2 *jrt WNJS m dgjw n.f*
 288.3 *jm.k jr wpt.k m WNJS*
 288.4 *ȝf m jw*

PT 289

- 289.1 *dd-mdw ȝr kȝ n sȝh ȝr sȝh n kȝ*
 289.2 *j.ȝr zbn*

PT 290

- 290.1 *dd-mdw ȝr ȝr ȝr ȝr prj ds sȝb km rs*
 290.2 *ȝm.n.f n.f*
 290.4 *jt.n.f n.f*

PT 291

- 291.1 *dd-mdw dr ȝknw.k bȝȝ ȝd jn pr m fnt*
 291.2 *nȝm ȝkn.k n.k bȝȝ ȝd jn pr m fnt*

PT 292

- 292.1 *dd-mdw ntktk.k n tkj jk-nhj*
 292.2 *tknt.k n tkn.k jk-nhj*

PT 293

- 293.1 *dd-mdw ȝȝ.k jmn jmn tw*
 293.2 *jm.k rdj mȝ tw WNJS*
 293.4 *jm.k jw jr bw nt WNJS jm*
 293.5 *jm.f dd rn.k pw jr.k nj nm zȝȝ nmt*
 293.6 *ȝr ȝm-psdt m hp jfn jfn*
 293.7 *hjw sdr*

PT 294

- 294.1 *dd-mdw ȝrw pj WNJS pr m ȝnd pr m ȝnd*
 294.2 *wdd n.f zȝȝw tw rw pr wd n.f zȝȝw tw rw*
 294.3 *pr.n WNJS m dnjt.f sdr n.f m dnjt.f*
 294.4 *jw ȝȝw WNJS m nhpw*
 294.5 *pr.n.f m dnjt.f sdr n.f m dnjt.f*
 294.6 *jw ȝȝw WNJS m nhpw*

PT 295

- 295.1 *dd-mdw stp mȝfdt jr nȝbt jn-dȝ.j.f*
 295.2 *wȝm.s jr nȝbt dsr-dp*
 295.3 *ȝy zpt.f WNJS zpt.f*

PT 296

- 296.1 *dd-mdw ȝtw ȝnj ȝm.k ȝȝ n WNJS*
 296.2 *WNJS pj gbb hmȝt sn nj hmȝt*
 296.3 *mt jt.k dȝȝmjw*

PT 288

- 288.1 Recitation. *Hkj*-snake of a *hkrt*-snake, go away, head off!
 288.2 *My eye, don't look at him!
 288.3 You shall not do your mission with *me:
 288.4 spit out, don't ever come back!

PT 289

- 289.1 Recitation. Bull falls to shin-snake, shin-snake falls to bull:
 289.2 fall down, crawl away!

PT 290

- 290.1 Recitation. Face falls on face: the knife all dappled dark emerges
 290.2 having swallowed for itself
 290.4 the one it acquired for itself.

PT 291

- 291.1 Recitation. Your endowment has been removed, white hole, by the one who
 emerged as a worm.
 291.2 Your own endowment has been taken away, white hole, by the one who
 emerged as a worm.

PT 292

- 292.1 Recitation. Your repeated attack is for the attacker, you snake whose strike
 misses.
 292.2 Your approach is for the one you approach, you snake whose strike misses.

PT 293

- 293.1 Recitation. Back, hidden one! Hide yourself,
 293.2 and don't let *me see you!
 293.4 You should not ever come to where *I happen to be,
 293.5 and *I will not say against you your name of Traverser, son of Traverser.
 293.6 The Sunshine's Servant falls in the inundation, turned away, turned away:
 293.7 Monster, lie down!

PT 294

- 294.1 Recitation. *I am Horus, who came from the acacia, who came from the acacia,
 294.2 who was commanded, "Beware of the lion"; who emerged commanded, "Be-
 ware of the lion."
 294.3 *I have emerged from *my stoppered jar after spending the night in *my stop-
 pered jar,
 294.4 and *I am now appearing at first light.
 294.5 *I have emerged from *my stoppered jar after spending the night in *my stop-
 pered jar,
 294.6 and *I am now appearing at first light.

PT 295

- 295.1 Recitation. Mafdet jumps at the neck of the snake who gets that he might give,
 295.2 and again at the neck of the snake with sweeping head.
 295.3 Which is the one who will remain? *I am the one who will remain.

PT 296

- 296.1 Recitation. *Ttw*-snake, where are you going? Wait for *me:
 296.2 *I am Geb. *Hmt*-snake, brother of the *hmft*-snake,
 296.3 your father *drrmjuw* shall die.

PT 297

- 297.1 *dn̄t nt WNJS jw̄t hr.k n̄šwt nn̄*
 297.2 *jw̄t hr.k m m̄šfdt l̄ntt hwt-*c*n̄h̄*
 297.3 *j.h.s tw jr hr.k p̄l̄.s tw jr jrtj.k*
 297.4 *j.br.k m hs.k zbn.k m w̄št.k*
 297.5 *j.br sdr zbn m̄t̄ tw muwt.k nwt*

PT 298

- 298.1 *dd-mdw l̄c r̄c 3l̄t.f dp.f*
 298.2 *jr h̄f w̄ pn pr m t̄ 3l̄r db̄w WNJS*
 298.3 *j.š̄f dp.k m ds pn jmj̄ d̄t m̄šfdt hr(t jb hwt-*c*n̄h̄)*
 298.4 *s̄z̄f dpjw r.k s̄r.f mtwt.k*
 298.5 *m̄fd jpw rw̄dw jm̄jw ht tbwt jsjr*
 298.6 *hjw s̄dr k̄z zbn*

PT 299

- 299.1 *dd-mdw w̄z̄dt r pt zp̄z-hrw r t̄*
 299.2 *tbt hrw h̄s.f*
 299.3 *nb hwt k̄z tp̄ht šn̄t nj šn̄t.j*
 299.4 *nht WNJS nht f btt WNJS btt.f*
 299.5 *gmy WNJS m w̄z̄t.f wnm.f n.f sw muwmw*

ANTECHAMBER, EAST WALL TO NORTH WALL**PT 300**

- 300.1 *dd-mdw j h̄t n nz̄t m̄hntj nj jqht jrt l̄nmw*
 300.2 *jn nw n WNJS WNJS pj zkr nj r st̄z̄w*
 300.3 *jw WNJS jr bw hr zkr l̄nt p̄dw-š̄*
 300.4 *sn jpw jn nw n m̄z̄dw jpn nw zmjt*

PT 301

- 301.1 *dd-mdw p̄t.k n.k nwj hn̄t nnt*
 301.2 *m̄hnmtj n̄trw šn̄mtj n̄trw m šw.sn*
 301.3 *p̄t.k n.k jmn hn̄t jm̄nt*
 301.4 *m̄hnmtj n̄trw šn̄m n̄trw m šw.sn*
 301.5 *p̄t.k n.k tm hn̄t rwtj jrw n̄truj.sn dt.sn ds.sn*
 301.6 *hw p hn̄t tfnt jrtj n̄trw wt̄tj n̄trw smnt n̄trw*
 301.7 *j dd.tn n jt.tn*
 301.8 *wnt rdj.n n.tn WNJS p̄z̄wt.tn shtp.n tn WNJS m twt.tn*
 301.9 *jm.tn l̄sb WNJS d̄z.f hr.f jr 3l̄t*
 301.10 *jw WNJS r̄b sw r̄b m.f*
 301.11 *nh̄ m.f nh̄ nb mpt m.f*
 301.12 *m c̄h̄z̄ c̄ hrw hr shdw pt s̄nh̄ r̄c nb*
 301.13 *j.qd.f WNJS s̄n̄b.f WNJS r̄c nb*
 301.14 *j.n WNJS hr.k hrw s̄z̄t*
 301.15 *j.n WNJS hr.k hrw šz̄mt*
 301.16 *j.n WNJS hr.k hrw j̄3btj*
 301.17 *m k jn.n n.k WNJS jrt.k wrt j̄3bt m rw̄btt*
 301.18 *h̄zp n.k s m c̄ WNJS w̄d̄z.t mw.s jm.s w̄d̄z.t*

PT 297

- 297.1 ★My hand that comes on you, accursed snake here:
 297.2 the one that comes on you is Mafdet at the fore of the Compound of Life,
 297.3 She hits you at your face and claws you at your eyes,
 297.4 so that you fall in your excrement and crawl in your urine.
 297.5 Fall down, lie down, crawl away, let your mother Nut see you!

PT 298

- 298.1 Recitation. The Sun appears, with his effective uraeus atop him,
 298.2 against this snake that comes from the earth and is under ★my fingers.
 298.3 He cuts off your head with this knife, which is the hand of Mafdet at home in
 the Compound of Life;
 298.4 he draws out those which are in your mouth and milks your fluid
 298.5 with those four strings that trail behind Osiris's sandals.
 298.6 Monster, lie down! Bull, crawl away!

PT 299

- 299.1 Recitation. Cobra to the sky! Horus's centipede to the earth!
 299.2 Sandal, Horus is treading.
 299.3 Compound's lord, cave's bull, shunned snake, I cannot be shunned:
 299.4 ★my sycamore is ★my sycamore, ★my parcel is ★my parcel.
 299.5 Anyone ★I find in ★my way ★I devour.

PERSONAL SPELLS FOR EMERGING FROM THE AKHET**PT 300**

- 300.1 Recitation. O netherworlder of Nezat and you ferryman of the *jqht* that Khnum
 made,
 300.2 get that for ★me! ★I am Sokar of Rasetjau:
 300.3 ★I am off to where Sokar, lord of Spread Lake, is.
 300.4 You two, get that for those spans of the desert!

PT 301

- 301.1 Recitation. You have your bread-loaf, Nu, together with Undersky,
 301.2 you pair of the gods, who associated the gods in their shade;
 301.3 you have your bread-loaf, Amun, together with Amunet,
 301.4 you pair of the gods, in whose shade the gods were associated;
 301.5 you have your bread-loaf, Atum, together with Dual-Lion, who made their two
 gods and their person themselves—
 301.6 that is Shu and Tefnut, who made the gods, begot the gods, and set the gods.
 301.7 You should say to your father
 301.8 that ★I have given you your bread-loaves and contented you with what is yours,
 301.9 and you should not bar ★me when ★I cross unto him to the Akhet.
 301.10 For ★I know him and know his name:
 301.11 Continual is his name; Continual, the year's lord, is his name:
 301.12 namely, he with fighting arm, Horus on the sky's Sehedu, who brings the Sun to
 life every day.
 301.13 He builds ★me and brings ★me to life every day.
 301.14 ★I have come unto you, Horus of Shat;
 301.15 ★I have come unto you, Horus of malachite;
 301.16 ★I have come unto you, eastern Horus.
 301.17 Here, ★I have gotten you your great left eye from *rwlytt*.
 301.18 Receive it from ★me and be sound, its water from it and be sound,

- 301.19 *trw.s jm.s wdʒ.t htaw jm.s wdʒ.tj*
 301.20 *jʒq jr.s jt n.k s m rn.k pw n jʒqs ntr*
 301.21 *jč.k n.s m rn.k pw n rč*
 301.22 *d n.k s r hʒt.k m rn.s pw n hʒtt*
 301.23 *trwrw.k jm.s m rn.s pw n trt*
 301.24 *thnḥn.k jm.s mm ntrw m rn.s pw n thnt*
 301.25 *ḥkn.k jm.s m rn.s pw n ḥknw*
 301.26 *rnnwtt mr.s tw*
 301.27 *čhč zḥn wr m wp-wʒwt*
 301.28 *mḥ.tj m ʒḥ.k pr.tj m ʒḥt*
 301.29 *jt.n.k wrt m ʒr̩w wrw ʒr̩w h̩ntjw thnw*
- 301.30 *sbk nb bʒhw nγ.k jr shwt.k hn̩z.k hn̩w ksbwt.k*
- 301.31 *ssn fnd.k jdwt šzmt*
 301.32 *sjč.k kʒ n WNJS n.f r gs.f mr jč n.k hn̩zwt.k tw*
- 301.33 *wčb jr.k WNJS sbʒq r.k WNJS*
 301.34 *m šj.k pw zʒby zʒb sčbjw.k ntrw jm.f*
 301.35 *bʒ n.k spd n.k hrw nb wʒd*
 301.36 *zp 4 bjkuj wʒdwj*

PT 302

- 302.1 *sbš pt ʃnḥ spd*
 302.2 *n WNJS js ʃnḥ zʒ spdt*
 302.3 *wčb.n n.f psd̩tj m msḥtjw.j.ḥm-sk*
 302.4 *nj sk pr WNJS r pt*
 302.5 *nj ht̩m nst WNJS rt tʒ*
 302.6 *dh̩ r.sn rm̩t pʒy r.sn ntrw*
 302.7 *spʒ.n spdt WNJS jr pt m ʃb snw.f ntrw*
 302.8 *kf.n nw̩t wrt rnmwj.s n WNJS*
 302.9 *qfn.n snj bʒwj h̩ntw bʒw junw hr dp hrw*
- 302.10 *sdr jr.sn nn n rmwt ntr*
 302.11 *nst WNJS ḥr.k rč*
 302.12 *nj rdj.f s n ky nb*
 302.13 *pry r.f WNJS r pt ḥr.k rč*
 302.14 *ḥr n WNJS m bjkw*
 302.15 *dnḥw WNJS m ʒpdw*
 302.16 *ʃnwt.f m wḥʒw ʒtfj*
 302.17 *nj mdw n WNJS r tʒ ḥr rm̩t*
 302.18 *nj ḥbnt.f r pt ḥr ntrw*
 302.19 *dr.n WNJS mdw.f*
 302.20 *sk.n WNJS jr jč n pt*
 302.21 *spʒ.n wp-wʒwt WNJS jr pt mm snw.f ntrw*
 302.22 *jt.n WNJS ʃuʒ.f m smn*
 302.23 *ḥ.n WNJS dnḥ m drt*
 302.24 *pʒ pʒ rm̩t pʒ WNJS r.j m ʃ.tn*

PT 303

- 303.1 *dd-mdw ntrw jm̩ntjw ntrw jʒbtjw ntrw rsw ntrw mḥtjw*
 303.2 *fdu jpw zḥnw wčb*
 303.3 *dwv.n.tn n jsjr m prt.f jr pt*

301.19 its gore from it and be sound, the vapors from it and be sound.
 301.20 Mount to it, acquire it for yourself, in its identity of the god's shawl.
 301.21 You should ascend to it, in your identity of the Sun.
 301.22 Put it at your front, in its identity of first-class oil,
 301.23 and you will redden with it, in its identity of willow;
 301.24 you will glisten with it among the gods, in its identity of faience;
 301.25 you will be endowed with it, in its identity of "endowment" oil.
 301.26 Renenutet is desiring you.
 301.27 Stand up, great one of the reedfloat, as Paths-Parter,
 301.28 filled with your effectiveness and emergent from the Akhet.
 301.29 having acquired for yourself the crown from the great and important foreigners,
 foremost of Libya.
 301.30 Sobek, lord of Bakhu, when you glide to your fields and wander the interior of
 your umbrella-thorn acacias
 301.31 and your nose smells the fumes of Malachite-land,
 301.32 you should elevate *my ka for *me beside *me just like that wandering of yours
 ascends for you.
 301.33 For your part, clean *me; for your part, clear *me—
 301.34 in the jackal lake of yours, Jackal, in which you cleanse the gods.
 301.35 Become impressive, become sharp, Horus, lord of malachite!
 301.36 4 times; a pair of green falcons.

PT 302

302.1 The sky has been bled, the Sharp Star lives,
 302.2 for *I am the living one, Sothis's son.
 302.3 The Dual Ennead have become clean for *me as Striker, an imperishable star.
 302.4 *My house at the sky is not wiped out,
 302.5 *my seat at the earth is not ended.
 302.6 People, for their part, hide, the gods fly away,
 302.7 for Sothis has flown *me to the sky amidst *my brothers the gods.
 302.8 Great Nut has bared her arms to *me;
 302.9 the two foremost bas of the bas of Heliopolis have prostrated themselves at the day's
 start,
 302.10 having spent the night making that god's bewailing.
 302.11 *My seat is by you, Sun,
 302.12 and *I do not give it to any other.
 302.13 For *my part, *I go up to the sky unto you, Sun,
 302.14 *my face as that of falcons,
 302.15 *my wings as those of birds,
 302.16 *my nails as the talons of He of Atfet.
 302.17 There is no case involving *me at the earth with people,
 302.18 there is no guilty verdict of *mine at the sky with the gods,
 302.19 for *I have removed the case involving *me
 302.20 and wiped away the one against my ascending into the sky.
 302.21 Paths-Parter has flown *me to the sky among *my brothers the gods.
 302.22 *I have acquired arms as a Nile goose,
 302.23 *I have beaten wing as a kite.
 302.24 A flier flies, people: *I, for my part, fly away from you.

PT 303

303.1 Recitation. Western gods, eastern gods, southern gods, northern gods!
 303.2 Those four clean reedfloats
 303.3 that you set for Osiris when he went forth to the sky

303.4 *dʒ.fjr qbhw zʒ.f hrw jr db'uj.f*
 303.5 *snb.f sw dʒ.f b'f m ntr ʒ m qbhw*

303.6 *wd sn n WNJS*
 303.7 *twt hrw zʒ.jsjr*
 303.8 *twt WNJS ntr smsw zʒ hwt-hrw*
 303.9 *twt mtwt gbb*
 303.10 *jw wd.n jsjr b' WNJS m snnw hrw*
 303.11 *jw zʃ.n fd jpw ʒbjw jmjw jwnw*
 303.12 *jr' n ntrw ʒw m [qb]hw*

PT 304

304.1 *dd-mdw j.nd hr.t zʒt jnpw hrt ptrw pt*
 304.2 *hnkt dhwjt hrt m'ʒ'uj mʒqt*
 304.3 *j.wn wʒt WNJS swʒ WNJS*
 304.4 *j.nd hr.k n[j]w hr spt mr-n-ʒʒ*
 304.5 *j.wn wʒt n WNJS swʒ WNJS*
 304.6 *j.nd hr.k ngʒ r' hr fd ʒbw*
 304.7 *ʒb.k m jmmt ʒb.k m jʒbt ʒb.k rsu ʒb.[k mh̄t]*

 304.8 *[qʒb ʒb].k pw jmmt n WNJS swʒ WNJS*
 304.9 *twt jmmtj wʒb*
 304.10 *prj. llk m'l bjkt*
 304.11 *j.nd hr.t sht htpj*
 304.12 *j.[nd hr s]mfw jmw.t smw] WNJS jmw.t*
 304.13 *ʒb wʒb jmj*

PT 305

305.1 *dd-mdw tʒ mʒqt jn r' hft jsjr*
 305.2 *tʒ mʒqt jn hrw hft jt.f jsjr*
 305.3 *m ſm.f n ʒbj.j*
 305.4 *w'.sn m pn gs w'.sn m pn gs*
 305.5 *jw WNJS jmjw.t sn*
 305.6 *jn twt js ntr wʒb jswt*
 305.7 *pr m wʒbt*
 305.8 *ʒh' WNJS jn hrw hms WNJS jn sth*
 305.9 *hzp ʒf jn r'*
 305.10 *ʒbj.jr pt ʒʒt.jr tʒ*
 305.11 *hzpt rmf qrs.sn*
 305.12 *ʒʒ.s m t ʒʒ.s m hnqt hr wdhw n hnt jmmtjw*

 305.13 *ʃwʒ jw'w nj unt hr.f zʒ*
 305.14 *zʒ WNJS m db' wr*
 305.15 *nj zʒ.fjs m db' ʒrr*

PT 306

306.1 *dd-mdw nfrw ʒ mʒw htpw ʒ ptr jn sn jn ntrw*

 306.2 *ptr r.f ntr pn jr pt prt r.f WNJS r pt*

 306.3 *bʒw.f dp.f ʒt.f r gsuwj.f*
 306.4 *hkʒw.f dp rduwj.f*

- 303.4 that he might cross to the Cool Waters with his son Horus at his two fingers
 303.5 that he might raise him and have him appear as the great god in the Cool Wa-
 ters—
 303.6 set them for *me.
 303.7 “You are Horus, Osiris’s son;
 303.8 you are the senior god, Hathor’s son;
 303.9 you are Geb’s fluid.”
 303.10 Osiris has now commanded that *I appear as a second Horus,
 303.11 and those four akhs who are in Heliopolis have written
 303.12 in a title for the two great gods in the Cool Waters.

PT 304

- 304.1 Recitation. Greetings, Anubis’s daughter at the sky’s window,
 304.2 you whom Thoth dedicated, at the ladder’s uprights!
 304.3 Open *my path, that *I may pass.
 304.4 Greetings, ostrich at the Winding Canal’s lip!
 304.5 Open a path for *me, that *I may pass.
 304.6 Greetings, Sun’s steer with four horns—
 304.7 your horn in the west, your horn in the east, your southern horn, your northern
 horn!
 304.8 Bend down that western horn of yours to *me, that *I may pass.
 304.9 “You are a clean westerner?”
 304.10 I have come from Falcon-Town.
 304.11 Greetings, Field of Rest!
 304.12 Greetings to the vegetation that is in you, *my vegetation that is in you,
 304.13 the clean *ȝb*-plant therein!

PT 305

- 305.1 Recitation. A ladder has been tied together by the Sun in front of Osiris,
 305.2 a ladder has been tied together by Horus in front of his father Osiris
 305.3 when he goes to his akh,
 305.4 one of them on one side and one of them on the other.
 305.5 Now *I am between them.
 305.6 “Is it that you are a god of clean places?”
 305.7 *I have come from a clean place.
 305.8 “Stand up,” says Horus; “sit down,” says Seth;
 305.9 “I receive his arm,” says the Sun.
 305.10 Akh, to the sky! Corpse, to the earth!
 305.11 What people receive when they have been entombed,
 305.12 their thousand of bread and their thousand of beer, is from the libation-table of
 Foremost of Westerners.
 305.13 Indigent is an heir who has no writing:
 305.14 *I write with the big finger;
 305.15 *I do not write with the little finger.

PT 306

- 306.1 Recitation. “How very beautiful is the sight, how very pleasing the vision,” say
 the gods,
 306.2 “of this god’s going forth, for his part, to the sky, of *father’s going forth, for his
 part, to the sky,
 306.3 his impressiveness atop him, his incisiveness at his sides,
 306.4 his magic at his feet.

- 306.5 *jr.n n.f gbb mr qd jry n.f jm*
 306.6 *j n.f ntrw b3w p ntrw b3w nljnw ntrw jrw pt ntrw jrw t3*
- 306.7 *jr.sn wtzw n WNJS hr cwj.sn*
 306.8 *pr.k r.k WNJS jr pt*
 306.9 *j3q hr.s m m.s pw n m3qt*
 306.10 *rdj pt n WNJS rdj n.f t3 jm tm*
- 306.11 *mdw hr.s pw gbb*
 306.12 *j3wt j3tj hrw j3t sth*
 306.13 *shwt j3rw dw3.sn tw*
 306.14 *m m.k pw n dw3w spd js hrj ksbwt.f*
 306.15 *jn sm3.n.f tw dd.n jb.f mt.k n.f*
 306.16 *m k jr.k tw hpr.tj jr.k jr.f m j.mnw n sm3*
 306.17 *j.mn j.mn j.mnw*
 306.18 *wn.k WNJS mn.tj hntj.sn hntj 3ljjw dt*

PT 307

- 307.1 *dd-mdw jwnw m WNJS ntr jwnw.k m WNJS ntr*
- 307.2 *jwnw m WNJS r' jwnw.k m WNJS r'*
 307.3 *mw^t nt WNJS jwnw(t) jt n WNJS jwnw*
 307.4 *WNJS ds.f jwnw msy m jwnw*
 307.5 *sk r' hr dp psdt psdt hr dp rhw^t*
 307.6 *nfr-tm jw^t snnw.f ju' t.f gbb*
 307.7 *ntr nb wdt.f' f mdr hr n WNJS r.k dw3.f tw*
 307.8 *njs.f r.k hr dt WNJS ntr hr fnd.f ntr*
 307.9 *nj t.f nj p3q.f m Cb snw.f ntrw*
 307.10 *nj h3b.f h3bt nj stp.f jbt m Cb snw.f (ntrw)*
 307.11 *nj wn(n) n.f C3wj mskitt*
 307.12 *nj wn(n) n.f C3wj m'ndt*
 307.13 *nj wd' mdw.f m jmj njt.f*
 307.14 *nj wn(n) n.f C3wj hmwt*
 307.15 *j.n WNJS jr.k*
 307.16 *WNJS pj sm3 ty k3 C3 hr pr m jwnw*
 307.17 *j.n WNJS r.k sm3 ty*
 307.18 *WNJS pj drt ms tw mss tw*

PT 308

- 308.1 *dd-mdw j.nd hr.k hr m j3wt hrwt*
 308.2 *j.nd hr.k sth m j3wt stht*
 308.3 *j.nd hr.k j3rw m shwt j3rw*
 308.4 *j.nd [hr.t]n ttj jb z3tj fd ntrw hntjw hwt C3t*
- 308.5 *prtj hrw n WNJS h3.ty*
 308.6 *m3.n n.tn WNJS mr m33 hrw n jst*
 308.7 *m3.n n.tn WNJS mr m33 nhbw-k3w n srqt*
 308.8 *m3.n n.tn WNJS mr m33 sbkw n njt*
 308.9 *m3.n n.tn WNJS mr m33 sth n ttj-jb*

PT 309

- 309.1 *dd-mdw WNJS pw dhl3wj ntrw h3 hwt r'*

- 306.5 Geb having acted for him just like he was acted for in the same event.
 306.6 There come to him the gods who are bas of Pe and the gods who are bas of Nekhen,
 the gods who pertain to the sky and the gods who pertain to the earth,
 306.7 making conveyance for *him on their arms.
 306.8 You, for your part, go forth to the sky
 306.9 and mount on it in this its identity of the ladder.”
 306.10 “The sky has been given to *him and the earth has been given to him,” says
 Atum.
 306.11 The one who argued for it is Geb:
 306.12 “The mounds— Horus’s two mounds and Seth’s mound—
 306.13 and the Fields of Reeds worship you
 306.14 in your identity of Morning God, as Sopdu under his umbrella-thorn acacias.
 306.15 Has he killed you, his mind having said that you should die for him?
 306.16 But here, for your part, you have become a more alpha wild bull than he.
 306.17 Become set, become set, alpha bull,
 306.18 and be set at their fore, at the fore of the akhs forever.”

PT 307

- 307.1 Recitation. There is a Heliopolitan in *me, god: your Heliopolitan is in *me,
 god.
 307.2 There is a Heliopolitan in *me, Sun: your Heliopolitan is in *me, Sun.
 307.3 *My mother is a Heliopolitan, *my father is a Heliopolitan,
 307.4 and *I *myself am a Heliopolitan, born in Heliopolis
 307.5 when the Sun was atop the Ennead and the Ennead atop the subjects,
 307.6 Nefertem without peer, heir of his father Geb.
 307.7 Any god who will put forth his arm when *my face turns to you to worship you,
 307.8 calling to you about *my person, god, or about *my nose, god—
 307.9 he has no bread, he has no pita amidst his brothers the gods;
 307.10 he never sends forth, he never jumps the barrier amidst his brothers the gods;
 307.11 the door of the Nightboat is never opened to him,
 307.12 the door of the Dayboat is never opened to him,
 307.13 his case is never decided as one of his town,
 307.14 and the door of provisioning is never opened to him.
 307.15 *I have come against you:
 307.16 it is *I, a wild bull of the savannah, a big-faced bull who comes from Heliopolis.
 307.17 *I have come against you, a wild bull of the savannah.
 307.18 *I am henceforth the one who gave you birth and the one who can continue to
 give you birth.

PT 308

- 308.1 Recitation. Greetings, Horus, in the Horus-Mounds!
 308.2 Greetings, Seth, in the Seth-Mounds!
 308.3 Greetings, Reeds, in the Fields of Reeds!
 308.4 Greetings, you reconciled pair, twins of the four foremost gods of the Big Com-
 pound,
 308.5 who invoke *me naked!
 308.6 *I have looked at you like Horus looks at Isis,
 308.7 *I have looked at you like Ka-Allocater looks at Selket,
 308.8 *I have looked at you like Sobek looks at Neith,
 308.9 *I have looked at you like Seth looks at the pair reconciled of mind.

PT 309

- 309.1 Recitation. I am the gods’ grain-accountant, behind the Sun’s compound,

- 309.2 *ms.n nh^t ntrw jmt h³t wj³ r^r*
 309.3 *h^ms WNJS m b³h^f*
 309.4 *j.wn WNJS hn^w.f.j.s^d WNJS w^dw.f*
 309.5 *h^mWNJS m^d3wt.f*
 309.6 *h³b WNJS wptjw.f.j.tmw wrd*
 309.7 *jr WNJS j..ddt.f n WNJS*

PT 310

- 310.1 *dd-mdw šnjw WNJS šnjw tm*
 310.2 *šn^{ft} WNJS šn^{ft} tm*
 310.3 *hw WNJS h tm*
 310.4 *hsbb WNJS m w³t tn hsbb tm*
 310.5 *WNJS pw hrw*
 310.6 *j.n WNJS m ht jt.f.j.n WNJS m ht jsjr*
 310.7 *hr.f m (m)hnt.f hr.f m m^h3.f.jn nw n WNJS*
 310.8 *jn.t n.lk^l WNJS zy m^hnt*
 310.9 *jn n WNJS j.p³.s hnn.s*

PT 311

- 311.1 *dd-mdw m³3 r^r WNJS sj³ r^r WNJS*
 311.2 *n sw j.rh^w tw*
 311.3 *j.rh sw jr pr nb.f nj hm.f htp dj*
 311.4 *j.wn jw^t jw.s C³wj 3ht n prw m^rndt*

 311.5 *j.rh.k zh mnjw hr jb htjw jzkn*
 311.6 *prrw.k jm.f h³.k m msktt*
 311.7 *wd WNJS r.k wd sw wd sw*
 311.8 *dd-mdw zp 4 dd n 4 jpw.k h³w h³w.k*

 311.9 *m³3w m hrwj mdww m wtwt mr*
 311.10 *hn^r qsntj.sn hn^r sk.sn*
 311.11 *jm.sn d³ C.sn mdr WNJS jr.k jw WNJS hr.k*
 311.12 *dd.(j) n.k m.k pw n 3gb wr pr m wrt*
 311.13 *nj šp WNJS d.k sw m kkw*
 311.14 *nj jd.f tm.f sdm hrw.k*
 311.15 *jt.k n.k WNJS hn^r.k hn^r.k*
 311.16 *nf.(j) n.k š3pt hsr.(j) n.k j.gp j.s^d.(j) n.k šnjt*

 311.17 *jr n.k WNJS hnn hnn jr.f n.k j³ j³*

 311.18 *wd.k n.k WNJS dp dt 3t*

PT 312

- 312 *dd-mdw p³ t p³3 t r hwtj hwvt nt*

CORRIDOR**PT 313**

- 313.1 *[s]t [hn]n b³[b]y*
 313.2 *[j].wn [C³wj pt ht^m C³wj qb^h]*
 313.3 *[wn n WNJS w³t] hr b³hw hr jknt ntrw zbnt hrw*

309.2 whom she whom the gods beseech, who is at the prow of the Sun's boat, birthed.
 309.3 *I sit in his presence,
 309.4 *I open his chests, *I break open his decrees,
 309.5 *I seal his documents,
 309.6 *I send his untiring messengers,
 309.7 and *I do what he says to *me.

PT 310

310.1 Recitation. When *I am being cursed, Atum is being cursed;
 310.2 when *I am being shunned, Atum is being shunned;
 310.3 when *I am being hit, Atum is being hit;
 310.4 when *I am being barred from this path, Atum is being barred.
 310.5 *I am Horus:
 310.6 *I have come in the wake of *my father, *I have come in the wake of Osiris.
 310.7 Face in His Fore, Face in His Back, get that for *me!
 310.8 "Which ferryboat should be fetched for you?"
 310.9 Fetch for *me "When It Flies Up, It Always Lands."

PT 311

311.1 Recitation. Let the Sun see *me, let the Sun recognize *me.
 311.2 *I belong to those who know you.
 311.3 *I know when *my lord emerges, *I should not forget the offering to be given,
 311.4 so that she who maroons whom she would maroon will open the door of the
 Akhet for the emergence of the Dayboat.
 311.5 I know the booth of the pavilion in the middle of the terrace of the zenith,
 311.6 from which you always emerge when you board the Nightboat.
 311.7 For your part, command *me, command *me, command *me—
 311.8 recitation 4 times without pause—to those four of yours who board and are be-
 hind you.
 311.9 Those who see with two faces and argue about the painful wrapped one
 311.10 with those who will have difficulty and with the one they would wipe out,
 311.11 they should not cross their arm when *I turn to you and *I come unto you
 311.12 to tell you your identity of the great flood that emerged from the great one.
 311.13 *I do not become blind, with you putting *me in darkness,
 311.14 *I do not become deaf, failing to hear your voice.
 311.15 You should take *me along with you,
 311.16 and I will blow away the deluge for you, expel the clouds for you, and break up
 the rain-cloud for you.
 311.17 *I will make ululation after ululation for you, *I will make homage after homage
 for you,
 311.18 when you put *me for you atop the vulture's person.

PT 312

312 Recitation. The bread flies: the bread always flies toward him of the Red
 Crown's compounds.

PERSONAL SPELLS FOR ASCENSION**PT 313**

313.1 Draw back, Baboon's penis!
 313.2 Open, sky's door! Seal, Cool Waters' door!
 313.3 Let a path open for *me on the glow where the gods scoop water, where Horus
 crawls.

- 313.4 *zp 2 zbn WNJS [jj]m m bḥlw pn hrjknt ntrw*
 313.5 *jr.sn wȝt n WNJS swȝ WNJS jm.s*
 313.6 *WNJS pj hrw*

PT 314

- 314.1 *dd-mdw ḥȝ.k ng ngȝ dbȝw ȝkr m wpt.f*
 314.2 *j.hr zbn*

PT 315

- 315.1 *WNJS pj jȝn htt pȝtt*
 315.2 *ȝr WNJS hr sȝ WNJS jmȝh WNJS hr dp WNJS*
 315.3 *jr WNJS hnj hntt hm̄.f mm.tn hȝȝtjw*

PT 316

- 316.1 *j hm̄ shd nj rdj.n n.tn WNJS hkȝ.f*
 316.2 *hm̄ WNJS sȝ.f jr dsrt m jwnw*
 316.3 *hdw WNJS r pt*

PT 317

- 317.1 *dd-mdw j.n WNJS mrn m ȝnt mȝt ȝgbj*
 317.2 *WNJS pj sbk wȝd ȝwt rs hr tz ȝȝt*
 317.3 *ȝbȝ pr m sbq ȝbzr wrt jmt jȝh*
- 317.4 *j.n WNJS r mrw.f jmjw jdb ȝgb mȝt wrt*
- 317.5 *r jst ȝtpw wȝdt shwt tȝw jmt ȝȝt*
 317.6 *sȝd WNJS sm hr jdbwȝ ȝȝt*
 317.7 *jnt WNJS ȝnt n jrt wrt ȝrt-jb shȝt*
 317.8 *ȝzȝp WNJS jst.f jmt ȝȝt*
 317.9 *ȝȝ WNJS m sbk zȝ nt*
 317.10 *wnm WNJS m r.f wzȝ WNJS nk WNJS m hnn.f*
 317.11 *WNJS pj nb mtwt jt ȝmwrt m ȝ h.sn*
 317.12 *r jst mrr WNJS ȝft ȝzȝp jb.f*

PT 318

- 318.1 *[dd-mdw WNJS pj nȝw kȝ j.shm]*
 318.2 *ȝm jȝr ȝt.f hypr.n sȝt.f nhbt*
 318.3 *[wȝd mdw] n sȝt.f psdwȝ sȝmt mdw jijw*
 318.5 *j.n WNJS j.ȝm.f ȝntjw*
 318.6 *ȝzȝp WNJS ȝntjw ȝny.f m ȝntjw ȝnt WNJS m ȝntjw*
 318.7 *nhm.n WNJS wsrt.tn ntrw*
 318.8 *phr n WNJS nhbt.f kȝw.tn*

PT 319

- 319.1 *dd-mdw WNJS pj kȝ jȝhuj hrjb jrt.f*
 319.2 *wȝdȝ r WNJS m hh*
 319.3 *dp WNJS m wpt nb hmȝw*
 319.4 *shm WNJS ntr shm WNJS m psȝt*
 319.5 *srd WNJS ȝsbȝ ȝg WNJS twn hmȝw*
 319.6 *jw tȝz.n WNJS ȝqȝw ȝmȝnt*
 319.7 *zmȝ.n WNJS pwt shm WNJS m tȝw rsw mȝtjw*
 319.8 *ntr jmjw bȝh*
 319.9 *jw qd.n WNJS njt ntr r sdȝ.s*
 319.10 *WNJS pj hmtnw m hȝ.f*

313.4 Where Horus crawls do *I crawl, in this glow where the gods scoop water.
 313.5 They make a path for *me, and *I pass on it.
 313.6 *I am Horus.

PT 314

314.1 Recitation. Back, mangled steer with the horizon's fingers on his forehead!
 314.2 Fall down, crawl away!

PT 315

315.1 *I am a screeching, howling baboon,
 315.2 *my anus on *my back and *my back-ridge on *my head.
 315.3 *I make ululating ululation and sit among you youngsters.

PT 316

316.1 O you back-turning one and you of Sehedu, *I do not have to give you *my magic.
 316.2 *I sit with *my back to the swept area in Heliopolis;
 316.3 *I am being taken to the sky.

PT 317

317.1 Recitation. *I have come here in advance of the flood's immersion:
 317.2 *I am Sobek, green of plumage, with alert face and raised fore,
 317.3 the submerged one who came from the thigh and tail of the great goddess who is in the sunlight.
 317.4 Now that *I have come to *my canals in the flood-shore of the Great Immersion,
 to the place of rest with green fields and lands in the Akhet,
 317.5 *I make green the vegetation on the Akhet's two shores,
 317.6 *I get faience for the great eye in the field's midst,
 317.7 and *I receive *my place that is in the Akhet.
 317.8 *I appear as Sobek, Neith's son.
 317.9 *I eat with my mouth, *I urinate and copulate with my penis.
 317.10 *I am lord of semen, who acquires women from their husband
 317.11 to whatever place *I like according to *my mind's fancy.

PT 318

318.1 Recitation. *I am Glider-snake, the lead bull,
 318.2 who swallowed his seven uraei and his seven neckbones came into being,
 318.3 who governs his seven Enneads that hear the sire's case.
 318.5 *I have come that *I might swallow myrrh,
 318.6 receive myrrh, and become beautified with myrrh, *my fingernail full of myrrh.
 318.7 *I have taken away your power, gods.
 318.8 Serve *me, who will allocate your kas.

PT 319

319.1 Recitation. *I am a bull with sunlight in the middle of each of his eyes:
 319.2 *my mouth is sound with a fiery blast,
 319.3 *my head has the brow of the Nile Valley's lord.
 319.4 *I lead the god, *I control the Ennead,
 319.5 *I grow lapis-lazuli, and *I plant Nile-Valley *twn*.
 319.6 *I have now tied together the hemp leashes,
 319.7 and joined the skies. *I have control of the southern and northern lands—
 319.8 the god of those in (my) presence.
 319.9 *I have now built the god's town to make it sound.
 319.10 *I am the third in *my appearance.

PT 320

- 320.1 *dd-mdw ḩsr.n WNJS grḥ z.b.n WNJS wnwṭjw*
 320.2 *ḥr sḥmw s̄ḥ.sn WNJS m b̄by*
 320.3 *WNJS pj z̄z̄ pw n.j.ḥmt*
 320.4 *ms.n.s WNJS n qnj hr nb ḫs̄wt*
 320.5 *wr.tn nbw jmn t̄n rḥwt dp ḫwj WNJS*
 320.6 *WNJS pj b̄by nb ḫs̄t*
 320.7 *k̄z j̄nw ḫnḥ m ḫm.f*

PT 321

- 321.1 *dd-mdw ḫz.f m ḫz.f jn n WNJS sfrt ḫtp ḫrt psdw jsjr*
 321.2 *pr WNJS ḫr.s r pt*
 321.3 *stp WNJS z̄z̄ r r̄ m pt*

PT 320

- 320.1 Recitation. Now that *I have swept away the night and sent off the hour-stars,
320.2 the controlling powers appear and privilege *me as Baboon.
320.3 *I am the son of her who does not know
320.4 that she bore *me to yellow-face, lord of evenings.
320.5 your greater, lords! Hide yourselves, subjects, before *me!
320.6 *I am Baboon, lord of the evening,
320.7 the bull of baboons, in whose absence one lives.

PT 321

- 321.1 Recitation. You with the back of his head behind him, get *me “Salve of Con-
tentment on Osiris’s Back,”
321.2 that *I may go forth on it to the sky
321.3 and escort the Sun in the sky.

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