Studies on the s_dm.t=f verb form in Classical Egyptian
Zonhoven, Ludovicus Martinus Johannes

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CHAPTER IV. THE PASSIVE sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f

In the preceding studies the three active sDm.t=f constructions are discussed.\(^1\) A remaining point to be studied is the existence of a passive sDm.t=f, or, in the more cautious formulation used by some scholars, the 'passive counterpart' of the active form. It will be argued that there is every reason to identify this form as belonging to the suffix conjugation and as simply being the passive sDm.t=f.

§ 1. The existence of the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f.

Although there is divergence of opinion about the origin and the identity of this 'passive counterpart', it is not contested that, within the limits of Classical Egyptian, a separate verb form exists that is most closely related to the active form.\(^2\) Several factors contribute to the recognition of its existence. First, there is the occurrence in Classical Egyptian of a -t-affixed form with passive meaning after the negation n, while the construction has the typical 'not yet' notion.\(^3\) Second, this passive form is recognizable as different from the active owing to its remarkable morphological feature of facultatively showing a -y-infix before the t in the case of ult.inf. verbs (ms.(y)t=f).\(^4\) This differentiates it from any other passive formation among the suffix conjugation forms, among which it must be reckoned.\(^5\)

All evidence from the negative construction points, in my opinion, to the understanding that, from a synchronic standpoint, this form is simply the passive sDm.t=f. In certain passages this sDm.t=f/ms.yt=f/ms.(y)t=f form occurs side by side with active n sDm.t=f, which proves that the constructions have the same distribution.\(^6\) Furthermore, the use of the negation n before the passive sDm.t=f form is a typical feature of suffix conjugation forms. Finally, the analysis of the intricacies of the 'not yet' notion of active n sDm.t=f deems the passive form to be a finite relative future tense as well.\(^7\) Therefore, I shall in the following only speak of "the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f". When in examples the -y-(or -w)-infixes are put in between brackets, this concerns defectively written forms.

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1 Studies sDm.t=f I (Or sDm.t=f); op.cit. II (r sDm.t=f); op.cit. III (n sDm.t=f).
2 For a survey of the state of the art in 1924 on the origin of the construction, active as well as passive, see Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 174-179. Westendorf, Gebrauch Passivs, 111 follows Gardiner, EG, 318-319 (§404-405) and id., Participal Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 50-51 in identifying a passive participle; cf., however, Gardiner's more cautious formulation in his EG, 318 (§404 top): "when the construction n sDm.t=f has passive meaning, the verb-form assumes the appearance of the fem. perf. pass. part." Thus also formulated by Lefebvre, GEC, 213 (§422). Gardiner, EG, 319 (§405 bottom) does not find a contradiction of his own theory in Gunn's proposition of the complementary infinitive (followed by De Buck, Grammaire élémentaire, 90 (§173)). Further, Edel, AÄG, 367 (§730): "Ein Passiv kann von der sDm-Form nicht gebildet werden; es wird ersetzt durch eine Umschreibung mit dem Nomen actionis auf -wo bei den III. inf. und durch das Nomen actionis auf -t bei den starken Verben, eine Bildungsweise, wie sie auch beim Komplementsinfinittum begegnen"; see also p. 368 (§732, Anm.) and pp. 370-371 (§736 and §738), particularly his explicit refutation of Gardiner's identification. Allen, Inflection, 363 (1.5.2.A) identifies the passive as a "single inflected form". Note that among the recent, more extensive introductory grammars the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f is absent in Borghouts, Egyptisch I.
3 See Gardiner, EG, 318 (§404); Lefebvre, GEC, 213 (§422); De Buck, Grammaire élémentaire, 91 (§176); Edel, AÄG, 370-371 (§738); Allen, Inflection, 358-359 (§530).
4 There is no evidence that verbs other than ult.inf. verbs can have the -y-infix; contra De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 54-55 (16) and Grandet - Mathieu, Cours d'egyptien II, 143-144 (42.4; "wnmyt=f").
5 This passive form is not included in a study on the finite passive formations in Egyptian, which is in preparation by C. Reintges. For an abridged ch. see id., sDm-tw-f, GM 153 (1996), 79-99.
6 For the evidence see §4 below [pp. 58-60]. Cf. Edel's remark, AÄG, 371 (§738): "eingerahmt von aktivischen sDmnt-Formen".
7 Studies sDm.t=f I I I (n sDm.t=f), §6-7 [pp. 46-48].
§ 2. The formal similarity between the passive $sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f$ and $sDm.t(w)=f$.

With the passive $sDm.t=f$ and the defectively written $ms.(y)t=f$ one encounters the problem that the verb form can also be identified as a defectively written $sDm.t(w)=f$. In the construction with the negation $n$ it is only the 'not yet' notion which allows the construction to be distinguished from $n sDm.t(w)=f$ "he has not been heard" when used in circumstantial function. 8

Proceeding from the assumption that on principle the passive $sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f$ can also occur after the prepositions/conjunctions $r$ and Dr, the same identification problem arises there. While in the case of the active $sDm.t$ the feminine infinitive was the most important rival, it is now the $sDm=f$ forms passivized by the defectively written morpheme $t(w)$.

In my preceding article on the active $r sDm.t=f$ construction a sharp dichotomy was postulated between its exclusively temporal meaning "until" and the modal "so that" of the Prospective meaning and the

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§ 3. Passive $n sDm.t=f$ or $n sDm.t(w)=f$ in the Instruction of Amenemhat I?

To judge from some modern translations and commentaries of the following passage, some scholars hold that it contains two passive $sDm.t=f$ constructions. 10

Instruction of A menemhat I, V a-c/M ill.11 $snnw\ psSw=i\ m\ rmT\ irw\ n=i\ q(A?)md(t)=i\ nty\ n\ sDm.tw=f\ (n\ sDm.t(w)=f?)\ bw\ aA\ aHA\ n\ mAn.tw=f\ (n\ mAn.t(w)=f?)$. Possibly either "it is my (own) living images and 'share' among man who have made me the fiendish plot(?) against me that had not (yet?) been heard of and a great case of combat as had not (yet?) been seen", or "my (own) living images and 'share' among man are the ones who ....". 12

Before embarking on an attempt to correctly identify the constructions, I would like to state that I concur with Westendorf's conviction that the form $irw$ is not an imperative addressed to the "living images and progeny" of the king. 13 The king is addressing his eldest son Sesostris and no one else.

The plural strokes of $irw$ suit the Perfective Participle, which is the form suggested by

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8 See Gardiner, EG, 318 (§404, Obs.); Lefebvre, GEC, 213 (§422).
9 See Studies $sDm.t=I$ (r $sDm.t=f$), §2 [p. 30]. This choice is a familiar problem, notably after $rdi$: e.g., Sinuhe B, 301 in $Hm=i\ rdi\ sDm.t(w)=f$, "it was His Majesty who caused the doing of it/that it was done". Examples where there is no open choice are relatively few, e.g., Stela of Ikhernofret, 4 (publ. Lesestücke, 70-71): Dam di.n=f $in\ T\ Hm.i\ m-xnt\ 6A$-sty "the electrum which he had caused My Majesty to bring from Nubia", where $in.t$ must be the Subjunctive Prospective $sDm=f$, because $Hm=i$ is the agent.
10 Ed. Helck, Lehrle Amenemhet, 33-34.
11 The suffix pronoun $iw$ in $q(A)md(t)=i$ I take to be intended to be a genitivus objectivus in the sense of a patient, "victim". For $snnw$ see Ockinga, Gottebenbildlichkeit, 53-57. For a discussion of $q(A)md(t)$ see Westendorf, op.cit., 39; Gardiner, Instruction of Amenemmes I, in: Mélanges Maspero I, 485. I opt for a derivation from the verb $qmd$ "to devise" (according to Gardiner, Notes Sinuhe, 86 (224)), here of course in an inimical sense, i.e. "to plot". The oblique stroke in the word may stand for the panther's head, with reference to the connotation "outrageous, fiendish"(?). Note that Ockinga, op.cit., 56 considers $qmd$ to be an equivalent of $saA$, "remembrance, memory".
12 Whereas Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 159 and id., [Lehre Amenemhet I], in: LÄ III, 968-969 still sticks to the "address to the living", she translates the passage in id, Lehrle des Amenemhet, ZÄS 111 (1984), 94 (V a) as descriptive: "meine lebenden Abbilder und meine Partner (?) unter den M enschen, sie haben mir eine Fehde bereitet, wie man noch nie gehört hat, und einen grossen Kampf, wie man noch nie gesehen hat".
Westendorf. He suggests either taking this active participle *irw* as a predicate in a Nominal Sentence or to consider *psSw* as a pseudoparticiple as predicate to the subject *snnw* and to take *rmT* as the antecedent of *irw*. The problem in the latter solution is that the sitting man sign following the plural strokes in *psSw* cannot be taken as the suffix pronoun *=i*. Since *snnw* needs the expression of a relationship with the speaker, *psSw* =i, which contains the appropriate suffix pronoun *=i*, must be coordinated to it. Furthermore, I do not regard a generic word like *rmT* as a probable candidate for the antecedent; in the case of general antecedents the participle is normally substantivized, "the one(s) who". This latter argument also counts for a solution not mentioned by Westendorf, i.e. taking *m rmT* as the predicate of an Adverbial Sentence, with the meaning: "my living images and share are (now) people who ...". However, considering the importance of the utterance under discussion, a sentence-initial particle like *irw* or *mk* would then seem to be required.

Another suggestion, though one not very probable in a good literary text from the Middle Kingdom, is to take the writing *irw* as *ir=w*, with the suffix pronoun *=w* replacing *=sn*.

Of all the options for this crux the least inappropriate seem to me to take the active perfective participle *irw* either as the second member of a Participial Statement without frontal *m*, or as a Bimembral Nominal Sentence with two juxtaposed substantival members (with the first as Comment). 17

Because a few lines further on, in sections VIIIb-c, the active *n sDm=t=f* constructions *n sDm=t ny*t and *n Hms.t=i* are written with only *t*, it must be assumed that, if we are concerned with passive *n sDm=t=f* constructions in the passage under discussion, the passivizing morpheme *tw* has influenced the writings here. Though Westendorf in his study of the passive feels uncertain about the passive *n sDm=t=f* "here", Brunner takes it to be certain on account of evidence for *mAn* as the base of the *sDm=t=f* form of the verb *mAA*, and explains the writing with *tw* as denoting the pronounced *t*. 18 He produces the following example as evidence for this.

CT [79] II 24 f - 25 b/18. *hrw pw qa*n 6m im=m* X-xnDr=mDr=n *mAn*t gB Xr rdwy=f 5w m Dr=m "this day on which A tum became high in his realm, when he had not yet seen Geb under his feet and Shu in his realm". 19

If, however, one proceeds from the correctness of writings as they are given in reliable manuscripts, then I consider it improbable that the text of Pap. Millingen would write the active and passive *sDm=t=f* - which are always formally identical in the case of non-ult.inf. verbs! - with and without a superfluous *w* after the *t* within the space of a few lines. 20 Furthermore, if both constructions in sections Va-c are taken to contain the same verb form, then it must concern passivized *n sDm=tw=f* constructions. Although the writing of the base *mAn* does occur with active *sDm=t*f, this is not exclusively its base, for which the next example is evidence.

CT [720] VI 348 c. *n rx.t Htp=f n grt mA*t 5r Xrt=f "when his going to rest was not yet known, when the Small One has not yet even seen his belongings".

Since the Indicative *sDm=f* of *mAA* may rarely--though undoubtedly--also show the base *mAn*, 21

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14 Westendorf, op.cit., 36.
15 Gardiner, EG, 39 (§34) and 397 (§486, Obs. 2). Possibly, this is meant in Blumenthal's translation given in my note 13 above; however, according to Edel, Personalsuffix -w, ZÄS 84 (1954), 19 (A) this use of -w as personal pronoun is not attested before the late X V I lth Dynasty in the *sDm=t*f form. For a possible very early example of this use of -w in colloquial Middle Egyptian see Hekanakhete Letter II, 27-28; note that James, Hekanakhete Papers, 39 (21) and Allen, Colloquial Middle Egyptian, LingAeg 4 (1994), 5, n.26 identify the Passive *sDm=t*f.
16 See Vernus, Études VI, RDE 38 (1987) 179-180. Note that the well-known address formula in letters containing a proper name followed by the word Dd can hardly be such a Participial Statement construction without in, given the fact that with females the form is Dd, which only fits a participle in attributive use; see Gardiner, EG, 367 (§450,1) and James, Hekanakhete Letters, 119-120.
17 Edel, AÄG, 487 (§594).
18 Westendorf, Gebrauch Passivs, 112-113.
19 Brunner, cDmt von mAA, ZÄS 87 (1962), 77-78. Correct his reference "CT II 79b" into "CT [79] II 25b".
20 For a parallel of the same passage with a passive construction see the next section [p. 59].
21 Contra Brunner, op.cit., 78. A possible argument that the writing *tw* is present here owing to the attached suffix pronouns is countermanded by the presence of the suffix pronoun in the correctly spelt *n Hms.t=i*.
22 Certain evidence is Inscr. Wadi Hammamat 110, 6 (publ. Readingbook 78,1): *n mAn s(y) in* nb n xHr n *mT Hr=s "while no eye had seen it, while no look of man had fallen upon it". Probable evidence is CT [75] I 334 c, where two versions have the base *mAn* and all others *mAA*: *n mAn=f mAn=f xprw=f m Hr=s "he has not seen my form with his face". For this phrase see now Willems, Coffin Heqata, 473 and De Cenival, Écritures mAA, RDE 29 (1977), 32, 34, 37 (all 6) and (7)). Note that the base *mAn* is also present in the infinitive + suffix pronoun in Amenemhat IV c/Mill.; cf. Gardiner, EG, 224, n.1.
there is no morphological argument against identifying the present constructions as passivized n sDm.tw=f constructions.

Indeed, the translation proposed here, "it is my living images and 'share' among man who have inflicted on me the fiendish plot against me that had not been heard of (before) and a great case of fighting as had not been seen (before)"; is no less suitable than one with "not yet". In practical effect, there is little difference.\(^{23}\)

§ 4. A series of passages relating to primeval conception, birth and existence.

A coherent group of examples is formed by passages in the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead which are concerned with the theme of primeval conception, birth and existence of the deceased, before the gods etc. existed. Since strings containing active n sDm.t=t and passive n sDm.t=t/ n ms.y=tl/ ms.(y)t=tl constructions form the best evidence that the active and passive constructions are syntactically and semantically equivalent, I will deal with these first. The examples also contain proof that the -y-infix is only optionally written in the case of ult.inf. verbs.

PT [571] §1466B-d. ms.(w) N pn in it=f 6m x pr.t pt n x pr.t TA n x pr.t tM T n ms.(y)t n Trw n x pr.t tw(yl) "this N has been engendered by his father Atum, when the sky had not yet come into being, when the earth had not yet come into being, when men had not yet come into being, when the gods had not yet been born, when death had not yet come into being".\(^{24}\)

CT [80] II 33 g - 34 e/B1C. n gm.=tl bw Ah=tl im n gm.=tl bw Hm=tl im n gr=T lwnw nm(n)?=tl=im=t n Ts.t TA Hm=tl Hr.=tl n ir.=tl Ntw wn=s Hr tp=t n ms.yt Xt tp(y)t n x pr.t psDwt pAwTt "I could not find a place where I could stand, I could not find a place where I could sit, when Heliopolis had not yet been founded in order that I could be in it, when Ha had not yet been knitted in order that I could sit on him, when I had not yet made Nut in order that she could be on my head, when the first generation had not yet been born, when the primeval Enneads had not yet come into existence".\(^{25}\)

CT [80] II 39 c + F-g/B1C. ir.=nl 6m smsw m Asw=tl ... m wpt=t Gb r Ntw n ms.yt Xt tp(y)t n x pr.t psDty pAwTt "(Shu) whom Atum, the eldest, made through his magic ... at his separating Geb from Nut, when the first generation had not yet been born, when the two primeval Enneads had not yet come into existence".\(^{26}\)

CT [162] II 400 a - 401 b/B1Bo.\(^{27}\) x pr.n=k n ms.yt tM T n x pr.t n Trw n sxt.t A pdw n ann.t MAtTr sAt nTr dwAy n ir.yt sAr r ikw rb pt TA "it was when man had not yet been born, when the gods had not yet come into existence, when the birds had not yet been netted, when the jaws of M ajeret, daughter of the Morning God, had not yet been bound, when the need of a commander, lord of heaven and earth, had not yet been made that you came into existence".\(^{28}\) All the parallels show the -y-infix in n ir.yt in 401 b, whereas n ms.yt in 400 a interchanges with n ms.(y)t.

CT [162] II 400 b/y IC adds: n spH.t ng(A)w "when the bulls had not yet been lassoed".

CT [334] IV 181 l-o. hrw pn x Nmnw n Ts.t sswT n sn.(y)t tpw n Trw n mm.t tn Hr abwy n Ts.t Hr n BAt "on this day of turmoil, when the necks had not yet been knitted, when the heads of the gods had not yet been cut off, when the sun disk was not yet resting on the pair of horns, when the head of Bat had not yet been knitted".\(^{30}\)

BD ch. 125A, 2-3/Ani (BM 10,470).\(^{31}\) iy.n=i a A n x pr.<t> a S n ms.(y)t SnTd <t> qaM.w<t> sAtw isrw

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\(^{23}\) Thus also Faulkner, in: Literature of Anc. Eg., 194 (1,10): "which has not been heard (before)".

\(^{24}\) See the discussion of n wn=nT in ex. Urk. I 50,13-14 in Studies sDm.t=t III (n sDm.t=t), Appendix A [pp. 52-53].

\(^{25}\) Allen, Inflection, 359 ($530$).

\(^{26}\) Bickel, Cosmogonie, 63 (ex. 31) takes wn=nT as it stands; then it must indeed be a relative form. I trust that wn=nT was meant, on account of the parallel wn=s Hr tp=i.

\(^{27}\) For CT II 39 c see Bickel, Cosmogonie, 88-89 (ex. 67); for II 39 f-g op.cit., 183 (ex. 171), where "the Ennead of the primordial gods" is the translation.

\(^{28}\) Gardiner, Participal Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 51 (5); cited Gardiner, EG, 318, n.12 (Ann. 5,234).

\(^{29}\) Jürgens, Überlieferungsgeschichte, 113 (6-11). For a translation of parts of the passage see Bickel, Cosmogonie, 121 (ex. 99) and 180-181 (ex. 169).

\(^{30}\) For sn (zn) as a IIIae.inf. verb see Allen, Inflection, 573; thus also Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, 230 and Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 713. Wb. IV, 457, 16-19 gives the verb as sn (zn) with feminine infinitive.

\(^{31}\) Gardiner, Participal Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 30 (3). Publ. Budge, Book of the Dead of Ani I, pl. 30, 2-3; II, 568. Note that DuQueene, At the Court of Osiris, 7 numbers the spell BD ch. 194; correct his Pap. BM 10047 (Ani) into Pap. BM 10047 (Ani).
"it was when the pine had not yet come into existence, when the acacia had not yet been born, when the soil and the tamarisks had not yet been created that I have come here." 32

BD ch. 146, portal 12, 8-10/louiya. 33 xpr r=t=f n rd.<t> aAt n ms.(y) Snnd n qmA(m) yt biA Hr xAswt=f

"his name came into existence when the pine had not yet got born, when the acacia had not yet been born, when metal in its mountains had not yet been created".

Pap. Ramesseum X, 1,4-6. 34 rdi.(w) n=i iwaw [n] ms.yt rmT n wtT.<t> n Trwn n hA.t Ts n ms(w)t=f the inheritance had (already) been given to me, when man had not yet been born, when the gods had not yet been begotten, when the spell of birth had not yet descended.

Next, I shall present some examples in which active constructions occur together with passive n SDm.t=f constructions only. Examples of n ms.yt=f and n ms.(y)=f are absent from this group.

PT [570] §1462d - 1463e/P. 35 Xt tw tp(y)l nt idrw nt mAa-xrw mst n xpr.t Dnd mst n xpr.t xrw mst n xpr.t SnTt mst n xpr.t Xnxw n qmt irr 1r n sAd.t Xyw 4tS "this first generation of punishment and of justification, which was born when anger had not yet come into being, which was born when noise had not yet come into being, which was born when strife had not yet come into being, which was born when tumult had not yet come into being, when the eye of Horus had not yet been injured(?), when the testicles of Seth had not yet been pinched off".

CT [79] II 24 f - 25 e/B1Bo. hww pw qA.n 6m im=f m-Xnxw Nw(t) 5w m Dr(w)=f n ma.t n=f Gb Xr rdwy=f 5w m-Xnxw Nw n Ts.t Akr Gb n xpr.t MHR-wt n 6m d=f snx Hr=sn "this day on which A'tum became high out of Nun, while Shu was in his realm, when Geb had not yet been seen to him under his feet, while Shu was in Nun, when A'ker and Geb had not yet been created, when M'het- weret had not yet come into existence for A'tum that he might give support on both". 36

CT [720] VI 348 b-c. rdi Ahaw n N tn sp-sn(?) m iw n nrsr n rxt Hlp=f n gtr mA.t Snr Xrt=f "the Standing One has twice(?) given to this N on the island of fire, when his going to rest was not yet finished(?), when the Small One has not yet even seen his belongings".

CT [1012] VII 228 o-q. ms.(y)=i m qddw iwr.(y=i) m kmnt n xpr.t pt Tn n <a>nT n.t aTt MAT<qF> n sAdt Ra

"I was born in sleep, I was conceived in darkness, when heaven and earth had not yet come into existence, when the jaws of M'atjeret, daughter of Re, had not yet been bound".

As the third group, here follow the examples containing only passive n SDm.t=f constructions.

PT [429] §779b. 37 sxmn=t=T m Xt mwT=T 6nt n ms.(y)=T "it was when you were not yet born that you had already become powerful in the womb of your mother Tefnut".

CT [316] IV 101 g-h/S2P. 38 sy (pn?) nw dwAw <pn?> n iw n Tr pn n wp.yt Swwt n ir.yt sxrw n Trw "what is this morning of the coming of this god, when shadows had not yet been opened, when the plans of the gods had not yet been made?". 39

CT [317] IV 135 b/S1C. 40 xpr.n=i n ms.yt kAw n ir.yt id(r)=wT "it was when bulls had not yet been born and cows had not yet been created that I had (already) come into existence".

CT [331] IV 173 i - 174 e/G1T. rd.n=i rdt n ms.yt pt di=s n=i iAw n whA.t TA sqA.y=t f wI "it was when the sky had not yet been born that it might give me praise, when the earth had not yet been

32 I follow Gardiner's passive translation of the last construction, on account of the presence of the -w-affix following the stem qmA; thus also Heerma van Voss, Anoebis and the demons, 3: "eer de aardbodem en de tamarisk geschapen waren" ["before the soil and the tamarisk had been created"]. See, however, Allen, Book of the Dead, 101 for the active sense: "when the ground had not yet created the tamarisks"; thus also DuQuenes, op.cit., 22.


34 = Gardiner, Ramesseum Pap., pl. 43. This must be the reference in Gardiner, EG, 318, n.9,11,16 ("Pap. mag. Ram.").


36 De Buck, Coffin Texts II 25, n.5* considers the order of t and n following n ma in B1Bo to be certain, despite the parallels all having mAn,t=f. Then it must concern a passive sDm,t=f.


38 = Gardiner, Participial Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 50 (2); cited Gardiner, EG, 318, n.9 (Lac. TR 80,15). Note that the parallel from Siut quoted there has wdwHw instead of Swwt.

39 Bickel, Cosmogonie, 121 (ex. 100) reads here sp nw n iw n Tr pn. Source S2C seems to confirm the reading pn. I take this to be a tripartite nominal sentence with nw instead of pw, and pn as misplaced and properly belonging to dwAw.

40 = Gardiner, EG, 318, n.9 (Lac. TR 19,60-1) = Gardiner, Participial Formations, Rev. ég. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 50 (1); with regard to the text from Siut quoted there giving n ir.yt kAw(t), note the interchange of the verb forms, and further that De Buck's transcription of S1Chas. has n ir.yt<q> kAw(t) (a misplacement by the scribe of the t in kAw(t) "bulls"?).

41 Bickel, Cosmogonie, 147 (ex. 127).
released that it might exalt me that I have grown (in) a growing".\footnote{Willems, Coffin Heqata. 490. Bickel, Cosmogonie, 181-182 (ex. 170).} Temple Deir el Bahari, pl. 116, 4th night hour, 5.\footnote{Cited Gardiner, EG, 318, n.18 (D. el B., 116, 4th hour). Publ. Naville, Deir el Bahari IV, pl. 116, 4th night hour, col. 5; see also op. cit., p. 11.} wbn.n nsw /// n ir.yt sdb "it was when the fringe(-cloth) had not yet been made that the king had (already) shone".

Finally, I will present some examples in broken contexts.

CT [742] VI 370 m-n. //// TAw sns n snsnt=s ///the fledgelings nursed, when she [the deceased] had not yet been nursed"

PT "P fragment Or E 3".\footnote{See Allen, Inflection, 359 ($\S$30).} //// ny qrg.t niwwt /// when settlements had not yet been founded".

Pap. Ramesseum VII, r. O, col. 2.\footnote{Publ. Gardiner, Paphlagonian Pap., p. 25.} [n ms.(yi)t] wrw n xpr.t 5rr "when the great ones [had not yet been born], when the Small One had not yet come into being"

§ 5. Two certain examples of passive n fx.t=f.

A certain example of the passive sDm.t=f in a royal historical text is the following.

Pap. Berlin 3029 [Berlin Leather Roll] I, 9-10.\footnote{= Gardiner, Participle Formations, Rev.$\acute{e}$g. N.S. 2/1-2 (1920), 30 (6). Publ. De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 48-57.} swsx.n=f wi r nb psSt= Hä-A.TA=f mTAm=h sDm.t=f mTAm "it was as a child, when the swaddling clothes/foreskin had not yet been detached for me that he has extolled me to (be) lord of my two parts". De Buck has pointed out that the writing mTAm (with the linen determinative V6) must be read mTAm=m, "swaddling clothes", for which word as a designation of clothing (with the clothing determinative S28) there is more evidence,\footnote{De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 54 (16). In Blumenthal's opinion, Phraseologie, 36 (A.4.2), the passage under discussion has mTAm "phallos" for mTAm "foreskin".} and further that the text as it stands can hardly be anything but a case of the passive n sDm.t=f.\footnote{Wb. II, 175, 5. For another possible New Kingdom occurrence see also Helck, Berufung des Vezirs, in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 112 (line 3 of the inscr.) and 115.} However, a word mTAm "phallos", with phallus determinative D52, is known from the New Kingdom.\footnote{Wb. II, 249. For another possible New Kingdom occurrence see also Helck, Berufung des Vezirs, in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 112 (line 3 of the inscr.) and 115.} This reading has the advantage that no emendation of final m is necessary--assuming that mTAm may also designate the "foreskin", or rather essentially signifies this word, functioning as a synecdoche--but the use of the linen determinative V6 poses a problem.

A close parallel of this passage must contain another passive n fx.t=f, at least if the passage as it stands is taken to be correct.

Urk. VII 34,1.\footnote{De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 54 (16). In Blumenthal's opinion, Phraseologie, 36 (A.4.2), the passage under discussion has mTAm "phallos" for mTAm "foreskin".} HqA.n=f niwt=f m sDty n fx.t=f m TAm "it was as a youngster, when he had not yet been released from the foreskin that he (already) ruled his city".\footnote{Lloyd, Inschr. Khnumhotpe II, in: Pyramid Studies Edwards, 24 (2cIX) translates "before he was circumcised", but incorrectly transliterates m sDt(y)n fx.t(f)= Hä-A.TAm (p. 34, n.51).} If the phallus determinative D52 here is taken to be correct--as I do--then mTAm "from the foreskin" must be read, which word also occurs elsewhere with the same determinative,\footnote{CT [322] IV 149 b. See the brief discussion by Lefebvre, Quelques mots ég., in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 209-210 ($\S$7); id., Tableau des parties du corps, 40 ($\S$45).} and mTAm "swaddling clothes" would be out of the question. However, the presence of the phallus determinative is explained by De Buck as a corruption of the band of linen sign V12 as a determinative of mTAm "swaddling clothes", owing to the resemblance in hieratic and brought about by a hieratic original.\footnote{De Buck, Building Inscr., in: Studia Aegyptiaca, 54 (16). For an uncertain occurrence of mTAm with the clothing determinative V12 (different from V6 in the word mTAm=m in the Berlin Leather Roll I, 10) see the passage stela Florence 2540, 6; ref. Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 36 (A.4.2).}
one different from V 12.--54 in the Berlin Leather Roll passage. This would relate the closely parallel passages from the Berlin Leather Roll and the Khnumhotep inscription to an act of circumcision, of removing the "foreskin" (mTA and TAm). 55 It seems to me that the presence of the cloth determinative V 6 in the Berlin Leather Roll passage can be traced back to a confusion between the derivatives of the well-known verb TAm "to veil" and the rare verb mTA "to wrap". 56 The words mTA and TAm as a designation of "foreskin" may very well be derivatives from either verb.

I follow the translators who interpret the passages as a reference to circumcision, 57 and identify here two passive constructions n fx.t=f.

Finally, I would like to point out that there is no reason to assume a corruption n fx.t=f for active n fx.t= for passive n fx.t=f in the Berlin Leather Roll, since almost directly following in the text there is another n sDm.t=f construction, which is spelled correctly. 58

Pap. Berlin 3029 [Berlin Leather Roll] I, 11-12. 59 mt.n=f wi m imy-ah m wDHy n pr.t=i m AHty=i "it was as a weanling, when I had not yet come ('brought') forth from my thighs that he had (already) installed me as palace inhabitant". Following Goedicke, I take the expression prt m AHty as a designation for the first emission of semen by an adolescent boy, 60 and not as a reference to the embryonal stage of an unborn child. 61 This was proposed by De Buck, who saw here a mistake "my thighs" for "my [mother's] thighs". Goedicke's translation is nicely in tune with the reference to circumcision, and removes the great difficulty of the age of a wDHy "weanling" being associated with the time before birth.

§ 6. Five more examples of passive n sDm.t=f, n ms.yt=f and n ms.(y)t=f.

In the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom there is only one example of passive n sDm.t=f/ms.(y)t=f that Westendorf considered certain. 62

Pap. Westcar, 5,9-11. imi int/in.tw n=i st-Hmwt 20 m nfrwt nt Hw=sn m bnwdt Hnssyat nty n wp.(y)t=f sn m ms(wt) "let there be brought to me twenty women as ones beautiful of their bodies, with breasts and braids, who have not yet been opened by birth".

There is only one certain example in the medical texts.

Pap. Edwin Smith, 2,25 - 3,1. 63 biA pw wdHw biAt y n pds.t=f m aAt "it is the metal that the

54 See the preceding note.
55 Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 36 (A 4.2), suggests that the name of the circumcision ceremony is fx mTAm "to remove the foreskin", but as far as the evidence on the basis of the determinatives goes this word mTAm refers only to clothing. De Wit, Circoncision, ZÄS 99/1 (1972), 42 considers mTA in the Berlin Leather Roll passage to be a mistake for TAm. Westendorf, [Beschiefung], in: LA I, 728: fx (m)TAm (with reference to Wb V 354,21: TAm).
56 Von Deines - Westendorf, Wb. med. T., 413: "umwickeln", with clothing determinative S28; Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 376. As suggested by Helck, Berufung des Vezirs, in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 115, this verb may indeed have the same basic meaning as the equally rare verb mTA (written with the man with hand to mouth sign V2 as determinative), which is known from Ptahhotpe, 63/Pr. and Sinuhe B, 109, if a basic meaning "to gird" is assumed. This was suggested by Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 128 (4) for the Ptahhotpe passage: "if thy heart girds(?) against him, he will not equal thee". A foreskin can easily be compared with a girdle. The approximate meaning of "to challenge" in Sinuhe B, 109 may be more exactly "to drive a person into a tight corner", "to corner a person", which may be a metaphoric extended meaning of literal "to enclose", "to gird", "to wrap". See also Faulkner, Ptahhotpe and the Disputants, in: Äg. Stud. Grapow, 82 (e).
58 So, for example, Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 35: "bevor ich die Windeln verloren hatte"; Lichtheim, Literature I, 116: "yet wearing swaddling clothes".
61 Thus Blumenthal, Phraseologie, 37 (A 4.4).
62 Westendorf, Gebrauch Passivs, 113; see also his n.5 with reference to Gardiner, EG, where the present passage is not referred to on p. 318 (§404), but is mentioned under the active construction on p. 317, n.7 (it may be that Gardiner thought of intransitive "to be open"). Lefebvre, GEC, 213, n.3 opts for n wp.(y)t=f sn.
metalworker casts, when it has not yet been flattened with the stone", according to Westendorf.64

The following examples from the Middle Kingdom Illahun archive may also be instances of passive use in the main clause.65 The reference time is the present of the writing of the letters.

Pap. Berlin 10016, vo. 4a.66 (in w rd iii n=k int iWAw(t) (37) n Ssp.t=0 "have you caused the (three?) women workers to be brought? (They) have not yet been received". However, the absence of the suffix pronoun may well point to use as a virtual relative clause:66 "the (three) woman workers which have not yet been received".69

Pap. Berlin 10025, 6.70 ///// ntw sw r iwr bAk im n rD.yt ssDm bAk im iwt.n=f "///// that he will act against the humble servant. The humble servant has not yet been allowed to hear what he has done". A servant in problems is writing here to his superior.71

The following example is the only one I know of in the Coffin Texts which does not belong to the type of passage on primeval conception dealt with above in § 4.

CT [398] V 124 a/M 3C.72 mk rk sy m wwr n Sd.yt=s "see now, it is at the wharf. It has not yet been cut out". I take this to be an instance of main clause use of the n ssDm.t=I construction, here with passive meaning.73 In this speech situation the reference time is the speaker’s present.

§ 7 Passive n ssDm.t=I constructions in Ptaahhotep and a related example.

Owing to the identification problems and alternatives of translation I shall start with an example containing an indisputable active n ssDm.t=I construction, and then turn to its passive parallel.

Ptaahhotep, 266-267/L2.74 m gfn(w) sw r sk(t)=f Xt=I r Dd.t(i)=I ifyt=I Hr=s "do not rebuff him until he has emptied [swept] his belly, until he has said what he has come for". The presence of the pronominal object sw makes it impossible to translate m gfn(w) r here with "do not be defensive against" and to identify here the writings skt./=f and Ddt./=f as the sDm.ty.fy forms sk(t)=f(=) and Dd.t(i)=f(=) respectively.75 Despite the unusual presence of the writing n for a pronounced t in the sDm.t=I form Dd.t(i)=f(=). The relative form ifyt Hr=s is the object of the sDm.t=I form Dd.t(i)=f(=) rather than an apposition ("(namely), what he has come for") to a Prospective Relative Form Ddt.=I. This makes a translation "(until he has emptied [swept] his belly) of what he wants to say, (namely) what he has come for", most artificial and improbable, though it is grammatically possible.

This passage has close parallels in the London stela of Mentuhotep son of Hepy, of which part of the reference time is the wisdom text.

Stela of M entuhotep son of Hepy (Petrie Museum London UC 14333), 11-12. hnn ib r Dd.t(y).f(y) mArw=I r sk(t)=f xrt nt Xt=I "to incline the heart towards him who wants to tell his misery, until he has emptied [swept] the need of his belly". Although the writings Ddt./=f and skt./=f are similar in appearance, the first cannot really be anything but a sDm.ty.fy form Dd.t(y).f(y) "one who wants to tell ...", because taking the form as a sDm.t=I would leave the suffix pronoun without a clear reference time.


65 See for this Studies ssDm.t=I III (n ssDm.t=I), §9 [p. 49].

66 Publ. Scharff, Briefe aus Illahun, ZÄS 59 (1924), 24-27 and 2**-3**; photograph in Möller, Hier. Paläogr. I, pl. 5/2.

67 For the unique omission of the pronoun see Studies ssDm.t=I III (n ssDm.t=I), §10 [p. 51].

68 See the next section.

69 In active sense Scharff, op.cit., 24: "Du liestest 3 Arbeiterinnen bringen, die ich nicht erhalten habe (??)"; note his remark "wie n Ssp.t am Ende des Antwortesatzes zu fassen ist, vermag ich nicht zu sagen".

70 Cit. Gardiner, EG, 318, n.19 (ÂÄ 59,5, top). Now published Luft, Archiv Illahun; for a photograph and transcription see under its inv. no.

71 Luft, op.cit., see under translation and commentary of the inv.no.: "///// der gegen den Diener dort handelt. Nicht durfte der Diener dort vernehmen was er gemacht hat"; see already Studies ssDm.t=I III (n ssDm.t=I), §9 [p. 49]. Cf. the remarkable and very rare-if not unique-example in colloquial Late Egyptian of passive bw in.yt nAyw šdy "their replies have not yet been brought" in Pap. Leiden I 366, vo. 5; cf. Frandsen, Outline Late Eg. Verbal System, 40 (ex. 5).

72 = Gardiner, EG, 318, ex.10a (Coffins M 3C, 137 and G1T, 129).

73 For the variants and the discussion see Studies ssDm.t=I III (n ssDm.t=I), §9 [p. 49].

74 Lopicrino, ssDm.t, GM 37 (1980), 22 mixes up the two versions Prisse and L2. For the translation of the maxim see Gardiner, EG, 323.

75 Note that Schenkel, Einf. Sprachwissenschaft, 101 (Ann. 2) has suggested that the form usually known as the sDm.ty.fy should instead be called the ssDm.t=I. To avoid any confusion, I retain the familiar name sDm.ty.fy when referring to the verb form.

76 See for this already Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 15, n.2.
referent in the preceding context. Goedicke and Stewart also regard the writing skt./=f as a sDm.ty.fy form skt.(y).f(y). 77 I do not favour this solution on account of the obvious dependence on the Ptahhotep text, which precludes taking r skt./=f as containing a sDm.ty.fy form.

Ibid., 14. hnn ib=k m iwhA.w r spry r Dd.t=f iy.t.n=f Hrs. 8 "incline your heart. Do not be 'loaded' (prejudiced?) against a petitioner, until he has said what he has come for". 78 Goedicke and Stewart identify the writing Ddt./=f as a sDm.ty.fy form Dd.(t).y.f(y). I do not think this is very probable, as one would then expect the future participle to have spry as the direct and explicit antecedent. A translation with the Prospective Relative Form Ddt.(i)=f "do not be prejudiced against a petitioner, against what he has to say, (namely) what he has come for" is not probable either. 79

Let us now return to the Prisse version of Ptahhotep:

Ptahhotep, 266-267/Pr. m gnfn.(w) sw r skt. Xt=f m kAt.n=f Dd n=k st "do not rebuff him, until his belly is emptied [swept] of what he has in mind to say (it) to you". 80 Since in the version L 2 r sk.t=f Xt=f is a certain r sDm.t=f construction, the variant Prisse cannot contain a passive sDm.t=f. There is no reason to need to emend here to r sk.t<(<)=f Xt=f. 82

Corroboration for the identification as a passive sDm.t=f comes from a similar expression playing on the same theme of patience with petitioners.

Stela Cairo CG 20539, 1,b,5-6. 83 wAH-ib r sDm.t ndwt "patient of heart until the words have been heard".

Support for this identification as a passive sDm.t=f comes from an example with a similar phraseology, but containing an active sDm.t=.

Dispute of a Man with his Ba, 51. 85 [wAH] ib=k bA=i sn=i r xpr.t iwaw=i "be patient of heart, my ba, my brother, until my heir has come into being".

Although the following, somewhat unclear passage from Ptahhotep is translated by some scholars as containing an active r sDm.t=, it may well have passive meaning.

Ptahhotep, 453/Pr. im=f siw.(w) r=k r sDm.t=k "he must not be making charges against you, until you have been questioned". 86 The preceding passage reads "do not take from the house...".
of neighbours, do not get hold of possessions of one who is close to you". The version L1 proceeds with "there is nothing profitable to it". Since the addressee is being advised about his behaviour, the following main clause must have the sense of "you must avoid causing that he would ever be making charges against you (in secret)?". The variant L1 has active r sDm.t=f construction, whether of active or of passive meaning, must be translated with "before" or "until", both translations being possible after a negative main clause. 

The variant L1 has active r sDm.t=k st with object here, "until you have (finally) heard it [the making of charges]." 87 In the parallel Prisse this object is absent, and the translators felt forced to smuggle in "(about) it", justifiably if adhering to the sense suggested by the version L1. This artifice is not necessary in another instance in the Prisse version, Ptahhotep, 126 m mdw.(w) n=f r iAS.t=f "do not speak to him, until he calls/invites". Since emendation should be avoided if not absolutely necessary, the passage can be solved by assuming that it concerns a passive construction. Its sense would then be "you must avoid causing that he would be making charges against you (in secret), until you are (finally and surprisingly) questioned". Thus, "be of irreproachable behaviour, give no reason for bringing about charges against you, while you are unaware of it and will by surprise be taken to be subjected to an inquest". In this connection, I recall Ptahhotep, 419-420 sAw Dd=f sxr=f srw rdi=f mdt Hr gs iry "beware lest he tell his matter: 'judges, he puts the matter one-sidedly'".

It is remarkable that the Prisse version of Ptahhotep seems to contain two passive r sDm.t=f constructions.

Though the present evidence for the passive sDm.t=f after the preposition/conjunction r is indeed still scant, this may change if the conclusion that a combination of passive meaning of a -t-affixed verb form after r and the meaning "until" invites such an identification is accepted. No doubt, more examples will turn up.

§ 8. An example of r ms.yt=f with passive meaning in Merikare.

The following example is the only known to me where the passive sDm.t=f shows the -yt-affix in the use after r.

Merikare, E 96-97. 88 HAg.n=i Xxyw=sn nHm.n=i mn[mn]=sn r bwy.t aAmw r Kmt "it was until the Asians had been made averse to Egypt that I went on plundering their subjects and robbing their cattle".

To judge from the translations, some scholars consider the word bwy.t to be a rare spelling of the well-known bwt, usually translated with "abomination": "up to the point of disgust of the Asians against Egypt" or suchlike. 89 However, decisive importance must be attached to the fact that the New Kingdom parallel C also has the writing bwy.t, but now with the plural determinative, which points to some misunderstanding. 90 Indeed, this spelling of the substantive bwt would be very unusual, if not unique, to judge from the dictionaries. 91 Therefore I take the -yt-affix to be correct, and identify a form of the IIIae inf. verb bwi, the older form of the verb bwt. 92 A number of translators take the Asians to be the subject of an intransitive, respectively transitive verb: "until

Maximes de Ptahhotep, 96 (p.453): "qu’il ne soit obligé de porter plainte contre toi, encore avant que tu ne (en)aiies obéi", and p. 155 (453). Brunner, Altäg. Weisheit, 126 (383): "damit er dich nicht anzeigt, bevor du überhaupt davon erfährst"; following him Jäc, Enseignement Ptahhotep, 132 (n.289). Loprieno, sDmt.f, GM 37 (1980), 20: "do not give him occasion of protesting against you before you even listen (to him)". Faulkner, in: Literature of Anc. Eg., 171: "lest he should make a complaint against you until you hear [about it]". Sander-Hansen, Äg. Grammatik, 118 (§444): "dann soll er nicht gegen dich Klage führen, sodass du (unweigerlich) hören musst".

87 Burkard, Textkritische Unt., 152 (453) considers the deviation to be caused by a “Flüchtigkeitsfehler”.

88 Publ. Quack, Stud. Merikare, 185 (E 96-97) = Helck, Merikare, 58 (XXXV[e-h]).

89 Helck, op.cit., 60 ("zur Schande der Asiaten gegenüber Ägypten"). Quack, op.cit., 59 ("so dass die Verabscheuung des Asiaten gegen Ägypten ist"), following Seibert, Charakteristik, 80. Faulkner, in: Literature of Anc. Eg., 188: "[until] the detestation of the Asians was against Egypt". Cf. Gardiner, New Literary Works, JEA 1 (1914), 31 (§22), who seems to consider the preposition r preceding bwy.t a mistake, when translating: "An abomination (?) is the Aamu unto (?) Egypt".

90 So Burkard, Textkritische Unt., 23 (97).

91 Wb. I, 453 (7) - 454 (7) and Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 251: "der Abscheu, das Widerliche" etc. Faulkner, Concise Dictionary, 82: "abomination". Meeks, Année Lexicographique 1 (1977), 116 (77.1237); 2 (1978), 125 (78.1309); 3 (1979), 88 (79.0885); "aversion".

92 Thus also Posener, Enseignement Mérikarê, RdE 7 (1950), 179; followed by Burkard, op.cit., 23 (7).
the Asiatics were disgusted of Egypt"93 or "until the Asiatics abhorred Egypt".94 Taking the -y-infix seriously, the verb form must be considered as the passive sDm.t=f of an ult.inf. verb. Indeed, the dictionaries consider the verb bwi to be transitive, thus susceptible to the passive conversion.95

In paraphrase the passage seems to say that Egypt had become something metaphorically equivalent to the religious bwt "something forbidden, taboo" to the Asiatics,96 because their people were plundered or killed there and their cattle were robbed by the actions of the Egyptian king, who went on doing this until they departed. Thus, these actions were carried out up to the point in time that it caused the Asiatics to become disgusted and to leave. On the basis of the involvement of the king as agent, the Asiatics can be considered to be the grammatical subject/semantic object of a passive ms.yt=f of the transitive verb bwi, which must mean here something like "to make (someone) averse to/disgusted of",97 "to deter (someone) from"98 rather than "to be disgusted of".99

§ 9. An example of passive Dr ms.(y)t=f in the Coffin Texts.

This is the only instance of passive Dr ms.(y)t=f known to me that I now consider to be certain.100

CT [548] VI 146 c-f. xpr.kA [r]f bnwt m irt 1tm Dr awA.(y)t=i Dr DA.(y)t=i r IAbt Dr ir.(y)t Hb sbiw im=i "there will be a swelling in the eye of the Destroyer, before I would be snatched away, before I would be crossed over to the east, before the feast of the enemies would be celebrated over me".101

The situation is that the deceased is on his way to paradise and wants to avoid a fatal second death. As soon as the deceased becomes a victim of the demon, all is definitively over for him, and he is no longer able to strike back. Thus any threat to the demon which tries to avert that fate can only be effective if it is carried out before falling into his clutches.

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93 Posener, op.cit., 179: "de sorte que l'Asiatique ressente de l'aversion pour l'Égypte"; note that in n. 7 he proposes seeing this construction as a case of r sDm=f of the verb bwi "exécrer" and explains the t as intrusive from the related, frequent substantive bwt. Brunner, Altäg. Weisheit, 226: "so dass die Asiaten jetzt Abscheu vor Ägypten haben". In this vein also M eeks, Année Lexicographique 1 (1977), 116 (77.1236).


95 Hannig, Grosses Handwörterbuch, 250-251: "verabscheuen". M eeks, Année Lexicographique 1 (1977), 116 (77.1236): "détester", "être dégoûté de", the latter meaning with reference to the present passage.

96 Fundamental for the bwt concept is Frandsen, Logical Analysis, in: Crossroad, 145-159 and id., [Tabu], in: LÄ VI, 135-142.

97 Grandet - Mathieu, Cours d'égyptien II, 116 translate the present example transitively with "jusqu'à les Asiatiques fussent dégoûtés de l'Égypte", adding the remark "avec la forme wmyt=f" (for their identification of this form as the passive sDm.t=f of non-ult.inf. verbs, see op.cit., 143 (42.4; see also my note 4 above).

98 Suggested by Burkard, Textkritische Unt., 23 (97).

99 Whereas Grandet - Mathieu, op.cit. II, 116 seem to consider "fussent dégoûtés de" (see my note 97) as having passive meaning, Posener (bwi "ressentir de l'aversion pour"); see my note 93) and M eeks (bwi "être dégoûté de"); see my note 95) seems to consider the verb to be used intransitively here.

100 The example in Edel, ÀâG, 370 (§736) does not contain a passive Dr sDm.t=f construction!

101 See Zandee, Death as an Enemy, 161 (B.7.a) about the dangers for the deceased of crossing to the east.