CHAPTER VI. THE FUTURE MARKER WRITTEN $t$ ($\sim$), $ti$ ($\tilde{t}$, $\check{t}$) OR $ty$ ($\hat{t}$) AND FUTURE/PROSPECTIVE PARTICIPIAL FORMS

In the concluding section of my study on the $sDm.t=f$ form proper I remarked that there is a morpheme written $t$ or $ty$ which marks the future. As we have seen, the writing $t$ is present in the suffix conjugation forms of the $sDm.t=f$ form and the Subjunctive Prospective $sDm=f$ forms $iw.t=f$ and in.$t=f$. The future time reference of these forms needs no further consideration here.

I have noted that this marker appears written optionally plene as $ti/y$ in the $sDm.ty.ty$ participle. Following Gunn I shall argue that a very rare invariable active Future Participle written plene $sDm.ti$ (allograph $ty$) is most probably the base of the $sDm.ty.ty$ form.

The well-known phenomenon of the particular writing $t$ showing up in the feminine passive Prospective Participle and Relative Form I am inclined to consider as not deriving from the tense marker written $ty$ in the Future Participle $sDm.ti$, but rather as consisting of the feminine $t$ followed by another future/prospective marker, i.e. the $i$-morpheme (written $y$, rarely $i$ in the masculine).

In order to make a convenient working distinction between the various future/prospective participials to be discussed, I shall in the following refer to the $sDm.ty$ form as the Future Participle $sDm.ti$ and to the other participial formation ending in masculine $-yi$ and in feminine $-i$ as the Prospective Participle (and the derived Relative Form).

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1 Studies $sDm.t=f$ V ($sDm.td$), §20 [pp. 89-90].
2 Exceptionally written $ti$ in Ptahhotep, 266-267/L 2; see Studies $sDm.t=f$ IV (passive $sDm.t=ms.(y)t=dl$), §7 [p. 63].
3 Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 42. See also Sander-Hansen, Äg. Grammatik, 86-87 (§313) and 121 (§454); however, I see no good reason to consider his examples PT [516] §1184b ($sD.t=tmt$); cf. Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar PT V, 77-78: $sD.tlm$) and PT [301] §447b ($iti nTrn wTi nTrn smt nTrn$; dual ending, cf. Edel, ÄAG, 304 (§628, cc) and 504 (§986), and Sethe, op. cit. II, 239) as having future time reference; for the example PT [374] §659d see §3 below. Note that for reasons of convenience the familiar name "$sDm.ty.ty$ form" is retained here instead of the more correct "$sDm.t=tl$ form", as pointed out by Schenkel, Einf. Sprachwissenschaft, 101, Anm. 2.
4 The passive Prospective Participle (and the derived Relative Form) has not as yet found general recognition. Fundamental and, in my opinion, convincing evidence is presented by Gunn, op.cit., 1-39 (chs. 1-2 + Appendix to chs. 1-2); in any case, it is true that where the -$i$-ending appears a translation with a future tense is a good or better choice. Polotsky, Transpositions, IOS 6 (1976), 12 (2.2.9) did not doubt its existence, but considered only one of all the examples given by Gunn to be really indubitable. In my opinion, it is implausible to assume that, whereas the participial form $sDm.ty$ covering the future time field in the active voice is known to exist, the future in the passive voice has to be covered by a passive Perfective Participle, which in its certain past uses shows the ending -$yt$. Of the older grammars only Lefebvre, GEC, 223-224 (§445-446) treats the passive Prospective Participle as a separate form; De Buck's stance, Grammaire élémentaire, 56 (§84, Obs.1), is ambiguous where the Prospective Participle is considered very problematic, but see p. 65 (§105), where the derived Prospective Relative Form is accepted! In more recent grammars and grammatical studies, the passive Prospective Participle is recognized in Westendorf, Gramm. med. T., 224-229 (§306-308), where an excellent survey and discussion of the arguments both for and against are given. It is further recognized in: Sander-Hansen, Äg. Grammatik, 86-87 (§313); Callender, Middle Egyptian, 48-49 (3.5.11.3); Graefe, Mitteläg. Grammatik, 124-125 (§49.1), though much more hesitantly in op.cit.2; 119 (§51.1); Grandet - Mathieu, Cours d’égyp(t)ien II, 224-225 (48.3-4); M. enu, Petite grammaire, 131; Englund, Middle Egyptian, 51 (NB2); Schenkel, Tübingener Einführung, 216-217 (hesitanly; see his Anm. 1-2); id., Einf. Sprachwissenschaft, 102 (3.3); Hoch, M. Eg. Grammar, 174 (§121.3.b); Zonhoven, M.-Eg. Gramm., 131 (§54.3); Théodoridès, Relatif prospectif, Annuaire de l’Institut de Philologie et d’Histoire Orientales et Slaves 14 (1954-57), 85-108 (part. p. 102); Satzinger, Attribut und Relativsatz, in: Stud. zu Sprache und Religion. Westendorf, 140. It is not recognized in Borghouts, Égyptisch I, 165 (§75.b-NB) and 175 (§78.b-NB2); Loprieno, Ancient Egyptian, 88 (recognized only in the earliest Egyptian).
§ 1. The invariable active Future Participle sDm.ti with masculine antecedent.

One of the first to collect evidence for this active Future Participle sDm.ti was Erman, who ranged it together with the sDm.ty.fy under the denominator of the "verbal adjective". In an observation he remarks that it stands to reason to connect this form with the Prospective Participle with the ending written ti, were this certain itself. Since he recognized that it here concerns a Future Participle sDm.ti occurring with masculine antecedents, it is remarkable that he did not connect this form with the sDm.ty.fy dealt with by him next.6

Noting that the suffix pronouns .fy/.sy/.sn in the sDm.ty.fy form as formative elements to express number and gender are abnormal among participles, Gunn regarded the sDm.ty.fy form as consisting of an invariable element sDm.ti followed by suffix pronouns "in apposition functioning as determinatives of gender and number".7 Recognizing a feminine active Prospective Participle sDm.ti too—as the counterpart of a masculine form sDm.ti—the he found it very difficult to believe that a feminine form could constitute the base of the sDm.ty.fy. After drawing attention to the Future Participle sDm.ti with masculine antecedents he wondered what the connection between this form and the sDm/sDmi couple might be.8 Under the proviso of a possible connection, he saw no other way of explaining these odd phenomena than to assume that the feminine form sDm.ti lost its specifically feminine use early on, and became a word of common gender and number. To avoid ambiguity in this respect the suffix pronouns were appended to it.

The existence of a future marker written t in suffix conjugation forms is excellent grounds for connecting the tense marker in the sDm.ty.fy form with an invariable Future Participle sDm.ti.

To create a clear picture, I shall begin in this section by only presenting instances of the Future Participle with a masculine antecedent.

Tomb Siut III, 11-12.11 n sXm=(i)(?) r nDs Hr-wtt xpr=f r=i m spr(t).ti in irw m mt(y)nt ib.12 "I was not rude against the commoner, because he was not towards me as one who comes to petition and who brings tribute in affection of heart".13 The mistaken t before the spr-sign F42 makes it clear that this sign functions here as a phonetic determinative after a full sound-value writing rather than as a triconsonantal sign. Owing to the fact that t is written behind this sign, ti can be nothing else but a verbal ending: it is not possible to simply read here the substantive spr.ti "petitioner", a nomen agentis with the ending written ty expressing an expected activity, as Gardiner and Lefebvre have suggested.

The existence of a Future Participle of the verb spr invites a reconsideration of the instances where this alleged substantive sprty, deriving from spr "petition", is written in the text called the

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5 Erman, Äg. Grammatik, 217 (§430).
6 Erman, op. cit., 218 (§431).
7 Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 40.
8 Gunn, op. cit., 35-39 (ch. 3). Note that Gunn subsumes all the examples with feminine antecedent which I take to be instances of the invariable active Future Participle under this active Prospective Participle.
9 Gunn, op. cit., 41.
10 Gunn, op. cit., 42.
12 For the reading ti mistakenly written with the nmt city-sign see Brunner, op. cit., 21, n.27. For a most probable other instance of this word in the same inscription see line 4: TAm Hr n spr[t].[t]i "indulgent towards the one who comes to petition".
13 For mtr/mty HAty/ib see Janssen, Trad. eg. autobiografie I, 38.
14 Brunner, op. cit., 17. Interestingly, Brunner, op. cit., 21, n.20 identifies the Future Participle xsf.t(i) in the form written xsft in line 8 of the same inscription (publ. Brunner, op. cit., 43), which reads as follows: n ir=(i) w n wn xsf t ib=i r ir.n=1 Sw(t)?). On p. 17 Brunner translates "I did not do wrong to one who wanted to oppose my heart, until I had created justice (?)". He explains the presence of wn as follows: "Durch das vorgesetzte wn wäre diese der Bedeutung nach prospektive Form in die Vergangenheit gesetzt". Assessing the passage and the form spr.ti under discussion, I consider his solution to be rather improbable. Furthermore, wn and xsf.t(i) cannot both be participles without the m of equation in between, unless a mistake is assumed. I propose translating: "I did not do wrong to one who neglected what my heart opposes, until I had created awe (?)".
15 Gardiner, EG, 280 (§364) and Lefebvre, GEC, 230 (§459). They leave unexplained why this type of word formation at the basis of the sDm.ty.fy is unable to form a feminine *nDty and a plural *nDtyw. Note Lefebvre's remark: "forme en -ty … probablement identique à des mots mi-substantifs, mi-participes, ayant le sens futur, qui se rencontrent exceptionnellement, comme mnty [sur stèle Caire CG 20030, i,5]".
16 See Valloggia, Messagers (wpwtwy), 8-9 (§102).
Duties of the Vizier.\textsuperscript{17}

Urk. IV 1110-7-12.\textsuperscript{18} if g\textguillemotright\textguillemotleft wpt/(y) nb h(A)b TAt(y) r=f Hr sprty/sprty nb iw di=f Sm n=f ir grt sprty/(y) f(y) nb TAt(y) Hr Ahwt wD=f sw n=f. Van den Boorn translates "as for any messenger whom the vizier sends for concerning any petitioner, he (the vizier) will let him (the messenger) go to him (the petitioner). However, as for anyone who shall make a petition to the vizier concerning fields, it is to him (self; the vizier) that he orders him".\textsuperscript{19} Translating "anyone who comes to petition" is another possibility, as also in the following example.

Urk. IV 1111,9-10.\textsuperscript{20} n sprty/sprty nb n TAt(y) Hr Ahwt wD=f sw n=f. Van den Boorn translates "as for anyone who shall make a petition to the vizier concerning any petitioner, he (the vizier) will let him (the messenger) go to him (the petitioner)

Though this word also occurs in the same text in Urk. IV 1111,2 and 15, I shall confine myself to the above examples because in the first passage the sprty/y in the first clause is taken up in the next by the sDm.ty.fy form of this verb, and because in the second passage there is a relative clause with future time reference, nt y Dd to introduce the oratio recta. It has been noted by Van den Boorn that the Duties contain two derivations of the verb sprty, i.e. the sDm.ty.fy form and the "curious" word written sprty, used instead of the common sprw, the latter two words being basically provided with participial meaning.\textsuperscript{21}

On the basis of this evidence, the occurrence of the Future Participle in the above passages cannot be excluded. This is also true of the final example from the Duties, other translations of which are also defendable.

Urk. IV 1112,6.\textsuperscript{22} n sDm ty nb wDyt nbt n pr-nsw. Van den Boorn's preferred translation is "it is he who dispatches everyone who will circulate all messages of the palace".\textsuperscript{23} Assuming that the word written sprty is indeed a participle, this explains the use of a direct object wDyt nbt.\textsuperscript{24}

As will appear from the example to be presented next, the stem of the sDm.ty.fy of IIae gem. verbs differs from that in sDm.tr--,\textsuperscript{25} that is if the irregular verb wny is to be representative of this class.

Urk. IV 576,17.\textsuperscript{26} n wny=m 1r Hry-t tAy wny mn xftyw=f "you are (as) Horus, the chief of the Two Lands, who will exist when (as long as) his enemies exist". There are several reasons for following Gunn's identification of wny as the Future Participle, and not to consider wny to be an incorrect or, at the very least, a most unusual writing of the form wny of the independent Stative 2nd person singular,\textsuperscript{27} because that would leave the suffix pronoun in xftyw=f unexplained (=f instead of the expected =k). Moreover, this Stative form is written correctly in the following line. Nor is it likely to read n nty instead of wny here.\textsuperscript{28} The use of the suffix pronoun =f can only be grammatically correct if we are dealing with a participial construction, which is always in the third person.

The following may be another example of this Future Participle with masculine antecedent serving as a divine epithet.

Tomb of Wahka II, Qau.\textsuperscript{29} WaIr axnty m lwny "Osiris-who-will-live-on-in-Heliopolis".\textsuperscript{30} The epithet of Osiris may well refer to his living on as member of the Heliopolitan Ennead after his

\textsuperscript{17} See now Van den Boorn, Duties of the Vizier.

\textsuperscript{18} Van den Boorn, op.cit., 146 ([version] R[ekhmire] 17).

\textsuperscript{19} Van den Boorn, op.cit., 147; Lorton, Duties of the Vizier, in: Essays Goodicke, 149-151.

\textsuperscript{20} Van den Boorn, op.cit., 185 (R20); Lorton, op.cit., 153-154.

\textsuperscript{21} For sDm.tr=f as a contingent tense see Depuydt, Conjunction, 208-233.

\textsuperscript{22} Van den Boorn, op.cit., 205 (2). For another writing sprty see Stela Petrie Museum UCL 14333, 14 (quoted in Studies sDm.tr=f IV (passive sDm.tr=f/m.(y)t=f), §7 [p. 63]).

\textsuperscript{23} Van den Boorn, op.cit., 202 (R21-22).

\textsuperscript{24} For this and alternative translations and their discussion see Van den Boorn, op.cit., 205-207.

\textsuperscript{25} For the question of the direct object see also §1 below, ex. Ptahhotep, 49-50/L2.

\textsuperscript{26} Gunn, op.cit., 43.

\textsuperscript{27} Gunn, op.cit., 41, ex. 2.

\textsuperscript{28} Sethe added "so" here, but I am not sure that he meant this identification. What may support this is that he added another "so" after the suffix pronoun in xftyw=f; he may have expected =k.

\textsuperscript{29} See Urk. IV. Uersetzung, 145: "für die (n n[q])?, die deine Feinde sind". A part from the improbable emendation, a construction n nty mn xftyw=f to render the above meaning seems to me to be impossible in Middle Egyptian.

\textsuperscript{30} For an exception among the sDm.ty.fy forms as vocatives see Urk. I 202,1: ir.(y) Tn.

\textsuperscript{31} Publ. Petrie, Antaeopolis. The tombs of Qau, pls. 26-27 = Vandier, Tombe de Ouahka, CdE 19 (1944), fig. 14 (facing p. 182) and 184 (text 3).

\textsuperscript{32} Translated by Vandier, op.cit., 185 (No. 3: "le vivant dans Héliopolis").
death. It is worth noting that the sdDm.ty.fy form is not uncommon as a personal name in the period from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom, witness personal names such as Ankhtifi and Senebtisi. I suggest that masculine names like Ankht and Senebti are their counterparts with the Future Participle rather than being independently used Stative 2nd person singulars meaning "may you live long" and "may you stay healthy". If my suggestion is correct, then the evidence for the Future Participle must include these names too.

Reliable evidence for future time reference comes from the Appel aux Vivants and the other formulae addressing a reader. There are several examples where this Future Participle occurs instead of the expected sDm.ti.fy.

Stela Cairo CG 20030, i, 5. anv tp tA mrn anv msDw mtt wab nb Xry-Hb nb sS nb Hm-kA nb m m tr.mt wAH tp tA "O you who lives upon earth, who loves to live and hates to die, any priest, any lector-priest, any scribe, any soul-priest, namely one who will want to stay upon earth".

Stela Cairo CG 20038, a, right. Htp-di-nsw nTrw imyw tA mr.y.t(y).f(y) nTr pn sW.t(y).f(y) Hr is pn Dd.f "the-boon-which-the-king-gives and the gods who are on earth (to) the one who will love this god, to the one who will pass by this tomb and will say.".

Stela Cairo CG 20518, a, 4-6. Dd=f mr.t(i) 2nty-imntyw nb AbDw mr.t(i) nsw mr.t(i) Wp-wAwt nTr pn n(t) Dt mr.t(i) wAH m AbDw sDn.w Xr Xrd m Hmw-nTr nb m mTr nb sWA Hr br AAbA pn Dd.t(y).f(y) "he says: the ones who will love Khenty-amen-tiu Lord of Abydos, who will love the king, who will love Wespwaat, this god of eternity, who will love to stay in Abydos healthy and with a child, namely all priests and every man who passes by this standing offer and who will say:".

Stela Stuttgart 10, cols. 6-8. anv tp tA Xry-Hb nb sS nb wab nb wt nb iAty nb sWA.ty Hr wD pn "O you who live upon earth, any lector-priest, any scribe, any common priest, any embalmer, any functionary who will pass by this stela".

Stela BM 156, horiz., last line. mTr nb anv tp tA sS nb sD(?).ty mdt tn "O any man who lives upon earth, any scribe who will read this inscription". The stem of the IIIae inf. verb Sdri here displays reduplication, as against the evidence for the short stem in mTr in the example above. However, this reduplication may well be a mistaken writing owing to the dental environment.

This problem of a dental environment also turns up in the following example, but if taken as it is written in the example must contain the Future Participle.

This alternative participle for the sDm.ty.fy form is not uncommon as a personal name in the period from the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom, witness personal names such as Ankhtifi and Senebtisi. I suggest that masculine names like Ankht and Senebti are their counterparts with the Future Participle rather than being independently used Stative 2nd person singulars meaning "may you live long" and "may you stay healthy". If my suggestion is correct, then the evidence for the Future Participle must include these names too.

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Stela Cairo CG 20518, a, 4-6. Dd=f mr.t(i) 2nty-imntyw nb AbDw mr.t(i) nsw mr.t(i) Wp-wAwt nTr pn n(t) Dt mr.t(i) wAH m AbDw sDn.w Xr Xrd m Hmw-nTr nb m mTr nb sWA Hr br AAbA pn Dd.t(y).f(y) "he says: the ones who will love Khenty-amen-tiu Lord of Abydos, who will love the king, who will love Wespwaat, this god of eternity, who will love to stay in Abydos healthy and with a child, namely all priests and every man who passes by this standing offer and who will say:".

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CT [696] VI 331 f. in RHwy sDn.ti sw m awy sxmw=sn "it is the Two Companions who will plant it with their mighty arms (lit., arms of their might)".

This alternative participle for the sDm.ty.fy form may also be expected in threat formulae beginning with "as for anyone who will ...".

Stela Hatnub, 9. [ir] grt HD.t(i) twt pn nn pH=f pr=f "now as for one who will damage this image, he will not reach his home".

In the following example the identification is confirmed by the sDm.ty.fy form in the parallel versions.

33 On the position of Osiris in the Heliopolitan Ennead see Griffiths, Origins of Osiris, 118-121.
34 Ranke, Personenennamen I, 68 (22+24) and 314 (23+25). For the meaning of these names see Ranke, op.cit. II, 29-30; Vandier, Tombe d’Ankhtifi, 13 translates the owner’s name, but gives no further commentary on its meaning.
35 Ranke, op.cit. I 68 (20) and 314 (22). It is possible that the name Neferti also belongs here, although no name Ntr.ty.fy/ty is known.
36 Indeed, Ranke, op.cit. II, 31-33 did not consider the possibility of this name type when dealing with names construed with the Pseudoparticiple (Stative).
39 Does the form mtr.ti.fy stand for regular mw.ti.fy?
42 Publ. James, Hieroglyphic Texts BM 9, pl. 28. Ex. = Erman, Ág. Grammatik, 217 (§430, ex. 5).
43 For other mistaken spellings with this verb see Urk. IV 966,1 (sd.ti.fy). Further, sd.ti.fy on stela MMA New York 12.184, 18 (= publ. Sethe, Lesestücke, 80,4; photograph in Hayes, Scepter of Egypt I, 298 (fig. 195)). Correctly written in "Stela Hatnub", 6 (see §1 below).
44 Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 262, n.13 identified the participial form under discussion. There is possibly a specific reason for using the Future Participle here, due to the dependent pronoun, see below, ex. Ptahhotep, 49-50.
45 Publ. Posener, Stèle de Hatnoub, JEA 54 (1968), pl. 9 (between pp. 70-71); note the "sic" added after HD.t(i).
appears, which also optionally shows up in the Middle Egyptian. 

In the next example from the Coffin Texts an identification problem arises that must remain unsolved, despite the parallels having a suffix pronoun -t(y) following the t.

The Future Participle may offer a grammatically solid solution as opposed to the assumption of corruptions or garbled versions.

In the above example is reminiscent of a curious formulation on a Middle Kingdom stela.

There is only one example of the Future Participle from the literary Middle Egyptian texts that I consider certain.

Its absence among his examples was noted by Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 43. For the Middle Egyptian evidence see Gardiner, EG, 281 (§364). In Old Egyptian there is also evidence for this -w-infinitif in the sDm.ty.fy form of verb forms with a final weak radical and causatives. 47

For the akh-concept see now Jansen-Winkeln, Horizont und Verklärtheit, SAK 23 (1996), 201-215.

For the use of the verb nfr in this funerary context see also the example CT [925] VII 128 d-e, dealt with in §2 below.

For the identification of the Future Participle, see my note 15 above.

55 Burkard, Textkritische Unt., 148.

54 I translate "as something useful to him who will obey it [the instruction], but as something woeful to (lit., of) him who will transgress it". The Prisse version has sDm.t(y).fy and nty r tht st here; the Carnarvon Tablet has sDm.ty.sn and [th]ty.sn. Burkard notes that the Prisse version was certainly changed for stylistic reasons, although the nice parallelism is now broken up. Whereas the Carnarvon Tablet version omits the expression of the dependent pronoun sw as object in both sDm.ty.fy forms, the Prisse version only altered the second sDm.ty.fy form into the stylistically inferior nty-construction. I surmise that this was done because an object was felt to be necessary with the transitive verb thi "to transgress", because, possibly, in the redactor's opinion the suffix pronoun endings of the sDm.ty.fy form did not favour the expression of a pronominal object 3rd person singular or plural. In the first form, sDm.t(y).fy, however, the expression of the pronominal object could be spared because the verb sDm may, in addition to the more frequent transitive meaning "to hear", also mean intransitively
"to listen to", which fits the instructional context particularly well. The alteration supports the view that st in the L2 version functioned as object and that, consequently, the verb forms should be identified as the sDm.ti form.

The instruction genre may contain another instance of the sDm.ti form.

Merikare, E 106-107, shA tAS-k r a [rsy] PDty pw sSp.t(i) aAgsw, "'draw' your boundary against the southern region. It is the Bowman who will take up the armour(?)." Westendorf has argued that this passage contains the Future Participle, because the form PDty "Bowman" should be read here rather than a feminine singular word PDt. I consider this instance doubtful.

One more example of this Future Participle identified as such by other scholars that I have come across also comes from a literary text.

Berlin Leather Roll (Pap. Berlin 3029), 1,5-6, ms.n=f wi [m?] ir.t(i) ir.t.n=f r expx wD+b, n=f ir<tb, "it was in order bring into existence what he had ordained to do that he fashioned me as one who was going to do what he had done". After consideration, on account of a tiny trace, De Buck, the editor of this text, rules out the plausible restoration of r + infinitive, though it is nicely in parallel with r expx. He hesitantly suggests the restoration m ir, but is evidently aware that m + infinitive cannot be smoothly translated: "he fashioned me in doing" (unless this is understood as "forming" in the sense of education). Indeed, De Buck translates with "as one who should do".

Certain examples cannot be excluded on principle from containing the Future Participle, but given its rarity the utmost caution is warranted. If an alternative identification of a regular form or construction is possible, this should be given preference, thus, for example, in the following example.

CT [637] V1 259 n-q, iry-mnit=f ir n N pn wAt swA N pn anx.(w) wDA.(w) snb.(w) nn ir/t(i) xt nb r N pn Dw. Faulkner translates here: "O Keeper-of-his-Mooring-Post, prepare a path for this N, so that this N may pass, he being alive, prosperous and hale, for there are none who will do anything evilly against this N evilly". On the basis of this translation the Future Participle ir.(i) should be identified, but I suggest that we are dealing here with the very common construction of nn + infinitive: "without anything being done against this N evilly".

The participle with anomalous -t-ending in the following example is probably not a Future Participle for several reasons.

CT [1061] 319 a/B12C (male owner). ink apr(t) nTrw "I am the one who has equipped the gods". The first reason is that all other variants, except B3C with a female owner, have no -t-ending. Secondly, the normal future variant of the Participial Statement is ink sDm=i. Thirdly, only one instance is known to me of the sDm.ty.ty form in this construction. Therefore, it is most unlikely that, in turn, the sDm.ty.ty form has been replaced by the Future Participle. Indeed, it appears that translators have rightly paid no special attention to this version.

A final word on the Future Participle with masculine antecedent should be devoted to the expression ir=k anxti Dt, which Gunn has hesitantly suggested contains this participle. His hesitations were evoked by the fact that the variant versions in the 3rd person singular have ir=f anxti Dt or ir=f di anx. Despite the strong morphological indications which, on this account, can only lead to an identification as the Stative, I agree with Gunn when he states that the forms anxti and anx can hardly be the Stative.

Indeed, from a grammatical point of view, it seems incontestable that di anx contains a participle, presumably the passive Perfective Participle, and that, consequently, anx Dt is also a

56 Wb. IV, 385 (sub B-C).
57 Ed. Quack, Stud. Merikare, 188 = Ed. Helck, Merikare, XXXVIII [a-b].
58 Quack, op. cit., 62-63 favours saHA instead of shA as the original form.
59 See Quack, op. cit., 63 (c) for the word aAgsw.
60 Westendorf, Gebrauch Passivs, 134, n.2; I assume that he is referring to the nishe of a feminine word, as in sHy
61 "peasant".
63 Cf. the German verb "bilden".
64 De Buck, op. cit., 52.
65 Faulkner, op. cit. II, 217.
66 Urk. IV 221, 14: swt HqA.t(y).s(y); see Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 59 (5).
68 Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 41-42, ex. 5.
69 For the di anx construction see Schenkell, Diy-anx, MDAIK 37 (1981), 427-432 and Kammerzell, rDj + Pseudopartizip, GM 67 (1983), 57-64. I would like to suggest a simple alternative to these complex explanations: diy
participial construction. When the active form anx.ti is approached from this grammatical viewpoint, nothing obstructs its identification as the Future Participle. It is unfortunate that there is no evidence from genuine Middle Egyptian for the expression ir=k anx.ti Dt/ ir=f anx Dt, because this would have shed more light on this difficult matter. It appears that in the New Kingdom, the expression ir=k anx.ti Dt was used without a proper understanding of the identity of the verb form—which is indeed conceivable for this very rare participle—and was reinterpreted on the basis of the verb form's formal similarity to the Stative 2nd person singular in independent use as expressing "may you be a 'may you live forever'-{person}". This may have led to ir=f anx Dt "that he may be a 'may he live forever'-{person}".

Apart from this 'circumstantial evidence' for anx.ti being a participle, the Future Participle would suit the context very well: ir=k anx.ti Dt "may you be one who will live forever".}

§ 2. The invariable active future participle sDm.ti with feminine antecedent.

So far I have deliberately only dealt with masculine antecedents, whether implicit or explicit, but the feminine form sDm.ty.sy suggests that the Future Participle sDm.ti may just as easily have a feminine antecedent.

Gunn deals with such instances under the heading of the active Prospective Participle, which very rarely occurs beside the better known passive form. On morphological evidence alone there is no way of conclusively establishing whether in an active participial form with -ti-ending and feminine antecedent this ending is the marker of the invariable Future Participle sDm.ti or the feminine ending -t + marker i of the Prospective Participle sdm.ti (masculine sDm.i/). Some indication for identification might be provided by the circumstance that among all Gunn's examples of the feminine passive Prospective Participle that are written plene there is none showing the writing ty.

Except for the very few masculine and feminine couples of the active Prospective Participle in the Pyramid Texts passages presented by Gunn, there is, in principle, no grounds for not ranging forms written sDmti and occurring singly, with a feminine antecedent, under the heading of the invariable Future Participle. Moreover, evidence for the active Prospective Participle is even rarer and does not occur outside the Pyramid Texts—that is, judged on the basis of the unequivocal masculine form. I therefore consider it more likely that in the case of a form written sDmti it concerns the Future Participle sdm.ti. The stem rdi in the form rdi.ty.ty does not favour a connection with the active Prospective Participle, the passive of which appears to have the stem di. Finally, it is hardly conceivable that the feminine ending -ti of the Prospective Participle lost its 'femininity' in the active voice only, while retaining it in the passive.

I shall start with an example which, taken as it is written, must contain the Future Participle on account of the presence of the form sDm.ty.ty in parallel versions.

| CT [1087] VII 365 a-b/B2L | ir s nb rx.t(y).f(y) s(y) n sk.n=f im Dt Dr rx=f wn.ti <ms-> R:sTaw "as for

anx is the well-known nfr-Hr-construction with a passive participle instead of an adjective, for which see, for example, imn m "the one hidden of name" in CT [148] II 223 a; it is well known that in the adjectival sentence nfr sw too a participle can be substituted for the adjectival predicate, cf. Gardiner, EG, 289 (§374). This suggestion seems compatible with the approach to the nfr-Hr-construction as a relative phrase of Jansen-Winkeln, Exozentrische Komposita, ZAS 121 (1994), 51-75.

70 All instances given by Gunn, op.cit., 41-42, ex. 5 come from Urk. IV, reign of Tuthmosis III.

71 For an approach to the comparable problem of a clause or verb form with the syntactic distribution of a noun in the construction ink mr=f see Borghouts, ink mr(i)=f, LingAeg 4 (1994), 12-24.

72 Cf. CT [830] VII 31 c-f, quoted above in this section.

73 Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 35-39 (ch. 3).

74 See Gunn, op.cit., 22-25 and 31-32.

75 Mentioned below in §3.

76 The evidence for the derived Prospective Relative Form is neatly presented by Gunn, op.cit., 24 (C); for Gunn's problem with the stems rdi and di see p. 43.

77 Westendorf, Gramm. med. T., 227 (§307,2,a) presents an example from the medical texts, case Bl 193 (Pap. Berlin, vo. 1,3-4): siA st ms.t(i) r st nn ms.y=s "Erkennen einer Frau, die gebären worden, gegenüber einer Frau, die nicht gebären wird", which has a parallel in case Kah 19 (Pap. Kahun, 3,2-3): siA ms.ti.si Xrd "das Erkennen einer, die ein Kind gebären wird" (quoted by Westendorf, op.cit., 229 (§311,2)). However, as appears from the transcription of case Bl 193 (publ. Graepow, Med. T., 471), there is a lacuna at the spot of the t-element after ms; although Westendorf's restoration is plausible, we cannot be certain.
any man who will know it, he cannot perish there forever, because he knows what will exist (in) Rosetau". Note that the parallel versions have wn.t(y).s(y), with the stem wn, 78 the alternative wnt=s/wnw s(y) giving no good sense.

In the following example the writing of the participial ending as T seems to exclude even the 'common' feminine t. 79

Urk. IV 261,9-10. rex=f nfr n xaw n wpt-rnpt m Htp.t(i) m wpt-mpt Htp.t(i) nj ir>n=f HHw m Htbd-sd sASa wnt "as he knew the perfection of a coronation of New Y ear's D as the beginning of peace-promising years of her celebrating very many millions of sed-festivals". Since among the t's written in this passage the participial ending is the only one written with T, this, in my view, corroborates the identification of the Future Participle.

The next two passages, both of which play on the same theme of Hatshepsut's peaceful reign or regency, may just as easily contain the Future Participle.

Urk. IV 262,7. tpy Axt wpt-rnpt tp wpt-mpt Htp.t(i) "the first (month) of akhet, New Y ear's Day, the beginning of years which will be peaceful".

Buhen, South Temple, speech of a goddess to the boy king Tuthmosis III. 80 //m-Xnw-a mpw Htp.t(i) di.n(i)=(i) n=k "within the compass of the peace-promising years as I have given to you". 81

The oldest instance of this expression dates to the Pyramid Texts.

PT [535] §1290a-b. hA N pw mi anx ank=k nn m tr=k m tr=k m mpw tpt n fr sfr wrt=k "O N here, come and live your life there up to your time, up to your time in these peace-promising years, while the love of you is warm". 82

Another example with a clear reference to future times comes from the instruction literature.

Neferty, IIIa. 83 [iw]=f mH=f Hr xpr.ty m A 84 "he worries about what is going to happen in the country".

It is probable that the following example should also be interpreted in this vein.

Urk. IV 1217,1-4. nTr nTry xpr Ds=f Dd xpr tpy "the divine god who came into being of himself, who says to happen what is going to happen". 85

Finally, I would like to present a possible example from the Instruction of Ptahhotep, where the Prisse and L2 versions display the same form.

Ptahhotep, 149-150/Pr. (= 157-158/L2). 86 aHA.ti m sDwi m md t kfr.ti wr m wr "beware of causing harm with speech which would embroil a great one with another great one". 87

Proceeding with passages from the Coffin Texts, I shall present two examples which have been identified as the passive Prospective Participle. 88

CT [67] 1 286 a-d/TZC. Hw.(w) n=k bdt(y) Asx.(w) n=k bdt(y) ir.w.ti n mpw t=k im ir.w.ti n A bdw=k ir.w.ti n psDntyw=k "emmer is beaten for you, emmer is reaped for you, which will 'do' for your yearly festivals there, which will 'do' for your half-monthly festivals". Note that the version B10C has ir.ti. It is the presence of the -w-inf ex in ir.w.ti which, in my opinion, forces an identification as the Future Participle. 89

The following may be an example with a feminine rather than a masculine antecedent.

78 Lesko, Book of Two Ways, 87, n.(p) opts for the omission of .s(y) after wn.t(y); Hermsen, Die zwei Wege des Jenseits, 187 translates "was in Rosetau existiert".

79 For this and the related passages with the expression mpw Htp.t(i) see Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 36, ex. 2a-d.

80 Publ. Caminos, Temples of Buhen II, pl. 48 (left); = Gunn, op. cit., 36: ex. "Buhen, text, p,54".

81 Caminos, op. cit. II, 56 translates with "peaceful".

82 The word written Htp.t is translated as a verb form in circumstantial function by Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar PT V, 194, but see pp. 209-210, where he agrees with Gunn's identification as a Prospective Participle.


84 Note Gunn's remark, op. cit., 37 (6) that the writing with y in xpr.ty is quite distinct in the facsimile; also read xpr.ty by Erman, Äg. Grammatik, 217 ($430). Westendorf, Gebrauch Passivs, 133, n.1 has drawn attention to a writing xpr.ty in Ptahhotep, 116/Pr. (wDt nTr pw xpr.ty?) "what happens (will happen?) is what the god commands") and Urk. IV 888,14 (SAt Hmr-f pw xpr.ty?) "what happens (will happen?) is what His Majesty establishes"). Since in these examples a general present can also be translated, they cannot serve as hard evidence.

85 Slightly differently translated by Gunn, op. cit., 37, ex. 7.

86 Ex. = Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 37, ex. 9a-b.

87 See Zab, Maximes Ptahhotep, 77 (translation) and 124, where the form is identified as probably being an active Prospective Participle.

88 Polotsky, Transpositions, IOS 6 (1976), 12-13 (2.2.9) and Graefe, Mittelág. Grammatik, 119 ($51.1). 89 Note Faulkner's remark, Coffin Texts I, 64, n.19.
CT [925] VII 128 d-e. m saHw=f nb m swt nb t mr.t(i)=f nfr.ti n=f im xTr "[offerings for N] in all his dignities, in all the places which he would desire, things that will be fine there for him near the god". I agree with Polotsky that nfr.ti has the offerings as antecedent rather than the desirable places. With an intransitive adjective verb there must in the case of a passive participle construction be a resumptive pronoun. Indeed, Polotsky translates "[offerings] through which it will be good for him near the god", but my translation cannot be ruled out. It might concern the Future Participle. 90

Although the context in the following example is unclear, it seems certain that it contains a Future Participle wn.t.

Pap. BM 10059, 14, 7. ... n pHywt Xti mi ... Dr wn.t wn.ti "the hind parts and (/of) the belly ... before that which was destined to exist existed". 91

§ 3. The distinctions between the active and passive future/prospective participles in Middle Egyptian and the relations with suffix conjugation forms.

For want of a better explanation, Gunn considers the affix written ti/y in the masculine sDm.ti form and the sDm.ty.fy form as a defeminized ending of the feminine Prospective Participle. Now that his evidence for an active sDm.ti form with feminine antecedent has been rearranged under the same sDm.ti form that occurs with masculine antecedent, the picture is, in my opinion, considerably clearer. I feel justified in following Gunn's view that an invariable participial formation written ti/y in these forms, which solves his problem of ti as connected with the feminine gender.

Except for the Future Participle written wn.ti/y of the notoriously irregular verb wn, the common sDm.ty.fy form of which is wn.ty.fy, 93 nothing contradicts this derivation. I agree with Gunn that this obstacle is by no means insuperable. 94 Furthermore, the derivation is supported by the particular morphological detail of the -w-infix facultatively showing up with the IIIae inf. verbs, of which there is one certain and one probable instance. 95

The relation between the invariable active Future Participle sDm.ti and the sDm.ty.fy form is nicely confirmed by evidence from the classical phase of later Old Egyptian and Middle Egyptian: apart from the very few exceptions with passive meaning, the sDm.ty.fy form is also always active. 96

90 Faulkner, op. cit. III, 66 and Barguet, Textes des sarcophages, 53 translate quite differently.
91 For this example see my Studies sDm.t=f I (Dr sDm.t=f), §13 [p. 17].
92 For a survey and brief discussion of the various theories of Sethen, Erman, Gunn, Gardiner, Westendorf, Edel, and Schenkel on its origin and construction see Barta, sDm.tj, GM 105 (1988), 7-9; after consideration he prefers Schenkel's theory, Suffixkonjugation, 58 (5.2.8), who argues in favour of a nomen actionis + suffix pronoun "der mit den beiden Zuhörungen, d.h. der auf jeden Fall hört"; Barta, op. cit., 9: "einer, der besonders gut hört". I cannot see at all until a certain good hearing may have to do with future time reference. The same problem of a connection with future time reference applies to the derivation of the sDm.ty.fy form from a nisse nomen agentis type wpwy "messenger" by Gardiner and Lefebvre (see my note 15 above). No less remarkable an explanation than Schenkel's and Barta's is given by Loprieno, Verbalsystem, 100-102 (6.2.2; not mentioned by Barta), who argues that the sDm.ty.fy.sy/sn form is a nisse nomen agentis deriving from those suffix conjugation forms that have the perfective sDm.t=ni form as base (note that on p. 101 with his suffix conjugation form sDm.t=f/s=y/sn as the basis of his sDm.t(f)=fy=sy=sn, the Subjective Prospective Forms jw=f/t=ni=f/t=f [see p. 100] are meant rather than what is generally called the "sDm.t=f Form"); see also id., Ancient Egyptian, 88. See further Allen, Inflection, 420 (§605).
93 Except for wn.ti/y in CT [1087] VII 365 a-b, dealt with above in §2.
94 Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 43.
95 The instance in CT [277] IV 19 c-d/B1Bo (in §1 above) seems to me to be certain; the one in CT [925] VII 128 d-e (in §2 above) is probable. The form written wAHw=t=f (CT [473] V I 9 b/B1C) is argued by Bidoli, Sprüche der Fangnetze, 80, n (a) to be the passivized suffix conjugation form wAHw.(w).t, but by Osing, in: Denkmäler Dachla, 27, n.63 is considered to be a passive sDm.ty.fy form with -w-infix wAHw.(w).ti/y (thus also wAHw.ti/(y) in version B9C). See also the spelling mr.ti/y in stela Cairo CG 20038 (see §1 above). The form hAHw.ti/y with reduplication in the stem in Uruk. I 205, 11 is probably irregular; see Edel, AAüG, 342 (§681, 3): "wohl fehlerhafter Verdoppelung".
96 There are only a few exceptions to the rule that the sDm.ty.fy is an active form; see Gardiner, EG, 280 (§363). For more exceptions with passive meaning see Edel, AÄG, 344 (§682) and Westendorf, Gebräuch Passivs, 137-139 (6.2). Add Monument Dachla 21 (false door of Khentyka), right, lower part, cols. 2-3 (publ. Denkmäler Dachla, pl. 4), which reads in mr.ti/y sn nsw m s=s(w) nb Sdsw sS pn Hr mnx tn didi n=i t Hnqti m ntt m-a=Tn: "it is ones to be loved (by) the king among all scribes who read this inscription on this memorial stone and who give bread and beer to me from
One such unique exception with passive meaning among the instances of the Future Participle may be the substantive mr.w.ti/y mr.y.ti/y "the loved one, the beloved, the favourite", which word is well known and has a long history down to Coptic times, but whose formation is somewhat elusive. If the word is indeed a substantivized Future Participle, its meaning has become lexicalized, with, strictly speaking, the meaning "the one who is to be loved/favoured", "the lovable one" instead. In any case, it can hardly be a nisbe form deriving from mrwt "love", firstly because the writings of nisbe forms with the ti-sign (U33) are uncommon, and secondly, because the referent is the undergoer of love, and not the agent, as would be expected on the basis of a comparison with active nomina agentis like wpwtyi "message", sptry "petitioner" or nDty "helper".

It is worth noting that the word is curiously written mr.w.ti/y in Tomb Siut III, 4, in the same way as spr(t)i/ti in line 11 of the same inscription, which writing rather points to a participial formation. Unfortunately, the preceding context is missing, but the word can hardly have anything but a masculine antecedent. I wonder whether the curious writing with a -w- and a -y-infix is connected with the passive meaning, the appearance of a -y-infix being related to the similar infix in the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)=f of the ult.inf. verbs.

The Future Participle and the sDm.ty.fy form I suggest are the adjectival counterparts of the suffix conjugation form sDm.t=f. In the case of the sDm.t=f of the verb wnn, which is wnn.t=f, the stem is in accordance with that in the Future Participle wnn.ti, though not with the sDm.ty.fy form wnn.ty.fy; the sDm.t=f of the verb rdi, which is -or, at least, can be -rdi.t=f, accords with the sDm.ty.fy form rdi.ty.fy. Also, the IIae gem. have the full stem in the sDm.t=f and the sDm.ty.fy. A n evident disaccord, however, is the stem iy in the sDm.t=f form iy.t=f versus the stem iw in the sDm.ty.fy form iw.ty.fy, but it may be that the stem iw in the latter form is connected with the -w-infix showing in ult.inf. verbs.

The special bond between the i-morpheme and the active voice evident from the Future Participle and the sDm.ty.fy form may be connected with the question of why, contrary to other active suffix conjugation forms, the sDm.t=f cannot be passivized with the tw-morpheme and has its own passive formation, although I am at a loss as to offer an explanation. I do not exclude the possibility that the appearance in Old and Middle Egyptian of an optional -w-infix in the sDm.ty.fy forms of IIIae inf. and other verbs with a final weak radical has to do with the same principle of word formation that also results in the appearance of the equally facultative -y-infix in the passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)=f of this verb class.

On the other hand, in Classical Egyptian there is the Prospective Participle with gender distinction showing in the feminine as i and with a tense marker written iy, which almost exclusively occurs in the passive voice. Some very rare instances with active meaning in the oldest

what is in your (sic) hand", which contains a passive sDm.ty.fy form according to Osing, op. cit., 27, n.(b); for further evidence see p. 27, n.63.

97 Wb. II, 103, 11 ff.
98 For this identification see Westendorf, sDmwt, ZÄS 90 (1963), 128.
99 Except in xny "foremost", which nisbe derives from a preposition that--at least originally--reads xnt rather than xni, given certain writings with the ti-sign; see Edel, ÄAÄG, 394 (§767) and Wb. III, 303, 10 ff. In Wb. 304, 10 ff. it is noted that from the Middle Kingdom on a writing of the nisbe with iy is preferred.
100 See my note 15 above.
102 See ex. Tomb Siut III, 11 in §2 above [p. 98].
103 See below in this section. See further Brunner's note, op. cit., 20, n.9: mrwjij = Coptic merit (Wb. II, 103-104 mrwjyjmij "the loved one, the favourite").
104 Loprieno, sDm.tI, GM 37 (1980), 23 has only in passing noted that a morpheme (i) with prospective value occurring in an occasional writing with i in the sDm.t=f construction (he suggests that the verb form was originally a Prospective Relative Form [see his p. 22]) also occurs in the Subjunctive Prospective sDm.w=f forms iw.t=f/in.t=f and the sDm.ty.fy form; note that in id., Verbalsystem, 101 with his "sDm.t=f/ms.(y)=m" the Subjunctive Prospective Forms iw.t=f/in.t=f mentioned on p. 100 are actually meant (see my note 84 above). Sander-Hansen, Ag, Grammatik, 86 (§313) and 121 (§454) considers the sDm.tI participle and the sDm.ty.fy form to be related to the sDm.t=f form.
105 See Studies sDm.t=f V (sDm.t=f), §1 [p. 67].
106 See Studies sDm.t=f IV (passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)=f), §1 [p. 55].
107 Edel's suggestion, AÄG, 342-343 (§681) to connect this -w-infix with the w-marker of the Prospective sDm.w=f is not very probable because the sDm.ty.fy form is a formation apparently unconnected with this suffix conjugation form.
108 See Studies sDm.t=f IV (passive sDm.t=f/ms.(y)=f), §1 [p. 55].
109 Thus also analyzed by Schenkel, Tübinger Einführung, 217 (Anm. 1-2), only as a possibility, however.
text corpus, the Pyramid Texts, are an exception to this. Evidently, this active use was already so obsolete by then that in a later Pyramid Text version (PT [412] §728b/N) the construction mstī
Tw "she who would beget you" in PT [374] § 659d and PT [412] §728 b/T was altered into one with the sDm-tw.fy form ms.ti.s(y) Tw. This suggests that the potential active use of the Prospective Participle was suppressed by a participle containing a strong, predominantly active future marker, i.e. the sDm-tw.fy form. In other words, the active sDm-tw.fy form and the passive Prospective Participle have a complementary distribution.

Given the evidence from the passive Prospective Participle of the verb rdi, which has the stem di, it seems to me that its future marker written iy is connected with the Old Egyptian Subjunctive sDm-f (stem di) and the subjunctive variant (optional -y-affix) of the merged Middle Egyptian Prospective sDm-f rather than with the Old Egyptian Prospective sDm-w=f (stem rdi).

Whereas the existence of a future tense marker written ti/y in participial forms seems incontestable on account of the evidence presented above, the most interesting question why, contrary to other participles, the Future Participle ending with this marker is invariable for gender and number must remain unsolved. The fact that the grammatical solution of appending suffix pronouns to indicate gender and number in the sDm-tw.fy form is in current use in the very old corpus of the Pyramid Texts suggests that this marker may belong to the oldest substratum. When naming the Stative the "Old Perfective", Gardiner remarks that it is the sole surviving relic in Egyptian of the Semitic finite verb. Given the fact that the Akkadian perfect iptaras which has been related to the Egyptian sDm-tw.f is used in particular when posterior time reference is emphasized, I do not exclude the possibility that the ti-morpheme stems from the Semitic substratum and entered historical Egyptian already in a petrified form. It seems to me that the writing of this morpheme as ti in the suffix conjugation and as ti/y in the participials points instead to the iy representing a vowel. In agreement with Satzinger’s opinion— at least as far as the sDm-tw is concerned— any connection of this morpheme with the feminine ending ti would seem most improbable to me.

In the introduction to the present study I have referred to the -ti-ending showing up in the feminine passive Prospective Participle and the derived Relative Form. It seems to me that, given the relation of this participle with the future marker yi and its marking of the feminine gender, this -ti-ending is morphologically unconnected with the future marker ti. However, because of the fact

110 For the rare instances where the masculine Prospective Participle with the ending -iy and active meaning may be identified in the PT see Gunn, Studies in Eg. Syntax, 35-37, exs. 1a-c, 3 and 4; possibly also ex. 5 from the Middle Kingdom. See also Hoch, M. Eg. Grammar, 173-174 (§121,3,a).
112 Cf. Grandet - Mathieu, Cours d’ägyptien II, 221 (48.1) and 224 (48.3).
113 Gunn, op.cit., 24 (C).
114 Vernus, Future at Issue, 15.
115 Schenkel, Verbaflexion PT, 489 (table).
116 Vernus, op.cit., 29.
117 Gardiner, EG, 234 (§309).
118 See Satzinger, sDm-tw.f, JEA 57 (1971), 68 (4).
119 Von Soden, Akkadische Grammatik, 130 (§80,d): "Nachzeitigkeit in der Vergangenheit, wenn diese besonders betont werden soll!"; cf. also the situation in Late Babylonian, see Streck, Zahl und Zeit, 220 (II §48c.50: "lediglich der Ausdruck der Nachzeitigkeit ist -ta- zugeordnet" (I owe the latter reference to Prof. Schenkel).
120 This is also assumed for the comparable passivizing morpheme .tw by Reintges, sDm-tw.f, GM 153 (1996), 79, n.1.
121 Satzinger, sDm-tw.f, JEA 57 (1971), 68, n.5. See Thacker, Semitic and Eg. Verbal Systems, 267-271, who argues that the form is a special employment of the feminine singular Relative Form. In taking a prehistoric nomen actionis sDm-tw.f as the basis for the sDm-tw.f, Schenkel, Suffikssonjugation, 45 obviously has the feminine ending in mind, because the t-element is not ranged under the formative elements in the suffix conjugation n, in, xr, kA and tr.tw. Edel, AÄ, 368 (§732, A nm.) also opts for a nomen actionis, which is formally identical with the infinitive in the case of the IIIa inf. and caus. 2-rad. verb classes. Loprieno, Verbal system, 44: "der historischen Analyse zufolge geht die t-Form auf eine nominale mqt-ı-Basis zurück, die in der klassischen Sprache als Infinitiv einiger Verbalklassen oder als sog. "Komplementsinfinitiv" in produktivem Gebrauch auftritt". For an altogether different approach see Janssens, Verbal System in Old Eg., 21-23 (§28-29).
122 Note that, from a synchronic viewpoint, the sDm(t).n-y Relative Form also undeniably shows that the tense marker n follows the feminine ending.
that this special -ti-ending in the feminine Prospective Participle could maintain itself in Neo-Middle Egyptian, the future marker ti at work in the regularly used forms sDm.t=f, sDm.ty.fy, iw.t=f and in.t=f may well bear responsibility.