

72.358

(11)
CNI PUBLICATIONS 1

K 4 Reiche
links

CROSSROAD

CHAOS OR THE BEGINNING OF A NEW PARADIGM

PAPERS FROM THE CONFERENCE ON EGYPTIAN GRAMMAR
HELSINGØR 28-30 MAY 1986

EDITED BY
GERTIE ENGLUND AND PAUL JOHN FRANDSEN

THE CARSTEN NIEBUHR INSTITUTE OF ANCIENT NEAR EAST STUDIES

Helmut Satzinger:

On Tense and Aspect in Middle Egyptian

The MEgn. tense system, as represented in the constructions with *jw*, can be seen in the following way.

Perfect

active: *jw sdm.n.f*

"medium":¹ *jw.f + OP*

passive: *jw + Passive*²

The negative counterpart of the affirmative Perfect is *n sdm.f* (active) and *n + Passive* (passive). The realm of the OP ("medium") is partly encompassed by the active forms and partly by the passive forms, as in the "transpositions"; cf. *infra*.

Aorist

active: *jw.f sdm.f*³

passive: *jw sdm.tw.f*

The normal negative counterpart of the affirmative aorist is *n sdm.n.f* (active) and *n sdm.n.tw.f* (passive).

(Prospective: not represented in the *jw* constructions.)

Progressive (or Present)

jw.f hr sdm (passive: *jw.tw hr sdm.f*)

The negative counterpart, *nn sw hr sdm*, is extremely rare (see G § 334).

Ingressive⁴

jw.f m jjt

Future

jw.f r sdm (passive: *jw.tw r sdm.f*)

Jw may be substituted by *m.k* (*m.t*, *m.tn*) or *jst*.

Perfect: *mk sdm.n.f* G §§ 234, 414.1; *jst sdm.n.f* G § 414.1; *mk sw + OP* and *jst sw + OP* G § 324; *mk + Passive* and *jst + Passive* G § 422.1 (the constructions with *mk* have present perfect connotations).

Aorist: *mk (sw) sdm.f* G § 234; *jst sw sdm.f* G § 212 (the construction with *mk* has future connotation).

Progressive: *mk sw hr sdm* and *jst sw hr sdm* G § 324.

Ingressive: *mk sw m jjt* G § 331.

Future: *mk sw r sdm* G § 332.

The Perfect and the Aorist (as well as the Prospective) can be directly "transposed" (Polotsky) into verbal nouns (more precisely: substantives; "that"-forms) and verbal adjectives (with implicit subject: participles; with explicit subject: relative forms); cf. Polotsky 1976.

tense, voice	"that"-forms	participles ⁵	relative forms ⁵
Perfect, active:	<i>sdm.n.f</i>	<i>sdmt</i>	<i>sdmt.n.f</i> (OEgn.: <i>sdmt.f</i>)
passive:	<i>sdm.n.tw.f</i> (OEgn.: <i>sdm.f</i>) ⁶	<i>sdm(j)t</i>	<i>sdm(j)t.f</i> ⁷
Aorist, active:	<i>sdm.f (jrr.f)</i>	<i>sdmt (jrrt)</i>	<i>sdm(w)t.f</i> (<i>jrr(w)t.f</i>)
passive:	<i>sdm.tw.f</i>	<i>sdm(w)t (jrr(w)t)</i>	<i>sdm(w)t sw</i>
Prospective, active:	<i>sdm.f</i>	<i>sdm.tj.sj</i>	<i>sdmt(j).f</i>
passive:	<i>sdm.tw.f</i>	<i>sdm.tj.sj</i>	<i>sdmt(j) sw</i> ⁸

The "medium" has no direct correspondance in the field of verbal substantives and adjectives. Its role is taken over by both the active Perfect (for intransitives) and the passive Perfect (for transitives): *jj.n.f* "that he came", *rd.n.tw.f* "that he was given". It is only in the case of the present perfect "medium" (realized by *mk sw* + OP) that the OP is represented in the "transpositions": see below.^{8a}

The forms of the Progressive and the Future can only be transposed by means of either the relative adjective *ntj* or the verb *wnn*, used as an auxiliary.^{8b}

tense	"that"-form	participles ⁵	relative forms ⁵
Progressive:		<i>ntt hr sdm</i> ¹⁰	
	<i>wnn.f hr sdm</i> ⁹	<i>wnnt hr sdm</i> ¹¹	
Future:		<i>ntt r sdm</i> ¹²	<i>ntt.f r sdm</i> ¹³

Furthermore, compound forms of the same pattern are encountered that have the OP in the place of the Preposition + Infinitive phrase. The time connotation of these forms is present perfect.

<i>ntt.f + OP</i> ¹⁴	<i>ntt + OP</i> ¹⁵	<i>ntt.f + OP</i> ¹⁶
<i>wnn.f + OP</i> ¹⁷	<i>wnnt + OP</i> ¹⁸	

For some tenses, time range conversions can be attested. Note especially the conversion to past of the Aorist *jw.f sdm.f*, viz. *wn.f sdm.f* (G § 474,2); furthermore, the adjective transpositions of the latter, both as participle, viz. *wnt sdm.s* "who has ever heard" ("as to all preople *wnw m33.sn wj* who have ever seen me", Kaplony 1976, 28, sim. ib., 33, l.6, and cf. E § 896; OK examples only?) and as relative form, viz. *wnt(.f) sdm.f* (*wnt.k jrj.k* "what you used to do" PT 623c; *wnt jrj.j* "what I used to do" G § 477 [Urk IV 973,14]); the conversion to past of the Progressive *jw.f hr sdm* in the adjective (participle) transposition, viz. *wn hr sdm* (G § 396: p. 314,5).

In the following, attention shall be paid to the semantic functions of the tenses. The argument will, however, concentrate on Perfect, Aorist, and Progressive, thus leaving apart the Ingressive and the Future.

Sentences displaying the Aorist form are mostly expressions of the general present, the habitual present, or the historical present (G § 463: "the form occurs frequently in *generalizations, characterizations, and statements of habit or costum*, with reference to vaguely present or future time".) Hardly ever can they be understood as an expression of the immediate present (which is, in principle, rendered in English by the progressive form).

The so-called imperfective *sdm.f*, in the precise meaning of a "that"-form whose paradigm displays the geminating forms of weak verbs, and the so-called imperfective participles and relative forms, have been interpreted as transpositional counterparts of the Aorist (see above, and cf. Polotsky 1976). These forms, too, have been described as implying the notions of *repetition* and *continuity* (G §§ 370, 389.1, 440). For the participles, Schenkel 1965, 110-4, has added the notion of *plurality* (also cf. Allen 1984 §§ 609, 638). Again it can be maintained that pertinent examples can hardly ever be understood as expressions of the immediate present.

Repetition, continuity, plurality are not phenomena of the category of aspect, but are, rather, *aktionsarten* (they are not expressions of the speaker's attitude towards the event he is dealing with, but rather objective characterizations of the event itself)!¹⁹ The general, habitual, and historical presents may, however, be associated with a particular aspect in a given language. The immediate present, on the other hand, is restricted to the non-perfective, or progressive, aspect.

The opposition of Perfect vs. Aorist is usually called one of aspect. Similarly, the perfective and (so-called) imperfective participles and relative forms are thought to be distinguished notionally by the criterium of aspect (see, e.g., G §§ 365, 389.1).

Several authors have recently referred to the aspect system of Slavonic languages (esp. Russian) as a parallel of the Egn. aspect system (Hannig 1984, 63-70; Loprieno 1984, esp. 90; Chr. Eyre in yet unpublished paper, Cambridge, 1984). Comparison of structures of different languages may be rewarding, but requires a very critical attitude. Thus, there are some remarkable differences between the areas covered by the aspects in Russian and MEgn., respectively. In Russian, the imperfective aspect comprises not only progressive utterances, but also utterances that concern durative (including iterative, frequentative, etc.) events, even if they are non-progressive. This can especially be noticed in utterances that refer to past events. To illustrate this, some sentences from a Russian exercise book (Netschajewa, 180, 181, 268) are translated in the following.

(Non-progressive utterance referring to durative action:)

"What did you do (*delal*; imperf.) last night?" - "Last night I read (*čital*; imperf.)." - "What did you read (*čital*)?" - "I read (*čital*) Chekhov's Tales."

In all four cases, English uses the past tense, whereas MEgn. would indubitably use Perfect forms. The dialogue goes on:

(Non-progressive utterance referring to momentary [terminative] action:)

"Did you finish the book (lit. did you read [*pročital*; perf.] the whole book)?" - "No, I finished (lit. read [*pročital*]) three tales only."

Again, English uses the past tense and MEgn. would use Perfect forms, though Russian has a different form.

(Non-progressive utterance referring to single action:)

"In the forest, I saw (*uvidel*; perf.) the traces of a hare."

(Non-progressive utterance referring to habitual action:)

"In the forest I used to see (lit. I saw [*videl*; imperf.] often) the traces of hares."

For reference to the habitual action, English uses an expression of idiomatic origin. MEgn. would probably use the Aorist, *jw.f sdm.f*; cf. examples like *jw grg.t(w) n.j* "men used to snare for me" G p. 385,12 (Sin B 89-90); *jw.j sh3.j* "I used to remember" G p. 140,9 (Urk VII 63,16).

(Progressive utterance referring to durative [or "pluralic"] action [which is contrasted with a momentary action]:)

"When he entered, we were just sitting down (*sadilis'*; imperf.)."

Here it is the English past progressive form that corresponds to the Russian imperfective verb, or form. MEgn. would probably use the Progressive; cf. "then she (= the gazelle) gave birth on it (= the block) *jw mš^c pn n nsw hr m33* while this army of the king was watching" Hammamat I, 110,5-6; with resultative intransitives of motion, however, the Ingressive is found under comparable conditions; cf. *gm.n.j hf3w pw jw.f m jjt* "I found out that it was a snake approaching" Sh.S. 61-62. Note that reference to past events can in both cases be explained by the embedding of the *jw* clause. In independent use, conversion to the past, viz. *wn.f hr sdm*, might be expected, though this seems not to be attested. It might be concluded from this negative evidence that time range connotation was in MEgn. a mere consequence of aspect and

contextual situation, rather than a primary quality. On the other hand we do find examples displaying conversion to past for the Aorist, viz. *wn.f sdm.f* "he used to hear" (cf. supra). I think there are good reasons why conversion is not actually attested for the Progressive. A past event cannot be expressed as being progressive unless it is seen in contrast to another event. Hence, the past progressive utterance is, in general, embedded into another utterance that is non-progressive, as in the examples given above. In an embedded utterance, however, time reference is not to be marked in Egn., unless it is to a time range different from that of the cotext. Conditions are different in LEgn., where *sw hr sdm* encompasses both habitual actions and progressive utterances. It is noteworthy, however, that practically all examples of the LEgn. "Imperfect" *wn.f hr sdm* express habitual action, viz. "he used to hear", and are not progressive (viz. "he was hearing"); cf. Satzinger 1976, 127-128 (2.3.1.3); Frandsen 1974 § 96 D. The following chart gives a survey contrasting the uses of past forms in Russian and MEgn.

aspect:	non-progressive			progressive
aktionsart:	momentary	durative	habitual/ frequentative	durative
Russian:	perf. form	imperf.form	imperf.form	imperf.form
MEgn.:	Perfect	Perfect	Aorist, converted to past	(Progressive ²⁰)

It may seem both interesting and rewarding to compare this evidence with that of past tense forms of other languages. In the following, the chart is enlarged on the basis of Jespersen 1965, 277 (see next page).

In the Russian utterances which refer to past events, there is a dichotomy on the level of *aktionsart*, rather than of aspect, viz. momentary vs. durative (in the wider sense). In MEgn., however, there is a trichotomy of [non-progressive, non-habitual] vs. [non-progressive, habitual] vs. progressive. This can be dissected into a dichotomy on the level of aspect, viz. non-progressive vs. progressive, and – within the progressive aspect – a dichotomy on the level of *aktionsart*, viz. non-habitual vs. habitual.

	resultative perfect	momentary histor. perfect	durative. histor. perfect	habitual imperfect	"descriptive imper- fect" (Jespersen)
MEgn.	_____	jw sš.n.f _____	_____	wn.f sš.f _____	(jw.f hr sš ²⁰) _____
LEgn.	_____	sš.f _____	_____	wn.f hr sš _____	_____
Russ.	_____	napisal _____	_____	pisal _____	_____
Lat.	_____	scripsit _____	_____	scribebat _____	_____
Gk.	gegraphen _____	egrapsen _____	_____	egraphen _____	_____
Fr.1)	a écrit _____	écrivit _____	_____	écrivait _____	_____
2)	_____	a écrit _____	_____	écrivait _____	_____
Engl.	has written _____	_____	wrote _____	_____	was writing _____
Ger.1)	hat ge- schrieben _____	_____	schrieb _____	_____	_____
2)	_____	hat geschrieben _____	_____	schrieb _____	_____

Utterances referring to present time events are in Russian restricted to the use of imperfective verbs. This will appear quite natural if we transform the short dialogue quoted above to the level of present time.

"What are you doing (*delaeš; imperf.*)?" - "I am reading (*čitaju; imperf.*)."

"What are you reading (*čitaeš; imperf.*)?" - "I am reading (*čitaju*) Chekhov's Tales."

After this, however, we cannot proceed further with a progressive tense in the translation. Russian *esli ty pročitaeš (perf.)...* may be best rendered by "shall you finish reading ...?". In other contexts, it may also mean, "can you finish", or "do you have to finish?". Furthermore, the perfective verb can be used for general statements and the historical present. (Cf. Rathmayr 1976, 42, 97, 102, 112, 128.)

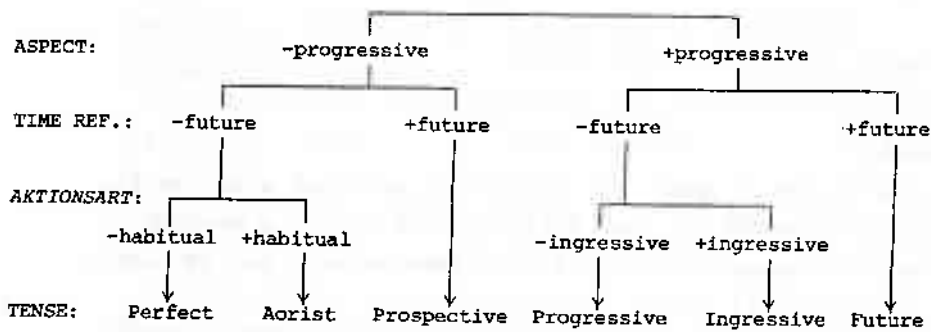
By way of concluding it may be said that the immediate present time expression is identical with the progressive utterance. Any utterance that refers to "vaguely present ... time" (G § 463), though not to an event happening at the very moment, is not. Russian distinguishes these two categories by using imperfective or perfective verbs, respectively. MEgn. makes a similar distinction by using *jw.f hr sdm* in one case, *jw.f sdm.f* in the other. There is, however, a remarkable difference in references to future events. Whereas Russian uses the simple perfective forms of verbs expressing momentary events (*pročitaet* "he will finish reading"), it uses a compound form with the durative verbs (*budet čitat'* "he will read", "he will be reading"). MEgn. has special future tenses, viz. the Future and the Prospective, which seem both to be used with all kinds of verbs, and in reference to both momentary and durative actions. The Aorist refers mainly to "vaguely present and future time", but this is a mere consequence of its referring to non-present time (on account of its non-progressive aspect) in addition to its not markedly referring to past time.

aspect:	progressive		non-progressive	
aktions-art:	immediate present	habit., general, histor. present	momentary future	durative future
Russian:	imperf.pres.	perfective present	future	future
MEgn.	Progressive	Aorist	Future, Prospective	

This may suffice to show that the structure of Russian does not yield any patterns that are utilizable for Egn. Contrastive comparison can help, however, to discern inherent structures. Thus it has become evident that the central aspectual category of the MEgn. verb is progressivity. It is only within the non-progres-

sive forms that the distinction is operative that is generally held to be of top rank, viz. "imperfective" vs. "perfective" (as the traditional terms are), or Aorist vs. Perfect, or habitual vs. non-habitual, implying, or coinciding with, non-past vs. past. The nature of this category may rather be defined as *aktionsart* (though having time range connotation) than aspect.

Time reference cannot be discarded by explaining it as implied by aspect and/or *aktionsart*. No such explanation could cope with forms referring to future. In the hierarchy of categories, "time reference" precedes "*aktionsart*", immediately following to "aspect":



This stemma has been conceived with the intention of including functional arguments only, thus excluding purely morphological ones. This has led to a conflict in the "+progressive" slot. Actually, the Future is used to express non-progressive utterances (though agreeing in morphological pattern with the Progressive and the Ingressive). Note that this is not a case of neutralization: a progressive utterance referring to a future event would not be expressed by *jw.f r sgm*, too, but rather by *jw.f hr sgm*, at least if embedded (e.g., *jw.k hr m33 pWestcar 5,5 and 5-6*); cf. *supra*, on past progressive utterances.

By this way we have arrived at a structure that resembles very closely the one Polotsky has recently (1985) presented for Coptic. His primary distinction is one of aspect, viz. "event" (*Ereignis*) vs. "duration" (*Dauer*). The event category comprises the "tenses", Perfect, Aorist, and Third Future, whereas the duration category comprises two *aktionsarten*, "process" (*Ver-*

lauf) and "state" (Zustand), realized by the (adverbial) infinitive and the qualitative, respectively. It comprises further the First Future, with the "instans" (i.e., *na-* + Infinitive) as predicate. Here, again, we meet with the same conflict as in MEgn. *jw.f r sdm*: the First Future (as, of course, also the Second Future) is not the expression of "duration", of progressive utterance, but rather of events (see on this Polotsky 1960, 249 = 1971, 403). A remarkable detail of the conspicuous coincidence of MEgn. and Coptic tense functions.

Postscript

The tense system of MEgn. has above been sketched with the aim of drawing attention to the correlation that exists between the focal forms on the one hand, and substantival and adjectival forms on the other, e.g.:

(Perf.+) *jw sdm.n.f*: substantival *sdm.n.f*, "perfective" participle, relative *n*-form;

(Aorist:) *jw.f sdm.f*: "imperfective" *sdm.f*, participle, and relative form.

These substantival and adjectival forms are the synthetic transpositional forms of the respective tenses. There exist, however, also analytic transformational forms, with *ntj* as their nucleus:

(Perfect:) *ntt sdm.n.f* "that he heard" (Hekanakhte I, r° 11; G p. 141₉); *ntt sdm.n.s* "who (fem.) heard" (CT I 238 f); *ntt sdm.n.f* "whom (fem.) he heard" (G p. 151₁₇);

(Aorist:) *ntt.f sdm.f* "that he hears" (Allen's paper, ex. 21); *ntt sdm.f*, id. (G p. 141₉); *ntt sdm.s* "who (fem.) hears" (E § 1058); *ntt.f sdm.f* "whom (fem.) he hears" (CT II 376 a); *ntt sdm.f*, id. (G p. 151₁₆).

For the particular argument of this paper, this paradigm could be neglected. This was advisable anyhow, as its existence im-

plies a troublesome problem: what is the relationship between the synthetic paradigm (e.g., participles) and the analytic paradigm (e.g., *ntj sdm.n.f*)? Now, J. Allen in his paper, has offered a clue for this. According to him, the synthetic forms are not the transpositions of the focal *jw* forms, but rather of the corresponding set of focal (and circumstantial) *jw*-less forms the existence of which Allen is advocating. The relation between participles (etc.) and *ntj* constructions is the same as that between the *jw*-less forms and the *jw* forms.

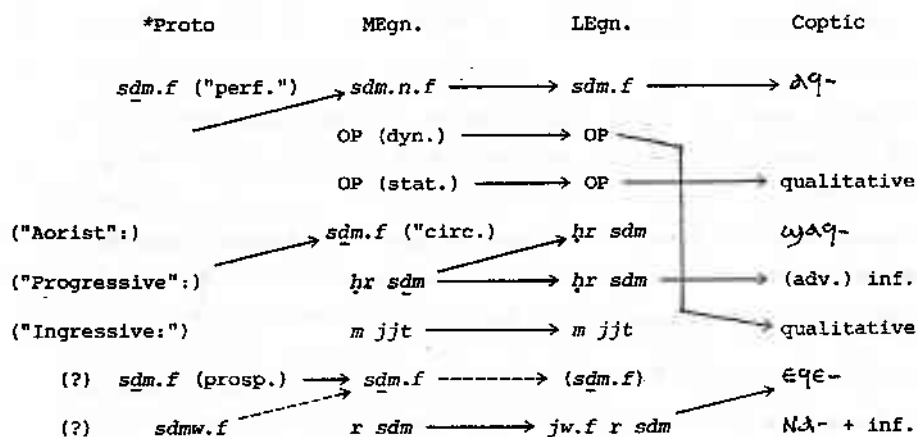
In the following chart, I try to adjust to this hypothesis the tense system as sketched above.

	focal (and partly circumstantial)	substantival	adjectival (participles) ⁵	adjectival (relative forms) ⁵
Perf.:	<i>sdm.n.f</i> OP	<i>sdm.n.f</i>	<i>sdmt</i> ("perf.")	<i>sdmt.n.f</i>
	Passive	<i>sdm.n.tw.f</i>	<i>sdm(j)t</i>	<i>sdm(j)t.f</i>
Aor.:	<i>sdm.f</i> ("circ.")	<i>sdm.f</i> ("impf.")	<i>sdmt</i> ("impf.")	<i>sdm(w)t.f</i> ("impf.")
Prosp.:	<i>sdm.f</i> ("prosp.")	<i>sdm.f</i> ("prosp.")	<i>sdm.tj.sj</i>	<i>sdmt(j).f</i>
Perf.:	<i>jw sdm.n.f</i> <i>jw.f</i> + OP <i>jw</i> + Passive	<i>ntt sdm.n.f</i> ²¹ <i>ntt.f</i> + OP ¹⁴ <i>*ntt</i> + Passive ²²	<i>ntt sdm.n.s</i> ²¹ <i>ntt</i> + OP ¹⁵ <i>*ntt</i> + Passive	<i>ntt sdm.n.f</i> ²¹ <i>ntt.f</i> + OP ¹⁶ <i>ntt</i> + Passive ²³
Aor.:	<i>jw sdm.f</i> <i>jw.f sdm.f</i>	<i>ntt sdm.f</i> ²¹ <i>ntt.f sdm.f</i> ²¹	<i>ntt sdm.s</i> ²¹	<i>ntt sdm.f</i> ²¹ <i>ntt.f sdm.f</i> ²¹
Progr.:	<i>jw.f hr sdm</i>	<i>*ntt.f hr sdm</i>	<i>ntt hr sdm</i> ¹⁰	<i>*ntt.f hr sdm</i>
Fut.:	<i>jw.f r sdm</i>	<i>*ntt.f r sdm</i>	<i>ntt r sdm</i> ¹²	<i>ntt.f r sdm</i> ¹³

Conversion to past is attested for the Aorist (*wn.f.sdm.f*, etc.; see above); conversion to Aorist is attested for the OP constructions, viz. *wnn.f* + OP,¹⁷ *wnnt* + OP,¹⁸ and for the Progressive, viz. *wnn.f hr sdm*,⁹ *wnnt hr sdm*.¹¹

The consistency of this system is obvious. Yet it is "true" in an ahistorical, diachronical sense only, and this implies further modification. The individual categories of the language changed in the course of time in a varying measure. Thus, the *jw*-less forms tended to come out of use, except in circumstantial usages, whereas the substantival and adjectival synthetic forms survived considerably longer. For example, *pWest-car* has but few *jw*-less forms in initial focal function (see, e.g., Allen's ex. 7b). It makes use of *ntj* mainly in cases where there is no appropriate synthetic form available, viz. the Progressive (10,4), or the present perfect: cf. *n3 ntt n jj.wjn r.s 11,11* (they are still being there, hence present perfect), but *r bw jj.n.sn jm 11,10* (going back to their original place, hence historical perfect; this distinction is, by the way, very well accounted for by Allen's hypothesis of "tense vs. taxis"²⁴). But for the historical perfect and the Aorist the text makes full use of the synthetic substantival and adjectival forms. This is to say that the shift to the analytic forms was farther advanced with the focal forms than it was with the transpositional forms.

There is another phenomenon to be considered that is also apt to lead to a conflict of morphology and function. A given verbal form, morphologically defined, may serve different functions in (diachronically, geographically, socially) different idioms, in general, or in certain co-textual situations only. We meet with this, e.g., in *jw.f sdm.f* which conveyed originally the progressive aspect (see Vernus 1984, esp. 208; id., Copenhagen Paper § 3.2.4). Examples can be quoted which do not have "aorist", but rather "progressive" meaning. In some cases this is supported by *jw.f hr sdm* in a parallel or variant text (see Vernus; G § 463, esp. p. 386,). Similarly, transpositional Aorist forms like, e.g., "imperfective" participles, may have "progressive" meaning.²⁵ In the following, some assumed functional shifts of forms (rendered by the oblique bolts) are displayed in a sketchy way.



Language changes continually in all its features. (What we are used to call "Middle Egyptian" is in fact a number of different stages of this process, or rather an amalgam of several of them.) Every individual change has consequences for the whole system of the language, causing minute changes in other categories.

The "clause of circumstance" has become a morphological reality by and by, this process being accomplished in LEgn. only. Until then, more forms were shared in main sentences and in circumstantial uses than were not. Originally, both categories must have been one and the same, as far as morphology is concerned. (It is my strong belief that the "circumstantial" $\underline{s\dot{d}m}.f$ is primarily not qualified by a syntactic function [as an adverbial form], but rather by its tense and aspect [probably a progressive form originally, it developed aorist character].) It was in approximately the same period that jw tended to become obligatory in main sentences, its absence becoming a mark of the clause of circumstance. There can be no doubt that both developments are closely connected.

NOTES

- 1 Cf. Satzinger 1976, 217.
- 2 As the main sentence and/or circumstantial passive "s_{dm}(w).f" is not used with pronominal subject (cf. Westendorf 1953, 29), this term is avoided here.
- 3 It is assumed that *jw s_{dm}.f* is a mere variant of *jw.f s_{dm}.f*, this being the basic form.
- 4 On this term, cf. Satzinger 1976, 237-239..
- 5 The feminine singular forms are given.
- 6 Cf. Allen 1984 §§ 490-494.
- 7 Cf. Satzinger 1984, 147-148 (4.3.2).
- 8 Cf. op.cit., 141-143 (4.1.2.2).
- 8a The OP is obviously an element of the Perfect, representing what is here labelled the "medium voice", in opposition to both active and passive. (Both the active vs. medium and the passive vs. medium oppositions of the Perfect are neutralized in the transpositions [as they are also in the negative statements].) But the OP tends to have another paradigmatic function, viz. in the Progressive, where it furnishes a static form which is in opposition to the dynamic one, *jw.f hr s_{dm}*. This is clearly visible in the analytic *ntj* and *wnn* constructions mentioned in the following.
- 8b As *wnn.f*, *wnn(t)*, *wnn(t).f* are "imperfective" (= Aorist) forms, the pertinent constructions can be understood as conversions to Aorist of *ntj* constructions. It must be borne in mind that the "aorist" character, postulated here for the MEgn. Aorist forms, is not shared by all OEgn. and MEgn. idioms. Also cf. below, with note 25.
- 9 Cf. Polotsky 1976, 39 (3.8.9); in *pw* glosses: G p. 250,1 (BD 17 = Urk V 53,1-2); W § 399.3.cc (pSmith 22).
- 10 Satzinger 1984, 129: exx. 13-16.

- 11 G p. 314,6; W § 399.3.aa (pEbers 786); cf. E § 650.3 (Cairo 67573).
- 12 Satzinger 1984, 129-130: exx. 18, 19.
- 13 G p. 254,5.6 (in both cases *ntj tw r sdm*).
- 14 G § 329. - In the discussion it was claimed that the dependent pronouns are used in this construction. Although G § 44.2 maintains this position, G § 223 cannot avoid to observe that "after *ntt* the suffixes 2nd and 3rd sing. m. are preferred to the dependent pronouns". Apart from the two cases noted G p. 167, 10a.11, we encounter here too the "mixed paradigm" (Satzinger 1984, 134. 151 [5.3]) *wj*, *.k*, *.t*, etc., as after *ntj* and the perfect passive participles. The same is true of the equivalent of *ntt*, viz. *wnt: wnt wj ḥ^C.kw* G p. 252,4 (Louvre C 10); *ḏr wnt.f^C pr CT I 141e (B16C, etc.)*; *ḏr wnt.s jj.t(j)* ib. (B3Bo); and see E § 1020.
- 15 Satzinger 1984, 130: exx. 20, 21; Westendorf 1953, 77 (2.22.45).
- 16 Satzinger 1984, 134: exx. 42, 43.
- 17 E.g., in *pw* gloss: W § 169.3.a (pSmith 23 (C)).
- 18 W § 170a (pEbers 91; pSmith 14 [6, 10]); cf. E § 650.2.
- 19 Admittedly, the term *aktionsart* is otherwise applied to distinctions on the lexical level, rather than on the morphological one.
- 20 The expected form is a progressive form converted to past, viz. *wn.f ḥr sdm*. But since pertinent clauses are embedded in sentences referring to past time, the conversion can be dispensed with. See above.
- 21 See above for references.
- 22 Although I am not able to furnish references for the forms marked by an asterisk, any one of them may be correct.
- 23 Satzinger 1984, 130: ex. 26.
- 24 P. Vernus would explain this from a different view point, cf. his Copenhagen paper, 3.3.3: the *n*-form is *accompli non-extensif* (which would approximately correspond to "perfective non-durative"), it is appropriate for an event whose result is disregarded in the context; the *OPis accompliensif*, appropriate for the opposite case. Accordingly, the discriminating element would not be the synthetic (relative form) vs. the analytic (OP) character, but rather *n*-form vs. OP.

I take the occasion to remark on Vernus' statement that the verbs of motion are of "inceptive" aktionsart, which is completely mistaken. Most verbs of motion are rather resultative (in LEgn., the only non-resultative verb of motion is šmj, cf. Satzinger 1976 2.3.3.5). This is why the form appropriate for them in the Perfect is the OP. In the Progressive, on the other hand, a form is needed that counteracts these aktionsart properties. In an utterance that describes a process as occurring presently, any result is left out of consideration. This is exactly the *raison d'être* for the Ingressive, complementary form of the Progressive: hr jjt would be resultative (and is actually so in LEgn.; see op. cit., 139): coming, including arrival; m jjt, however, expresses durative action: coming along, irrespective of a consequent result.

- 25 A pertinent phenomenon is the "conversion to Aorist", as in wnt ts.tj "who is raised" pSmith 14 (6,10), as compared to ntt ts.tj ib. 12 (5,19). In CT VII 384b, the wnn variants have another Aorist form, jw. sdm.f, in close neighbourhood; the ntj variants substitute jw.f + OP for this: jr s nb wnn m šmsw.f, jw. ^Cnh.f m šmsw Dhwtj (B2L, B3L), but jr s nb ntj m šmsw.f, jw.f ^Cnh m šmsw Dhwtj (B3C, B2Bo, B6C). For jw.f + OP substituting the jw(.f) sdm.f of certain verbs, see Vernus 1984, in particular p. 210, note 67.

ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

OP = Old Perfective

E = E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*.

G = A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*.

W = W. Westendorf, *Grammatik der medizinischen Texte*.

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Allen 1984 | The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts
Bibliotheca Aegyptia II). |
| Frandsen 1974 | An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System. |
| Hannig 1984 | Die neue Gunnsche Regel. In: Studien zu Sprache und
Religion Ägyptens [Westendorf <i>Festschrift</i>], 63-70. |
| Jespersen 1965 | The Philosophy of Grammar (reprint). |
| Kaplony 1976 | Studien zum Grab des Methethi. |
| Loprieno 1984 | Aspekt und Diathese im Ägyptischen. In: [Westendorf
<i>Festschrift</i>], 87-102. |

- Netschajewa Schwierigkeiten der russischen Sprache (= V. Nečaeva, Nekotorye trudnosti russkogo jazyka. Moskva, n.d.).
- Polotsky 1961 The Coptic Conjugation System. In: *Orientalia* 29, 392-422.
- Polotsky 1971 Collected Papers.
- Polotsky 1976 Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique. In: *Israel Oriental Studies* 6.
- Polotsky 1985 Verbalaspekte im Koptischen. In: *Göttinger Miscellen* 88, 19-23.
- Rathmayr 1976 Die perfektive Präsensform im Russischen. In: *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte*, 310/1.
- Satzinger 1976 Neuägyptische Studien.
- Satzinger 1984 Attribut und Relativsatz im älteren Ägyptisch. In: [Westendorf *Festschrift*], 125-156.
- Schenke 1965 "Singularisches" und "pluralisches" Partizip. In: *MDAIK* 20, 110-114.
- Vernus 1984 Sujet + *sdm.f* et sujet + pseudoparticipe avec les verbes de qualité: dialectique de l'aspect et de l'aktionsart. In: [Westendorf *Festschrift*], 197-212.