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Despite the general, and generally acknowledged, success of the Standard Theory in descri-bing how the verbal system functioned in Early (i.e., pre-LE) Egyptian, there remain a few anomalies that so far seem to defy incorporation into the prevailing syntactic model. The problems posed by some of these "exceptions" can be illustrated by the following examples:

(1)   *jw* ḫnt.n.(j) *r ḫ3t*
       jw zb.n.(j) *r jm3ḫ* (*JEA* 47 [1961], 7, col. 5)
"I have come to the fore,
I have gone to *jm3ḫ*-status."

(2)   jr.tw *nn mj m* (Sin. B 202)
"How is it that this was done?"

(3)   ḫ' *sbk*
       ḥq3.n.f pt
       mḥ.n.f t3wj m wsrw.f (*RdE* 11 [1957], pl. 3, cols. 105-106)
"Sobek has appeared,
he has begun to rule the sky,
and has filled the Two Lands with his power."

Example (1) is an exception to one of the cardinal principles of the Standard Theory: that verbs of motion are uniformly nominal / "emphatic" in the *sḏm.n.f*.[1] If the forms here are in fact syntactically adverbial, then the same possibility exists in other examples, such as

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[1] Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, §§ 22-26; *Transpositions*, 19. For another example, see CT IV 105 f *jw ḫr.n*; cf. also CT IV 105 h *jw 'ḥ'.n.j*: Junge, *Syntax*, 18.

(4)   *pr.n.(j) m pr.(j) ḥ3.n.(j) m zp3t.(j)*
          jr.n.(j) r ḥtp z.n.(j) r jm3ḫ²
"I have emerged from my house and gone down to my (cemetery) district
having acted satisfactorily and having gone to *jm3ḫ*-status."

(5)   *j sntj.k jst nbt-ḥwt*
          ḥm.n.sn *m bw ẖr.k jm* (Pyr. 1630 a-b)
"Your sisters Isis and Nephthys have come back to you
after having gone away from the place where you are."[3]

If, on the other hand, they are nominal, then *jw* cannot have (merely) the function assigned to it by Polotsky's *Egyptian Tenses*, which is that of enabling adverbial forms to function predicatively in independent statements: here, no less than in initial position, the *sḏm.n.f* will be (nominal) subject of the following adverbial predicate.

Example (2) is clearly "emphatic" in function though not in form.[4] It is possible to reconcile this with the Standard Theory by analyzing the "emphatic" nature of the form as signalled by the absence of *jw* – i.e., as contrasted with non-"emphatic" *jw jr.t(w) n.j ʿš3w* (Sin. B 91) "Many things were made for me" – but that only serves to raise a further question as to the distinction between this and the more usual "emphatic" construction.

A similar question attends the initial form in example (3), which can also be analyzed as nominal.[5] The problem here is actually somewhat broader than the difference between geminated and ungeminated nominal forms. The pattern in example (3) appears fairly often in the Pyramid Texts, where the *sḏm.f* of an intransitive verb (with nominal subject) is used in parallel with the *sḏm.n.f* of transitive verbs: e.g.,

(6)   ḫr *ḥr r ḥr m3.n ḥr ḥr*
          prj *nm s3b km w3ḏ rs*
          ʿm.n.f n.f j.nsb.n.f (Pyr. 228)
"Face has fallen on face, face has seen face.

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[2] Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones*, pl. 18 no. 34. For this example see Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 152-53 and 169; Schenkel, *RdE* 15 (1963), 64. For the pattern see Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, §§ 27-32.

[3] A new sentence follows. See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 444, for this and other examples.

[4] Compare *jrr.f r.f r z3.t jm ḥr jšst* "Why is it that he is acting against me, your son?" (*Letters to the Dead* 3, 5). For other examples of the ungeminated form, cf. CT V 70 a (B9C), 72 c; pWestcar 12, 4.

[5] Vernus, *RdE* 32 (1980), 117-21; Junge, in: *Crossroad*, 215.

The dappled knife, all black and green, has come forth
and swallowed the one it has tasted."[6]

Moreover, the same pattern is found after *jw*:

(7)   *jw m3.n NN wrt*
        jw šzp.n NN wrt
        jw ḥr ḥr n NN ḥr wrt (Pyr. 697 b-c)
"NN has seen the Great One,
NN has taken notice of the Great One,
NN's face has fallen on the Great One."

This suggests a semantic, rather than syntactic, origin for the distributional pattern. At any rate, it cannot be explained simply on the syntactic grounds offered by the Standard Theory.

Such anomalies cannot be absorbed into the Standard Theory merely by adjusting the parameters of the grammatical model. While they are not significant enough in themselves to justify discarding the model, they do indicate the need for a revision in our understanding of the syntactic categories and the relationship between them.

1   Nominal forms

Perhaps the major contribution of the Standard Theory has been its recognition of the value of syntactic transformation (presented most comprehensively in Polotsky's *Transpositions*). Historically, this value was first elaborated for the nominal transformations of the verb.[7] In contrast to Gardiner's "virtual" noun clauses, the Standard Theory has defined those verb-forms with nominal function as distinct grammatical alternants specifically marked for nominal function. This analysis has proved both accurate and productive, although the fact that the early language clearly shows the ability to use non-nominal elements other than verbs in nominal environments – e.g., *jr m wn.j* "As for when I was"[8] – must lend a note of caution to analysis based solely on syntactic environment.

The finite nominal verb-forms can be divided into two categories: attributive and non-attributive. The former includes participles and relatives. These are nominalized with respect to a referent (expressed or unexpressed) and are marked with endings reflecting the gender and number of that referent: i.e., *3ḫt* [[*pr rˁ jm*]NOM]FS ⇒ *3ḫt prrt rˁ jm* (Pyr. 585 a

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[6] See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 310.

[7] See Depuydt, *OLP* 14 (1983), 25-34.

[8] Hatnub Gr. 22, 2: see Edel, *AäG*, § 848. Cf. also ME *jr m ḫt*: Gardiner, *EG*, § 178 *m-ḫt* 4.

T) "the akhet from which the sun emerges." Like all other Early Egyptian attributives (except *nb* "all"), they are syntactically nouns rather than adjectives, and are attested without expressed referent in the syntactic functions of primitive (lexical) nouns. The non-attributive forms are also syntactic noun equivalents, though with a somewhat more limited range of usage. Like the attributives, they represent the nominal transformation of a verb-phrase, allowing it to function as a noun (noun-clause): i.e., $r\underline{h}.t(j)$ $[mr.(j)$ $\underline{t}w]_{NOM}$ ⇒ $r\underline{h}.t(j)$ $mrr.(j)$ $\underline{t}w$ (Urk. I 61, 14) "You know that I love you."

Polotsky has noted the similarity between the two transformational processes. Already in his *Études de syntaxe copte* (1944), he compared the relationship between them to that which pertains between lexical nouns and adjectives.[9] For the adjective, as for the attributive verb-forms, the gender/number endings that characterize forms used attributively are secondary features.[10] This is shown not only by the fact that they vary according to the gender and number of their referent, but also by the fact that they are omitted in predicative use and are already optional in attributive use in OE.[11] Given the similarity between the two kinds of nominal verb-forms, it can be conjectured that both reflect one and the same nominal transformation. This single process transforms verbs used non-attributively as nouns, and is secondarily specified for attributive use by the addition of coreferential gender/number endings: i.e.,

(8)   *jw ḥm ḥm.(j) r$\underline{h}$* mrr.k *ḏḏ $\underline{h}$t nb(t)* mrrt ḥm.(j) (Urk. I 180, 1)[12]
"Moreover, My Incarnation knows that you love to say everything that My Incarnation loves,"

where *mrr.k* ⇐ $[mr.k]_{NOM}$ and *mrrt ḥm.(j)* ⇐ $[[mr$ *ḥm.(j)*$)]_{NOM}]_{FS}$. In other words, the "nominal" *sḏm.f* and the relative *sḏm.f* are in fact one and the same verb-form, distinguished only by the gender/number endings that attributive use conditions in the latter.

This identification is supported by the clear morphological similarity of the nominal *sḏm.f* and the imperfective relative *sḏm.f*. The same relationship exists between the nominal *sḏm.f* and the active participle. The latter is derived from the former by the addition of gender / number endings *and* by the deletion of the coreferential subject. Subject-deletion is also a secondary process, as illustrated by the Pyramid Texts, which preserve both the participle and the nominal *sḏm.f* in the (non-prospective) *jn N sḏm.(f)* construction:

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[9] Polotsky, *Études*, § 19. Cf. also, more recently, id., *Transpositions*, 1-6.

[10] Cf. Polotsky, *Transpositions*, 5-6.

[11] Edel, *AäG*, § 985, 2.

[12] See Polotsky, *Transpositions*, 14.

(9)   *jn šzmw* rḫs.f (W) / rḫs (T) *sn n NN* (Pyr. 403 a)
"It is Wine-Press that slaughters them for NN."[13]

Besides the imperfective forms, of course, there are also the perfective participle and relative *sḏm.f*. Since these undoubtedly reflect the same transformational process as the imperfective forms, it seems reasonable to expect that they too correspond to a non-attributive nominal form. The latter can be recognized in passages such as example (2), where a *sḏm.f* that is morphologically distinct from the geminated form has clear nominal use; so also after prepositions –

(10)   *ḏr* wd.(j) ' *m twt pn* (Giza II Fig. 219)
"since the time that I set hand to this statue"[14] –

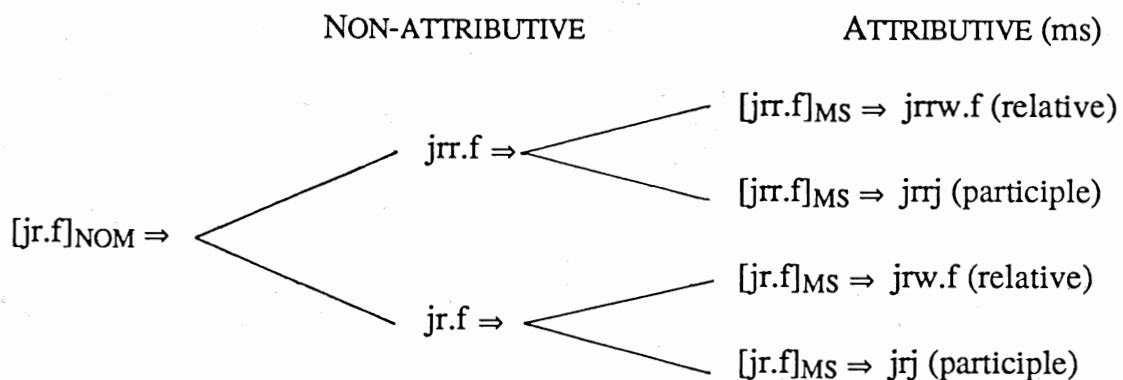and in the "emphatic" negation *nj sḏm.f js*:

(11)   *jm.k '3 jb.k r.f ḥr rḫt.n.k jm.f ḫnt.w*
        snḏ n.f ḫft ḫprt n.f
        nj·jjj js ḫt ds.f (Ptahhotep 178-81 = pPrisse vii 7-8)
"You should not act superior to him because of what you know about him before (he became wealthy).
Be respectful to him in accordance with what has happened to him:
It is not of itself that (his) property came."[15]

Like the attributives, the non-attributive forms also distinguish perfective and imperfective forms: thus,

NON-ATTRIBUTIVE	ATTRIBUTIVE (ms)

$$[jr.f]_{NOM} \Rightarrow$$

$$jrr.f \Rightarrow$$
$$[jrr.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow jrrw.f \text{ (relative)}$$
$$[jrr.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow jrrj \text{ (participle)}$$

$$jr.f \Rightarrow$$
$$[jr.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow jrw.f \text{ (relative)}$$
$$[jr.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow jrj \text{ (participle)}$$

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[13] For the non-prospective *sḏm.f* in this construction, see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 222.

[14] Edel, *AäG*, § 487; cf. § 470 cc for the form. For other examples see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 319. Compare Pyr. 715 *ḏr m33.sn NN j.rnpj.j* "from the time that they see NN rejuvenated."

[15] Cf. Polotsky, *Transpositions*, 47; Allen, *GM* 32 (1979), 10-11.

The clear morphological evidence for this transformational pattern in the indicative $s\underline{d}m.f$ suggests that it may also operate for other categories of the active verb, although these show no distinction in the form of the verb itself between nominal and non-nominal uses. This is particularly likely for the $s\underline{d}m.n.f$: i.e.,

$$[\text{jr.n.f}]_{\text{NOM}} \Rightarrow \qquad \text{jr.n.f} \Rightarrow \quad \begin{array}{l} [\text{jr.n.f}]_{\text{MS}} \Rightarrow \text{jr.n.f (relative)} \\ \\ [\text{jr.n.f}]_{\text{MS}} \Rightarrow \text{- (participle)}.^{16} \end{array}$$

Nominal and non-nominal uses of the $s\underline{d}m.n.f$ are generally understood to involve two different grammatical forms, indistinguishable in writing.[17] The two uses have different formal counterparts in ME (e.g., non-nominal passive $s\underline{d}m.f$ vs. nominal $s\underline{d}m.n.tw.f$),[18] as well as different formal correspondents in later stages of the language.[19] Since intransitive verbs can occur in non-nominal as well as nominal uses, the difference between the two functions of the $s\underline{d}m.n.f$ is not lexically conditioned.[20] It is therefore signalled either contextually or formally. But since the $s\underline{d}m.n.f$ is used after jw, which excludes nominal verb-forms such as the geminated $s\underline{d}m.f$, it cannot be analyzed as a single nominal form capable of non-nominal function. Its non-nominal uses are therefore not contextually determined, and must consequently reflect the existence of separate nominal and non-nominal forms.

A similar analysis is possible for the OE prospective $s\underline{d}m.f$ ("$s\underline{d}mw.f$"), if the prospective attributives proposed by Gunn, and recently supported by Satzinger, are in fact distinct forms of the relative and participle:[21] thus,

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[16] Replaced by the perfective participle. An original participial $jr.n.f \Rightarrow jr.n$ is suggested by the $jn\ N$ $s\underline{d}m.n.f$ construction in the Pyramid Texts, and by what looks like a participial $w'b.n$ "who has become clean" in Pyr. 275 a/c: see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 202, 408, and p. 536 n. 414.

[17] Some verbs – notably $r\underline{d}j$ and jwj/jj – show two different stems in the $s\underline{d}m.n.f$, but this has not been linked to any consistent syntactic or semantic alternation: see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 446-48, 602; and, for jwj/jj, J. Winand's contribution in the present volume.

[18] Polotsky, *RdE* 11 (1957), 109-12 and id., *Egyptian Tenses*, § 23.

[19] See Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969), 1-14; Logan - Westenholz, *JARCE* 9 (1971-72), 111-19; Oikawa, in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, 1, 53-55; Piccione, *Serapis* 6 (1982), 103-13; Groll, in: *Crossroad*, 167-69. Where the $s\underline{d}m.n.f$ has survived in LE, it is the nominal form ("emphatic" or relative), while the non-nominal form has been superseded by the $s\underline{d}m.f$.

[20] The predominantly "emphatic" use of verbs of motion therefore cannot be derived from their *Aktionsart* – *pace* Vernus, in: *Crossroad*, 381. This is not to say that lexical features do not play a role in the observable distribution: see section 4, below.

[21] Gunn, *Studies*, 1-25; Satzinger, in: *Festschrift Westendorf*, 141-49. The morphology of these attributives is still unclear, apart from the 3ae-inf. and immutable verbs. By comparison with the paradigm of the prospective "$s\underline{d}mw.f$" (Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 366-92 and pp. 722-23), we should expect to find

$$[\text{jrjw.f}]_{\text{MS}} \Rightarrow \text{jrjw(j?).f/jrjj.f (relative)}$$

$$[\text{jrjw.f}]_{\text{NOM}} \Rightarrow \text{jrjw.f/jrjj.f} \Rightarrow$$

$$[\text{jrjw.f}]_{\text{MS}} \Rightarrow \text{jrjw(j?)/jrjj (participle)}.$$

Non-nominal use is clearly attested in at least one example where the prospective functions adverbially.[22] For the relationship between non-attributive and attributive nominal forms, note:

(12a) mrw.f (N mrjw.f, Ou mrjj.f) ʿnḫ.ṯn ʿnḫ.ṯn (Pyr. 153 c WNt)
"If he will want you to live, you will live."[23]

(12b) mrw.f (Ou mrjj.f) ʿnḫ.f swt ʿnḫ.f (Pyr. 155 d; sim. 157 d, 159 c)
"The one that he will want to live – it is he that will live."

The prospective sḏm.f is not always distinguishable, either formally or syntactically, from the subjunctive sḏm.f, although the two are clearly separate grammatical forms. Already in the Pyramid Texts, they are found as textual variants in nearly every environment for which the prospective form is attested.[24] The subjunctive sḏm.f has been analyzed as a single nominal form, although it has clearly independent (initial jussive, optative, and intentional future) and adverbial (final) as well as nominal use.[25] Unlike the other nominal(ized) forms, however, it does not seem to have "emphatic" function – i.e., to serve as subject of a following adverbial predicate. Two explanations of this difference are possible. (1) Initial uses, though nominal, reflect an underlying construction in which the subjunctive serves as object of a verb (of desire or intention) that is not expressed in surface structure: i.e.,

(13) ḏ.k n NN wr
wnm NN [jr ḏḏ.k] (Pyr. 560 c M)
"(I request that) you should give greatly to NN:
it is according to your giving that NN will eat."[26]

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gemination in the 2ae-gem. forms and the stem rḏ in those of anom. rḏj. The former is perhaps to be recognized in Pyr. 34 c ḥtpt m33t.k "Contentment is what you will see," paralleled by 3ae-inf. ḥtpt jnt.k "Contentment is what you will get" (hence, perhaps, not the imperfective forms). Gunn's examples of 2ae-gem. m3 and anom. ḏ are mostly inconclusive – but these may have another origin: see below.

[22] See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 285-88, and id., in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, 1, 21-27. Independent use is possible, though not demonstrable: Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 325.

[23] Literally, "That he will want you to live is that you will live." For nominal use, note also CT VII 308 c ḏr jrw.k ḫt nbt r.j "from the moment that you will do anything against me": cf. example (10) and n. 14, above.

[24] See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 265-67.

[25] Polotsky, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 271; Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 255, 290, 364C.

[26] TN have the imperative. See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 255-56.

In this respect the subjunctive would be comparable to French or archaic English, which express such utterances as noun-clauses (e.g., "Que tu donnes"). Alternatively, the inability of the subjunctive to function "emphatically" may be illusory. Examples such as (13) certainly lend themselves to such an interpretation in context ("It is greatly that you should give to NN: it is according to your giving that NN will eat"). Note also:

(14)   ḥm.k *n NN mr ḥmw j3bt m ḫt jmnt*
        jwt.k m ḫt NN mr jwt mḥt m ḫt rsw (Pyr. 554 b-c)
"It is like the east wind's going after the west wind that you should go off to NN;
it is like the north wind's coming after the south wind that you should come after NN."[27]

In that case, we should expect analogous attributive uses to exist as well: i.e.,

$$[\underline{d}.f]_{NOM} \Rightarrow \qquad \underline{d}.f \Rightarrow \begin{cases} [\underline{d}.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow \underline{d}(j).f \text{ (relative)} \\ [\underline{d}.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow \underline{d}(j) \text{ (participle)}^{28} \end{cases}$$

These may in fact be present in some of the prospective examples identified by Gunn and Satzinger: e.g.,

(15)   *'ḥ'.n dwn.n.j rdwj.j r rḫ ḏt.j m r.j* (Sh. S. 45-46)
"Then I stretched my legs to discover what I might put into my mouth."

Some support for this analysis is provided by LE, which preserves (for some verbs) separate nominalizations of the prospective and non-prospective "emphatic" *sḏm.f*.[29] If the subjunctive is capable of "emphatic" use, however, it must also be capable of either independent use or the embedded noun-clause construction discussed above, since there are numerous examples with evident non-"emphatic" value.

The nominal transformation evident in the indicative *sḏm.f* can thus be conjectured to operate in all the active forms of the Early Egyptian verb. The operation of the rule is less certain for passive forms. The passive *sḏm.f*, which has both non-nominal and nominal uses, could also conceal a nominal transformation in its uniform written morphology,

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[27] Similar passages use "emphatic" forms: e.g., Pyr. 385a *j.n NN n gs.f mr jwt nṯr n gs.f* "It is like the coming of a god to his side that NN has come to his side"; sim., Pyr. 489.

[28] Perhaps replaced by the *sḏmtj.f(j)*. But note Pyr. 1479 a-b "It is in the night-bark that you shall lie down, it is in the day-bark that you shall awake," *n ṯwt js m3 ḥr tpj nṯrw, nj nṯr nb m3 ḥr tpj.k* "for it is you that shall look down on the gods: there is no god who shall look down on you."

[29] I.e., prospective *j.jr.f* vs. non-prospective *j.jr.f jr(t)*: Černý - Groll, *LEG*, 382-83.

analogous to the *sḏm.n.f*.[30] The nominal form can also be analyzed as identical to that which appears in passive relative clauses: i.e.,

$$[ms(j).f]_{NOM} \Rightarrow \qquad ms(j).f \Rightarrow \begin{cases} [msj.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow & msjw.f/msjj.f \text{ (relative)} \\ [msj.f]_{MS} \Rightarrow & msjj \text{ (participle).} \end{cases}$$

In this respect it is significant that both the attributive and non-attributive uses are later replaced by the *tw*-passive of the (nominal) *sḏm.n.f*.[31] The situation is far from clear, however. It is not always evident whether passive sense is marked formally or lexically – e.g., for a verb such as *w'b*, which has both transitive and intransitive uses, whether an example such as Pyr. 166b *w'bw nṯrw n m3.f* represents the passive or active attributive form ("at the sight of whom the gods are cleansed/become clean").[32] It is also uncertain that a passive relative (as suggested by this analysis) existed apart from the "extended use of the passive participle."[33] Moreover, the attributives also have an imperfective form. This seems to have no formally similar non-attributive counterpart – unless it is to be recognized in the rare examples collected by Westendorf: e.g., *rḥ.k pss.sn* (pSmith 21, 9) "you will know that they have been cooked" ⇐ *rḥ.k [ps.sn]_{NOM}*.[34] Conversely, the prospective passive *sḏmm.f* has probable "emphatic" function but no evident attributive form – i.e., no **sḏmmt.f jm* "by which he will be heard."[35] The picture is therefore not as clear, and the correspondents not as evident, for the passive forms as they are for the active. This is an area that needs further study.

At least for the active forms however, there is sufficient formal and syntactic evidence to document the existence of the transformational rule discussed here.[36] It is the

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[30] For nominal uses, see Edel, *AäG*, §§ 563, 1008; Polotsky, *Transpositions*, 19-20; Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 491-92.

[31] E.g., Pyr. 27 d *hrw ms.f jm* (BH1Ox 66 *hrw msjj.f jm.f*) = MOR 5 d *hrw ms.n.tw.f jm.f* (Otto, *Mundöffnungsritual* I, 14); CT I 344-45 c *nj msjj.j js msjjt* = *nj ms.n.t.j js msjjt*.

[32] The possibility of such intransitive uses may have existed for every transitive verb, hidden for the most part in forms that have been interpreted as passive. E.g., Pyr. 1965c *ṯ3z.f jr.f m jšst* "With what shall he be(come?) tied together?": *ṯ3z* is regularly transitive, but intransitive use is clearly attested in at least one other passage (CT I 318/319b).

[33] Gardiner, *EG*, §§ 376-77. Cf. Polotsky, *Transpositions*, 7-13.

[34] Westendorf, *ZÄS* 84 (1954), 147-55; id., *GMT*, §§ 257-58.

[35] For nominal use, see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 517-21. Non-nominal uses of the prospective passive cannot be demonstrated with certainty: Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 522, 525.

[36] I have not included the *sḏmt.f*, which has only dependent nominal uses (object of a verb or preposition, and negated). Alone of the nominal forms, it does not seem to correspond to a non-nominal form. It may not even be a finite form: morphologically, it is similar to the complementary infinitive (cf. Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 472-73 and p. 740).

operation of this rule that produces the synthetic nominal forms of the verb. Through it, the verb is enabled to function with the syntactic value of a noun, both non-attributively ("emphatically" and otherwise) and, through secondary marking for gender/number concordance, attributively as well.

2   Adverbial forms

The existence of an adverbial transformation, producing synthetic verb-forms specifically marked for adverbial function, was added to the Standard Theory in Polotsky's *Egyptian Tenses* (1965) and *Transpositions* (1976). The major synchronic arguments for such a transformation are partly syntactic, partly morphological. Syntactically, both the clause of circumstance and major analytic constructions – primarily those in which the verb is preceded by *jw* or (in ME) *'ḥ'.n*, or by a coreferential noun or pronoun (i.e., in the S(UBJECT-)V(ERB) construction), or both – show the same general pattern of complementary forms: transitive *sḏm.n.f*, intransitive stative, and *sḏm.f* (active); and passive *sḏm.f* with nominal subject vs. transitive stative with pronominal subject (passive). Since these environments normally exclude the intransitive *sḏm.n.f* and the *sḏm.n.tw.f*, which have demonstrable nominal/"emphatic" function, as well as nominal forms of the *sḏm.f*, it is apparent that a non-nominal form of the verb is involved. The adverbial character of this form is signalled both by its alternation with the "pseudoverbal" PREPOSITION+INFINITIVE construction as well as by its ability to function as predicate in the "emphatic" construction. Morphologically, the *sḏm.f* shows a distinct form (the "circumstantial" *sḏm.f*); that of other categories is graphically the same as the form found in other syntactic functions.

Not all these arguments have the same weight. The ability to function as predicate of the "emphatic" construction, in particular, is of questionable analytical value, since the same ability is attested for nouns and for what appear to be syntactically independent constructions as well:

(16)   *ḏḏ.f kt hrw n wpt-rnpt* (*Siut* I 298)
"It is (on) New Year's Day that he gives another."[37]

(17)   *msḏḏ.f nj jr.n.f* (Pyr. 412b)
"When he dislikes, he does not act."[38]

For the stative, adverbial function has a paratactic rather than syntactic origin. The stative is morphologically a single form in Early Egyptian, as it is throughout the history of the

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[37] See Polotsky, *Études*, p. 79; Junge, *Syntax*, 114.

[38] See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 437.

language.[39] In LE-Coptic, it has exclusively adverbial function, either as an element in analytic (SV) tenses, or as circumstantial to a previously expressed referent. The same functions are attested in OE-ME, but in these earlier stages the stative is also able to function as an independent predicate.[40] The distinction between independent and adverbial use is conditioned not by the form itself but by the construction in which it is used. In independent use the stative appears by itself, in clause-initial position: e.g.,

(18)   h3.k(j) *r w3w3t* (Urk. I 137, 7)
"I went to Wawat."

(19)   'ḥ'.t(j) *m ḫnt jtrtj* (Pyr. 731a Nt 477)[41]
"Stand in front of the Double Shrine!"

When used adverbially, the stative has a preceding subject. This is self-evident in analytic tenses, where the construction is that of the adverbial-predicate pattern SV. The same construction underlies circumstantial uses, but with the preceding subject either deleted as redundant or raised to function as an element of the governing clause: i.e.,

(20)   *gm.n.f sw* dj.j *ḥr gs.f* (Pyr. 1033b)
"He found him laid on his side."

(21)   *gm.n.(j) ḥq3 jm3m* šm *r.f r t3 ṯmḥ* (Urk. I 125, 15-16)
"I found the ruler of Iam gone to Tjemeh-land."

In (20) the circumstantial form derives from the parataxis of the two statements *gm.n.f sw* (since the object was in fact "found") and **sw dj.j ḥr gs.f*, with the subject of the second clause subsequently deleted as redundant. Example (21) derives from an underlying *gm.n.(j)* [*ḥq3 jm3m šm r.f r t3 ṯmḥ*]$_{NOM}$ (since the "ruler of Iam" was not in fact "found"),

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[39] F. Kammerzell has recently proposed that the prefix (*j.*) and the desinence *-j/w* reflect original morphological distinctions in the stative: *GM* 117/118 (1990), 181-202, and his contribution in the present volume. Both of these came to my attention too late for full argument here. I would question his analysis, however, primarily because I am convinced that the distinction between "perfect" vs. "stative," "active" vs. "passive," and "independent" vs. "dependent" values of the form is illusory: the various values of the stative can all be linked to a single root meaning of the form (see below). Moreover, the differences Kammerzell has observed between the Pyramid Texts and other sources belong to a realm of verbal orthography that is not limited to the stative alone: for instance, the prefix is rare for *all* verb-forms outside the Pyramid Texts, and the lack of desinence in the 1s perfect of the OK tomb biographies can be compared with the absence of the written 1s suffix *.j* in the same sources. Within the Pyramid Texts, final *-j* appears in the "Perfekt" as well as the "Pseudopartizip": note especially 1138 b P' *ḫ'.k m nswt* (1s) – which Kammerzell identifies as "Perfekt" (*GM* 117/118 (1990), 199) – corrected to 1138 b P *ḫ'.j m nswt* (3ms, as throughout the same text, not 1s *sḏm.f*) = 1138 b M *ḫ' NN m nswt*.

[40] Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 58-66; Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 590-91; Gardiner, *EG*, §§ 312-13.

[41] N has the imperative *'ḥ'* "Stand up!" See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 591.

with the stative's subject subsequently raised to function as object of $gm.n.(j)$.[42] The stative's adverbial function is thus signalled by usage rather than form.[43] Since the form itself is capable of independent as well as adverbial use, it is probably not marked syntactically for the latter.[44] The stative therefore appears to be either an independent form that is capable of adverbial use, or a form that is unmarked for syntactic function. In either case, at least one of its syntactic functions is conditioned by usage rather than by a specific syntactic transformation.

The possibility that adverbial function is signalled by usage rather than form should be considered for the other synthetic forms as well. Of these, the prospective $sdm.f$ ("$sdmw.f$") is not well-enough attested in adverbial use to indicate the existence of either a formal or paratactic origin of the function.[45] The grammatical form of the subjunctive in adverb-clauses is equally uncertain, though much better attested. Despite Polotsky's argument for an adverbial form,[46] adverbial use of the noun, both circumstantially and as predicate of the "emphatic" sentence (example (16)), indicates that the subjunctive $sdm.f$ could be a nominal form equally capable of both uses – as it is usually analyzed. The fact that it does not occur in the SV construction, except as predicate in the "emphatic" sentence, suggests that its adverbial value in the clause of purpose does not have an analytic origin. Whether we are to understand the form as exclusively nominal, however, must remain an open question for the moment. Its exclusion from the non-"emphatic" adverbial-predicate construction could have a semantic rather than syntactic basis. Since that construction is essentially a situational predication, it may exclude predicates that are modally non-indicative.[47]

The passive $sdm.f$, like the subjunctive, can occur adverbially as predicate of an "emphatic" form and in circumstantial clauses, but not as predicate in the analytic SV

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[42] See Allen, in: *Crossroad*, 14-15. Cf. also Junge, *Syntax*, 32-34; and for LE, Černý - Groll, *LEG*, 193 and 198-201. For the underlying structure, cf. Sh. S. 61 $gm.n.j$ $hf3w$ pw "I found it was a serpent": Junge, *Syntax*, 42.

[43] Cf. Vernus, in: *Crossroad*, 382.

[44] T.G. Allen, *JAOS* 49 (1929), 160-67, suggested that initial uses such as that in example (18) are in fact circumstantial clauses, but this has been generally rejected. For a useful survey of the literature, see Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 57-58.

[45] The single demonstrable adverbial example – Pyr. 596 c P jw NN pn $mdww.f$ "This NN will dispute" – occurs in the SV construction. See note 22 above.

[46] *Transpositions*, 32.

[47] Although the construction itself can be used to express a wish or command: Edel, *AäG*, §§ 906bb, 915ß; Gardiner, *EG*, § 118, 1.

construction.[48] Its subject in such uses is usually nominal,[49] with the stative as pronominal counterpart. Since adverbial use is not conditioned analytically, it must be signalled either formally, or otherwise by context. The relative infrequency of pronominal forms suggests the latter: the stative is substituted because, among other reasons, it can be used in the (embedded) adverbial-predicate construction, while the passive lacks both the ability to function as predicate in the same construction and a specifically adverbial form (which we might otherwise expect to be used). Since only nominal uses of the passive *sdm.f* are replaced by *sdm.n.tw.f* in ME, it is unlikely that the passive is uniformly nominal, despite its graphic uniformity. These considerations suggest that non-nominal uses reflect a single grammatical form. Since that form is capable of independent as well as adverbial use, it would appear to be either syntactically unmarked, or marked for independent use, with adverbial use conditioned by context alone.[50]

The *sdm.n.f* can occur as adverbial predicate in the analytic SV construction, though it does so infrequently.[51] Like the passive and subjunctive *sdm.f*, however, this construction cannot be used to explain all adverbial uses of the form, since the *sdm.n.f* also occurs in circumstantial clauses with a nominal (i.e., non-coreferential) subject:

(22)   *nb jrp m w3h*
        jp.n *sw tr.f*
        sh3.n *sw nw.f* (Pyr. 1524 a-b)
"The lord of wine is in fullness,
his season having recognized him,
his time having remembered him."

Although this usage is attested primarily for transitive verbs, it is not lexically conditioned, since the transitive form is also used independently,[52] and examples of circumstantial clauses with intransitive verbs occur as well: e.g.,

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[48] For OE see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 497-98; Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 93-96. The two examples of SUBJECT-*sdm.f* passive cited by Doret (*Narrative Verbal System*, 96) are not analytic tenses but involve the circumstantial use of the passive as virtual relative after an undefined antecedent (Urk. I 51, 13/16 *šd.f*).

[49] Though not exclusively: see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 498, and the preceding note.

[50] For independent use see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 502-503. Verbs with strong final radicals sometimes show a final -*jj* or -*j*. This feature seems to be limited primarily to the Pyramid Texts, for dual or plural subject (Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 511-15), and so does not indicate a separate independent form. For the adverbial use of independent constructions, cf. example (17) above; this possibility is discussed in greater detail below. The independent use survives in LE: Černý - Groll, *LEG*, 242-47.

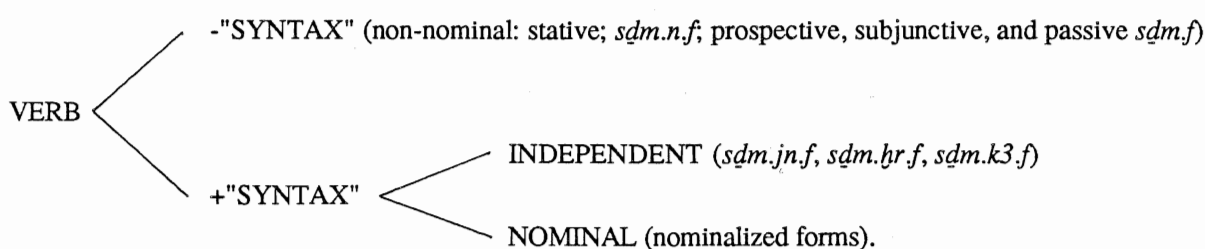[51] Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 414-17.

[52] *Ibid.*, § 432.

(23)   *NN p rḏw ḥjj pr.f jm* ḫpr.n *mw* (1146a P)
"NN is the efflux of the flood, from which he emerged after water had come into being";
cf. also examples (4) and (5) above.

Whether adverbial and independent uses are formally or contextually conditioned cannot be decided on the basis of syntax alone. By comparison with the passive *sḏm.f*, which regularly appears as its passive counterpart in independent and adverbial uses,[53] the non-nominal *sḏm.n.f* would appear to be a single form, capable of both uses.

The non-nominal forms considered thus far are alike in two respects: all are morphologically uniform, and all are capable of independent as well as adverbial use. The existence of a distinct adverbial form, as opposed to a single non-nominal alternant capable of both independent and adverbial use, cannot be demonstrated unequivocally for any of them. The principle of simplicity alone would therefore argue that all non-nominal uses most likely reflect a single grammatical form. Because it is in fact used adverbially as well as independently, this form is probably unmarked syntactically for either use. Syntactic marking is a grammatical feature of those forms that are specifically – i.e., exclusively – either nominal or independent: i.e.,

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                -"SYNTAX" (non-nominal: stative; sḏm.n.f; prospective, subjunctive, and passive sḏm.f)

VERB

                                    INDEPENDENT (sḏm.jn.f, sḏm.ḫr.f, sḏm.k3.f)
                +"SYNTAX"
                                    NOMINAL (nominalized forms).
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The existence of a syntactically unmarked category is in fact demonstrable for nonverbal and analytic verbal constructions. The former include both nominal-predicate and simple adverbial-predicate (NOUN-ADVERB/PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE) sentences; the latter, ME sentences introduced (for example) by *jw*.[54] The same possibility can therefore be conjectured for the non-nominal synthetic verb-forms as well.

The only formal evidence for the existence of separate independent and adverbial synthetic verb-forms in Early Egyptian is the contrast between the two forms of the indicative *sḏm.f* labelled "indicative" and "circumstantial" in the Standard Theory. These

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[53] See *ibid.*, §§ 498, 502.

[54] Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, §§ 125 and 127, 1; 117; 323, 463.

have generally been analyzed as syntactic alternants of a single grammatical form: the "indicative" *sḏm.f* as syntactically independent, the "circumstantial" *sḏm.f* as its adverbial transform. Insofar as this is accurate, it would appear to be primary evidence for an adverbial transformation, which could then be assumed to apply in other verb-forms as well. It is possible, however, that the "indicative" and "circumstantial" *sḏm.f* are not syntactic alternants but separate grammatical tenses, with similar rather than complementary ranges of syntactic usage.

The "indicative" form has been identified in independent uses and in the past negation *nj sḏm.f*. The negation is common to OE and ME; independent use is primarily a feature of OE. The form expresses past or perfect tense in the negation.[55] The same tense is evident in most independent uses, although examples with general present tense also seem to occur.[56] Independent examples with past tense have a paradigmatic relationship with the stative and the *sḏm.n.f*. In tomb-biographies, the *sḏm.f* regularly has a nominal subject, and the independent stative functions as its pronominal counterpart.[57] In the Pyramid Texts this relationship is attested for intransitive verbs only, and the *sḏm.n.f* is used as transitive counterpart (e.g., example (6)).[58] The independent form is not limited to use with nominal subjects, however:

(24)   *ḫnw m pt*
        m3.n *m3t j.n.sn nṯrw p3wtjw* (Pyr. 304 a-b W)
"A commotion in the sky!
'We saw something new,' say the original gods."[59]

The "circumstantial" *sḏm.f* has been identified primarily in the analytic SUBJECT-*sḏm.f* construction and in clauses of concomitant circumstance. The latter use is not limited to the embedded analytic construction:

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[55] Examples with present tense (Gunn, *Studies*, 97-103; Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 335) are discussed below. Those with future or optative sense (Gunn, *Studies*, 103-105) contain either the subjunctive or prospective ("*sḏmw.f*") form: this is an OE construction (Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 360-63); apart from future *nj wnn*, most ME survivals occur in religious texts.

[56] For the latter, see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 303-306; Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, n. 2.

[57] Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 24-27, 57-66.

[58] Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 308-11. The same relationship survives in some later religious texts: e.g., example (3) above.

[59] See *ibid.*, § 308. Teti's copy has *m3.n.n* (not **m3n.n*: see Allen, *ibid.*, § 45). Most MK copies show Unis's *m3.n* (with plural strokes in CT IV 158a S1C[b]). Sq6C has the significant variant *j m3t r ḥr.n* "Something new has come to our attention" (CT IV 158 a). *Pace* Osing, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 163, and Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 26, the pronominal form does exist, though it is rarely attested outside the negative. The attested distribution may have a semantic basis: see section 4, below. A possible example from the tomb-biographies is Urk. I 99, 5 *sḏm.(j) ḫt w'.k(j)* "I heard the case by myself," although the context suggests an "emphatic" interpretation (perfective nominal form!).

(25)   *nj šp NN d.k sw m kkw* (Pyr. 499b)
"NN will not become blind, with you putting him in darkness."

In these uses the *sdm.f* expresses action in process, either as concomitant circumstantial or as a present tense:

(26a)   *ntrw nbw m h'wt dd.sn nfrw NN* (Pyr. 3a)
"All the gods are in a state of excitement, saying: 'How perfect is NN!'"

(26b)   *ntrw nbw dd.sn bw m3' pw* (Pyr. 4c)
"All the gods are saying: 'It is correct'."

The analytic construction can also express general (present) action:

(27)   *jw r n z nhm.f sw* (Sh. S. 17-18)
"The mouth of a man saves him."

This seems to be a secondary development, alongside the development of the analytic First Present SUBJECT-*hr-sdm* as an expression of action in process; in the Pyramid Texts, which do not have the First Present construction, SUBJECT-*sdm.f* conveys only the notion of action in process.[60]

If the "indicative" and "circumstantial" *sdm.f* are syntactic alternants of a single grammatical tense, these different semantic values indicate that the tense is not marked either temporally (past vs. non-past) or aspectually (*accompli* vs. *inaccompli* and/or *extensif* vs. *non-extensif*).[61] If the two forms are not merely syntactic alternants, however, they can be identified as separate tenses with contrasting aspectual and/or temporal values. In that case, we should expect to find both used independently and adverbially. Independent uses of the "circumstantial" form may in fact be represented by examples with non-past tense: e.g., in particular, initial *mr.f/msd.f* "he likes/dislikes." Such uses are well attested in the Pyramid Texts, where the bare initial form is semantically contrastive with the SUBJECT-*sdm.f* construction, expressing general present action (like *mr.f/msd.f*) as opposed to action in process: e.g.,

(28)   *NN pj k3 j3hwj hr jb jrt.f*
       wd3 r NN m hh
       tpj NN m wpt nb-šm'w
       sšm NN ntr
       shm NN m psdt

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[60] See Allen, in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979, 1,* 20-21; Vernus, in: *Festschrift Westendorf,* 208-209. The diachronic relationship of the two analytic tenses is discussed in detail in Vernus, *Future at Issue,* 183-91.

[61] For the aspectual terms see Vernus, in: *Crossroad,* 376-81.

srd *NN ḫsbḏ*

3g *NN twn šm'w* (Pyr. 513)

"NN is a bull with sunlight in the middle of each eye.

NN's mouth is red with fire.

NN's head has the horns of the Lord of the Nile Valley.

NN leads the god.

NN controls the Ennead.

NN makes the lapis-lazuli grow.

NN plants the Nile-Valley *twn*."

It is also possible that the "circumstantial" form contrasts with the "indicative" in the negation *nj sḏm.f*: e.g.,

(29)   nj jn.tw *ḥtpt r dmj*

          jw jn.tw 'qw wn 3q (Ptahhotep 348-49 = pPrisse xi 4)

"Contentment is never brought to port [i.e., is never fully realized].

Friends are brought when there is trouble."

In this respect the "circumstantial" form will be comparable to the other non-nominal forms, most of which are also used after *nj* in OE.[62] This construction may then underlie some of the present-tense examples of *nj sḏm.f* noted throughout Early Egyptian.

Adverbial use of the "indicative" form can probably be identified in some examples of the SUBJECT-*sḏm.f* construction expressing single past acts: e.g.,

(30)   *m.k r.f* n jj.n *m ḥtp* (Sh. S. 10-11)

"So you can see we have returned in safety."

(31)   smrw nw stp-z3 h3b.sn *r gs jmntj r rḏt rḫ z3-nswt* (Sin. R 17-18)

"The Friends of the Palace sent to the western side to inform the prince."

The "indicative" probably also occurs in some instances of *jw sḏm.f* – such as that cited in example (7) above, which shows the same counterpart relationship between the *sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* as in initial uses of the "indicative" form (example (6)).[63] The "circumstantial" form has been identified in the same environment.[64] In the Standard Theory, the slot after *jw* is an adverbial environment. The same applies to ME *'ḥ'.n* constructions; these also provide examples of the "indicative" form:

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[62] See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 353, 434, 506, 527.

[63] The counterpart relationship after *jw* is not limited to the Pyramid Texts: cf. Westendorf, *GMT*, § 128, 1b. For formal evidence of the "indicative" after *jw*, note possibly *jw m3.j* "I saw": Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 31; cf. Vernus, in: *Festschrift Westendorf*, 204 n. 36.

[64] Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 41, and *Transpositions*, 32-36.

(32)   ʿḥ'.n rd.f *wj m r.f* (Sh. S. 76)
"Then he put me in his mouth."

Such constructions indicate that the distinction between the two *sdm.f* forms labelled
"indicative" and "circumstantial" can be analyzed perhaps more consistently as semantic
rather than syntactic in nature. Each seems to be capable of independent as well as adverbial
use, without formal distinction, like the other non-nominal forms discussed in this section.
That being the case, there is neither formal nor syntactic evidence for the existence of an
adverbial transformation of the synthetic forms in Early Egyptian.[65] Adverbial use is
signalled either analytically – through the SV construction or by markers such as *sk* – or
contextually. Contextual marking also accounts for the ability of most non-nominal forms
to express continuative as well as circumstantial statements in dependent clauses.[66]

3   Meaning

The analysis proposed here indicates that the synthetic forms of the Early Egyptian verb can
be divided into those marked for syntactic function (nominal, and possibly also independ-
ent, forms) and those which are syntactically unmarked. The latter include the stative,
sdm.n.f, passive *sdm.f*, prospective *sdm.f* ("*sdmw.f*"), subjunctive *sdm.f*, two forms of
the indicative *sdm.f* (the "indicative" and "circumstantial" forms of the Standard Theory),
and possibly also the prospective passive *sdm.f* ("*sdmw.f*"/*sdmm.f*). Because they are
syntactically unmarked, these seven or eight forms clearly express primary differences in
meaning rather than function. It is those semantic values that determine their role in the
synthetic verbal system.

Of the forms in question, the semantic value seems to be most clearly marked in the
prospective and subjunctive *sdm.f*. The prospective appears to be a synthetic future tense
(so also for the prospective passive), while the subjunctive is a marked modal form: these
values can be recognized in all uses of the forms.[67] The "indicative" *sdm.f* uniformly
expresses completed action, and may therefore be marked either temporally (+past) or
aspectually (+*accompli*). The "circumstantial" form denotes either general action (e.g.,
example (28)) or action in process (e.g., example (26a-b)). Since the latter can be
concomitant, in circumstantial clauses, with past, present, or future actions,[68] the form is

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[65] Cf. Satzinger, in: *Crossroad*, 309; id., *WZKM* 79 (1989), 214.

[66] For continuative uses see Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 291-92, 422-23, 589. Cf. also Johnson,
Serapis 6 (1982), 69-73; Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 133-50; Junge, *JEA* 72 (1986), 119-20.

[67] See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 364.

[68] See Allen, in: *Essays on Egyptian Grammar*, 7.

temporally unmarked. Its generally contrastive distribution with the "indicative" *sḏm.f* suggests an aspectual relationship – i.e., *inaccompli* vs. *accompli*.[69] Which of these features is in fact marked with respect to the other cannot be determined at this point; I will come back to this problem in section 5, below. On the basis of their aspectual relationship, however, we can more appropriately label the two forms for the time being "perfective" (= "indicative") and "imperfective" (= "circumstantial").

The *sḏm.n.f* – and, for the most part, its passive counterpart, the passive *sḏm.f*[70] – is also generally associated with completed action. Unlike the perfective *sḏm.f* (and its passive, the perfective *sḏm.tj.f/sḏm.tw.f*),[71] however, the meaning of the *sḏm.n.f* and the passive *sḏm.f* contains a pragmatic feature as well as an aspectual one. Where the perfective *sḏm.f* expresses completed action, the *sḏm.n.f* and passive *sḏm.f* denote action completed *with respect to some point of reference*. This is most readily appreciable in circumstantial clauses. When they employ the *sḏm.n.f* or passive *sḏm.f*, such clauses qualify the action of the governing clause as taking place within a circumstance characterized by the previous completion of some other action:

(33)   *gm.n.sn wsjr* ndj.n *sw sn.f stš r t3* (Pyr. 1256 a-b)
"They found Osiris (in the situation characterized by) his brother Seth having thrown him down."

(34)   *gm.(j) tw* t3z ḥr.k *m z3b* (Pyr. 1995a)[72]
"I shall find you (in the situation characterized by) your face having been tied on as a jackal."

The forms in such clauses express action completed with respect to the time of the governing clause rather than as merely completed – i.e., as prior rather than past. The perfective *sḏm.f*, which lacks this pragmatic feature, does not occur in clauses of circumstance. The aspectual element of all three forms accounts for their regular association with completed action. The pragmatic feature of the *sḏm.n.f* and passive *sḏm.f* accounts for their lack of specific temporal association, since the reference-point may shift. In circumstantial use, it is coincident with that of the governing-clause; in continuative clauses, it is subsequent; and in independent use, it is congruent with that of the utterance itself. Since the reference-point is contextually determined, this accounts for the ability of both forms to express past (independent), prior (circumstantial), and subsequent (continuative) action.

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[69] For the opposition, see Vernus, in: *Crossroad*, 376.

[70] For the counterpart relationship, see Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 93-95, 129-30, 171; Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 498, 502, 506.

[71] Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 28-29.

[72] Text from the pyramid of Pepi I: Leclant, *RdE* 27 (1975), 141 (P/N 3). For a similar example see Pyr. 2090 a-b (Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 514C).

And since the same feature is lacking in the *sḏm.f*, this explains that form's consistent simple past value.

The pragmatic feature is related to a further distinction between the perfective *sḏm.f* and the *sḏm.n.f*/passive *sḏm.f*. The meaning of the *sḏm.n.f* and passive *sḏm.f* involves a conceptual hiatus between the completed action itself and the subject of that action: the subject stands at the end of the process signified by the action, either as agent (*sḏm.n.f*) or patient (passive *sḏm.f*). The temporal span of the action may extend from its inception to a point that includes the moment of speaking –

(35)   *jtjj ʿnḫ (w)ḏꜣ s(nb) nb.j jw* jn.n.j *ḏdj pn* (pWestcar 8, 8)
"Sovereign lph, my lord, I have brought this Djedji" –

or it may extend to a point that lies in the past with respect to the subject's point of reference –

(36)   *jw* rḏ.n.(j) *t n ḥqr ḥbs n ḫꜣjj* (Urk. I 133, 2-3)
"I have given bread to the hungry and clothes to the naked."

In either case, it is viewed as completed from the agent's or patient's point of view. This relationship is typical of perfect tenses. The hiatus between the reference-point of the action and that of the subject is expressed in many languages by means of a statement of possession, in which the action is denoted as an acquisition of the subject – i.e., *I have done it ⇐ I have [it done]* – rather than as one performed by (or on) the subject (*I did it*).[73] In Egyptian, the same hiatus (though differently expressed) probably explains the general present tense of the *sḏm.n.f* and passive *sḏm.f* when negated by *nj*. What is negated is not the action itself, but the subject's relationship to it: e.g., Pyr. *1938b (Nt 767 = P F/Se 70) *nj gm.n.(j) sw*, "Not [I have [him found]]" = "I do not/cannot find him." In contrast, the perfective negation *nj sḏm.f* negates the action itself (or the subject's performance of it) and therefore retains the past reference of the affirmative: e.g., Urk. I 264, 10 *nj gm.(j) mjtt* "Not [I found the like]" = "I did not find the like."

Among the non-nominal forms, the stative clearly has the broadest range of usage, and is therefore probably least marked grammatically. Although it most often expresses state, it is also used with reference to action, both past (example (18)) and future or subjunctive:

(37)   wḏ.tj *mdw nṯrw sḫm js ḫnt [sḫmw]* (Pyr. 2110d N)
"Govern the gods, as a power at the head of the powers!"[74]

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[73] The hiatus is even clearer in Scottish Gaelic: *Tha mi air a dhèanamh* "I have done it," literally "I am after its doing."

[74] The jussive sense is indicated by the imperative *wḏ mdw* in later copies. Most examples of the stative with future/subjunctive sense are stative in meaning (example (19)), though some transitive verbs can have

Its value is generally indicative, but can also be subjunctive, both independently (example (19)) and in clauses of purpose or result:

(38)   *sḥtp.j nṯrwj* ḥtp.wjj (Pyr. 1148c P original text)
"I shall pacify the two gods, so that they may be content."[75]

Transitive verbs usually have passive sense in the stative, both adverbially (example (20)) and independently –

(39)   ḥz.k(j) *ḥr.s jn nb* (Urk. I 255, 5)
"I was praised for it by the Lord" –

but can also have active meaning in independent uses, both future/subjunctive (example (37)) and past:

(40)   qrs.k(j) *z pn m jz.f* (Urk. I 140, 8)
"I buried this man in his tomb."

Of these functions, only the active use of transitive verbs seems to be syntactically conditioned, since it is limited to independent examples. Intransitive verbs, however, seem capable of active (rather than stative) sense in adverbial function as well:

(41)   *jw h3b.n ḥm n nb.(j) r jrt wsḫtj ʿ3t m w3w3t r sḫdt tḫnwj ʿ3 r jwnw*
        jw.(j) pr.k(j) *r w3w3t ḥnʿ ṯ3zt nt mšʿ 5*
"The Incarnation of my lord sent to make two big barges in Wawat in order to send two big obelisks downstream to Heliopolis.
I went out to Wawat with 5 gangs of troops."[76]

It is not easy to see how these various uses can be combined in a single grammatical description. Nonetheless, as a single grammatical form the stative must have a single basic meaning, which should underlie ultimately all surface uses of the form.[77] Given the range of its usage, it is evident that the stative is neither temporally nor modally marked. In most of its uses the form expresses either completed action or the state that results from the

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active connotations: e.g., Pyr. 2119 a N *wnḫ.tj ḏt.k* "Wear your body!" – i.e., "Be dressed (in) your body!" See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 591.

[75] See Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 589.

[76] Habachi, *Sixteen Studies of Lower Nubia*, 21, fig. 5. The same value appears in LE: Černý - Groll, *LEG*, 283.

[77] Diachronic development is not an answer. Most uses of the form can be attested synchronically, even within a single text: *jw.(j) h3.k(j) ʿrq.n.(j) wj3 m ʿ.(j), jn.k(j) jm mhj.j m mw* (Hatnub Gr. 4, 4-5 – temp. Pepi II) "I have come down, having bound up a boat personally; I brought (it) back from here, afloat in the water." Moreover, the stative's range of usage decreases rather than broadens with time, suggesting that most uses are original to the form.

completion of an action, but it can also denote state merely as such, without the implication of a previous completed action.[78] This suggests that it is aspectually unmarked as well.

In most of its uses, the stative expresses state rather than action. This is probably uniformly true for intransitive verbs: active connotations such as those in example (41) can be compared with the use of stative constructions such as French *je suis sorti* or German *ich bin herausgegangen* as expressions of the past tense. Like the past participles used in these modern analogues, the intransitive stative often implies a prior completed action, but not all intransitives necessarily convey the same implication:

(42)   *ḫft ḏdt.n.f jm sk sw ꜥnḫ ḥr rdwj.f* (Urk. I 8, 16-17)
"according to what he had said about it when he was alive on his two feet" –

hardly "when he had come to life." This suggests that the implication of completed action is a lexically transmitted feature, and not one of the stative itself.

If this is the case for intransitive verbs, it is probably true for transitive verbs as well, at least in adverbial use: i.e., the implication of prior action derives not from the stative itself but from the *Aktionsart* of the transitive verb. Since such verbs regularly denote action performed on some object, their use in an expression of state regularly implies the action that has produced that state. In (20), for instance, the stative *dj.j ḥr gs.f* denotes the state in which the object of the main clause was "found"; because of its *Aktionsart*, it also implies a prior action leading to that state (cf. example (33)).

Given the uniform stative meaning of the form in all these uses, it is a fair assumption that the same meaning somehow underlies the initial use of transitive verbs with active sense, such as that illustrated in example (40). In French, German, and English – to choose a few comparisons – the expression of verbal state is denoted where possible by means of an adjectival construction. As a simple expression of state rather than completed action, the stative can also be analyzed as a statement that predicates a quality of its subject.[79] This characteristic is readily appreciable for intransitive verbs. It is also perceptible for transitive verbs without object, in independent as well as adverbial use: e.g., example (39) *ḥz.k(j)* "I was praised" (i.e., "ich war gelobt," not "ich wurde gelobt") ⇐ [[*ḥz*]QUAL *kj*], where the quality "praised" is predicated of the 1s subject. When an object is present, as in example (40), the quality predicated is a verb-*phrase* rather than a simple verb: i.e., *qrs.k(j) z pn* ⇐ [[*qrs z pn*]QUAL *kj*]. In this respect the stative is functionally analogous to the adjectival *nfr sw* construction with an active participle and direct object: e.g.,

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[78] Vernus, in: *Festschrift Westendorf*, 207 n. 58. See also example (42) below.

[79] Cf. Schenkel, *Suffixkonjugation*, 71; Loprieno, *Verbalsystem*, 97-99, 152-78. A similar origin has been proposed for the Akkadian stative: Gelb, *Sequential Reconstruction of Proto-Akkadian*, 211; Buccellati, *JNES* 27 (1968), 1-12; Buccellati, in: *Fucus*, 153-89.

(43)   jr sw ḏdt

      3ḫ sw m jb n nb.f (Hamm. 114, 7)

"He is 'does what is said,'

he is effective with respect to the wish of his lord,"

where *jr sw ḏdt* ⇐ [[*jr ḏdt*]$_{\text{QUAL}}$ *sw*]. The distinction between the stative and adjectival constructions lies in the nature of the predicate and not in the connotation of the predication itself. Both are predications of quality. The stative predicates a state of its subject; the adjectival construction, a quality per se. The two are obviously quite close in meaning – hence their occasional appearance as textual variants of one another.[80]

      This analysis accounts for the apparent diathesis between the independent "active" and dependent "passive" transitive stative. What marks the diathesis is merely the presence or absence of a direct object. This is a contextual feature, not one that is signalled in the form or meaning of the stative itself.[81] The stative itself is indifferent (unmarked) as to voice. Like the infinitive, it can have "active" or "passive" sense, depending on the context and construction in which it is used. It is clear, of course, that the stative of transitive verbs was occasionally felt as a passive – for example, in its paradigmatic relationship with the passive *sḏm.f* in circumstantial clauses. I suspect this is because the sense of the form was in fact ambiguous *in usage* in much the same way that the English past participle is ambiguous: e.g., example (39) *ḥz.k(j)* = English "I was praised," which can denote both the passive ("Ich wurde gelobt") and an adjectival expression of state ("Ich war gelobt"). This ambiguity also accounts for the occasional use of the transitive stative with an agent specified by *jn*.[82] The existence of this usage, however, does not indicate that the stative in question was in fact passive, any more than the identical use of *jn* with the infinitive indicates the existence of a passive infinitive.

4   Usage

The meaning of the non-nominal forms determines their productive usage in the extant texts. To the extent that the analysis in section 2 is accurate, that usage cannot be explained on the basis of syntactic function. In itself, however, the basic meaning of a form is not always sufficient to account for observable usage. Often, usage is the result of a more complex interaction between the basic (formal) meaning, the lexical features of the verb

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[80] Westendorf, *GMT*, § 171.

[81] Note, in particular, the example cited in note 76, above, where the object of initial *jn.k(j)* is implied rather than expressed: only the *context* indicates that this is "active" ("I brought") rather than "passive" ("I was brought").

[82] Edel, *AäG*, §§ 587, 589; Gardiner, *EG*, 42 n. 1.

denoted in the form, and the context in which the form is used. This is particularly true for the four forms used as past tenses in OE: the perfective *sḏm.f*, the *sḏm.n.f* and passive *sḏm.f*, and the stative. The formal meanings noted in the preceding section provide three ways of describing past events: as completed action (perfective *sḏm.f*), as action completed relative to some point of reference (*sḏm.n.f* and passive *sḏm.f*), and as state implying a completed action (stative). How these manifest themselves in actual usage depends not only on the formal meaning but on lexical and pragmatic (contextual) factors as well.

In general, it is evident that the use of the *sḏm.n.f* and stative is governed largely by lexical considerations – transitive vs. intransitive, respectively. This reflects a fundamental distinction between the two kinds of *Aktionsart*. Typically, transitive verbs denote action that originates in an agent and ends in a separate patient, the direct object. Intransitive verbs, on the other hand, characteristically denote a change in the state of their subject. For such verbs there is a natural tendency to view completed action in terms of the resultant state rather than the action itself. This is a phenomenon that is not limited to Egyptian. It is also visible in the past-tense constructions of modern French and colloquial German: e.g., *pr.kj* "je suis sorti / ich bin herausgegangen" vs. *jr.n.j* "j'ai fait / ich habe getan."

This general lexically-conditioned relationship between the *sḏm.n.f* and the stative is visible not only in circumstantial clauses and compounds with *jw* and other analytic constructions, as Polotsky has pointed out,[83] but in initial uses of the synthetic forms as well:

(44)   *jw jr.n.j mr ḥʿw*
        ḫnt.kw pḥ.n.j ȝbw
        ḫd.kw pḥ.n.j mḥjt (Hatnub Gr. 14, 5-6)
"I did (the job of) overseer of transport-ships.
I went upstream and reached Elephantine,
I went downstream and reached the Delta."[84]

Because this reflects a tendency of the language rather than a grammatical rule, however, exceptions to the general pattern of distribution can also be noted. For intransitive verbs, the use of the *sḏm.n.f* rather than the stative indicates a focus on the action itself rather than its resultant state. A good example is the circumstantial use of *ḥm.n.sn* in example (5), where the prior *action* of "having (once) gone away" – and not the concomitant *state* of "being gone away" – forms the background to the statement of the main clause "Your sisters have come back."

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[83] *Egyptian Tenses*, §§ 22-42.

[84] For the opposite order (*sḏm.n.f*-stative) cf. Pyr. 300c W *jṯ.n.f ḥw sḫm m sjȝ* "He has taken possession of Announcement, he has gained control of Perception" = T *jṯ.n NN pn ḥw sḫm NN pn m sjȝ*, CT VII 235m *jṯ.n.j ḥw sḫm.n.j m sjȝ*. For examples with nominal subject, cf. Pyr. 1426a-b, 1627b-29a.

Since both circumstantial and independent clauses involve the same (non-nominal) form – as argued in section 2 – it is conceivable that the same semantic consideration governs the use of some examples of the initial intransitive *sḏm.n.f* as well: i.e., *pr.n.j* "I have come forth" (action) vs. *pr.kj* "I am come forth" (state). While the existence of such a usage can be conjectured on the basis of its existence in circumstantial clauses, in practice it cannot be distinguished from the "emphatic" use of the nominal *sḏm.n.f*, since there is no formal distinction in writing and because all examples occur with an adverbial adjunct, which could function as predicate of the nominal form. The regular presence of an adjunct has been used in the Standard Theory as evidence for the uniformly nominal character of the initial intransitive *sḏm.n.f*. But this feature has an equally valid pragmatic basis as well. Egyptian can express the completion of an intransitive action by means of the stative either with or without an adverbial adjunct. Such statements indicate that the past action is viewed in its completion with respect to the subject – i.e., as the subject's resultant state. But the presence of an adjunct also offers the possibility of viewing the action with respect to that adjunct rather than the subject.[85] In that case, the stative is less appropriate, and is replaced by the *sḏm.n.f*. Whether the attendant shift in focus uniformly requires predication of the adjunct (and nominalization of the verb-form) is unclear. Uses such as that in example (1) suggest at least the possibility that it does not. The distinction between the stative and the (non-nominal) *sḏm.n.f* then lies in the reference-point from which the past action is viewed as completed: in the stative, with reference to the subject (state); in the *sḏm.n.f*, with reference to the adverbial adjunct (action). This in turn accounts for the uniform use of the stative when no adverbial adjunct is present.

Just as intransitive verbs can be expressed in the *sḏm.n.f* when attention is focused on the past action rather than its resultant state, so also transitive verbs can be expressed in the stative when the focus is on the state resulting from the transitive action rather than on the action itself. This value can be seen in uses of the transitive stative without direct object – both circumstantially (example (20)) and initially (example (39)) – where the stative denotes the effect of completed action with reference to the object of that action. It is also present – though less easily perceptible – in initial uses with direct object. Here the stative expresses not completed action per se, but the state of the subject resulting from that action. This usage is attested exclusively (with past reference) in tomb-biographies, and nearly always in the first person.[86] For want of an exact counterpart, we normally translate such examples as past actions (example (40)). In themselves, however, they are atemporal descriptions of state. By using the stative, the deceased focuses not on his performance of past actions but on the state he has achieved as the result of those actions. This in turn is

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[85] Cf. Vernus, in: *Crossroad*, 381.

[86] Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 14 and 25. The verbs *rḫ* and *ḥm* are well-known exceptions, where the transitive sense is implicit rather than explicit: e.g., *j.rḫ.k(j) rn.k* (Pyr. 1434a P) "I am experienced (of) your name" = "I know your name." For other verbs, the only second-person example I know of has jussive sense (example (37)). Examples with third-person subject are all of intransitive verbs.

related to the specific purpose of the tomb-biographies, which is not merely to record their owner's history but to demonstrate his achieved worthiness to receive funerary offerings and to be considered as *jm3ḫw*. Since the language offers two means of expressing past action – the perfective *sḏm.f* (cf. example (24)) and the *sḏm.n.f* – the choice of the stative must be considered a deliberate stylistic device, with pragmatic rather than syntactic origin. In this respect, it is perhaps significant that the passive counterpart of this usage is less often the stative (without direct object) than the passive form of the perfective *sḏm.f*: e.g.,

(45)   jn.t.(j) *n Ppjj r tzt mm msw ḫrjw-tpj* (Urk. I 254, 1)[87]
"I was brought to Pepi to be raised among the children of the high officials."

Such achievements do not derive from the deceased's own initiative, and are therefore apparently less likely to be viewed as a state that he has achieved than as simple past actions.[88]

The use of the perfective *sḏm.f* seems to be governed largely by pragmatic considerations. Both in the narrative of the tomb-biographies and in the direct discourse of the Pyramid Texts, the past actions of the speaker (and in the Pyramid Texts, the second-person addressee as well) are regularly expressed either with the *sḏm.n.f* or the stative. This indicates that they are normally viewed not merely as completed but as completed with respect to the context in which they are uttered – either the tomb-owner's speech (often introduced by *NN ḏd.f* "NN says") or the discourse-situation involving the speaker and addressee – although they can be expressed as completed actions (example (24)). The perfective *sḏm.f* is normally used with third-person (nominal) subjects. The actions of such subjects can be viewed as relevant to the speech situation, and therefore can be expressed with the *sḏm.n.f* (or passive *sḏm.f*) as well:[89]

(46)   *h3 wsjr NN 'ḥ' tz tw*
        ms.n tw mjwt.k nwt
        sk.n n.k gbb r.k (Pyr. 626 a-b)
"Ho, NN! Stand up! Raise yourself!

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[87] See Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 30 and nn. 172, 174.

[88] Although they can be so viewed. Compare example (39) with Urk. I 124, 15 *ḥz.t.(j) ḥr.s '3 wrt* "I was praised for it very greatly."

[89] Examples with 3rd-person stative are rare, though attested. Those in the Pyramid Texts all derive from a 1st-person original (Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, § 311C). While this indicates the grammaticality of the 3rd-person usage, it has less significance for the productive use of the form. Clear examples exist outside the Pyramid Texts in Urk. IV 58, 12 (vs. intransitive *sḏm N*) and 54, 15/59, 13 (vs. transitive *sḏm.n.f*), but their Dyn. 18 date makes them less valuable diagnostically for the earlier language. The early example from Ankhtifi's tomb in Mo'alla probably involves adverbial use of the form: *rḏ.n.(j) sjn p3 šm'w(j) ḫnt pḥ.n.f w3w3t ḥd pḥ.n.f t3-wr* "I caused this Nile-Valley grain to hasten so that it got upstream and reached Wawat, so that it got downstream and reached the Abydene nome": Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 220 (IV 14-15) – but cf. the independent 1s parallel in example (44).

Your mother Nut has given you birth,
Geb has wiped your mouth."

But because they do not involve as subject either of the participants in the discourse situa-
tion, they are also more prone to be viewed simply as past actions and expressed with the
perfective *sḏm.f*.

In the tomb-biographies, this is the normal use of the perfective *sḏm.f*.[90] Examples
from the Pyramid Texts are less common – as we might expect, since these texts are
primarily concerned with the deceased's present and future situation, and mostly involve
direct discourse. In the Pyramid Texts, examples from transitive verbs are rare in compari-
son with those of the transitive *sḏm.n.f*:[91] past actions involving such verbs are therefore
regularly viewed in their relationship to the discourse situation (example (46)). The
perfective *sḏm.f* of intransitive verbs, however, is fairly common.[92] Examples occur both
as intransitive counterpart of the transitive *sḏm.n.f* (examples (6)-(7)) and as nominal-
subject counterpart of the stative:

(47)   ḫ' NN *m nswt* (Pyr. 1138b M) = ḫ'.k(j) (> ḫ'.j) *m nswt* (Pyr. 1138b P)
"NN has appeared as king" = "I have (> He has) appeared as king."

The latter relationship has a probable pragmatic basis. As noted above, most pronominal
forms involve the first or second person. The past actions of such subjects are more likely
to be viewed in relation to the discourse-situation involving them than are those of third-
person subjects. For intransitive verbs, this produces descriptions of resultant state for first
and second-person subjects (stative) vs. statements of action for the third person (*sḏm.f*).

The counterpart relationship between the *sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* is less easily explained.
If the non-nominal intransitive *sḏm.n.f* is in fact restricted to circumstantial clauses
(example (5)) and compound constructions (example (1)), the perfective *sḏm.f* may repre-
sent its independent counterpart. In the following example, the two forms do in fact seem
to have this relationship:

(48)   j ḫ3t j ḏrt
         jst tj ḥn' nbt-ḥwt
         jw.n.sn *m zḫnw sn.sn wsjr* (Pyr. 1280 b-c)

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[90]Apparent exceptions – involving either the *sḏm.n.f* or passive *sḏm.f* with 3s subject or the *sḏm.f* with 1s
subject – can usually be understood as examples of the nominal form or as circumstantial (i.e., as
completed with respect to the governing clause, or with the imperfective *sḏm.f* used circumstantially). For
the nominal perfective *sḏm.f* see n. 58 above. For other forms see Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 25-27,
77-83, 85-95.

[91] Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, §§ 302-308.

[92] *Ibid.*, §§ 309-11. Contrary to the analysis proposed *ibid.*, §§ 304-305, I would now understand most
examples of the "dramatic" *sḏm.f* as past or perfect (perfective) rather than present (imperfective).

"The screecher has come, the kite has come:
they are Isis and Nephthys.
It is in search of their brother Osiris that they have come."

Elsewhere, however, the two seem to be used interchangeably:

(49a)   j ḥrw *jp.f ṯw* (Pyr. 609b)
"Horus has come, that he might claim you."

(49b)   jw.n ḥrw *j'b.f kw* (Pyr. 101e)
"Horus has come, that he might assemble you."

In such cases the distinction may well be semantic rather than syntactic. In line with the regular formal meaning of the two forms, example (49a) reports the fact of a past action, while (49b) relates that fact to the discourse-situation. The distinction is subtle, but real: compare English "Jesus has come to save us" vs. "The cavalry has come to rescue us." In the one case, the verb-form is used without specific reference to the speech context ("Jesus has come into the world, into the course of history"); in the other, it is used *with* such specific reference ("The cavalry has come into the battle we are fighting"). The former, accordingly, can be rendered alternatively with the simple past tense ("Jesus came to save us"); the latter cannot – at least, not without losing its specific reference to the speech context ("The cavalry came to rescue us").

This kind of referential ambiguity is limited primarily to intransitive verbs. With transitive verbs, the two past tenses are less interchangeable: "Jesus has saved us" and "The cavalry has rescued us" both mean something different than "Jesus saved us" and "The cavalry rescued us." This *lexical* difference may underlie the alternation between the intransitive *sḏm.f* and the transitive *sḏm.n.f* in uses such as that in examples (6) and (7): "Face fell/has fallen on face, face has seen face"; "NN has seen the Great One . . . NN's face fell/has fallen on the Great One." Such passages illustrate not the use of the intransitive *sḏm.f* as counterpart of the transitive *sḏm.n.f*, but the use of the transitive *sḏm.n.f*, with its specific reference to the discourse-situation, in place of the transitive *sḏm.f*, which connotes completed action without such reference.

5   *The synthetic verbal system*

Based on the analysis proposed here, the syntactically unmarked synthetic verb-forms of Early Egyptian are the following, with the following formal meanings:

FORM	EXPRESSES
stative	state
subjunctive *sḏm.f*	action, subjunctive
imperfective *sḏm.f*	action, not completed
perfective *sḏm.f*	action, completed
sḏm.n.f/passive *sḏm.f*	action, completed relative to some point of reference (active vs. passive)
prospective *sḏm.f*	action, future.

The prospective passive *sḏm.f* is clearly the passive counterpart of the prospective *sḏm.f*.[93] Though non-nominal uses cannot be demonstrated with certainty, it is probable that some do exist.[94] The prospective passive can therefore be added to this list as well, at least in theory.

It is apparent from this catalogue of forms and formal meanings that there are several basic divisions within the non-nominal system. The primary division seems to be that between the expression of state and action. The stative is the least marked form, with the widest range of usage. Its contextual meanings can correspond to most, if not all, of the features associated with the various forms denoting action. For the latter, there seems to be a primary distinction between modal and non-modal forms, with the subjunctive *sḏm.f* marked for mood (subjunctive) and the others unmarked in this respect (indicative).

Among the indicative forms, the distinction between the perfective and imperfective *sḏm.f* has an evident aspectual basis, which has been characterized above as *accompli* vs. *inaccompli*, respectively. The perfective form expresses completed action; the imperfective, either action as incomplete (in process) or with nothing said about its completion. On that basis, the imperfective would seem to be the unmarked form. In the nominal system, however, it is the perfective forms that are unmarked, signifying both action per se and action as completed.[95] Their use for the latter derives not from their being marked as *accompli* but because their alternants, the imperfective forms, are marked for the opposite aspect (*inaccompli*). The same could be true in the non-nominal system.

To develop this line of reasoning, we can theorize that the distinction between the perfective and imperfective *sḏm.f* marks a second major distinction in the indicative forms, between those that are marked for aspect and those that are not so marked, with the

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[93] *Ibid.*, § 535B.

[94] *Ibid.*, § 525.

perfective *sdm.f* representing the latter. In that case, the aspectually marked forms are further divided into those marked for completed action and those that are unmarked in that respect. The former are represented by the *sdm.n.f* and its counterpart, the passive *sdm.f*. The latter include the prospective forms (+prospective) and the imperfective *sdm.f* (-prospective). The imperfective *sdm.f* is thus marked for aspect but unmarked within the subset of aspectual forms.

The theoretical relationship of all eight forms can be diagrammed as in Fig. 1. To the extent that this theoretical analysis reflects the actual structure of the synthetic verbal system, aspect in that system is a *relative* feature, marked in each case with respect to some point of reference: prior (*sdm.n.f*), concomitant (imperfective *sdm.f*), or yet-to-occur (prospective *sdm.f*). The point of reference, as noted in the preceding discussions, can lie within the realm of the *énoncé* (circumstantial, continuative, etc.) or it can be that of the *énonciation* (speech context). In this respect, the perfective *sdm.f* does not denote completed action per se, but action that is devoid of the pragmatic reference of the aspectual forms. The lack of such reference, rather than the presence of specific marking for completed action, explains the form's suitability for expressing simple past actions.

The system diagrammed in Fig. 1 represents the earliest attested for the language, as preserved in religious texts and the early tomb-biographies. Already in secular OE, the *inaccompli* forms have begun to be replaced by the "pseudoverbal" constructions SUBJECT-*r-sdm* (+prospective) and SUBJECT-*hr-sdm* (-prospective). By LE, the *accompli* has disappeared as well (in non-literary texts): the LE perfective *sdm.f* expresses both past and perfect tenses – i.e., ±context-relevant.[96] In Coptic the only productive distinction remaining from the original system is that between state and action – i.e., between the descendant of the original stative and the infinitive, both of which are used solely in analytic constructions. The language thus shows a consistent historical trend toward the reduction of the synthetic forms from the most marked (branches) toward the least marked (root) of the system diagrammed in Fig. 1.

Most of the forms in Fig. 1 have readily identifiable nominal counterparts. These are produced by the process of nominal transformation described in section 1. The analysis proposed here makes it possible not only to link the obvious non-nominal and nominal counterparts (e.g., *sdm.n.f*) but also to answer at least partly a question that has persistently nipped at the heels of our model of Early Egyptian grammar since Gardiner's aspectual theory was discarded: Why do the synthetic attributive forms show a clear aspectual distinction while the synthetic forms of the *sdm.f* do not? The answer proposed here is that the *sdm.f* does in fact show the same distinction, in the forms for which I have resurrected Gardiner's terms "perfective" and "imperfective" (albeit with different formal reference): i.e., perfective *jr.f* ⇒ nominal *jr.f* ⇒ attributive *jrj* (participle) / *jrw.f* (relative) vs. imperfective *jr.f* ⇒ nominal *jrr.f* ⇒ attributive *jrrj* (participle) / *jrrw.f* (relative).
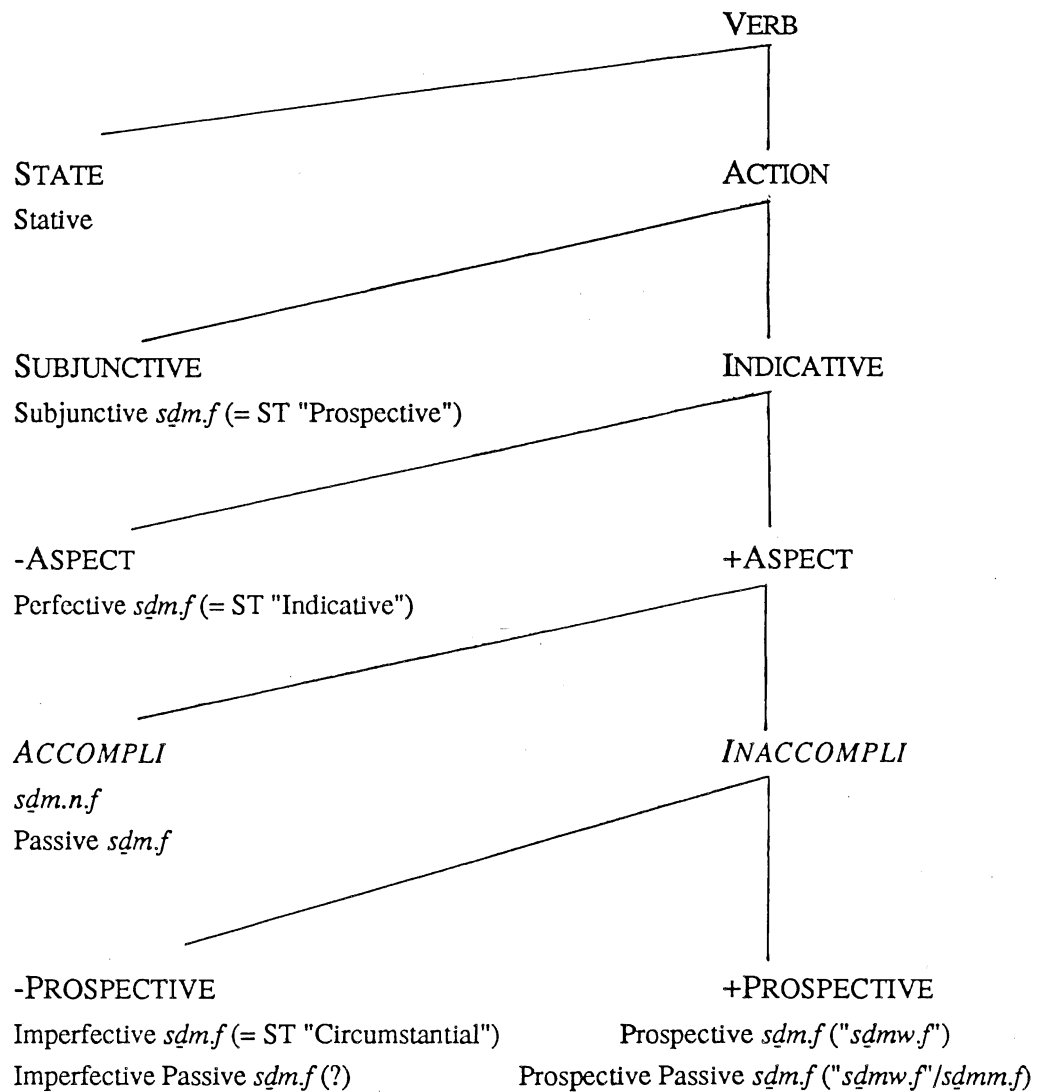
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[96] Černy - Groll, *LEG*, 214-15. Cf. the discussion by Wente, *JNES* 28 (1969), 1-14.

While nominal transformation is an indisputable part of the synthetic verbal system, adverbial transformation is not. In Early Egyptian, no less than in later stages of the language, syntactic marking for adverbial function lies outside the form of the verb itself. None of the primitive synthetic forms are so marked. Throughout the history of Egyptian, adverbial usage – insofar as it is marked overtly – is signalled analytically, either as predicate in the SV or "emphatic" constructions, or through the use of specific markers such as OE *sk* and LE *jw*. Otherwise, adverbial function is a purely contextual feature, made possible by the syntactically unmarked character of the non-nominal forms. In Early Egyptian, the use of *jw* serves a pragmatic purpose, not a syntactic one. Its function is not to enable adverbial forms to function independently, but to mark the content of a statement as specifically relevant to the context within which it is made.[97] The forms used after *jw* are the same as those found in independent usage without *jw*. In this respect, the analysis proposed here also offers a solution to a second conundrum that the Standard Theory has generated: the position and role of the non-transformed verb in the synthetic verbal system.[98]

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[97] See Allen, in: *Essays on Egyptian Grammar*, 1-17. Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 97-98, reaches a similar pragmatic conclusion for the value of *jw sdm.n.f* in early biographies.

[98] See Depuydt, *OLP* 14 (1983), 49.

FIG. 1. THE NON-NOMINAL SYNTHETIC SYSTEM OF EARLY EGYPTIAN

VERB

STATE   ACTION
Stative

SUBJUNCTIVE   INDICATIVE
Subjunctive *sḏm.f* (= ST "Prospective")

-ASPECT   +ASPECT
Perfective *sḏm.f* (= ST "Indicative")

ACCOMPLI   *INACCOMPLI*
sḏm.n.f
Passive *sḏm.f*

-PROSPECTIVE   +PROSPECTIVE
Imperfective *sḏm.f* (= ST "Circumstantial")   Prospective *sḏm.f* ("*sḏmw.f*")
Imperfective Passive *sḏm.f* (?)   Prospective Passive *sḏm.f* ("*sḏmw.f*"/*sḏmm.f*)

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