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Participles, Relative Forms and Gemination in Middle Egyptian: A Working Paper

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In the classical "Gardinerian" view of Middle Egyptian grammar, there is a 1:1 correspondence between forms that geminate in the participles, in the relative forms and in the *sḏm.f*; all the geminated forms are regarded as "imperfective" and the non-geminating forms as "perfective", and the *sḏm.f* (and *sḏm.n.f* as well as other suffix-conjugation forms) are regarded as of participial origin. In a "Polotskyite" system, this connection becomes more ambiguous and ambivalent. On the one hand, the connection seems more tenuous, as the variety of *sḏm.f* which (in the Polotsky model) geminates in both 3ae inf. and 2ae gem. verbs is not regarded as an aspectual form but as a substantivized form with syntactic function (the "emphatic" *sḏm.f*) and the variety of *sḏm.f* which (according to this theory shows gemination in 2ae gem. but not 3ae inf. is "circumstantial"or adverbial rather than marked for aspect. On the other hand, the connection is still present, as the "emphatic" forms in both *sḏm.f* and *sḏm.n.f* are characterized by Polotsky as "abstract relative forms" in contradistinction to the "concrete relative forms", or in the scheme of "transpositions", as "personal substantival forms" alongside the "personal adjectival forms". Polotsky elaborates further on this connection by maintaining that the "emphatic" forms are to clauses introduced by *ntt* as the relative forms are to clauses introduced by *nty*.[1] Polotsky's view of the geminating and non-geminating (other than prospective) participles has changed in a "traditionalist" direction: From "temps indefini" vs. "passé" in *Etudes*[2] to "inaccompli" vs. "accompli" in "Transpositions". It will be apparent that *not* all morphological counterparts to *ntt*-clauses geminate, nor do all such counterparts to *nty*-clauses. Thus we are still left with the question of what is distinctive about those in each case that do. At first glance it seems that the correspondence among the participles, relative forms and suffix-conjug-

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[1] Polotsky, *Transpositions*, § 2.3.2.

[2] Cf. Loprieno, *Verbalsystem*, 78, § 5.2.

ations might have a superior "economy of explanation" in the "Gardinerian" than in the "Polotskyite" approach. At the same time, perusal of Egyptian texts as well as the Egyptological literature demonstrates that the "equation" GEMINATING = IMPERFECTIVE, NON-GEMINATING = PERFECTIVE is often honored more in the breach than in the observance when it comes to actual translation and often requires considerable good will to rationalize[3]. This interesting and recalcitrant area is all the more in need of our attention since, except for the *Pyramid Texts* material treated mainly from the morphological point of view by J. Allen[4], it has not yet received the thorough overhaul that Doret has given the narrative verbal system or Silverman the interrogatives with *in* and *in-iw*.

Before proceeding further, let us pause at this suspenseful juncture and enumerate several observations about the forms identified by Egyptologists as "geminating" and related points.

1   As already mentioned, in the *sḏm.f* as analyzed by Polotsky, the "nominal" / "emphatic" geminates in both 3ae inf. and 2ae gem., the "circumstantial" only in 2ae gem.

2   The base of the future participle *sḏmty.fy* geminates in 2ae gem. only; the "prospective" participle and relative form (and *sḏm.f*!), as identified by Gunn and others, do not geminate at all.

3   The Egyptological category of "gemination" is normally so defined as to exclude "reduplicating" passive participles of the type *wḏḏt, ḏḏdt*, and *rḫḫy*, as well as the old *sḏmm.f* passive – though some scholars, such as Baer (unpublished class handouts on Middle Egyptian grammar) and J. Allen[5] employ the term gemination, but, like Gardiner, regard *wḏḏt* etc. as "perfect(ive)".

4   Geminating and non-geminating *sḏm.f*s of *mri, msḏi* etc. are found in the "Appeal to the Living"[6]; examples showing non-geminating forms with final *-w* indicate that we have to reckon with a survival of the old active *sḏm.w.f*[7].

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[3] Cf. Gardiner, *EG*, §§ 355, 365-370.

[4] Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*.

[5] *Ibid.*, § 613.

[6] Lefebvre, *GEC*, § 726; Gardiner, *EG*, § 458; Meltzer, *JARCE* 24 (1987), 149; Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, n. 2 is interesting in this connection.

[7] Edel, *AäG*, § 530; cf. Polotsky, *Transpositions*, § 2.7 and examples in Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 69 f., 80, 87-89.

5   The prevailing temporal difference between "participial statements" with geminating and non-geminating participles indicates the likelihood (at least) of meaningful distinctions between the types of participles in question.

6   The function of a "future" relative form is apparently fulfilled by the prospective[8], as there is no true future relative form corresponding to the future participle *sḏmty.fy*. Another apparent asymmetry between the *sḏmty.fy* and other participles is that passive *sḏmty.fy* forms are extremely rare. It is interesting that the future counterpart of the "participial statement" does not employ the prospective participle but rather a remnant of the old active *sḏm.w.f* (preserved in a "fixed construction"), sometimes replaced by the prospective *sḏm.f*; or, rarely, the *sḏmty.fy*.

7   As in the case with *sḏm.fs* or apparent *sḏm.fs* (4 above), geminating and non-geminating participles or relative forms can occur in variants of the same formula, e.g., *prt/prrt*, "that which comes forth" upon the altar or before the god[9], *rdi/dd, ir/irr, pr/prr*[10]. In this connection, it can be noted that the non-geminating form sometimes has equal claim to the label "indefinite" which Polotsky applies to the geminating one[11]. Are we sometimes to understand the non-geminating forms as prospective, e.g., "That which will/might come forth"? (This would be unlikely on morphological as well as semantic grounds for the form *rdi* cited above.)

8   There are examples in which geminating and non-geminating participles or relative forms are juxtaposed within the same text passage, e.g.:

(1)   Horemheb sun hymn, BM 522[12]   *mss sw tnw dw3yt, pr m ḫt mwt.f nn 3bw* "Who begets himself every morning, who comes forth from his mother's womb unceasingly."

(2)   "Great" Osiris hymn, Louvre c286[13]   *mrr m3n.f, rdi snd.f m t3w nb(w)* "Seeing whom is loved, who places fear of him in all the lands."

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[8] Cf. Polotsky, *Etudes*, § 31.

[9] E.g., Gardiner, *EG*, § 368; Röder, *Ägyptisch* *19, *29.

[10] Gardiner, *EG*, § 367.1.

[11] *Ibid.*, end.

[12] *Ibid.*, 291.

[13] De Buck, *Readingbook*, 110, 15 f.

(3)   *Ibid.*[14]   *ḥs n it.f Gb, mrr mwt.f Nwt*

"praised by his father Geb, beloved of his mother Nut".

(4)   *Ibid.*[15]   *ḥsy n psḏt 'ȝt, mrr psḏt nḏst*

"praised by the Great Ennead, beloved of the Little Ennead".

These examples are all from New Kingdom rather than "classical" Middle Egyptian texts; two examples of the latter type are :

(5)   Peas. B1, 235 f[16]   *ḥsy ḥss ḥsyw*

"Praised one whom the praised ones praise"

(6)   Wady Hammamat 191: 5[17]   *prt ḥȝȝt ḥr gs(wy).sy in mš'w n(yw) tp-'wy*

"...which had been passed by both coming and going by previous expeditions".

Gardiner writes that "only one of the parallel participles (*ḥȝȝt*) shows the gemination of the imperfective; in the other (*prt*) it is omitted, perhaps by mistake, but perhaps rather because the gemination of *ḥȝȝt* sufficed for both verbs". Is then *ḥȝȝt* "marked" and prt "unmarked", or is *prt* to be taken as "indefinite" (cf. 7 above)[18]?

The geminating forms of Egyptian have been of considerable interest to those scholars interested in comparison with Semitic and other Afroasiatic languages. The Gardinerian correlation between geminating:non-geminating and imperfective:perfective gave the Egyptian verbal system a very Semitic cast which was moderated by Gunn and further by Polotsky. Joseph H. Greenberg[19] includes geminated Egyptian forms as exemplifying Afroasiatic gemination in the present. According to Loprieno[20], the comparative perspective illuminates the complex situation encountered in the texts:

"...Es scheint mir, daß die hier vertretene Theorie der Entwicklung und des Untergangs des Aspektbegriffs im Ägyptischen diese zwei unterschiedlichen grammatischen Erscheinungen auf einen gemeinsamen Nenner

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[14] *Ibid.*, 111, 3.

[15] *Ibid.*, 110, 10

[16] Gardiner, *EG*, § 369.3.

[17] *Ibid.*, § 369.2.

[18] For a proposal of Schenkel, followed by J. Allen, which seeks to explain some of the instances of this type see below.

[19] *JAOS* 72 (1952): 1-9.

[20] *Verbalsystem*, 105, § 6.2.5.

zu bringen vermag: die Partizipien gehören noch in klassischer Zeit zu den letzten linguistischen Überresten des alten 'afroasiatischen' Aspektsystems, wobei ihre Produktivität und ihre Diathesenoppositionen mit der im Laufe der ägyptischen Sprachgeschichte immer stärker werdenden Durchsetzung des neuen 'innerägyptischen' Systems syntaktischer Oppositionen allmählich verlorengehen".

What makes Loprieno's formulation distinctive among Egyptological linguists is that he regards both geminating *mrr* and non-geminating *mri* as imperfective, expressing the contrast [-REALIZED] VS. [+REALIZED], and he takes the bases *mr(i)w* and *mr(i)t* as perfective[21]. Thus he removes some of the incongruities of the standard view[22] but has not disposed of all the problems.[23]. Osing[24] is a comparative examination and attempt at reconstruction which does not deal with the nature of the temporal/aspectual/semantic distinctions among the participles/relative forms or the significance of gemination, but which uses "received" terminology.

The connection (if any!) between the participles/relative forms and the outwardly-corresponding forms of the suffix conjugation, and the nature of the contrast between the geminating and non-geminating participles/relative forms, have continued to be something of a problem for grammarians. In several publications during the mid-1970s[25] Callender moved from a "classical" participial origin of the suffix conjugation to a more complex "revisionist" view, the latter still preserving a correspondence between the participle and relative form, seen as "imperfective" ("repeatedly"), and the "manner nominalization", characterized as "iterative" (why??). A most intriguing suggestion has been made by Westendorf[26], asking whether the "imperfective" participle sometimes shows the "Besonderheit" "emphatisch?":

"Entsprechend der besonderen Funktion des impf. *sḏm-f*, in gewissen Fällen der adverbialen Bestimmung besonderen Nachdruck zu verleihen (§ 223 Anm. 5), sollte es nicht ausgeschlossen sein, daß auch die Basis dieser Form, das imperf. pass. Partizip, eine ähnliche Wirkung ausüben könnte. Ein solcher Verdacht ist besonders dann berechtigt, wenn die imperfektische Übersetzung (präsentisch-zuständlich) nicht befriedigt..."

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[21] *Ibid.*, 97-105, § 6.2.

[22] *Ibid.*, § 6.2.4.

[23] Thus I am not convinced as to why the *sḏmty.fy* should geminate in 2ae gem. verbs or show the *r*- of *rdi* (*ibid.*, 102 n. 18), while the prospective participles - and relative forms - do not, cf. Westendorf, *GMT*, § 307.

[24] In: *Festschrift Fecht*, 337-360.

[25] *Middle Egyptian*; *AAL* 2/6; *BiOr* 34 (1977): 305-7.

[26] Westendorf, *GMT*, § 302b.

This appealing and rather daring suggestion will work only if the geminating participle and *sḏm.f* each cover both the "imperfective" and the "emphatic" function, whereas Polotsky has insisted that we grammarians cannot "have our cake and eat it":

"I use this opportunity to reaffirm my conviction that the indicative ('narrative') 'imperfective' *sḏm.f* (*mrr.f*) is a mere ghost-form which has been suffered to haunt Egyptian grammar long enough."[27]

If we merely invoke the "imperfective" meaning where the "emphatic" does not work, then the hypothesis of an "emphatic" participle is *ad hoc*, arbitrary, and incongruous with the analysis of the "emphatic" *sḏm.f*. Syntactic criteria ("slots" in which a nominal can appear) will by and large "explain" cases of the "emphatic" *sḏm.f* where there is no adverbial element. Since all the participles are nominals, how can we use parallel criteria to account for the use of geminating participle (or *mutatis mutandis*, relative form)? *Can* we find a range of syntactic combinations which can be made in the syntax of the *sḏm.f*? By what mechanism would the geminating participles and relative forms be presumed to bring the "emphasis" to bear? Would we have to recognize in the participles (and relative forms) a distinction between one type that geminates in both 3ae inf. and 2ae gem. verbs and another that geminates only in the latter, as is drawn between Polotsky's "emphatic" and "circumstantial" *sḏm.f*? If so, what would that distinction be, and would it be able to be aligned with syntactic criteria as in the *sḏm.f*?

J.P. Allen[28] begins with a traditional approach to gemination in the participles and relative forms:

"In the Pyramid Texts, the use of the geminated participles and relative *sḏm.f* conforms to the syntax [sic!] of the 'imperfective' as described by the grammars: that is, as a form associated with repeated or durative action.... Most often, the geminated form appears in contexts that suggest an action performed more than once but not repeated indefinitely...."

He then proceeds to apply to the Pyramid Texts an observation made by Schenkel on (auto)biographies in Old and Middle Egyptian[29]:

"Possibly the only unexpected aspect of the use of the geminated form in the Pyramid Texts is its strong tendency to appear in contexts associated with plurality. This is a feature already noted by Schenkel for certain stock expressions in Classical Egyptian biographies. Schenkel examined only the 3ae-inf. passive participle with the following genitive, in phrases such as *mrjj n it.f ḥzjj n m'wt.f mrrw snw.f*, 'beloved of his father, praised of his mother, beloved of his brothers', but he suggested that the tendency of the

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[27] *Egyptian Tenses* § 47.

[28] *Inflection of the Verb* , § 607.

[29] *Ibid.*, § 608, citing Schenkel, *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 110-14.

geminated form to be used in conjunction with plurals extended to all geminated attributative forms in conjunction with plurality in any of the adjuncts to which the action of the form might have reference".

This affinity with plurality is held to extend to the iterative meaning of the forms; Allen prefers to characterize the "geminated attributative forms" as "distributative"[30].

The Schenkel-Allen proposal is "tighter" than Westendorf's discussed above, as the"imperfective"/"iterative" and "plural" senses can be subsumed more convincingly under one heading of category ("distributative") than can "imperfective" and "nominal"/"emph-atic"[31].

The elasticity of the criteria as presented, however ("in connection with plurality in any of the adjuncts") makes it difficult to falsify, especially if (as was *mutatis mutandis*, the case with Westendorf), imperfective / iterative meaning can be invoked whenever there is no proximate *plural* element of *vice versa*. The correlations need to be examined between gemination and plural number / collectivity, and non-gemination and singular number, in :

1.   the antecedent or referent,
2.   the agent or actor (if any),
3.   The direct "semantic" object or patient (if any),
4.   the object of a following preposition (if any).

One must also determine what to make of singular geminating and plural non-geminating participles (it is interesting that the relative forms do not distinguish separate singular and plural forms), and finally how to define, in a non-circular fashion, the role of "imperf-ective"/"iterative" meaning.

We shall enumerate some examples from *Urk. VII* that illustrate the ambivalent nature of the material vis-à-vis the Schenkel-Allen proposal:

Sarenput:
4:10   *irr mrrt nb.f*
4:13   *ir.n.i ḥsst ⟦nṯr⟧.i*

Ameny:
24:15   *ḥmt.f mrrt.f*

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[30] *Inflection of the Verb* , § 609.

[31] *Pace* Gardiner, *EG*, § 446; cf. also Loprieno, *Verbalsystem*, 102, n. 19.

Chnumhotpe:
33:9   *r irrt it.f*
40:18   *mrw ʿnḫ.sn msḏḏw m(w)t*

Hepdjefa:
55:5   *šps n(y) nsw, mrr.f*
60:16   *mrrw nb.f r r(3)-ʿwy.f*
61:1   *irr ḥsst nb-t3wy nsw*
61:18   *ḥssw Ḥrw ḥry-ib ʿḥ*
63:15   *sḥtp.n.i nṯr.i m mrrt.f*
65:10   *irr ḥsst nṯr.f*
65:18   *dd ḫt r st ir(y)t*

Below we tabulate the participles and relative forms from mutable verbs in the story of Sinuhe, noting the relevant features of context. The likelihood is worth considering that the relative clarity of time reference in stories (or, as some would define at least a portion of the material, narrative verse) avoids some of the potential ambiguities of (auto)biographies, hymns and wisdom material[32]. Sinuhe is notable as a long narrative piece in classical Middle Egyptian, which has moreover been a focus of several recent grammatical investigations[33]. These discussions, as well as Callender's review article on Junge[34], articulate various perspectives on the place of Sinuhe in the corpus of "normative" Middle Egyptian texts. A few words of clarification regarding the following table are in order:

1   The clefted actor-expression of the "participial statement" is listed as both "AGENT / ACTOR" and "ANTECEDENT / REFERENT".

2   Abstract nouns in *-t* resumed by the pronouns *s/st*, and some analogous antecedentless forms, are normally regarded as singular, but where plural strokes are used and in a few other cases the designation "Singular/Collective" is preferred.

3   *Sḏmty.fy* forms, fixed expressions such as the *sḏm pw ir.n.f/iry* construction, and lexical items of apparent participial derivation such as *pr-ʿ* and *pry* are included in the list but marked with an asterisk.

4   The actor-expression of a relative form is given whether a suffix-pronoun or a noun.

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[32] Cf. Foster, *SAK* 15 (1988), 86.

[33] Junge, *Syntax*; Foster, *RdE* 34 (1982-83), 27-52, Meltzer, "*Sḏm.f., Sḏm.n.f* and Verbs of Motion in Sinuhe: Some Reflections" (presented in a preliminary form at the Annual Meeting of ARCE in 1986 and forthcoming in *JARCE*).

[34] *JEA* 69 (1983), 154-158.

5   I realize that the sample is skewed by the inclusion of the relative forms, which include the *sdm(w).n.f* to which there is not an isomorphic equivalent among the participles. The "gray area" of passive participle + actor-expression made it unfeasible to exclude the relative forms.

6   The scribal practice of the B and R texts is interpreted as consistently employing the eye for *ir* and the eye + *r* for *irr*.

Participles and Relative Forms From Mutable Verbs in Sinuhe:

R8	*ḥ'ntr 3bḫ(w) m* ir *sw* "the god's body being merged with the one who (had?) made him"
R23	*msw-nsw* wnw *m-ḫt.f* "the king's children who were accompanying him"
B17/R43	*inbw-ḥk3* iry *r ḫsf Styw* "the Walls of the Ruler, which were (had been?) made in order to repel the Asiatics"
B26/R50	*mtn im* p3 wnn *ḥr Kmt* "the sheikh thereof, who had been in Egypt"
B28/R52	*nfr* irt.n.sn "What they did was good"
B42	in *wi r ḫ3st tn* "who brought me to this foreign land"
B44/R76	*nḫt pw grt* ir *m ḫpš.f* "Moreover, he is a champion who achieves by means of his mighty arm"
* "	pr-' "an active one"
B54/R79	sgnn *ḏrwt* "a weakener of hands"
B55/R80	i' *ḥr pw* "He is a vengeful one (lit. washer of the face)."
B57/R81	dd *n.f s3* "one who shows him the back (i.e. flees)"
B60/R84	wd *ḥr pw* "He is an eager/bold one (lit. placer of the face)."
B62	rwi *'ḫ3w.f* "one who escapes (can escape?) his arrows"
B66f/R91	ḥ' *st im.f r ntr.sn* "They rejoice in him more than (in) their god"
R94	msywt *ḥn'.f* "those who were born with him"
*R101	*ḫ3st* wnnty.sy *ḥr mw.f* "a land which will be loyal to him"
B77	*nfr* irrt.i *n.k* "What I (shall?) do for you is good"

B80   wnt *ḥnʿ.f* "that which was with him"

B94   *wpwty* ḫdd *ḫnt r ḫnw* "a messenger who would travel north or south to the
             Residence"

B101   *ḫ3st nbt* rwt.n.i *r s* "every foreign country to which I fled"

*B110   pry "a champion"

B121   *tw3* mrrw *n š3(w) n(y) tp-ḥry* "a lowly man who is loved in a capacity of a
             master"

B123   pry "a ferocious bull"

B126   *nṯr ḥm* š3t.n.f *(š3t n.f?)* "a god who doesn't know that which he has
             ordained (or, which is ordained for him?)"

B144f   k3t.n.f *irt st r.i* "that which he (had?) planned to do to me"

B151   *s33* s33y *n ḥkr* "A loiterer loitered because of hunger"

B163   *nḥ n(y)* w3 "the prayer of one who is far away"

B164   ḥw.n.f *t3 im.f* "the one from whom he had smitten the land" (R189 has
             ḥw.n.i)

"   *bw* in.n.f *sw im* "the place wherefrom he (had) brought him"

B178   *mity n(y) wḏ* iny *n b3k im* "copy of the decree which was (had been?)
             brought to this your humble servant"

B183   *ptr* irt.n.k "What is it you have done?"

B205   *wʿrt tn* irt.n b3k im "this flight which your humble servant made"

B206   mrw *Rʿ* "beloved of Re"

"   ḥsw *Mntw* " favored of Mont"

B213   šnnt itn "that which the sun-disk encircles"

B214   *nb.f* šd *m imnt* "his lord who rescues from the West"

B215   ·wnt b3k im *snḏ(w) ḏd st* " that which your humble servant was afraid to
             say"

B218	*Ḥrw* it "Horus who conquers/the conqueror"
B223	*wᶜrt tn* irt.n b3k "this flight which the servant made"
B229	*nṯr* š3 *wᶜrt tn* "the god who ordained this flight"
B235	*ṯ3ty* ir.n b3k im "the vizierate which your humble servant has (had) performed"
*B236	*iwt pw iry* "it is a coming which was made..."
B238	mrrw Mntw *nb W3st ᶜnḫ.f* "which Mont, lord of Thebes, wishes that it live"
B124	*iwt pw* ir.n b3k im "It is a coming which the humble servant did..."
B245	*Styw iww m-s3.i* "the Asiatics who had come after me"
B254	*s* itw *m ᶜḫḫw* "a man who is seized in the twilight"
B261	*nn* irt.i "There isn't anything I can (might?) do."
B262	*wᶜrt* š33t "the flight which was ordained"
B276	*pḏty* ms *m T3-mry* "the bowman (foreigner) who was born in Egypt"
B279	*irt* dgt *n.k* "the eye that looks at you"
B289	*srw* mrr.f *m ᶜt nbt* "high officials whom he loves in every chamber"
B296	wn *m-ᶜ smr* "one which is (should be ?) in the possession of a (royal) companion"
B299	ddt msw-nsw "that which the king's children (would?) give me"
B304	*ḫᶜw nbw* ddw *r rwd(w)* "all (sorts of) furniture which is placed in the tomb shaft"
B307	*mi* irrt *n smr tpy* "like that which is done for the chief (royal) companion"
B308	*in ḥm.f* rdi *irt.f (or ir.t(w).f)* "It is HM who caused it to be done"
B309	*sw3w iry n.f mitt* "a poor man for whom the like has been done (or, was (ever) done?"
B311	*mi* gmyt *m sš* "according to that which was (had been) found in writing" (COLOPHON)

Tabulations of selected grammatical features of the above examples

Part./Rel. Form		Antecedent/Referent	Agent/Actor	Patient/Obj.	Obj of Prep.
1	*ir*	SING		SING	
2	*wnw*	PLUR			SING
3	*iry*	PLUR			
4	*p3 wnn*[35]	SING			SING
5	*irt.n.sn*	SING	PLUR		SING
6	*in*	SING		SING	SING
7	*wnnw snd.f*	SING	SING		PLUR
8	*š3t.n.f*	SING	SING	INFIN	
9	*ir*	SING			SING
*10	*pr-ʿ*	SING			
11	*sgnn*	SING		PLUR	
12	*iʿ*	SING		SING	
13	*dd*	SING		SING	SING
14	*wd*	SING		SING	
15	*rwi*	SING		PLUR	
16	*hʿ* (PRED)		PLUR		
17	*msywt*	PLUR			SING
*18	*wnnty.sy*	SING			SING
19	*irrt.i*	SING	SING		SING
20	*wnt*	SING			SING
21	*hdd*	SING			SING
22	*rwt.n.i*	SING	SING		SING
*23	*pry*				
24	*mrrw*	SING			SING
*25	*pry*				
26	*š3t.n.f (š3t n.f?)*	SING/COLL	SING?		SING?
27	*k3t.n.f*	SING	SING	INFIN	SING
28	*s33y*	SING			SING
29	*w3*	SING			
30	*hw.n.f*	SING	SING	SING	SING
31	*in.n.f*	SING	SING	SING	
32	*iny*	SING			SING
33	*irt.n.k*	SING	SING		
34	*irt.n b3k im*	SING	SING		
35	*mrw Rʿ*	SING	SING		
36	*hsw Mntw*	SING	SING		

[35] Either *p3* as participle of auxiliary *p3(w)* + infinitive of *wnn* or *p3* as demonstrative + participle of *wnn*.

37	*šnnt itn*	SING(COLL?)	SING		
38	*šd*	SING			SING
39	*wnt b3k im*	SING	SING		
40	*it*	SING			
41	*irt.n b3k im*	SING	SING		
42	*š3*	SING		SING	
43	*ir.n b3k im*	SING	SING		SING
*44	*iwt pw iry*	INFIN			
45	*mrrw Mntw*	SING	SING		
*46	*iwt pw ir.n b3k im*	INFIN	SING		
47	*iww* (Plur. endg.)	PLUR			SING
48	*itw*	SING			SING
49	*irt.i*	SING	SING		
50	*š33t*	SING/COLL			
51	*ms*	SING			SING
52	*dgt*	SING			SING
53	*mrr.f*	PLUR	SING		(COLL?)
54	*wn*	SING			SING
55	*ddt msw-nsw*	SING(COLL?)	PLUR		
56	*ddw*	PLUR			
57	*irrt*	SING			SING
58	*rdi*	SING	SING	SING	
59	*iry*	SING		SING	SING
60	*gmyt*	SING			SING

Reflections and issues for discussion

The results of this sample clearly do not rule out any of the suggestions reviewed earlier in this discussion, nor do they demonstrate any conclusively. Moreover, they do not dispose of the ambiguities or elasticity noted earlier. One can easily be left with a rather anticlimactic feeling such as that expressed by Depuydt at the conclusion of his comparison of rival theories of the *sdm.f* in *GM* 58 (1982), 15-25.

The question seems to me worth pursuing whether one motivation for the employment of geminating vs. non-geminating participles and relative forms in at least some Middle Egyptian texts might lie in the convention of composition and recitation in a formal reading tradition rather than in a grammatical opposition between them. This is not to deny that there was some grammatical opposition, as reflected *inter alia* in the temporal distinction between "participial statements" with geminating and non-geminating forms. (As a "fixed construction" the participial statement can be expected to preserve older distinctions, cf. above). It is, however, reasonable to inquire whether we do not have to reckon with an additional level, and whether that level might not sometimes emerge as

decisive, especially in a linguistic situation such as that described by Loprieno (§ 6.2.5), and in an idiom which became the vehicle of a formal literary, court and liturgical tradition. Perhaps the methodology developed by Foster in the study of verse texts will help us to discern some of the still elusive criteria for the distribution of these forms.

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