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The Distribution of Past Tense Verbal Forms in 18th Dynasty Non-literary Texts from Kamose to Amenophis III

Thomas Ritter, Tübingen

1 Introduction

The following considerations derive from an investigation of the verbal system of non-literary texts of the 17th and 18th Dynasty. The textual basis for this work is provided mainly by K. Sethe's and W. Helck's edition of autobiographical and royal inscriptions in "Urkunden der 18. Dynastie", as well as M. Sandman's edition of *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*. Helck's *Texte der zweiten Zwischenzeit*, the 18th Dynasty letters and a few other miscellaneous texts complete the corpus.

These texts were already drawn on by A. H. Gardiner as a source of example sentences for his *Egyptian Grammar*. Later on it was B. Kroeber who used them for his dissertation *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit*. He selected sentences with features of Late Egyptian grammar and demonstrated the development of phenomena like the circumstantial converter *iw* or the conjunctive. In many grammatical treatises throughout the past decades texts of the 18th Dynasty were employed to describe the Middle Egyptian verbal system. But hitherto no-one has made them the subject of a comprehensive corpus-oriented study.

2 The Paradigm

In non-literary texts of the time from Kamose to Amenophis III the clause conjugations as well as the negative verbal system are practically identical with the respective Middle Egyptian paradigms with only very few occurences of the Late Egyptian circumstantial converter *iw* and the Late Egyptian negations *bw* and *bn* from the reign of Thutmosis III onwards. It is the non-negated sentence conjugations, however, in which the development from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian becomes visible first. There are purely Middle

Egyptian forms to be found side by side with purely Late Egyptian forms and mixed compositions that belong neither to Middle Egyptian nor to Late Egyptian proper.

In analyzing the verbal system of 18th Dynasty non-literary texts, it is necessary to distinguish between at least four different semantic categories of verbs as they employ different conjugation patterns:

1   transitive verbs in the active voice
2   transitive verbs in the passive voice
3   intransitive verbs of motion
4   other intransitive verbs

Figures 1 - 4 show the respective paradigms of these categories. The sentence conjugation patterns are divided into so-called primary and secondary sentence conjugations, the former having a verbal predicate, the latter having an adverbial predicate. The primary sentence conjugations are further subdivided into the contingent tenses[1] and other verbal predicate forms. Sentence formations that occur less than 10 times are bracketed. Many of them appear but once. Substantival and adverbial clause conjugations as well as balanced sentences are not within the scope of the present paper.

Fig. 1: Past active

primary sentence conjugations		secondary sentence conjugations
contingent	others	
śčm.ỉn=f	*śčm=f*	*ỉw śčm.n=f*
	śčm.n=f	NP + *śčm.n=f*
	(*śčm.w=f*)	*ꜥḥꜥ.n śčm.n=f*
		wn.ỉn=f ḥr śčm
		NP + *śčm=f*
		NP *ḥr śčm*
		(*ỉw=f ḥr śčm*)
		(*ꜥḥꜥ.n=f ḥr śčm*)
		(*ꜥḥꜥ.n śčm=f*)
		(*św śčm=f*)
		(*ỉn-ỉw śčm=f*)

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[1] Cf. Depuydt, *Orientalia* 58 (1989), 1-27.

Fig. 2: Past passive

primary sentence conjugations		secondary sentence conjugations
contingent	others	

(*śčm.ìntw=f*)	1. Sg.: psp
	3. Ps.: *śčm=f*
	    śčm.w=f
	    (*śčm.tw=f*)
		NP + psp
		wn.ìn=tw ḥr śčm
		(*ìw=tw ḥr śčm*)
		(*ìw=f* + psp)
		(*ʿḥʿ.n=f* + psp)
		(*ʿḥʿ.n śčm* + psp)
		(*ʿḥʿ.n śčm* + NP)
		(*iw śčm* + NP)
		(*ʿḥʿ.n=tw ḥr śčm*)
		(*ìw śčm.ntw=f*)
		(*ìw śčm.w* + NP)
		(*wn.ìn=f* + psp)
		(*tw=ì* + psp)

Fig. 3: Past of intransitive verbs of motion

primary sentence conjugations		secondary sentence conjugations
contingent	others	
(*śčm.ìn=f*)	1. Sg. psp	NP + psp (*ìw=f ḥr ìw.t*) (*ʿḥʿ.n=f ḥr ìw.t*) (NP + *m ìw.t*) (*wn=f* + psp) (*ìw=f m ìw.t*) (*wn.ìn=f ḥr ìw.t*) 1. Sg.: (*ìw=ì* + psp) (*tw=ì* + psp)

Fig. 4: Past of other intransitive verbs

primary sentence conjugations		secondary sentence conjugations
contingent	others	
(*šč̌m.in=f*)	1. Sg.: psp	NP + psp
	3. Ps.: *šč̌m=f*	NP *ḥr šč̌m*
	(*šč̌m.n=f*)	(*wn.in=f ḥr šč̌m*)
		(*wn.in=f* + psp)
		(*ꜥḥꜥ šč̌m.n=f*)
		(*ꜥḥꜥ.n šč̌m=f*)
		(*iw=f* + psp)
		(*iw šč̌m.n=f*)
		(NP + *šč̌m=f*)
		(NP + *šč̌m.n=f*)
		(*ḫpr šwt šč̌m*)
		(*ḫpr šč̌m*)

3   Discussion

The four paradigms above show a peculiar distribution of verb forms which is found neither in Old Egyptian nor in Middle Egyptian nor in Late Egyptian. There are a few sentence conjugations that can be regarded as Middle Egyptian but on the whole the paradigm seems to be dominated by Late Egyptian forms and verbal forms of an intermediary character that are yet unknown in Old and Middle Egyptian and are no longer in use in the Late Egyptian texts. There are five features that are especially conspicuous:

1   The use of verbal forms of the *iw* subsystem is decreasing almost to the point of non-existence except for *iw šč̌m.n=f* and the Aorist *iw šč̌m=f*. Forms like *iw=f* + psp are almost completely missing. The same goes for the Middle Egyptian continuous formation *iw=f ḥr šč̌m*, whereas the Late Egyptian narrative/continuative *iw=f ḥr šč̌m* occurs in a few places during the reign of Thutmosis III and Amenophis II in reports on warfare in Palestine.

2   The first person singular of transitive passive and intransitive verbs seems to be restricted almost entirely to the use of the pseudoparticiple as a verbal expression. As the pseudoparticiple can otherwise be only an adverbial transposition, examples have to be sought where an interpretation as a circumstantial clause can definitely be ruled out. Verbal pseudoparticiples are well known from Old Egyptian. But there is a fundamental difference

between the Old Kingdom and the 18th Dynasty. In the Old Kingdom the first person singular of transitive verbs in the active voice was expressed by the pseudoparticiple[2] whereas in the 18th Dynasty it is the intransitive verbs and the transitive verbs in the passive voice that employ it.

3   The third person of transitive passive and intransitive verbs employs NP + psp in the majority of the cases. So, obviously, there is a strict dichotomy between the first and third person.

4   In the passive voice the verbal forms *sčm=f* and *sčm.w=f* are confined to nominal subjects. The verbs showing the ending *w* are in front of all verbs with a weak final radical and causative verbs whereas the *sčm=f* is found mostly with strong verbs. This distribution is unfortunately not a strict and consistent rule but rather a matter of statistical frequency[3]. On the whole there seems to be a general preference for nominal subjects. Suffix pronouns are employed mostly with NP + *sčm(.n)=f* formations and, of course, with substantival and adverbial clause conjugations. In Middle Egyptian the only alternative interpretation for a *sčm* + NP past passive is as an adverbial transposition designating relative past tense. In Old Egyptian, however, *sčm(.w)* + NP could also be a substantival past passive form, but since this verbal form was no longer in existence as early as the Middle Kingdom and did not reappear in Late Egyptian either, it is extremely unlikely that it should have been revived for a short period of time during the 18th Dynasty.

5   With the transitive verbs in the active voice the transition of the language from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian becomes palpable. On the one hand there is the Middle Egyptian verbal form *iw sčm.n=f*, and on the other hand there is its Late Egyptian successor *sčm=f*. And furthermore, there are cases in which an initial *sčm.n=f* is to be found instead of *iw sčm.n=f*. This verbal *sčm.n=f* is the most difficult verbal form to prove, as there is a great variety of alternatives that have to be ruled out. A *sčm.n=f* form can be either a substantival transposition followed by an adverbial adjunct or a substantival transposition in a balanced sentence followed by another substantival transposition that is, or the head theme[4] of an independent sentence, or it can be an adverbial transposition which is subordinated under a preceding verbal form or depending on *iw* or *'ḥ'.n* in a multiple sentence. With these many theoretical possibilities of interpretation, it is extremely difficult to find examples where the interpretation of the *sčm.n=f* form as a verbal expression is syntactically the only possible interpretation.

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[2] Doret, *BSEG* 7 (1982), 17-31; id., *Narrative Verbal System*, 57-66.

[3] The same distribution was already noted for the Old Egyptian future tense by Allen, *Inflection of the Verb*, 705, and Schenkel, *BiOr* 42 (1985), 485-488, and for the Middle Egyptian perfect passive by Schenkel, *Materialien*, 176 note 86; cf. also Gardiner, *EG*, § 420.

[4] For the term cf. Schenkel, *Materialien*, 232 f.

The transitive verbs in the active voice do not distinguish strictly between the first and the third person, although there is a strong tendency to use *iw sčm.n=f* rather in the first person[5], whereas the verbal *sčm=f* and the verbal *sčm.n=f* show a general preference for the third person.

3.1 The Past Passive

The example sentences in this paper have all been chosen from passages that show a clear sequence of events and are formulated in short main sentences in the majority of the cases. This choice has been made deliberately in order to avoid presenting ambiguous sentences as would have almost necessarily been the case with more complex constructions. This is not telling anything, however, about the general complexity or the paratactic or hypotactic nature of the texts in general.

The passages are discussed on the syntactic level within the framework of the so-called Standard-Theory of Middle Egyptian[6], the semantic interpretation serving as a means to check the correctness of each single syntactic possibility.

1st person singular

The pseudoparticiple in Middle Egyptian is an adverbial verb form expressing either past passive meaning or a concomitant state[7]. Adverbial verb forms are always subordinated either under a preceding sentence or a particle. In case of a subordination under a preceding sentence, the adverbial verb form expresses relative tense:

a) anteriority (past)
b) a concomitant circumstance (present)
c) posteriority (future)

In case of a subordination under a particle, the adverbial verb form expresses absolute tense: past, present or future tense. If a particle is followed by several adverbial verb forms in the past tense, they may have narrative/continuative meaning. According to É. Doret [8]

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[5] Cf. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, 17.

[6] Depuydt, *OLP* 14 (1983), 13-54.

[7] Schenkel, *Materialien*, 181.

[8] Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 134.

adverbial narrative/continuative verb forms are always preceded by a particle. "In all examples appearing in the narrative texts from the First Intermediate Period, the form *sḏm.n.f* used in 'continuative' clauses is always preceded by a clause with one of the initial forms *jw/'ḥ'.n + sḏm.n.f.*"

Besides, there seem to be instances in which the pseudoparticiple of the first person singular was used as a verbal expression conveying past passive meaning[9].

The examples for the pseudoparticiple expressing subsequent state in Middle Egyptian texts quoted by A. M. Blackman[10] and A. H. Gardiner[11] can in some cases be analyzed in a different way. The more convincing examples all show the third person, which is conspicuous as the verbal pseudoparticiple otherwise appears only in the first person singular. The Pyramid Text examples cited by K. Sethe[12] and J. P. Allen[13] are also confined to the third person. On account of the long period of time which lies between the majority of those examples and the 18th Dynasty as well as the consistent use of the first person singular in the 18th Dynasty texts, which does not always express a result but simply a new event, one should keep the two uses strictly apart. The most likely explanation for the first person singular verbal pseudoparticiple in the 18th Dynasty seems to be that it is the successor form of Middle Egyptian *ỉw=ỉ* + psp. The lack of the particle *ỉw* + suffix is due to the change in syntactic function that the particle *ỉw* underwent from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian: As it gradually became a circumstantial converter, the tendency grew to omit it in main sentences.

(1)   Urk. IV 76,14 - 77,1:

ḏt=f

ỉčỉ.n=ỉ rnp.wt 'š3.wt m ḥ3.tỉ-'w n(.ỉ) Nḫn

*msỉ.n=ỉ ỉnw.w=š n nb t3.wỉ*

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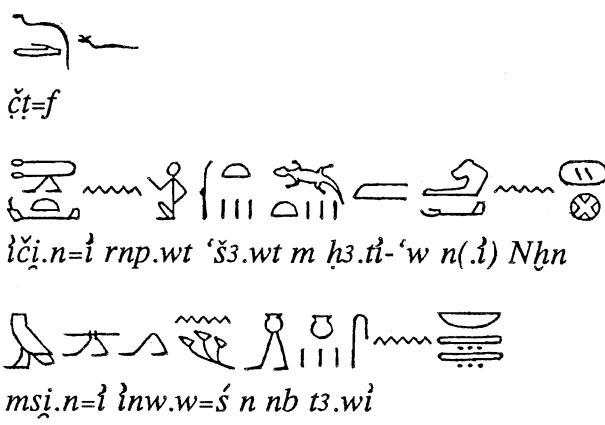
[9] Schenkel, *Materialien*, 182.

[10] *JEA* 22 (1936),36.

[11] *EG*, § 350.

[12] *Verbum*, Bd. II, 2.

[13] *Inflection of the Verb*, § 589; cf. also § 564 C.
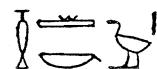
ḥsỉ.kw

n gmỉ.tw sp=ỉ

"I spent many years as governor of *Nḫn*, and sent its tribute to the Lord of the two lands. I was praised. No mistake of mine was found."

The governor of Hieraconpolis was praised for his sending tributes to the king, so the commendation must have happened after he had sent them, not before or while he sent them. Here, the pseudoparticiple clearly states an event that is posterior to the event of the preceding sentence and thus cannot be interpreted as an adverbial transposition. Neither can it be a narrative/continuative adverbial verb form as there is no particle that precedes it. So it has to be a primary sentence conjugation.

(2)   Urk. IV 158,16 - 159,2:

ḫ3m.n<=ỉ> wỉ m-b3ḥ=f.

čỉ.ỉn=f wỉ ḥr ḫ3.t Ḥm=f.

s:ʿḥ'ʿkw r ʿḥʿw [n(.ỉ)] nb.
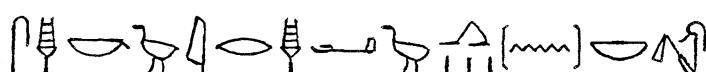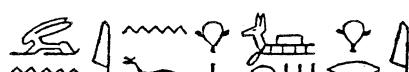
wn.ỉn=f ḥr bỉ3.t ḥr=ỉ.

"I bowed before him. Then he placed me before His majesty. I was assigned the place of the lord. Then he made an oracle for me."

This passage describes a scene with King Thutmosis III before the statue of Amun in the temple of Karnak. Again, a sequence of events is related in which each sentence carries the story one step further. The sentence preceding the pseudoparticiple is a *sčm.ỉn=f* form, a main sentence construction. In classical Egyptian, the only syntactically possible interpretation of the pseudoparticiple would be as an adverbial verb form conveying relative past tense. But as the *sčm.ỉn=f* is a verb form that is semantically contingent on the preceding

sentence, it would loose its raison d'être if it were followed by a relative past tense. So, the sequence of events must be that the king first bowed, then was placed in front of the god, and after that was assigned the place of the lord. Accordingly, the pseudoparticiple cannot be an adverbial transposition.

(3)   Urk. IV 1108, 6-9:

[śmỉ=f] wpw.t ỉ=f ḥr ꜥnꜥn r čt:

ḥ3b.kw m wpw.tỉ n śrỉ.w mn.

rčị.n=f śč3.tw=ỉ.

rčị.n=f čị.tw nk.t ḥr nḥb.t=ỉ.

"It is complaining that his messenger [reports]: I was sent as a messenger to the official so-and-so. He had me arrested, and he had me beaten on my neck."

In this example a direct speech is introduced by the pseudoparticiple. Hence, the subordination of it is impossible.

(4)   Urk. IV 1481, 7-14:

čt=ỉ n=tn ḫpr.t n=ỉ ḥr ỉr.t n=ỉ m šmś ỉtị.y

šmś.n=ỉ św ḥr mw ḥr t3 ḫt ḫ3ś.t rś.t mḥ.tt

n ỉwị sp=ỉ m śtp-s3

ỉrị.n=ỉ čt.tn=f mnḫ

š:ḫnt.kw r mỉ.tỉ=ỉ nb

rḏỉ.kw m ḥ3.t śmr.w=f
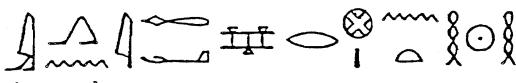
ỉyỉ.n=ỉ ʿ3 r nw.t n.t nḥḥ

ỉrỉ.n=ỉ mrr.t rmč.w ḥss.t nčr.w

"I will tell you what happened to me and what was done for me when I served the sovereign. It was without any complaint about me reaching the palace, that I served him on water and on land, in the southern and northern foreign countries. I did everything he ordered perfectly. (So) I was promoted (to a rank) above all my equals. (And) I was put at the head of of his courtiers. It was after having done what people love and the gods praise that I came here to the city of eternity."

The passage starts with a subjunctive functioning as an optative which is used here as a headline to open a new paragraph. The headline is followed by a substantival *śčm.n=f* form the predicate of which is the ensuing *n śčm=f* Another substantival *śčm.n=f* (adverb *mnḫ* serving as predicate) summarizing the author's accomplishments completes the preliminaries. The climax of this passage is the reward he received in return for his excellent services. It is self-evident that the pseudoparticiples cannot be classical Egyptian adverbial transpositions expressing anteriority.

(5)   Urk. IV 1785, 6-9:

ỉm(.ỉ)-r3 nw.t č3tỉ Rʿ(.w)-mśỉ.w m3ʿ-ḫrw čt=f

ỉnk 3ḫ-ỉb ỉrỉ M3ʿ.t [n] nsw n(.ỉ) rk=ỉ

ḥsỉ.kw ḥr=ś ỉn nčr=ỉ

rč̣i̯.n=f wỉ m ḥꜣ.t śmr.w r ỉr.t śḥr.w n.w tꜣ pn

"The overseer of The City and vizier *R'(.w)-mśỉ.w* says: I am someone with a benevolent heart who acts for the king of his time according to the principles of Maat. Therefore I was praised by my god. It was in order to lead this country, that he placed me at the top of his courtiers."

This paragraph is preceded by an offering formula. The lines quoted here resemble ex. 4 very much in so far as they are written in direct speech and as the author also states his being rewarded for his excellent services. The temporal relationship between the *ỉnk* sentence and the pseudoparticiple makes it evident that the latter cannot possibly be a classical Egyptian adverbial transposition. Other examples: Urk. IV 1377, 20; Urk. IV 1425, 16.

The third person

While the first person singular of the past passive is more or less confined to the use of the pseudoparticiple, the third person shows a greater variety of forms that can be employed. The non-literary texts of the 18th Dynasty make use of four Late Egyptian patterns in order to express the past passive:

1   NP + psp
2   *śč̣m=f*
3   *śč̣m.w=f*
4   *śč̣m.tw* + NP

Beside these there are very few occurrences of Middle Egyptian patterns with *ỉw* and *'ḥ'n*.

Examples for *śč̣m=f* past passive:

In Classical Egyptian, past passive *śč̣m* + NP can only be an adverbial transposition. As such it is used to designate anteriority. This use also exists in the 18th Dynasty texts. There are, however, instances where *śč̣m* + NP does not express an event which is anterior to the preceding sentence, but which relates something that succeeds it.

(6)   Urk. IV 80, 8-11:

mk ỉni̯.tw n=k [wč̣] pn n(.ỉ) nsw r rč̣.t rḫ=k n.tt
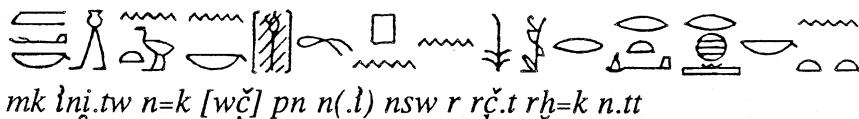
Ḥm=ỉ ꜥ.w.s. ḫꜥỉ(.w) m nsw bỉtỉ ḥr s.t Ḥr.w n.t ꜥnḫ.w

nn wḥm.tỉ=f č.t

ỉrỉ nḫb.t=ỉ m Ḥr.w k3 nḫt, mrỉ M3ꜥ.t

"Lo, This royal decree has been brought to you in order to let you know that My Majesty lph has appeared as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the Horus-throne of the living without anybody who will ever repeat this. My titulary has been fixed as Horus, strong bull who loves Maat."

The king assumed his titles on the day of his accession. As the interpretation of the *sčm=f* as a Middle Egyptian adverbial transposition would imply that the titles were fixed beforehand, the verbal form in question must, for semantic reasons, be a primary sentence conjugation.

(7)   Urk. IV 97,12 - 98,2:

[ỉrỉ] mn.w [n] ỉtỉ[=ỉ Wsỉr]

[grg] ssm=f n nḥḥ

s:mnḫ s:št3w wr.t

n m33

n ptr

nn rḫ č.t=f

ỉrỉ n=f wčš nfr.w m ḥč nb.w ḥsbṭ bỉ3 km '3.t nb.t ššp.t

"A monument [was built for my] father [Osiris]. His statue was made for eternity. The secret (statue) was very painstakingly executed, without anybody who saw (it), without anybody who watched (it), without anybody who knew its form. A portable bark of silver, gold, lapislazuli, black copper, and every precious stone was built for him."

The verbal form in question is in the last line. The cotext shows clearly that this is an enumeration without any reference to relative time (concerning anteriority or posteriority) which would be superfluous in a list such as this. The alternative interpretation of *ỉrỉ* as an infinitive can be excluded as the IIIae inf. verbs have an infinitive ending with a *t*. This spelling is adhered to in the overwhelming majority of the cases in the 18th Dynasty. A quantitative analysis of infinitive spellings of IIIae inf. verbs shows that the *t*-ending is written in about 95% of the cases.

(8)   Urk. IV 667, 10-12:

ỉšt ỉrỉ n3 n(.ỉ) 3ḥ.wt m 'ḥ.wt

š:ỉp n rwč.w pr(.w) '3 '.w.š.

r 'w3y.t p3=šn šmw

"The fields have been turned into '*ḥ.wt* fields that were assigned to the agents of the palace lph in order to harvest their crops."

In this example *ščm=f* past passive is preceded by the particle *ỉšt*, which J. Johnson has shown to occur solely before main sentences[14]. So the verb form after *ỉšt* can only be a verbal expression in this example.

(9)   Urk. IV 689, 7-10:

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[14] Johnson, in: *Festschrift Westendorf*, 71-85.

śpr r ṯmỉ n(.ỉ) Ḳṯšw

𓂝𓏤𓎟𓏤 —∥—

śkỉ=ś.

𓊃𓏤𓈖𓏏𓏤𓍑𓅓𓏥𓏴𓏲𓀾

š῾ṯ mn.w.w=ś.

𓅨𓌺𓈖𓏤𓅓𓏪𓏴 —∥—
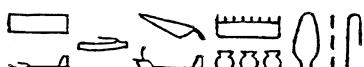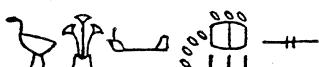
wḫ3 ỉt=ś.

"Arrival at Qadesh. It was destroyed. Its trees were cut down. Its crops were torn out."

This passage starts with an infinitive, and it would be perfectly normal to continue with other infinitives. However, the verb *śkỉ* is a verb with a weak final radical and has an infinitive ending with a *t*, so that the interpretation of *śkỉ=ś* as an infinitive can be ruled out on account of the missing final *t* (cf. ex.7).

(10)   Urk. IV 1106, 6-11:

𓍢𓈖𓏤𓂋𓏏𓈖𓈖𓈖𓍢𓍑𓂋𓏤𓍢𓂋

[ḫ]r [č3tỉ] śmỉ=f n ỉm(.ỉ)-r3 śč3.t r čṯ:

𓈙𓅆𓏥𓏤𓈖𓂋𓏲𓈙𓅆𓏲

h3.w.w=k nb ῾č(.w) wč3(.w)

𓊖𓈖𓏤𓈖𓂋𓍑𓈖𓅆𓏴𓈙
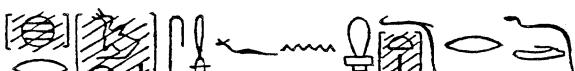
ś.t nb.t n<.t> ḫn.w ῾č<.ṯỉ> wč3<.ṯỉ>

𓂝𓈖𓏤𓂋𓏤𓂋𓏤𓅆𓍯

śmỉ n=ỉ ḫtm ḫtm.w r nw,

𓈙𓂋𓏤𓍯

wn=ś r nw

𓈙𓈖𓏤𓅆𓂋𓂝𓅆
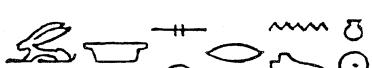
ỉn ỉr(.ỉ) nb śšm.

"Then the [vizier] reports to the supervisor of the seal: All your affairs are in order. Every department of the residence is in order. The locking of the chambers that are to be locked was reported to me in time and so was their opening by every leading official."

This example is taken from "The Duties of the Vizier"[15]. It describes the daily ceremony of the vizier's entering the palace in the morning. He meets the supervisor of the seal at the gate and each of the two reports to the other whether the affairs under his responsibility are in order, which is usually the case, or not. The first two sentences form a thought couplet with an identical syntactic structure. The third sentence brings about a shift of the subject of the description. Within the framework of the standard theory, the only alternative interpretation of *śml n=l* would be as an adverbial past passive form implying anteriority. That would obviously make no sense. Besides, it would break up the balance of the thought couplet. So, for semantic reasons, the verbal form in question has to be a verbal expression.

Examples for *śčm.w=f*

(11)   Urk. IV 4, 6-9:

mk ìnỉ. tw=f m mḥ ḥr t3 w3 ỉ.t p3 ṭmỉ,

č3ỉ.n=l ḫr=f ḥr mw.

śml.w n wḥmw nsw.

ʿḥ'.n=tw mk ìw' m nb.w ḥr śn.w.wì=ś
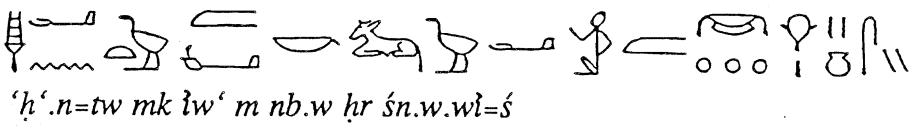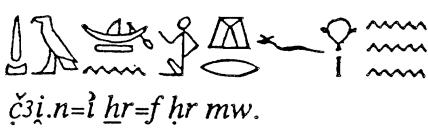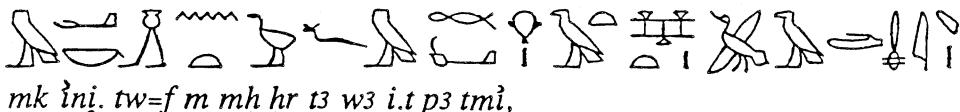
"Lo, He was brought as a captive on the road to the town, after I had crossed the water with him. (It) was reported to the herald of the king. Then I was presented with gold once more."

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[15] Cf. Van Den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 54 f.

Here, *šmi̓.w* is used as an impersonal passive. There is no doubt that it must be a verbal expression, because the author's feat clearly happened before it was reported and the reward in turn was given after the herald had informed the king.

(12)   Urk. IV 6, 7-11:

wn.i̓n=tw ḥr rḏ.t n=i̓ tp 5 ḥr ṯni̓.w ȝḥ.t šč3̣.t 5 m nw.t=i̓

iri̓.w n tȝ ḫni̓.yt r ȝw=š m mi̓.tt.

ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥr pfȝ i̓w.w Tti̓-ꜥn rn=f.
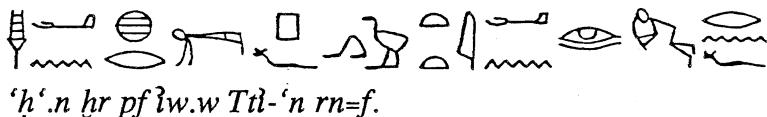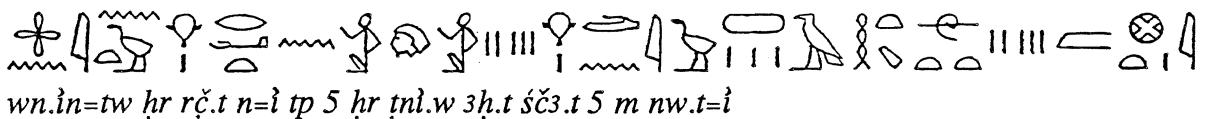
"Thereupon I was given 5 persons and fields: 5 arouras in my town. The same was done with the whole crew. Then came that enemy called *Tti̓-ꜥn*."

In this example, the author, as admiral, is the first one to be rewarded. Afterwards his crew get their share. It is altogether unlikely that it should have been the other way around. Consequently, *iri̓.w* cannot be subordinated as an adverbial perfect verb form.

(13)   Urk. IV 400, 10-12:

čṯ:

čṯ.w n=i̓ n.tt m i̓b.
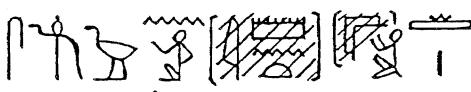
š:wč n=i̓ [i̓mn.t].

"Saying: 'I was told the confidential things. I was entrusted with [secrets]'."

The direct speech begins with *čṯ.w* and as an adverbial transposition cannot be placed in sentence-initial position, the only possible interpretation seems to be as a verbal expression.

(14)   Urk. IV 687, 5-10:

išt śkj.n Ḥm=f tmi n(.i) 'Irtt m it=ś

š't.w ḫt.w=ś nb(.w) bnr(.w).
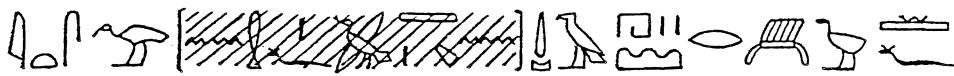
išt gmi[.n Ḥm=f p3 t3 n(.i)] Č3hi r-3w=f,

mn.w.w=śn mḥ(.w) m pr.t=śn.

"His Majesty destroyed the town of *'Irtt* with its crops. All its fruit trees were cut down. [His Majesty had found the] whole [land of] *Č3h i* , with all its trees full of fruit."

In the first sentence it is said that the town *'Irtt* was devastated together with its barley. Therefore it is unlikely that the trees were cut before. The passage is rather a chronological enumeration of events without an inversion.

(15)   Urk. IV 897, 1-8:
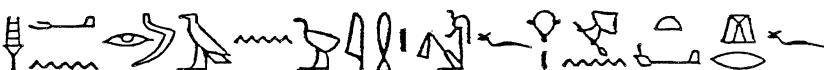
'ḥ'.n m3.n wi Ḥm=f ḥr ḫn.t ḫr=f
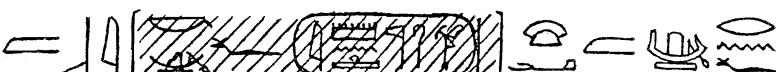
m bi[k=f 'Imn.w-ḥtp.w-ḥk3-nčr(.i)-W3 ś.t]-ḫ'i(.w)-m-wi3 rn=f
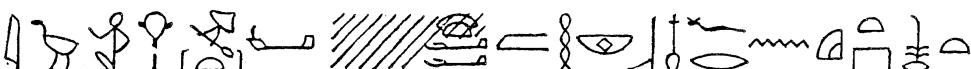
iw=i ḥr ḫn.t [... ḫ]'' m ḫ3b nfr n(.i) 'Ip.t-rś.t

m mi.tt r Čśr-[3ḫ.t ...]

*[ś:]'r.kw r ḫnrt 'ḥ.*

rḏi̯.w ʿḥ.ı̯ m-bꜣḥ sꜣ ʾImn.w.

[ʿꜣ]-ḫpr.w[-Rʿw] pw [w]r pḥ.tı̯
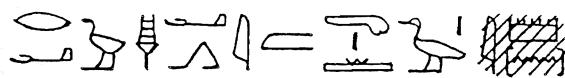
"Then his majesty saw me rowing him in [his] boat called *[ʾImn.w-ḥtp.w-ḥkꜣ-nčr(.ı̯)-Wꜣš.t]-ḫʿı̯(.w)-m-wıꜣ*, when I rowed [...] on the beautiful feast of Luxor and as well to Deir el-Baḥari. I was raised to the private tract of the palace. I was caused to stand in front of the son of Amun. It was *[ʿꜣ]-ḫpr.w[-Rʿw]* with great strength."

This passage recounts two events. The first one is the feast when the king took notice of *ʾImn.w-m-ḥꜣb*, and the second one is the occasion on which the official was allowed to enter the palace and see the king. The text continues by the king's promoting his subject to *ı̯tn.w mšʿ* whom he had known ever since he was a child and who had always been loyal as well as efficient. The sequence of events is quite clear. Seeing *ʾImn.w-m-ḥꜣb* reminds the king of the former's worthiness. So he decides to promote him. Consequently, both *š:ʿr.kw* and *rḏi̯.w* introduce new actions leading to the promotion that forms the climax of the whole passage. An interpretation of those two verb forms as adverbial transpositions designating relative past tense is irreconcilable with the sequence of events.

(16)   Urk. IV 1283, 5-6:

m-ḫt nn š:ḫʿı̯.w Ḥm=f m nsw.
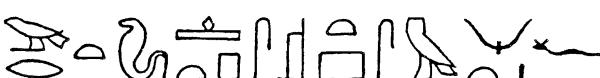
wr.t ḥtp=š š.t=s m wp.t=f.

"After this His Majesty was crowned king. The Great one assumed her place on his forehead."

The prepositional expression at the beginning of the first sentence is an introduction for a main sentence. The following verbal form thus has to be a verbal expression [16].

Examples for śčm.tw + NP:

This verbal form is very problematic as it appears almost only with a nominal subject, hardly ever with a pronominal one. Therefore, it is practically impossible to tell whether *tw* is the passive element or the personal pronoun of the third person singular of common

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[16] Cf. Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965), 117.

gender. If it is the former, the construction is a "real" passive. If it is the latter, the *śčm=tw* + NP is really an active form receiving its passive meaning indirectly through the impersonal pronoun. In that case, the construction would be the predecessor of Coptic ⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄. There are only two ways of proving that the *tw* in *śčm.tw=f* is the passive element and not the impersonal pronoun:

1   When *tw* is followed by a suffix pronoun acting as the subject of the construction.
2   When the actor expression introduced by *in* follows the *śčm.tw* + NP.

Unfortunately, these occasions are extremely rare. Actually, there is only one such instance in the texts from Kamose to Amenophis III. In all other cases the question has to be left open.

(17)   Urk. IV 1281, 8-16:

iśt ir m wn=f m inp.w

mri̯=f śśm.wt=f

ḫꜥi̯=f im=ś

rwṭ-ib pw ḥr b�ꜣk=ś

rḫ ḳi ir.i

śśꜣ m pḫḫ=ś
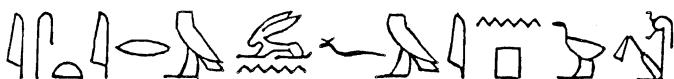
ꜥḳ m śḫr.w tw

śčm.tw m pr(.w)-nsw in iti̯=f Ḥr.w Kꜣ nḫt ḫꜥi̯ m Wꜣ ś.t
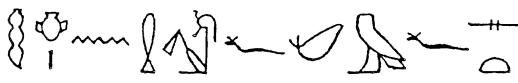
nčm ỉb n(.ỉ) Ḥm=f śčm=f śt

"When he was a child, he loved his horses and he rejoiced over them. He was persevering in working them, he knew their character, he was an expert in training them, who had penetrated this subject. (It) was heard in the palace by his father, the Horus, the strong bull appearing in Thebes. His father was glad when he heard it."

The first part of this passage is taken up with the description of the prince's love of horses. In the last line but one the topic is shifted to the fact that his activities were noticed by the king. It would make no sense to assume that *śčm.tw* introduces a concomitant circumstance. It expresses rather a new thought which serves to lead up to the statement that the king was content with his crown prince. So, the cotext suggests an interpretation of *śčm.tw* as a verbal expression. As pointed out above, the fact that the agent is introduced by *ỉn* after the verb determines the character of the verb form as a *śčm.tw=f* passive.

There are two exceptional instances where *'ḥ'.n=ỉ* + psp is used instead of the verbal pseudoparticiple. Both examples are to be found in the autobiography of *'I'ḥ-mśỉ.w*, son of *'Ib3n3* , at El-kab, an inscription which is conspicuous for its very frequent use of *'ḥ'.n*-forms which is not typical for the non-literary texts of the 18th Dynasty.

(18)   Urk. IV 3, 2-4:

ḥr-m-ḫt grg.n=ỉ pr(.w)

'ḥ'.n=ỉ ỉčỉ .kw r p3 ḥ'w "Mḥ.tỉ"
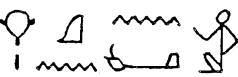
ḥr knn=ỉ

"After having founded a household, I was detailed to the boat "North" on account of my bravery."

(19)   Urk. IV 3, 8-11:

wn.ḥr=ỉ ḥr ḳn.t ḥr rt.wỉ=ỉ m-b3ḥ Ḥm=f

ꜥḥꜥ.n=ỉ ṯhn.kw r "Ḫꜥỉ-m-Mn-nfr"
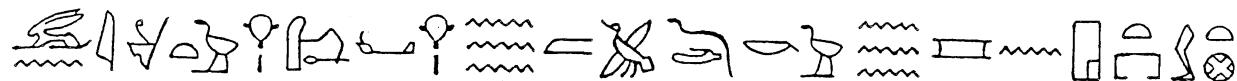
wn.ỉn=tw ḥr ꜥḥꜣ ḥr mw m pꜣ čṱ.kw n(.ỉ) Ḥw.t-wꜥr.t

"Then I was brave in the presence of His Majesty. Then I was detached to the 'Appearing in Memphis'. Then there was fighting on the water in the *čṱkw* of Awaris."

3.2   The Past Tense of Intransitive Verbs of Motion

The distribution of verbal forms is most consistent with the verbs of motion. There is only one pattern which is preferred for the first person singular and another which is preferred for the third person.

1st sg. psp
3rd NP + psp

Examples for the first person singular

(20)   Urk. IV 390, 13-15:

śr.ntw=ỉ r ḥn.tỉ rnp.wt m ḫpr(.w)=ś ỉčỉ.t

ỉyỉ.kw m Ḥr.w wꜥt.t ḥr nsr r ḫft.ỉw=ỉ

"That I was announced for the future was in her form as conqueror. I came as the female Horus vomiting fire against my enemies."

The pseudoparticiple must, in this example, introduce an independent sentence as, of course, Queen Hatshepsut was crowned after having been announced.

(21)   Urk. IV 484, 11-14:

nn bš pf śḥȝ.wn=ì r rw.tì

ìyì.kw m ḥs.w(.t) n.t ḫr nsw

ḥtp.kw m ìmn.t nfr.t

bȝ=ì m p.t, ẖȝ.t=ì m ìmḥ.t

"There is no secret that I disclosed outside, after having come into the favour of the king. I went to rest in the beautiful west. My ba is in heaven, my body is in the tomb."

In this passage there is also a clear time reference. The allusion to the tomb owner's discretion naturally refers to an earlier time than his going to the west. Obviously, the second pseudoparticiple must be a verbal expression. Maybe even the first of the two pseudoparticiples has to be interpreted in that way. At least the two of them would form a couplet with almost identical structure and the negated sentence is preceded by three other negative sentences in which the author claims never to have made a mistake. That makes four negated sentences in all forming two thought couplets. This interpretation furnishes a very uniform structure of the text.

Beside the initial pseudoparticiple, there are three places in which *ìw=ì* + psp is employed and on the Kamose-stela the Late Egyptian *tw=ì* + psp occurs once in the first person singular and once in the second person singular. This Late Egyptian formation is otherwise unattested in the 17th or 18th Dynasty.

(22)   Kamose stela 2-4:

nn snš ìb.w=śn m ẖn.w ḥ.t=śn

śčm.tw hmhm.t n.t pȝy=ì mš'

ìw=ì mnì.kw r pr(.w) čt ḳn, ìb=ì ȝwì(.w)

či=i m3 'Ippi 3.t ḥwr.t

"Their hearts did not open in their bodies, when the clamour of my army became audible. I landed at the house of the braggart, rejoicing for having made Apophis see a bad moment."

(23)   Urk. IV 484, 1-2:

iw=i iyi.kw r nw.t=i n.t nḥḥ r šp3.t=i n.t č.t
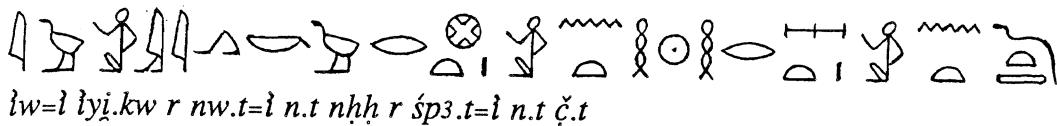
"I have come to my city of eternity, my region of endurance."

(24)   Urk. IV 974, 13-16:

nčr.n=i nmt.wt=f ḥr [ḫ3š.t rš.t mḥ.tt]
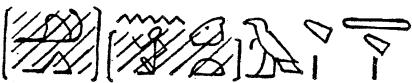
[pḥ.n=i] ḫnt.iw t3

iw=i špr.kw r pḥ.w.w=f

iw=i ḥr rt.wi Ḥm=f '.w.š.

"I followed his steps in the [southern and northern foreign land and I reached] the southernmost part of the land. I reached its end, while I accompanied His Majesty lph."

(25)   Kamose stela 4-5:

špr.kw r 'Iny.t-n.t-ḫnt

tw=i wč3.kw n=šn r šti št

"I reached *'Iny.t-n.t-ḫnt.* I crossed over to them in order to ask about it."

3.3   The Past Tense of Other Intransitive Verbs

The other intransitive verbs are restricted in the first person singular to the pseudoparticiple, like the verbs of motion or the transitive verbs in the passive voice. In the third person there are three forms available.

1   NP + psp
2   NP + ḥr śčm
3   śčm=f

Examples for the first person singular:

The pseudoparticiple of a verb of this semantic category designates a concomitant circumstance in Middle Egyptian. The same goes for the 18th Dynasty texts. However, in addition to this there seems to exist a verbal pseudoparticiple of the first person singular in these texts. In the following examples, the pseudoparticiple can be no adverbial transposition for either syntactic or semantic reasons.

(26)   Urk. IV 123, 6-8:

wn=i m t3 pn n(.i) 'nḫw

nn iw n(.i) nčr r=i

ḫpr.kw m [3ḫ] 'pr(.w)
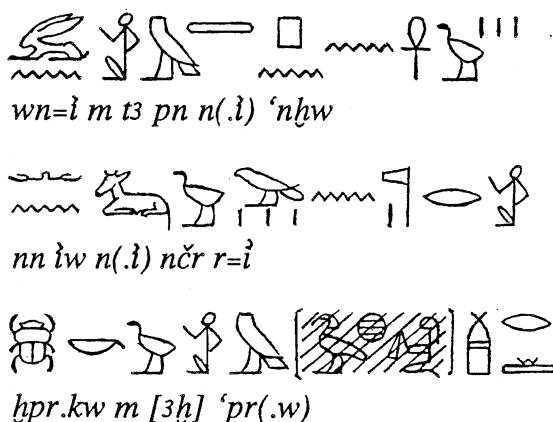
"That I existed in this land of the living was without having the wrath of a god against me. I have become a [spirit] who is (well) supplied."

If the pseudoparticiple were an adverbial verb form in this example, it would convey a concomitant circumstance. Of course, this makes no sense here; the tomb owner became a spirit only after having been faultless on earth.

(27)   Urk. IV 161, 2-5:

ḳt.n=f wỉ m bỉk n(.ỉ) nb.w

ḏỉ.n=f n=ỉ šḫm=f pḥ.tỉ=f

ḏsr.kw m ḥʿ.w=f ỉpn m rn pwy [n(.ỉ) Ḥr.w nb.w šḫm-pḥ.tỉ ḏsr-ḥʿ.w]

"He formed me as a gold falcon. He gave me his might and his strength. I have become holy with these crowns of his and with this name [of gold Horus with mighty strength and holy crowns]."

For the first two sentences there seem to be two possible interpretations; one along the lines of the standard theory and another one that assumes the existence of verbal *šḏm.n=f* forms for the 18th Dynasty. The construction with a substantival *šḏm.n=f* and an emphasized adverbial predicate can be disregarded on account of the lack of an appropriate adverbial expression. *m bỉk n.ỉ nb.w* in the first sentence might be considered worth emphasizing but *n=ỉ* in the second one cannot be the predicate. If the author's intention had been to emphasize that all these honours were conferred on this particular king and not on some other candidate, *n=ỉ* would have been chosen as the predicate for all sentences, or at the very least for the first one. So, the only way of avoiding the somewhat "heretical" interpretation of the first two sentences of this passage as verbal expressions is to assume that they form a Wechselsatz. In that case, the subordination of the pseudoparticiple under the second one would break up the construction. Furthermore, the three statements form an enumeration of events of equal importance, so that an interpretation of the pseudoparticiple as a concomitant circumstance seems to be impossible.

(28)   Urk. IV 390, 9-12:

ḥḳȝ.n=šn m ḥmt.w Rʿw
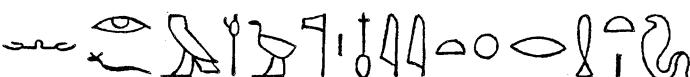
n ỉri̯=f m wḏ nčr nfry.t-r Ḥm.t=ỉ

mn.kw ḥr nš.wt R'w

"It was as ignorants of Re that they (=the Hyksos) ruled. He gave no god's order until My Majesty. I am remaining on the thrones of Re."

The pseudoparticiple here forms the link between the narration of the Hyksos and the account of Queen Hatshepsut's reign. The pseudoparticiple states a fact that is situated later in time than the rule of the Hyksos and Re's silence and can even be translated as present tense. The following sentences are concerned with Hatshepsut's glorious victory over her enemies in Egypt.

(29)   Urk. IV 974, 1-7:

in ib=i rḏi iri.y=i št m ššm=f ḥr=i

iw=f [n=i] m mtr mnḫ

n ḥḏ.n=i ḏt.wt=f

snḏ.kw r tḥ.t ššm=f

rwṭ.kw ḥr=š wr.t

mnḫ.n=i ḥr rḏ.tn=f iri.y=i

iḳr.n=i m ššm=f
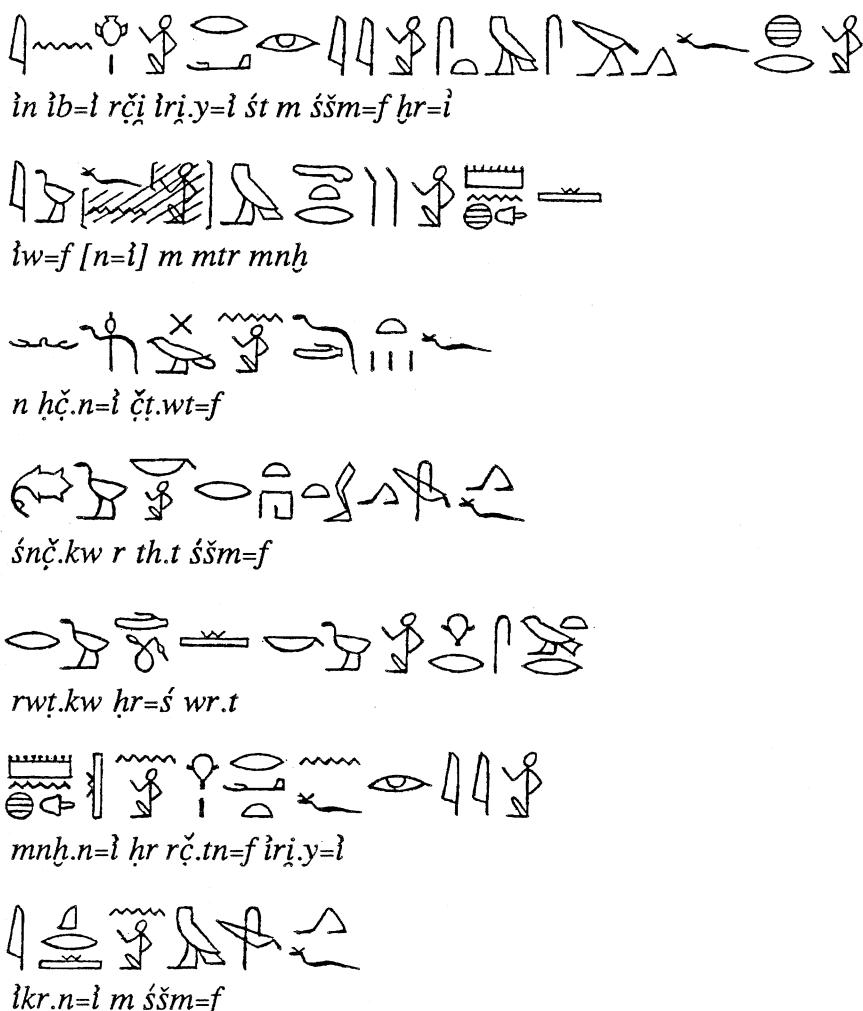
"It was my heart that caused me to do it by its guidance. It is a good witness for me. I am never disobedient to what it says. I am afraid to disregard its guidance. I have become very powerful on account of it. I have excelled in what it ordered me to do. I have been outstanding under its guidance."

The first pseudoparticiple can be interpreted as an adverbial verb form. It makes sense to translate: "I am never disobedient to what it says, for I am afraid to disregard its guidance." But there is no way of translating the following sentence as a circumstantial clause as well, because the author's good situation in life is the result of what he described before. With *rwṭ.kw* begins a new paragraph which is continued by two *sčm.n=f* forms, describing the same fact in other words.

3.4   The Past Active

The greatest variety of verbal forms is to be found with the transitive verbs in the active voice. No fewer than nine different sentence conjugations belong among the frequently used forms.

1   *ìw sčm.n=f*
2   *sčm.n=f*
3   *sčm=f*
4   *sčm.in=f*
5   *wn.ìn=f ḥr sčm*
6   *'ḥ'.n sčm.n=f*
7   NP + *sčm=f*
8   NP + *sčm.n=f*
9   NP *ḥr sčm*

Most interesting of them are *sčm.n=f* and *sčm=f*. In a great many places the interpretation of a *sčm.n=f* form as a verbal expression furnishes the semantically and pragmatically most satisfactory translation. But of all verbal forms, this is at the same time the most difficult one to prove, as there is hardly another verbal form that can have as many different meanings, lends itself to as many different interpretations as the *sčm.n=f*. Consequently, of all the passages where an interpretation of it as a verbal expression seems to be possible, only very few places can be detected where all other alternative interpretations are to be ruled out. The most likely explanation for this verbal form is that it developed out of *ìw* by abolishing the particle *ìw*.[17]

The following examples contain *sčm.n=f* forms in cotexts that seem to exclude all other interpretations except as a verbal expression.

(30)   Urk. IV 618, 15-17:

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[17] Cf. Junge, *SAK* 9 (1981), 207 f.; id., *GM* 60 (1982), 93-96.

wr mn.w=k r nsw nb ḫpr

[hieroglyphs]

wḏ.n=ỉ n=k ỉr.t śt

[hieroglyphs]

ḥtp.kw ḥr=ś

"Your monument is bigger than that of any other king. I have ordered you to make it. I am content with it."

A translation of the verbal form in question as an adverbial phrase would suggest that the order of the god to build the monument was the condition on which success was granted; but this can hardly be the case. A connection with the preceding *nfr św*-construction thus makes no sense. The following pseudoparticiple cannot possibly be a circumstantial form, because the god is content with the monument after he ordered it and after it was completed – not by the time he ordered it. Apparently, the only satisfactory translation is obtained when all three sentences are interpreted as main sentences[18]. Yet, there is one alternative that cannot altogether be excluded. *wḏ.n=ỉ* and the following pseudoparticiple could be a so-called theme-sentence construction with a substantival verbal form as a head theme succeeded by a verbal main sentence[19].

(31)   Urk. IV 651, 11-14:
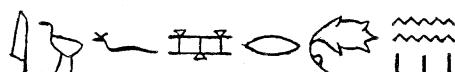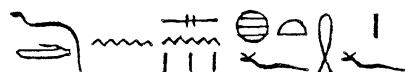
[hieroglyphs]

ỉn-ỉw Ḥm=f ḏ3ỉ.w ḥr kỉ.ỉ mčn,

[hieroglyphs]

ỉw=f w3ỉ(.w) r śnč n=n?

[hieroglyphs]

k3=śn.

[hieroglyphs]

ḏ.t.n=śn ḫft Ḥm=f:

"'Does His Majesty march on a different road, because he has become afraid of us?' They will say". They said to His Majesty:

Syntactically speaking, *čt.n=sn* can only be a verbal expression and the only way of avoiding to interpret it as a verbal *sčm.n=f* is to emend it to *sčm.in=f*.

(32)   Urk. IV 891, 2-7:

whm ḥfʿ n(.ì) wčy.t tn ḥr ḫ3š.t t3 č3s.t-wʿn ḥr ìmn.tì Ḫ3rb.
ìnį.n=ì ʿ3m.w m šḳr ʿnḫ sì 13, ʿ3.w ʿnḫ.w 70, ḥśmn mìnb 13, ḥśmn b3k m nb.w [...]

"Repetition of the capture of this campaign on the juniper hill to the west of *Ḫ3rb*. I brought 13 Asiatics as prisoners, 70 donkeys, 13 bronze axes and bronze covered with gold.

This example is taken from the autobiography of *ʾImn.w-m-ḥ3b*, an officer under Thut-mosis III and Amenophis II. In his autobiographical inscription, he recounts in front of all military deeds. The sentences preceding this passage relate his bravery in several battles. The infinitive *whm* introduces the account of a new battle and at the same time acts as the headline for another list of spoils which is then introduced by *ìnį.n=ì*. An interpretation of *ìnį.n=ì* as an adverbial verb form would turn the chronological order upside down on account of the implied anteriority. It cannot be a substantival verb form either as *šḳr ʿnḫ* is not the predicate, *ʿ3m.w m šḳr ʿnḫ* being simply one item on the list among others. Again, the only possible solution seems to be to interpret the *sčm.n=f*-form as a verbal expression.

(33)   Urk. IV 1282,19 - 1283,5:

nḥb=f m Mn-nfr m č3my.t

w3ḥ=f r ḥnw n(.ì) Ḥr.w-m-3ḥ.t
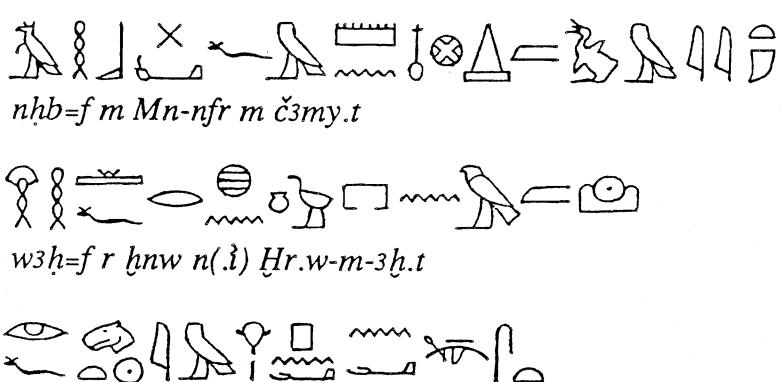
ìrì=f 3.t ìm ḥr pn'n' śt

ḥr m3 śš3.w n(.ì) ḫnw pn n(.ì) Ḫwì=f-wì Ḫ'ì=f-R'w m3ᶜ-ḫrw
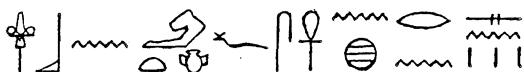
3bì.n ḥ3.tì=f ś:'nḫ rn=śn

čč=f m ìb=f ḥr ḥr=f r ḫpr.t wč.n n=f ìtì=f R'w

m-ḫt nn ś:ḫ'ì.w Ḥm=f m nsw

"That he used to harness in Memphis with the snaffle, was in order to stop at the resting-place of the sphinx, and to spend some time encircling it and contemplating the craftsmanship of this resting-place of Cheops and Chephren. His heart wished to revive their name which he put into his heart under his (?) until what his father Re had ordered for him happened. After this His Majesty was crowned king."

3bì.n ḥ3.tì=f cannot be an adverbial verbal form, because the wish to revive the names of the two ancient kings must have arisen after Amenophis II had spent some time at Giza, not before. Neither can it be a substantival transposition, as there is no adverbial adjunct in this sentence that could fill the position of the predicate. Besides, the following sentence is another main sentence so that the only possible interpretation seems to be that as a verbal expression.

In contrast to the verbal *śčm.n=f* it is much easier to find example sentences for the Late Egyptian past active *śčm=f*:

(34)   Urk. IV 102, 11-16:

ìrì.n=ì t3š.w T3-mrì r šnn.t ìtn

čì=ì nḫt wn.w ḥr ḥrì.yt

ṯr=ỉ čw.t ḥr=š

čỉ=ỉ wn Km.t m ḥr.t

t3 nb m mr.wt=š
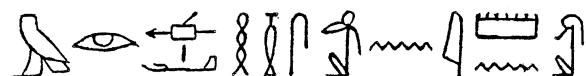
m ỉrỉ wꜥ.w ḥsỉ.n 'Imn.w

"It is around (all) that the sun encircles that I have made Egypt's boundaries. I have made those strong who were afraid. I have routed the evil. I have made Egypt the ruler, every land being her servants, as the one who was praised by Amun."

The three *sčm=f*-forms can hardly be circumstantial clauses relating concomitant circumstances to the first sentence. It makes no sense to translate: "That I extended Egypt's borders was while I made those strong who were afraid..." This passage rather has to be considered as an enumeration of mutually independent feats the king has accomplished, and there is no direct connection between the extension of the frontiers and the providing for justice.

(35)   ·Urk. IV 255, 4-7:

m33 sỉ Ḥm n(.ỉ) iṯ=š Ḥr.w pn

nčr.wỉ ḳm3=š wr.t

ḥnt ỉb=š

ꜥ3 wrr.t=š

"The majesty of her father, this king, saw her: how very divine she was, how glad her heart was, how great her crown was."

Here the *śčm=f*-form is the introduction of a new paragraph telling the story of how Hat-shepsut was publicly introduced by her father as his successor to the throne. As it forms the beginning of a text, there is no way of subordinating it under a preceding verbal form.

(36)   Urk. IV 272, 10-12:

iśt ib=k ḥʿ(.w) ḫft irr=i

ś:wč=k nsy.t=i mi nb nḥḥ

ś:ḫnt=k wi r pśč.t nčr.w
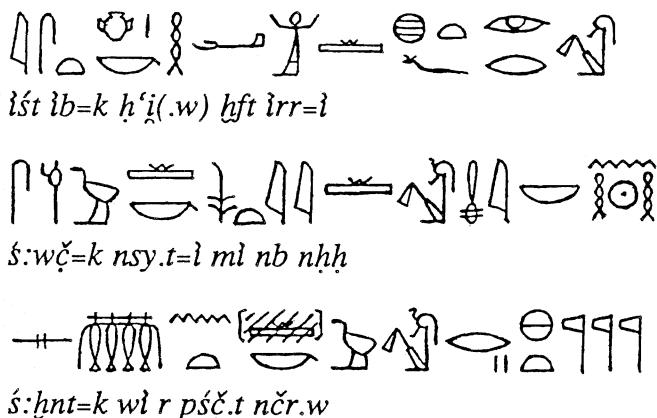
"Your heart rejoices when I act. (So) you have given (me) my kingship as the lord of eternity. (And) you have promoted me more than the ennead."

Clearly, Thutmosis I was crowned king after Amun was satisfied with him and while the god rejoiced over him. The king's succession to the throne can in fact be considered here as Amun's reward for his obedience.

(37)   Urk. IV 1246, 10-12:

iw iwi Ḥm=f r tnw sp

ḥt=f ḫpr(.w) m ḳn.t nḫt

či=f wn Km.t m śḥr.w=s mi wn Rʿw im=ś m nsw
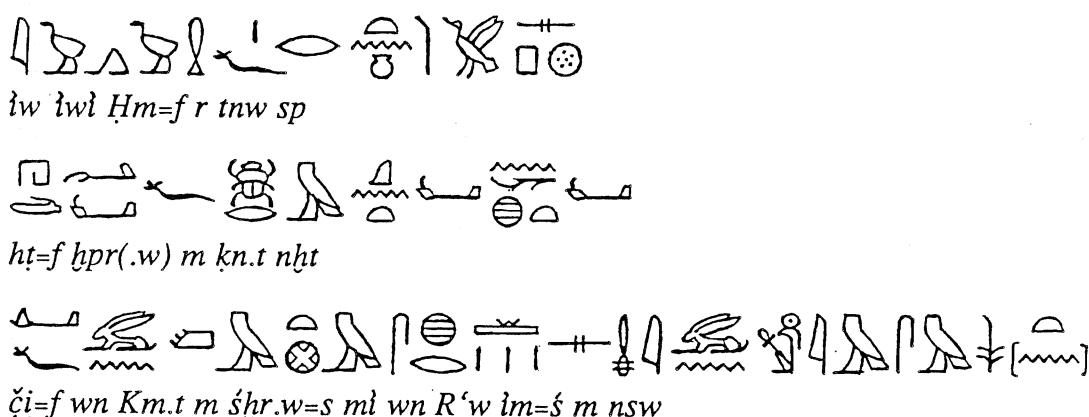
"His majesty always returns, his fight having been successful. He has made Egypt as if Re were there as king."

Here it makes no sense to translate "His majesty always returns ..., making Egypt as if Re were there as king". This last sentence is another achievement of the king's. At first it is said that the king is always successful at war abroad. Next, the king's domestic policy is

praised as being just as good as if Re himself were king. So, the two statements have to be considered as being coordinated and telling two aspects of the same thing.

(38)   Urk. IV 1280,18 - 1281,2:
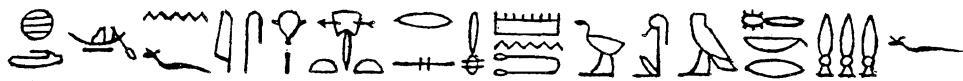
ḫti.n=f iś ḥr śt.t r=ś mi Mnčw m ḫkr.w=f

ʿḥȝ.w=f pri.w ḥr-śȝ ir.i

kfʿ=f k.t ḥm.t

sp iś pw n pȝi.tw ir.t=f

"Like Month in his armour he drove to shoot at it (the target). His arrows came out at the back of it. He took another pole. This is a feat that has never been done."

This is an account of Amenophis II's shooting exercises. If *kfʿ=f* were translated as an adverbial present tense, the result would be an emphasis of the king's quickness in shooting arrows at different targets. If this were intended, the author would most likely have chosen a different construction, like **pri.n ʿḥȝ.w=f ... kfʿ=f* with a substantival verb form acting as the theme of the sentence and *kfʿ=f* as the rheme. But as it is, the rheme[20] of the second sentence is the fact that the arrows pierced the pole and actually came out at its back.

4   Conclusion

To conclude what has been said before, the essential points of the past tense non-literary verbal system of the 18th Dynasty are listed below, these points being at the same time typical for the 18th Dynasty as well as extraneous to both Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian.

1   Conjugation patterns of the *iw* subsystem are extremely rare except for *iw śčm.n=f*. But there are verbal forms that strongly suggest an origin from this subsystem like the verbal *śčm.n=f*, verbal *śčm* + NP passive, and maybe NP + psp.

---

[20] Cf. Loprieno, *JAAL* 1 (1988), 31.

2   Transitive verbs in the passive voice and intransitive verbs are confined to the use of the pseudoparticiple for the first person singular.

3   In the third person these verbs show NP + psp in the majority of the cases.

4   The past passive verbal forms *śčm=f* and *śčm.w=f* are used with nominal subjects only, the latter being mostly employed with weak verbs and causatives, the former displaying a preference for strong verbs.

On the whole, the system of the main sentence constructions in non-literary texts of the 18th Dynasty seems to be half-way between Middle and Late Egyptian. It can be considered neither to be really the one nor the other. Much rather, it is an intermediary stage with its own grammatical system showing features of both the preceding and the succeeding period, as well as constructions that seem to be confined to the 18th Dynasty. This intermediary character might serve in better understanding the development of the language from Middle Egyptian to Late Egyptian.

The information of figures 1 - 4 can be combined in one paradigm as shown below in figure 5. The less frequently employed verbal forms are omitted for the sake of clarity.

Fig. 5

	primary sentence conjugations		secondary sentence conjugations
	contingent	others	
active	*śčm.ỉn=f*	*śčm=f*	*ỉw śčm.n=f*
		śčm.n=f	NP + *śčm.n=f*
			'ḥ'.n śčm.n=f
		intr.:	*wn.ỉn=f ḥr śčm*
		1st. sg.: psp	NP + *śčm=f*
			NP *ḥr śčm*
			intr.:
			NP +psp
passive		1st sg.: psp	NP + psp
		3rd: *śčm=f*	*wn.ỉn=tw ḥr śčm*
		śčm.w=f	
		śčm.tw=f	

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