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Pascal Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics*. Yale Egyptological Studies 4, New Haven 1990 (ISBN 0-912532-21-1, VII + 228 pp., \$ 35.00).

Thomas Ritter

The book under review is certainly an important contribution to our knowledge of Middle Egyptian. Its strength lies in the compilation of all the constructions that can be used in a future context, the great number of example sentences, and the vast textual basis from which this study draws. What the reader misses, however, is a systematic analysis and description of the accumulated results, i. e., the integration of the Egyptian textual data into a current general linguistic theoretical framework. It would also have been interesting to pay attention to the endings *.y* and *.w*, under which syntactic, pragmatic and semantic circumstances and with which verbal classes they occur. Furthermore, a description of the Passive Voice is lacking altogether, except for the "Passive counterparts to $n(n) \dot{s}\check{c}m.w=f$ ". A great deal of confusion is caused by the transcription. What does the ending *.w* really signify? In many example sentences for $\dot{s}\check{c}m.w=f$, the verb in question does not have a *.w* ending, apart from the fact that this ending is more or less restricted to weak and causative verbs so that it can hardly occur with the verb $\dot{s}\check{c}m$. What does the transcription $n(n)$ mean? Is it a negation nn that is sometimes spelled with one n only, or is it a negation n that is sometimes complemented by a phonogram n ? Or does it mean yet something else?

P. Vernus' book is the first monograph that is dedicated to the description of the Middle Egyptian modal system, and in particular to a possible distinction between a Future Tense and a modal Prospective verb form. One of its best qualities is the large text corpus on which it is based:

This study encompasses all the materials from the end of Dynasty VI to the end of Dynasty XIII, including also the bulk of the early Dynasty XVIII inscriptions.¹

This large textual foundation shows its beneficial effect on every page. The book can be roughly divided into two parts:

(1) *Chapters 1-7 dealing with Future and Mood.*

Chapter 1: Subject + $r \dot{i}r\dot{i}.t$ and $\dot{i}r\dot{i}=f$

Chapter 2: "emphatic" $\dot{i}r\dot{i}(.w)=f$ and converter wnn

Chapter 3: Future in the Cleft Sentence

Chapter 4: $\dot{s}\check{c}m.hr=f$ and hr -headed constructions

Chapter 5: $\dot{s}\check{c}m.k3=f$ and $k3$ -headed constructions

Chapter 6: The Message Auxiliary $i\check{h}$

Chapter 7: Negations of the Future

1 Vernus (1990:v-vi).

(2) *Chapters 8-9 dealing with aspectual issues in general and the construction NP + preposition + infinitive in particular.*

Chapter 8: Subject + *m irj.t*

Chapter 9: The aspectual opposition unachieved extensive/unachieved non-extensive.

In a first step, the author limits the scope of his treatise to *absolute* Future Tenses

that locate the action in the future from their basic values, or at least as a possible side effect of their basic values.²

This means that he includes only those Egyptian constructions whose Event Time is located later on the time axis than their Reference Time.³ Thus, he eliminates all relative past or present Tenses that have to be translated in Indoeuropean languages as a Future Tense, since their Reference Point locates their lexeme process after the time of the Speech Act, i.e.

Egyptian constructions of which future translation is only a feature of context.⁴

In doing so the author modifies some of his earlier views on the subject⁵ and adopts a position which is shared by General Linguists.

After having defined the scope of his book as the absolute Future Tenses, the author focusses on the two constructions Subject + *r irj.t* and *irj(.w)=f*. He gives the following definitions for both constructions:

1. Subject + *r irj.t*: Deontic Future, sometimes remote future.

The relationship between the action and its subject does not stem from the speaker/writer's intention or expectation. Rather, the subject is bound to the fulfilment of the action through an ineluctable necessity. Even in the first person, something more than the mere intention or expectation of the speaker/writer – who is then identical to the subject – is involved.⁶

2. *irj(.w)=f*: Volitive Future, sometimes immediate future.

... the future it expresses is volitive future, the relationship between the action and its subject being marked as stemming from the speaker/writer's intention or expectation. ... The volitive future meaning is overriding, functioning as the counterpart of the overriding deontic future meaning of subject + *r* + infinitive.⁷

2 Vernus (1990:4).

3 For a definition of absolute and relative Tenses, Event Time, Speech Act Time, and Reference Time with the relevant general linguistic literature see Th. Ritter, *Das Verbalsystem der königlichen und privaten Inschriften der 18. Dynastie bis einschließlich Amenophis III*, Diss. Tübingen/Los Angeles 1992, Teil I, § 3.1.10.

4 Vernus (1990:1).

5 Cf. P. Vernus, "Études de philologie et de linguistique (III)," *RdÉ* 35 (1984), 159-88; id., "Études de philologie et de linguistique (IV)," *RdÉ* 36 (1985), 153-68.

6 Vernus (1990:9).

7 Vernus (1990:26f.).

From a descriptive point of view this categorisation is certainly correct. From a theoretical perspective, however, it can be improved. In General Linguistics, the category of Modality is subdivided into the subcategories of Epistemic and Deontic modality.⁸

EPISTEMIC

is derived from the Greek Word meaning 'understanding' or 'knowledge' (rather than 'belief'), and so is to be interpreted as showing the status of the speaker's understanding or knowledge; this clearly includes both his own judgments and the kind of warrant he has for what he says.⁹

Epistemic modality comprises in turn Evidentials (visual, nonvisual, sensation, report, deduction, assumption) and Judgments (knowledge, belief). The subdivisions of Evidentials and Judgments are not easily distinguished, since speakers' judgments are normally based on the evidence they have.¹⁰

DEONTIC MODALITY

is concerned with action, by others and by the speaker himself.¹¹

The most important types of Deontic modality are Directives, Volitives, and Commissives, Since they are

not only subjective, but also performative, they actually initiate action by others or by the speaker. For that reason they will always be related to the future, since only the future can be changed or affected as a result of them being expressed. At the time of speaking a speaker can get others to act or commit himself to action only in the future. In this respect they are clearly different from Epistemic modality, where the speaker can commit himself to the truth of propositions in the past, present or future.¹²

Simple declarative statements are considered to belong to the Epistemic modality.¹³

This brief outline can be summarized in the following way:

MODALITY

1 *Epistemic (Indicative)*

1.1 Evidentials

1.2 Judgments

2 *Deontic*

2.1 Directives (Imperative)

2.2 Volitives (1st person Optative)

2.3 Commissives (3rd person Optative, *irr=k*, *irr=f*)¹⁴

8 F.R. Palmer, *Mood and Modality*, Cambridge 1986.

9 Palmer (1986:51-95), esp. 51, 95.

10 Palmer (1986:70).

11 Palmer (1986:96).

12 Palmer (1986:97).

13 Palmer (1986:17, 28).

14 Cf. A. Loprieno, "Focus, mood, and negative forms: Middle Egyptian syntactic paradigms and diachrony," *LingAeg* 1 (1991), 201-26, esp. 212-17; Vernus (1990:42).

If Vernus' description of the functions of Subject + *r irj.t* and *irj(.w)=f* are matched up with the general linguistic theoretical framework, the former has to be subsumed under the Epistemic modality, whereas the latter clearly falls under the Deontic modality.

One can even go one step further and claim that NP *r irj.t* is not by itself an absolute Future Tense, but rather a relative Present Tense with Prospective Aspect.¹⁵ In the same way, NP *hr irj.t* is a relative Present Tense with Progressive or Habitual Aspect. Thus, it can be used in past, present and future cotexts.¹⁶ The same applies to NP *irj=f*, which is also a relative Present Tense with Progressive or Habitual Aspect occurring in past, present and future cotexts. NP *irj.n=f* is a relative Present Tense with Resultative Aspect, i.e., in a present cotext it functions as a Present Perfect, in a past cotext as a Past Perfect. Finally, NP + PsP of transitive verbs (passive voice) and verbs of motion is a relative Present Tense with Resultative Aspect, whereas NP + PsP of verbs of state or quality is a relative Present Tense with Durative Aspect. The assumption that NP *r irj.t* is a relative Present Tense with Prospective Aspect is necessary in order to be able to explain the use of this construction in a past cotext.

(1) *Urk.V 35, 12*¹⁷

'h'.n r=f ċh+w.ti r psg=s

“Then Thoht was going to spit on it.”

(2) Vernus (1990:14, ex. 29)

*hšb.t 19 3bt(+w) 4 n(.i) 3h.t šw 2 hr Hm n(.i) nsw bi.ti H'i-k3.w-R'(.w) 'nh ċ.t r nhh
wč3 nb '.w.š. m htj hr š:hr.t K3š hs.t*

→ *iw=tw r gmj.t mw r š:3wj.t Išmw r š3š3 r p3 itr.w ċs nb r mi.tt ir.t*

“Regnal year 19, month 4 of the inundation, day 2, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, H'i-k3.w-R'(.w), may he live forever.

Proceeding northwards by the Lord, l.p.h, upon overthrowing vile Kush.

One was going to find water, to sail along Ishmuk, and to push through, according to the season, when every shoal is in accordance therewith.”

Possibly, the shifting of the reference time of NP *r irj.t* from Present to Past Tense entails a shifting of the modality from Epistemic to Deontic (Volitive) modality, not unlike American English “to be going to do,” which functions as an Epistemic Relative Present Prospective form if the reference time is identical with the time of the speech event. If the reference time is anterior to the speech event, however, the construction acquires the function of a Volitive Relative Present Prospective form. At least in the present example it would make excellent sense to translate *iw=tw r gmj.t mw* volitively as “one wanted to find water.”

The interpretation of NP *r irj.t* as a relative Present Tense with a Prospective Aspect also furnishes the explanation of the frequent use of *r irj.t* in subordinate clauses with a

15 Cf. Ritter (1992:Teil II, § 1.2.)

16 For examples see Ritter (1992:Teil II, § 1.2) and Vernus (1990:ex. 1, 376ff., 381ff.).

17 A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford³1957, 394, fn. 4a.

final Text Relation in past, present, and future contexts. This is simply the construction NP *r irj.t* whose subject NP is deleted in the surface structure because it is coreferential with the subject NP of the preceding clause. This phenomenon is known as *Gapping*.

Chapter 2 is concerned with “emphatic constructions with future reference.” Most prominent among these is the so-called “prospective” *irj.w=f*. Interestingly enough, however, the vast majority of examples that the author gives for this verbal form does not have “emphatic” function at all, but occurs in subordinate clauses. The use of modal verb forms in subordinate clauses is a feature that Egyptian shares with many other natural languages.

There are three different types of subordinate clauses: ¹⁸

- (a) Complement clauses; they function as a complement of the verb of the main clause, usually as its object.
- (b) Oblique clauses; they function as an adjunct (adverbial status) of the verb of the main clause and can be introduced by conjunctions. The most important modal oblique clause is the clause of purpose, although other types of clauses can be formally treated as modal by many languages.¹⁹
- (c) Relative Clauses; they have no bearing on problems of modality.

The “prospective” *irj.w=f* occurs as well in oblique clauses after a variety of conjunctions as in complement clauses, in front of all as the object of verbs of speaking or wishing. Apart from its use in subordinate clauses, the “prospective” *irj.w=f* can occur in thematic clauses that focus on an adverbial adjunct of the main verb. In this capacity it can alternate with the Habitual Present Tense *irr=f*. As has been noted before²⁰, *irr=f* can not only describe epistemically an iterated or habitual action, it can also express a polite order, especially in the 2nd person. It is this deontic usage of the Habitual Present Tense *irr=f* that overlaps semantically with the “prospective” *irj.w=f*. Note, that the 1st person prefers the “prospective” *irj.w=f* whereas the 2nd person uses the geminated form instead. In the 3rd person either form is possible.²¹

Within the context of “emphatic” constructions the author discusses the converters *wnn* and *wn*. He lists the following usages:²²

- 1 “emphatic” converter *wnn* without future meaning;
- 2 “emphatic” converter *wnn* expressing epistemic future as the counterpart of NP *r irj.t*;
- 3 “emphatic” converter *wnn* as counterpart of the “prospective” converter *wn*;
- 4 “prospective” converter *wn*;
- 5 Past Tense converter *wn*.

18 See e. g. Palmer (1986:127f.).

19 Palmer (1986:172).

20 Loprieno (1991:201-26), esp. 212-17; Vernus (1990:42).

21 See diagram in Loprieno (1991:217).

22 Vernus (1990:45-52).

Vernus describes *wnn*²³ as

a nominal converter, which allows certain constructions to fulfill nominal functions. Hence the frequent uses of *wnn* as an “emphatic” converter, through which the rhematic load may be transferred to the adverbial adjunct in constructions unable in themselves to be “emphatic”. Such are, for instance, the constructions built on the pattern subject + predicate, or the predication of quality (“adjectival predicate”).

The constructions to which he is alluding, like NP+PP,²⁴ NP+AdvP, NP+*irj(.n)=f*, or NP+PsP, always have the pragmatic structure Theme - Rheme,²⁵ with or without converter. Hence, *wnn* cannot have the function of making the AdvP the Rheme of the sentence.

In the cases in which *wnn* has no future meaning, it seems to be the *Ilae* gem. verb rather than the converter. As a verb, it may have thematic function, of course, especially if the subject is an anaphoric (suffix) pronoun that contains given information and cannot stand on its own.

In the cases in which *wnn* does have future meaning, it functions in the syntactic dimension as a Complementiser²⁶ assigning the status of a main clause to the sentence it precedes. In the semantic dimension, it converts a Relative Present Tense form into a Future Tense by assigning it a Reference Time that is located after the time of the Speech Event.

In the same fashion the Past Tense converter *wn* connects the event to a Reference Time that is located before the time of the Speech Event, thus turning a Relative Present Tense into a Past Tense.

Chapter 4 deals with *šçm.hr=f* and *hr*-headed constructions. The author lists the following sentence types that can be preceded by the particle *hr*:²⁷

- 1 NP + prep. + NP
- 2 NP + PsP
- 3 NP + *irj=f*
- 4 “prospective” *irj.w=f*
- 5 passive “prospective” *irj.w=f* (very uncertain)
- 6 *n irj.n=f*
- 7 NP + NP (questionable)

In addition to that, *wn.hr* can precede these sentence patterns:²⁸

- 1 NP + prep. + NP
- 2 NP + PsP
- 3 NP + *hr iri.t*
- 4 NP + *iri=f*

23 Vernus (1990:45).

24 Prepositional Phrase.

25 For a discussion of the Functional Sentence Perspective, see Ritter (1992:Teil I, § 1).

26 For an explanation of the term, see Ritter (1992:Teil II, § 1.1.1.1.2) and A. Radford, *Transformational Grammar*, Cambridge 1988, 292-303, 319, 327, 334, 415f., 482-492, 499-508, 540ff., 602.

27 Vernus (1990:65f.).

28 Vernus (1990:62).

These sentences, however, are not absolute Future Tenses. They are relative Present Tenses with Habitual Aspect²⁹ and Contingent or at least Posterior Text Relation.³⁰ It is conspicuous that most example sentences the author quotes are taken from procedural texts like the Medical Texts, certain Coffin Text spells, or the Mathematical Texts where a prototypical procedure is described once and for all times;³¹ the text can be applied to any other similar situation. Therefore, these passages do not really have future, but rather universal, character.

(3) CT V 199g-200b, Vernus (1990:62, ex. 129)

in šmś.w Hr(.w) 3śh śt

→ *wš' .hr=f nn n(.i) it mh nn n(.i) bt.ti*

→ *ś:in.hr=f iwf=f im*

→ *wn.hr h'.w=f w3č(.w) mi nn n(.i) nčr.w*

“It is the followers of Horus who reap it.

Then he chews this full barley and this emmer.

Then he rubs his flesh with it.

Then his body is fresh like (that of) these gods.”

The Cleft Sentence at the beginning of this passage displays a Habitual Present Tense, not a Future Tense, which demonstrates the general character of the text. It does not only apply to a specific situation in the future of a specific individual, but to every individual who is in the described situation. Therefore, the recorded procedure takes place all the time (at least potentially).

(4) pSmith 21, 9-14, Vernus (1990:68, ex. 135)

→ *inġ.hr=tw ...*

→ *knkn.hr=tw ...*

ir m-ht šwġ.w hr-kt

čn=tw mi čn it

→ *h3h3.hr=tw ...*

ir hpr.t nb.t im hr=tw h3ġi=tw

“Then one brings ...

Then one pounds ...

After (it) is completely dried,

One threshes it the way that barley is threshed.

Then one winnows ...

As for anything that comes from that, one measures it.”

This is again a description of a procedure which has to be followed for all patients who share the same symptoms, not just for one particular individual.

29 Compare Vernus (1990:82f.).

30 For Text Relations, see Ritter (1992:Teil I, § 3.3).

31 Compare Vernus (1990:80).

The particle *k3* (Chapter 5) precedes a set of sentence patterns that is very similar to the one following *hr*:³²

- 1 “prospective” *iri=f* and *iri.w=f*
- 2 NP + *irj=f*
- 3 NP + prep. + NP
- 4 NP + PsP
- 5 *wn=f hr irj.t*
- 6 NP *r irj.t*
- 7 *irr=f*
- 8 *irj.n=f*
- 9 NP + NP
- 10 Cleft Sentence

Only the first two patterns are frequently attested. All the others are uncommon.

In Chapter 7, the author treats the negations of the Future Tense. He gives the following list of Middle Egyptian negations of constructions whose Event Time is located after the Speech Act:³³

- 1 *m* and *m rçi*, negative imperative
- 2 *imj=f irj(.w)*, *imj irj(.w)* NP
- 3 *tm*
- 4 *nfr*
- 5 enclitic *w*
- 7 (a) *n(n) irj=f*
(b) *n(n) irj.w* NP(passive)
- 8 (a) *n irj.n=f*
(b) *n irj=f*

The author arrives at the conclusion that Middle Egyptian *nn irj=f* can have epistemic (the author’s objective future) as well as deontic (the author’s subjective future) value, whereas Old Egyptian possessed two distinct forms: epistemic *n irj.w=f* and deontic *n irj=f*. This lack of a possible distinction between negative epistemic and deontic modality in Middle Egyptian led to the development of *nn sw r irj.t > bn iw=f r irj.t*³⁴. It is interesting to note that – in parallel with the affirmative – the negative Future *nn irj=f* alternates in some texts with the Habitual Present Tense negation *n irj.n=f*. The reason for this interchangeability can be demonstrated with the square of semantic oppositions for affirmatives and negatives as given in A. Loprieno, “Topics in Egyptian Negations,” in *Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens*, Köln 1991, diagrams (δ) and (ε).

32 Vernus (1990:87f.).

33 Vernus (1990:117-21).

34 Vernus (1990:130).

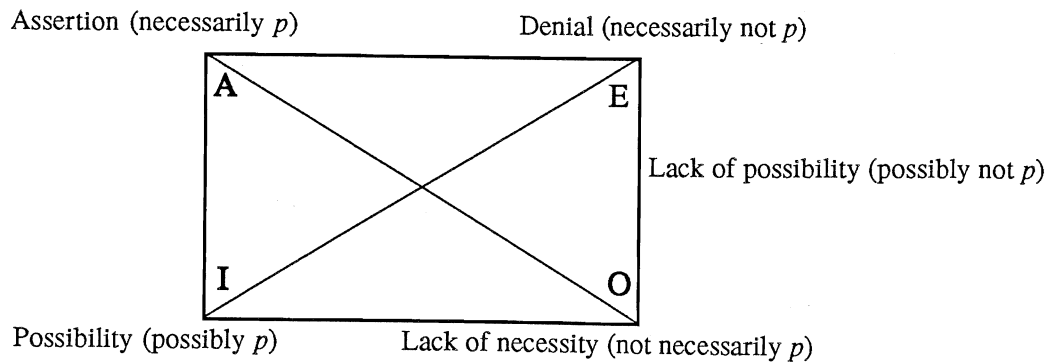


Fig. 1

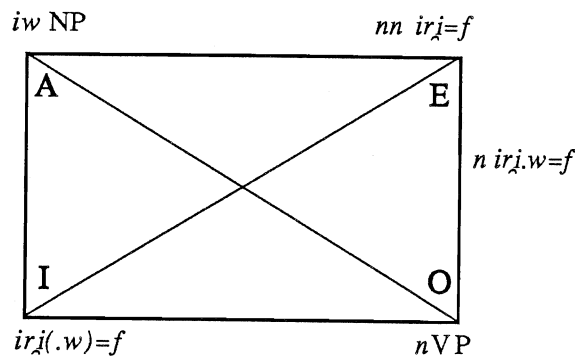


Fig. 2

The **A** and **E** vertices of this square of semantic oppositions stand in contrary relation to each other. **I** and **O** are called subcontraries. **A** and **O** are contradictory statements, and so are **I** and **E**. The **A** vertex, i.e., the verifiable assertion ($iw + VP$) entails the **I** vertex, i.e., the possibility (Future $ir_i(.w)=f$). In other words, if something does necessarily happen, it is automatically possible. The **E** vertex, i.e., the modal denial ($n ir_i.w=f, nn ir_i=f$) entails the **O** vertex, i.e., the weak contradiction of assertion, which itself acquires epistemic modality ($n ir_i.n=f$).³⁵ In other words: $nn ir_i=f$ is a subset of $n ir_i.n=f$, and $irr=f$ is a subset of “prospective” $ir_i(.w)=f$.

Conclusion

Taking all the descriptive information that the author gives into account, it seems to be possible to assemble a paradigm for the Middle Egyptian epistemic and deontic Future tense – although the author does not mention the passive at all except for the negative deontic passive.

35 Loprieno (1991:221).

Future				
epistemic			deontic	
	affirmative	negative	affirmative	negative
active	<i>NP r ir̄.i.t</i>	<i>nn ir̄.i=f</i> ³⁶	<i>ir̄.i=f</i> ³⁷	<i>nn ir̄.i=f</i>
passive	<i>iw=tw r ir̄.i.t</i>	<i>nn ir̄.i=f</i> <i>nn ir̄.i.tw=f</i>	<i>ir̄.i.w NP</i>	<i>nn ir̄.i=f</i> <i>nn ir̄.i.tw=f</i>

Fig. 3

It is then possible to outline the development of the Future Tense from Old Egyptian through Late Egyptian:

Affirmative Future				
	Old Eg.	Middle Eg.	Dyn. 18	Late Eg.
active	e: ³⁸ <i>iw=f r ir̄.i.t</i> d: ³⁹ <i>ir̄.i=f</i>	e: <i>iw=f r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>ir̄.i.y=f</i>	e: <i>iw=f r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>ir̄.i.y=f</i>	e: <i>iw=f r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>ir̄.i.y=f</i>
passive	e: <i>iw=tw r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>ir̄.i.w=f/ščmm=f</i>	e: <i>iw=tw r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>ir̄.i.tw=f/ir̄.i.w NP</i>	e: <i>iw=tw r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>ir̄.i=tw/ir̄.i.w NP</i>	e: <i>iw=tw r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>ir̄.i=tw</i>

Fig. 4

Negative Future				
	Old Eg.	Middle Eg.	Dyn. 18	Late Eg.
active	e: <i>n ir̄.i.w=f</i> d: <i>nn ir̄.i=f</i>	e/d: <i>nn ir̄.i=f</i>	e/d: <i>n(n)</i> ⁴⁰ <i>ir̄.i=f</i>	e: <i>bn iw=f r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>bn ir̄.i=f</i>
passive	e: <i>n ir̄.i.w=f</i> d: <i>n ščmm=f</i>	e/d: <i>nn ir̄.i=f</i> <i>nn ir̄.i.tw=f</i>	e/d: <i>n(n)</i> ⁴¹ <i>ir̄.i=tw</i>	e: <i>bn iw=tw r ir̄.i.t</i> d: <i>bn ir̄.i=tw</i>

Fig. 5

36 *nn ir̄.i=f* > *nn šw r ir̄.i.t*.

37 Sometimes headed by a Complementiser like *ih*, *hr* or *k3*.

38 e=epistemic.

39 d=deontic.

40 Negation *n* written with the logogram D 35 and usually complemented with the water line N 35, cf. Ritter (1992:Teil II, § 1.3).

41 See last footnote.

In the final section of his book, Vernus leaves the issue of Modality in Middle Egyptian and turns to questions of Aspect instead. In particular, he compares the constructions NP *hr/m irj.t* and NP *irj=f*. His result is conveniently summarized on p. 191 and is repeated here with a few systematic changes in the terminology:⁴²

	Progressive (Relative) Present ⁴³	Habitual (Relative) Present ⁴⁴	
Stage 1	NP <i>irj=f</i>	<i>irj=f</i>	Pyramid Texts
Stage 2	NP <i>irj=f</i> ⁴⁵	<i>irj=f</i>	Dyn. V - VI
	NP <i>hr irj.t</i> ⁴⁶	NP <i>irj=f</i>	
Stage 3	NP <i>hr irj.t</i> ⁴⁷	<i>irj=f</i>	Dyn. XI - XII
	NP <i>m irj.t</i> ⁴⁸	NP <i>irj=f</i>	Sinuhe
Stage 4	NP <i>hr irj.t</i> ⁴⁹	<i>irj=f</i>	Dyn. XII (2 nd half)
	NP <i>m irj.t</i> ⁵⁰	NP <i>irj=f</i> ⁵¹	Eloquent Peasant
		NP <i>hr irj.t</i>	
Stage 5	NP <i>hr irj.t</i> ⁵²	<i>irj=f</i>	Dyn. XIII - SIP
	NP <i>m irj.t</i> ⁵³	NP <i>irj=f</i> ⁵⁴	Khakheperreseneb,
		NP <i>hr irj.t</i> ⁵⁵	Admonitions
Stage 6	NP <i>hr irj.t</i>	NP <i>hr irj.t</i> ⁵⁷	Late Egyptian
	NP <i>m irj.t</i> ⁵⁶		

This description is at variance, however, with the situation in Dyn. 18. In the royal and private inscriptions of Dyn. 18 until Amenophis III, NP *irj=f* is the typical Progressive Present Tense form⁵⁸ while NP *hr irj.t* expresses the Habitual Present Tense.⁵⁹

42 See also Ritter (1992:Teil II, § 1.2).

43 Vernus uses the term "unachieved extensive"; for a detailed criticism of his aspect theory see Ritter (1992:Teil I, § 3.1.3).

44 Vernus uses the term "unachieved non-extensive".

45 Verbs of motion.

46 Other verbs.

47 All verbs.

48 *hntj*, *htj*.

49 All verbs.

50 *hntj*, *htj*.

51 All verbs.

52 All verbs.

53 *hntj*, *htj*.

54 All verbs.

55 All verbs.

56 Verbs of motion

57 All verbs.

58 Cf. Ritter (1992:Teil II, § 1.2 a).

59 Cf. Ritter (1992:Teil II, § 1.2 b).