Tempus und Aspekt in den alten Sprachen

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Tense and Aspect in Ancient Languages

Herausgegeben von

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Inhalt

Vorwort

„Mit einem Worte: das Verbum ist das Meisterstück der Sprache und nichts kann lohnender sein, als dies näher zu untersuchen"[1]

Zu den besonderen Herausforderungen der Übersetzung und Interpretation altorientalischer und klassischer antiker Texte gehört die grammatikalische und semantische Erfassung der Zeit, von Zeitebenen, Zeitstufen und Zeitfolgen. In grammatikalischer Hinsicht betrifft dies vor allem die Bestimmung der Funktion morphologischer Unterschiede der Verben (Aspekt, Modus, Tempus) und syntaktischer Strukturen (Parataxe und Hypotaxe). Die in diesem Band gesammelten Beiträge gehen der Frage nach, wie im Althebräischen sowie in ausgewählten Sprachen aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (Ägyptisch, Persisch, Griechisch und Latein) die Größen „Tempus" und „Aspekt" zu bestimmen und ins Verhältnis zueinander zu setzen sind. Dabei werden sprachgeschichtliche Entwicklungen ebenso in den Blick genommen wie gattungstypische Phänomene und sprachvergleichende Dimensionen. Die einzelnen Beiträge gehen auf eine internationale Tagung der *Berlin Graduate School for Ancient Studies* zurück, die am 28. und 29.6.2019 an der Theologischen Fakultät der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin durchgeführt wurde.

Die grundsätzlichen linguistischen und kategorialen Erwägungen zu Aspekt, Modus und Tempus, mit denen die vorliegende Sammlung eröffnet wird, wurden von Konrad Ehlich (München/Berlin) eigens für diesen Band geschrieben. Dafür sind wir ihm sehr dankbar. Holger Gzella (München), Jean Winand (Liège), Adriano V. Rossi (Rom), Lajos Berkes (Berlin) und Bianca Liebermann (Berlin) danken wir für die Bereitschaft, ihre in Berlin gehaltenen Vorträge im Lichte der damaligen Diskussion durchzusehen und zu ergänzen, Philipp Brandeburg (Berlin) danken wir schließlich dafür, dass er einen Beitrag zum Altgriechischen für diesen Band verfasst hat. Der ägyptologische

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[1] G. Curtius, Die Bildung der Tempora und Modi im Griechischen und Lateinischen sprachvergleichend dargestellt, Berlin 1846, 13.

Beitrag von Jean Winand wurde aus sprachgeschichtlichen Erwägungen und aus forschungsgeschichtlichen Gründen auf die vorliegende ausführliche Darstellung erweitert.

Berlin, im Dezember 2020

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Aspect in Ancient Egyptian

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Aim of this study is to present the functioning of aspect in ancient Egyptian for a large scholarship, i.e. Egyptologists and non-Egyptologists alike. After a brief general introduction (§1), the first section is a general presentation of the ancient Egyptian language (§2). The next one presents the theoretical frame of the aspectual system, assessing the pivotal role of actionality (§3). The main classes of actionality are then discussed (§4) before studying how ancient Egyptian managed to make its aspectual selections (§5). In the next section (§6), the two main components of the grammatical tenses marked for aspect – unachieved and achieved tenses – are studied with some details. The last section (§7) is devoted to the relations between aspect and time, before some words of conclusion (§8).

1.   Introduction

Presenting the functioning of aspect in ancient Egyptian to a public that largely exceeds the habitual small scholarly community of Egyptologists who specialize in language is a real challenge.

To start with, there is up to now no general consensus on how the verbal predicative system works, at least for the older stages (Old and Middle Egyptian). In the eighties and nineties, Egyptologists discussed at length what was then known as the Standard Theory, a nickname for a general theory whose foundations had been laid by the famous scholar H.J. Polotsky (1944, 1976). Polostky's insights were gradually developed into a system that led to a somewhat rigid conception of pairing between morphological forms and syntactic functions by stretching to its extreme the possibilities offered by paradigmatic substitution. In this context, the place of semantics was rather limited.

The role of aspect was nevertheless debated in the eighties. Scholars were by then trying to cope with concepts newly introduced in Egyptology like actionality, verbal Aktionsart, and "registres d'énonciation" (i.e. the pragmatic distinction between narrative and discourse)[2] without however succeeding in building a unified model that could integrate time, aspect, and modality (TAM) in a coherent system.

The discussions that took place in the eighties were also influenced by theories that were flourishing in general linguistics. To some extent, the internal debate was no longer limited to philologists who happened to take an interest in linguistics. Egyptology experienced different and conflicting linguistic theories like (post-)structuralism, different forms of generative grammar, and later functional and cognitive theoretical frameworks. Although this could sometimes be felt as chaotic,[3] the input from general linguistics should be positively evaluated.

The longevity of the ancient Egyptian language – more than four thousand years – is undoubtedly a blessing for those interested in diachrony and typology, but it does not make it simple for those attempting to offer a synthetic presentation of the language. The situation is actually made more difficult as the corpus is made of an extreme variety of textual genres, more or less close to what was the spoken language, more or less linked to tradition as regards grammar and phraseology.

This study is articulated as follows. The first section is a general introduction to the ancient Egyptian language (§2). The next one presents the general theoretical frame of the aspectual system (§3). In section §4, the main classes of actionality are discussed before studying, in section §5, how ancient Egyptian managed to make its aspectual selections. In the next section (§6), the two main components of the grammatical tenses marked for aspect – unachieved and achieved tenses – are presented with some details. The last section (§7) is devoted to the

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[2] See the discussion *infra*, §6.2.4.

[3] Cf. the title of the first conference devoted to ancient Egyptian linguistics in G. Englund/J.-P. Frandsen,Crossroad. Chaos or the beginning of a new Paradigm, Copenhagen 1986.

relations between aspect and time before some words of conclusion (§8). Other topics are also worth considering like the relations between aspect and modality, or between aspect and negation. While it was impossible here for obvious reasons to discuss these issues properly in dedicated sections, they are not totally absent from the discussion in the preceding sections.

The abbreviations used throughout this study are as follows.

AA	Afro-Asiatic
EEg	Earlier Egyptian (= OEg and MEg)
ExtAch	Extensive achieved
ExtUnach	Extensive unachieved
FIP	First Intermediate Period (see §2.1)
LEg	Late Egyptian
MEg	Middle Egyptian
MK	Middle Kingdom
MoR	Moment of reference
MoS	Moment of speaking
NK	New Kingdom
NonExtAch	Non-extensive achieved
NonExtUnach	Non-Extensive unachieved
OEg	Old Egyptian
OK	Old Kingdom
SIP	Second Intermediate Period (see §2.1)
SoA	State of affair
TEM-D	Adverbial adjunct of time expressing duration (for 3 hours)
TEM-Di	Adverbial adjunct of time expressing the duration needed for doing something (in 3 hours)
TEM-D-Llf	Adverbial adjunct of time stating the left limit (beginning) of a time span (since 3 hours/since 3 o'clock)
TEM-D-Lrg	Adverbial adjunct of time stating the right limit (end) of a time span (till 3 o'clock)
TEM-F	Adverbial adjunct of time expressing frequency (every 3 hours)
TEM-P	Adverbial adjunct of time expressing position in time (at 3 o'clock)
TIP	Third Intermediate Period (see §2.1)
ToR	Time of reference

The graphs used for visualizing SoAs' actionality are presented in Table 5 (§4.5).

2.   *Introduction to the ancient Egyptian language*

This chapter is a general introduction to Ancient Egyptian, beginning with its chronological settings (§2.1) and an overview of its writing systems (§2.2), followed by its main linguistic features (§2.3) and a presentation of its written corpus (§2.4).

2.1   Chronology

The historical development of Ancient Egyptian is captured in Table 1. According to the Manethonian tradition, the history of pharaonic Egypt has been divided in dynasties (second column), which have been regrouped by Egyptologists into larger periods (third column): the so-called Kingdoms (*Reich* in German, *Empire* in French) are emblematic of times of political autonomy and economic growth, while the Intermediate Periods characterize moments of political weakness, if not anarchy (with periods of foreign invasions), and economic depression. The absolute chronology given in the first column is at best indicative for the dynasties preceding the Late Period.

As regards its linguistic evolution, Ancient Egyptian is traditionally divided into five main phases:[4] Old Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic. Considered from a typological view-point, these phases can be divided in two main groups: Earlier Egyptian

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[4] For a general description of Ancient Egyptian, see J. P. Allen, The Ancient Egyptian Language. An Historical Study, Cambridge 2013; A. Loprieno, Ancient Egyptian, Cambridge 1995; P. Vernus, L'égypto-copte, in: J. Perrot (ed.), Les langues dans le monde ancien et moderne III, Paris 1988, 161–206.
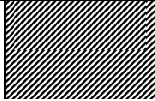
(Old and Middle Egyptian)[5] and Later Egyptian (Late Egyptian, Demotic, and Coptic).[6] The main differences will be discussed below.

In the Middle Kingdom, the texts related to decorum or to the elite society like religious funerary texts, royal hymnology, autobiographies, and literary texts (tales, wisdom texts, etc.) were written in a special idiom (or register) of Middle Egyptian, called Classical Egyptian. This variant became more or less frozen from the New Kingdom onwards until the end of the Graeco-Roman times, that is the end of pagan Egypt. If literary pieces and some royal texts were written in the vernacular idiom of the times (Late Egyptian, and later Demotic), religious texts

[5] For Old Egyptian, see E. Edel, Altägyptische Grammatik, Rome 1955–1964; J. P. Allen The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts (Bibl. Aeg., 2), Malibu 1984; J. P. Allen, Art. Old Egyptian, UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (2015); J. P. Allen, Grammar of the ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. I: Unis. (Languages of the Ancient Near East 7), Winona Lake 2017; E. Doret, The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian (Cahiers d'Orientalisme 12), Geneva 1986; for Middle and Classical Egyptian, see J. P. Allen, Middle Egyptian. An introduction to the language and culture of hieroglyphs, Cambridge 2014; J. F. Borghouts, Egyptian. An introduction to the writing and language of the Middle Kingdom (Egyptologische Uitgaven 24), Leuven 2010; A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. Oxford 1953; M. Malaise/J. Winand, Grammaire raisonnée de l'égyptien classique (= Aegyptiaca Leodiensia, 6), Liège 1999. For 'Egyptien de tradition', see A. Engsheden, Art. Traditional Egyptian II (Ptolemaic, Roman), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (2016); P. Vernus, Art. Traditional Egyptian I (Dynamics), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (2016).

[6] For Late Egyptian, see J. Černý/S. Groll, A Late Egyptian Grammar, Rome 31984; P. J. Frandsen, An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System, Copenhague 1974; F. Junge, Neuägyptisch. Einführung in die Grammatik, Wiesbaden 2008; F. Neveu, The Language of Ramesses, Oxford 2015; J. Winand, Études de néo-égyptien. I La morphologie verbale (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 2), Liège 1992; J. Winand, Temps et aspect en ancien égyptien. Une approche sémantique (Probleme der Ägyptologie 25), Boston-Leiden 2006; J. Winand, *Late Egyptian*, in J. Stauder-Porchet, A. Stauder & W. Wendrich (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, (2018); for Demotic, see W. Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik, Heidelberg 1925; J. H. Johnson, The Demotic verbal system (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 38), Chicago 1976; R. S. Simpson, Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees, Oxford 1996; for Coptic, see B. Layton, A Coptic Grammar with chrestomathy and glossary. Sahidic dialect (Porta linguarum orientalium, Neue Serie 20), Wiesbaden 32011.

and royal hymnology were composed in this particular language that tried to mimic the Egyptian of the primeval times (basically Classical Egyptian, with some traits from Old Egyptian), hence the name it has been given in Egyptology ("égyptien de tradition", Vernus 2016), which captures the essence of an idiom that was used in a way reminiscent of Latin in Europe during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

Approximate dates	Dyn.	Main periods	Linguistic stages	
			"Spoken"	"Tradition"
3500–3200		Pre-dynastic (Nagada II)	Insufficient textual material	
3200–2650	0–2	Proto-dynastic		
2650–2150	3–6	Old Kingdom	Old Egyptian	
2150–2040	7–11[a]	1st Intermediate Period		
2040–1780	11[b]-12	Middle Kingdom	Middle Eg.	Classical Eg.
1780–1550	13–17	2nd Intermediate Period		
1550–1070	18–20	New Kingdom	Late Egyptian	Ég. de tradition
1070–664	21–25	3rd Intermediate Period		
664–323	26–30	Late Period	Demotic	
323[a]-395[p]		Graeco-Roman times		
395–640		Byzantine period	Coptic	
640		Arab conquest		

Tab. 1. Chronology of Ancient Egypt.

2.2   The writing systems of Ancient Egyptian

Except for Coptic, the last stage of Egyptian, which was written with an alphabet adapted from the Greek alphabet, the older stages of Egyptian were codified by a complex writing system that combined different classes of signs whose major components are the logograms, which have a semantic and a phonological value, the phonograms, which have

only a phonological value, and the semantic classifiers, which have only a semantic value.[7] According to the medium, the writing technique, and the chronology, one commonly distinguishes three main scripts, which are formally related. Hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts are attested since the earliest times down to the end of paganism. As the last part of the name implies, hieroglyphs were originally intended to be carved on walls (epigraphic inscriptions). This script was used for texts that would receive a public (human or divine) audience. The hieratic script is the corresponding cursive script. Written with a brush and ink, it was used on a support that could be easily stored (like papyrus, tablets) or that did not need to be kept for long (ostraca). Compared to hieroglyphs, the design of hieratic signs was simplified, but a correspondence between the two scripts was maintained allowing a transcription from one type to the other. From the 7th century BC onwards, a new cursive script appeared, called demotic (lit. popular, or more accurately profane as opposed to sacred). This last stage is a simplified version of hieratic. The link with the iconic dimension of the hieroglyphic script has by then been largely lost. The three writing systems – hieroglyphic, hieratic, and demotic – were simultaneously in

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[7] For a recent presentation of the functioning of the hieroglyphic writing, see S. Polis/S. Rosmorduc, The Hieroglyphic Sign Functions. Suggestions for a Revised Taxonomy, in: H. Amstutz/A. Dorn/M. Müller/M. Ronsdorf/S. Uljas (eds.), Fuzzy Boundaries (Festschrift für Antonio Loprieno), Hamburg 2015, 149–174. See also J. Winand, Les hiéroglyphes (Que-sais-je? 3980), Paris 2013 for a general presentation and history of the hieroglyphs. On the system of classifiers, see O. Goldwasser, From icon to metaphor. Studies in the semiotics of the hieroglyphs (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 142), Fribourg 1995; O. Goldwasser, Prophets, lovers and giraffes. Wor(l)d classification in Ancient Egypt (Göttinger Orientforschungen IV, 38/3), Wiesbaden 2002; O. Goldwasser, On the New Definition of Classifier Languages and Scripts, Lingua Aegyptia 14 (2006), 473–484; F. Kammerzell, Egyptian verb classifiers, in: P. Kousoulis/N. Lazaridis (eds.), Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists II, Leuven 2015, 1395–1416; E. S. Lincke/F. Kammerzell, Egyptian Classifiers at the Interface of Lexical Semantics and Pragmatics, in: E. Grossman/St. Polis/J. Winand (eds.), Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian (Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica 9), Hamburg 2012, 55–112. For a comparison with Sumerian and Akkadian, see G. Selz/C. Grinewald/O. Goldwasser, The question of Sumerian „Determinatives". Inventory, Classifier Analysis, and Comparison to Egyptian Classifiers from the Linguistic Perspective of Noun Classification, Lingua Aegyptia 25 (2017), 281–344.

use during the last millennium of pagan Egypt. The following table gives a general overview of the uses of the ancient Egyptian scripts according to whether some publicity (on walls, steles, statues, etc.) was intended or not, and whether the text was considered sacred or not.[8]

	Open publicity – sacred	No publicity intended	
		sacred	mundane
OK/MK	hieroglyphic	hieratic	
NK	hieroglyphic	hieratic linear hieroglyphic[9]	hieratic
Late Period	hieroglyphic	hieratic linear hieroglyphic	abnormal hieratic (South) demotic (North)
Greco-Roman times	hieroglyphic	hieratic linear hieroglyphic (demotic)	demotic

Tab. 2. Uses of the Egyptian indigenous scripts.

Demotic and Coptic are used to designate both a type of writing and a stage of Ancient Egyptian. This does not mean that the scripts were strictly specialized. The following table gives a rough idea of the correspondences between scripts and linguistic stages.

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[8] Abnormal hieratic (also called cursive hieratic) is a more cursive variant of hieratic that was used for business purpose for some time (XXV–XXVIth dyn.) in the South, before being superseded by Demotic as the result of the administrative centralisation initiated by the new power of the Saite dynasty in Lower Egypt.

[9] A kind of simplified and stylized hieroglyphics that were mainly used in rituals and funeral texts, like the *Coffin Texts* (MK) and the *Book of the Dead* (from NK onwards).

Linguistic stages	Scripts			
	hieroglyphic	hieratic	Demotic	Coptic
Earlier Egyptian	X	X	—	—
"égyptien de tradition"	X	X	rare	rare
Late Egyptian	X	X	—	—
Demotic	rare	rare	X	rare
Coptic	—	—	—	X

Tab. 3. Linguistic stages and writing systems of Ancient Egyptian.

For linguistic descriptions, the shortcomings of the hieroglyphic script should not be underestimated. The logograms are black boxes as regards the phonetic representation. For instance, the verb *šsp* "to receive" is commonly written with the logogram *𝄽* . The Coptic evidence shows that *šsp* was ultimately reduced to *šp* (ϣⲱⲡ), but the hieroglyphic spelling was never adapted.[10] As regards verbal morphology, which is a major concern for the issues under discussion here, the lack of notation of the vocalic system is problematic for a correct understanding of the inflected forms. For instance, it was once taken for granted in Egyptology that under a seemingly unique form *sḏm.n.f* were actually hidden three (maybe four) different morphological forms, with different vocalic schemes, corresponding to specific syntactic uses.[11] The Coptic data show that a single hieroglyphic spelling like *𝄽* *šsp* "to receive" had four distinct phonological realizations that differed only by their vocalic pattern: ϣⲱⲡ (*status absolutus* of the infinitive), ϣⲉⲡ (*status constructus*), ϣⲟⲡ (*status pronominalis*), and ϣⲏⲡ (stative). How far can the possible absence of a specific vocalic notation be taken as an argument to support a grammatical theory remains a matter for discussion.[12]

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[10] Some indirect indications suggest that the phonological reduction already took place in LEg (J. Winand, Etudes [see fn. 6] §545).

[11] This theory was once encapsulated in the label "Standard Theory" (L. Depuydt, The Standard Theory of the 'Emphatic' Forms in Classical (Middle) Egyptian. A historical survey, OLP 14 (1983), 13–54).

[12] See P. Vernus, Les parties du discours en Moyen Egyptien. Autopsie d'une théorie (Cahiers de la Société d'Egyptologie 5), Geneva 1997.

2.3   Linguistic evolution of ancient Egyptian: an overview

In this section, I first present the position of ancient Egyptian in the Afro-Asiatic phylum (§2.3.1) before considering the historical evolution of ancient Egyptian (§2.3.2), and its writing systems (§2.3.3).

2.3.1   *Ancient Egyptian within Afro-Asiatic*

Ancient Egyptian is considered a member of the Afro-Asiatic (viz. Hamito-Semitic) phylum.[13] While Ancient Egyptian and Akkadian are attested from the end of the 4th millennium, most African members of the phylum (Tshadic, Omotic, and Kushitic, with the exception of a few Libyco-Berberic inscriptions) remained unknown till the 17th or 18th century AD, which raises serious questions on the possibility of recon-structing a common ancestor with some accuracy. The main features shared among the members of the phylum are (Vernus 2000: 169–172):

- in phonology, three series of stop consonants, and a vocalism based on a system of three vowels with a secondary opposition of length (u : ū, a : ā, i : ī),

- a morphological opposition of gender (the morph -t for expressing the feminine is very common), but only Egyptian and Semitic have a duel ending,

- converging forms for the suffix and independent pronouns,

- the existence of a non-verbal and of a verbal predication,

- a lexicon composed of forms derived from a set of (mostly) bi- or tri-literal roots according to a system of dedicated morphological patterns,

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[13] Cf. the collective volume published by A. Lonnet/A. Mettouchi (eds), Les langues chamito-sémitiques (afro-asiatiques), Faits de Langues n° 26–27, Paris 2005–2006. For a presentation of some background information on Egypto-Coptic for non-Egyptologists, see A. Loprieno, Egyptian and Coptic, in: R.D. Woodard, The Ancient Languages of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Aksum, Cambridge/New York 2008, 153–210; E. Grossman/T. Richter, The Egyptian-Coptic language: its setting in space, time and culture, in: E. Grossman/M. Haspelmath/S. Richter, Egyptian-Coptic Linguistics in Typological Perspective, Berlin 2015, 69–101.

- a suffix (the Egyptian and Accadian stative endings are similar) and a prefix conjugation (lacking in Egyptian, where the verbal predication is the result of an internal development),

- a marked tendency to have originally a system of aspectual rather than temporal oppositions,

- the existence of a common lexical stock. However, as regards ancient Egyptian, there are barely twenty words that are shared by at least three members of the AA-phylum, which is admittedly rather meagre.[14]

Several models have been proposed for explaining the affinities between the members of the phylum:

- the genetic theory (common ancestor) is the oldest and is still widely accepted by most scholars,

- according to the allogenetic theory, the Afro-Asiatic phylum would result from ancient and continuous contacts between languages that were originally genetically independent. This theory is close to some areal theories that favour a typological approach by including African languages (see Peust 2004).

For obvious reasons (intense cultural exchanges supported by geographical and chronological proximity), Egyptologists' interest has long been focused on Egyptian-Semitic relations (e.g. Breyer 2003) in some restricted manner, which is not without problem.[15]

2.3.2   Earlier vs. Later Egyptian

As already introduced in the previous section, Ancient Egyptian can be divided in two main stages: Earlier and Later Egyptian. In what follows,

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[14] See J. Winand, Afro-Asiatic Lexical Comparison. An Egyptologist's point of view, in: Proceedings of the Conference Rethinking the Origins. The Departure of Ancient Egyptian as a Branch From the Afroasiatic Family?, held in Brown University (13–-15 April 2018), forthcoming.

[15] See P. Vernus, Situation de l'égyptien dans les langues du monde, in: Fr.-X. Fauvelle-Aymar (ed.), Afrocentrismes, Paris 2000, 169–207, here 179–180 on the lexical relationships between Egyptian and Couchitic.

a brief contrasting description is given for the morpho-syntax and the lexicon. [16] Additional remarks are also provided on the issue of dialects.

2.3.2.1 Morpho-syntax

A major trend in the history of Egyptian was to gradually move from a synthetic to an analytic expression of the morphological categories (Grossman / Polis 2018). The grammatical morphs were then expressed in front of the lexical stems in separate units. As a result, verbs and nouns in Coptic became largely invariable.

The noun gradually lost its inflections (gender and number), probably under the influence of a strong expiratory stress. In parallel emerged a full-fledged system of nominal definition (definite and indefinite articles).[17] The expression of the determination and possession also

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[16] For a general presentation of the history of Ancient Egyptian, see J. P. Allen, Language (see fn. 4). A contrasted analysis of Earlier and Later Egyptian is also provided by A. Loprieno/M. Müller/S. Uljas, Non-verbal Predication in Ancient Egyptian (The Mouton Companion of Ancient Egyptian 2), Berlin 2017, 1–20. Despite the defective and the conservative character of the hieroglyphic writing, one now has a rather good knowledge of the phonology as a structure and of its evolution over more than four millennia. The reconstruction of the phonology largely depends on the Coptic data (written in an alphabet derived from the Greek one), with additional valuable information coming from cuneiform sources (New Kingdom), and Greek transcriptions (Late Period and Greco-Roman times). See A. Loprieno, Egyptian (see fn. 4); C. Peust, Egyptian Phonology (Monographien zur Ägyptischen Sprache 2), Göttingen 1999; J.-M. Kruchten, De l'ordre Verbe-Sujet-Objet à l'ordre Sujet-Verbe-Objet. Le cas de l'égyptien ancien, in: A. Mettouchi/A. Lonnet (eds.), Les langues chamito-sémitiques (afro-asiatiques) II (Faits de Langues 27), Paris 2006, 103–112.

[17] In Earlier Egyptian, the noun is usually left undefined. In Late Egyptian, the system rests upon the opposition between the definite article, inflected for gender and number (originally a demonstrative pronoun), and a zero-article. The indefinite singular article (derived from the cardinal "one") is already attested, but not systematically used before Demotic (J. Winand, Zero(s) in Ancient Egyptian, in: M. Müller/S. Uljas (eds.), Proceedings of the Crossroads IV Conference (Basel, March 2009) (Lingua Aegyptia 17), Hamburg 2009, 319–339). The indefinite plural

underwent major evolutions. Like other members of the AA-phylum, Earlier Egyptian expressed nominal determination by directly juxtaposing two nouns, the first one being in the so-called construct state, the second one being originally in the genitive case (*pr jt.j* "the house of my father"). In Later Egyptian, this construction was no longer productive, being replaced by an analytic construction with the connector *nj* (already attested in Earlier Egyptian): *pȝ pr n pȝj.j jt* "the house of my father". As shown by these two examples, the pronominal possessor, which was expressed by a suffix pronoun directly attached to the noun in Earlier Egyptian (*.j*), was replaced by the possessive article in Later Egyptian (*pȝj.j*).

Verbal morphology was drastically reduced in Later Egyptian. The very rich set of suffixed verbal forms of Earlier Egyptian, built on a V-S pattern (e.g. subj. *sḏm.f* "may he hear"), was gradually replaced by analytical tenses built on a S-V pattern, whose predicate was restricted to the infinitive (preceded by the prepositions *r* "to", *m* "in" or *ḥr* "on") or the stative.[18] In Coptic, except for some minor surviving forms (like the imperative of a handful of verbs), the verb could only be inflected for two forms (infinitive and stative). The TAM features were then expressed in front of the verb, before the subject, by separate morphs of historically diverse origins:

(1) conjunctive "and he hears/will hear": MEg *ḥnꜥ sḏm* (*ntf*) > *ḥnꜥ ntf sḏm* > LEg *mtw.f sḏm* > Coptic ⲛϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄

(2) future III "he will hear" LEg *jw.f r sḏm* > Coptic ⲉϥⲉ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄

(3) present I: "he hears/he is hearing" LEg *sw ḥr sḏm* > Coptic ϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄

(4) past and present perfect: "he (has) heard" LEg *sḏm.f* > Demotic *jr.f sḏm* > Coptic ⲁϥ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄

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article, derived from *nḥȝ*, a noun originally meaning "a quantity of", becomes regular in Demotic, and systematic in Coptic.

[18] One will note here that the personal endings of the stative gradually disappeared in Later Egyptian (J. Winand, [see fn. 6], 103–149). In Coptic, the stative has become completely uninflected.

In the examples given above, the conjunctive (1) historically comes from a pattern whose core is the comitative preposition *ḥnꜥ* "with" followed by the infinitive (plus optionally the independent pronoun to express the agent); the future III (2) is a construction based on the pattern of the adverbial predication subject + preposition (here the allative preposition *r* "to") + infinitive;[19] the present I (3) follows the same basic pattern, but the preposition *ḥr* "on" gradually disappeared in Late Egyptian; finally, the past *sḏm.f* (4) was replaced in Demotic by a periphrastic pattern, using the auxiliary *jrj* "to do", which ended up as the synchronically unanalysable morph ⲁ- in Coptic.[20]

2.3.2.2 Lexicon

The lexicon of ancient Egyptian is not yet well understood as a system.[21] Some interesting remarks as regards its evolution can nevertheless be made. In historical times, patterns of derivation from the root were no longer productive, with the possible exception of the causative prefix *s-* (*ꜥnḫ* "to live" – *s-ꜥnḫ* "to make live"). This old scheme was itself replaced by a new causative pattern involving the

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[19] The labels attached to the verbal constructions can be misleading for certain stages of Egyptian. For instance, the Future III originally expressed the future in LEg, but was gradually replaced in this role by the Future I. The Future III then took over the role of the old subjunctive *sḏm.f* for expressing certain aspects of modality.

[20] Other features are also worth considering, like the disappearance of the passive endings, which were replaced by active tenses (see *infra*, §6.2.3). More importantly for the general topic of this study are the changes that occurred in the expression of time and aspect. While the predicative system of EEg was aspect oriented, the expression of time became a major concern in Later Egyptian, as already shown in later Late Egyptian (see *infra*, §7).

[21] On new perspectives in lexical semantics, see the collective volume edited by E. Grossman/S. Polis/J. Winand, Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian (Lingua Aegyptia – Studia Monographica 9), Hamburg 2012. On the lexicon organized as a web of related semantic networks, see J. Winand, Did you say synonyms? The case of *pḥ* and *spr* in Late Egyptian, in: M. Brose/P. Dils/F. Naether/L. Popko, Lutz/D. Raue (eds.), En détail. Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs (ZÄS Beihefte 7). FS Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert, Berlin 2019, 1235–1275. See also S. Uljas Words on the Move. Some Observations on the Lexicalisation of Kinesis in Earlier Egyptian, Göttinger Miszellen 255 (2018), 129–139 for verbs of motion.

verb (*r*)*dj* "to cause" followed by a subjunctive (*rdj.t ꜥnḫ.f* "to make him live"). This "new causative" became eventually lexicalized in Coptic (ⲧ ⲁⲛϩⲟ).

Unsurprisingly, the lexicon of ancient Egyptian experienced many changes in its very long history. The following figure is an attempt at capturing this evolution.
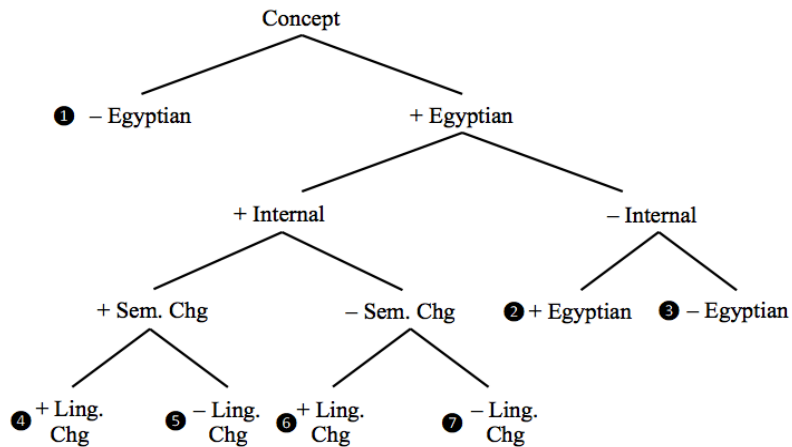
Fig. 1. Paths of evolution of the Egyptian lexicon.

One cannot still satisfactorily retrace the origins of the Egyptian lexicon. In historical times, the lexicon is partly composed of Egyptian words whose origin cannot (yet?) be traced outside the Egyptian language, like *jrj* "to do" and *pr* "house", and of words of foreign origin, like *hbn* "ebony" (**1**). The lexicon of Egyptian was also continuously enriched by the import of foreign words from the many cultures the Egyptians came across. Two periods witnessed a particular strong import of loanwords. In the New Kingdom, hundreds of Semitic words entered the lexicon (but only few remained after Late Egyptian),[22] and

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[22]   See C. Peust, Phonology (see fn. 16), 307–310, J. Winand, Identifying Semitic loanwords in Late Egyptian, in: E. Grossman/P. Dils/T. Richter/W. Schenkel (eds.), Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic, Hamburg 2017, 481–511. This of course was the case of words denoting new artefacts or products, like *mrkb.t* "chariot", but also,

in Christian Egypt, around 20% of the lexicon have a Greek origin, including some grammatical words like prepositions and conjunctions (ⲕⲁⲧⲁ, ϩⲓⲛⲁ),[23] or particles (ⲇⲉ, ⲅⲁⲣ, ⲟⲩⲛ, ⲧⲟⲓⲛⲩⲛ, etc.).

In the long history of Egyptian, Egyptian words were susceptible to change. Two major types of evolution have to be considered. Words could experience an internal evolution, or they could be replaced by other words. In this latter case, the new words could have themselves an Egyptian origin, or they could be borrowed. In the former case (**2**), two categories must be distinguished: words could be replaced by other well-known words (for instance, the generic verb for expressing the visual sense, *mꜣꜣ* "to see", was replaced in Late Egyptian by *ptr*, which was already attested in Old Kingdom with a narrower meaning "to look for, to scrutinize"), but words could also be replaced by new ones: for instance, *pr* "house" was replaced by Demotic *ꜥ.wj*, Coptic ⲏⲓ, and *šm* "to go", which remained in use in Bohairic (the main Northern dialect) ϣⲉ, was largely replaced in Sahidic (the standard dialect anchored in the South) by a new word, ⲃⲱⲕ, whose etymology is still unclear.[24] In the latter case (**3**) Egyptian words were replaced by loanwords: this is for instance the case of *wꜣḏ-wr* "sea", which was replaced by LEg *jm* of Semitic origin, and later by Coptic ⲑⲁⲗⲁⲥⲥⲁ of Greek origin.

As for the words that remained in use throughout the history of ancient Egypt, one can make a distinction between those whose meaning remained (relatively) stable and those whose meaning was deeply changed. For each category, further distinctions can be made as regards possible linguistic changes, more notably phonetic ones, but also morphological ones, like gender shift or change of word category. Examples for the two first categories [+ semantic changes] are (**4**) *rḫ* "to get to know, to know", which became a modal auxiliary and

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albeit very rarely, some grammatical words, like the interrogative pronoun *jṯ* "which?".

[23] See E. Grossman/S. Polis, Polysemy networks in language contact. The borrowing of the Greek-origin Preposition κατά (kata) in Coptic, in: P. Dils/E. Grossman/T. Richter/W. Schenkel (eds.), Greek Influence on Egyptian-Coptic (Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica 17), Hamburg 2017, 229–262.

[24] C. Peust, Phonology (see fn. 16), 327–328.

underwent a strong process of phonetic reduction (cliticisation) in Coptic (ϣ-), or *jwty*, a relative pronoun with a negative polarity in EEg, which became a privative nominal prefix in Demotic and Coptic (ⲁⲧ-, ⲁⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ "ignorant"), and (**5**) *hꜣj* "(EEg) to descend, to go down", which took on the meaning of "to fall, to lay on the ground, to find" in Coptic, replacing the ancient verb *ḥr*, but without dramatic morphological or phonetic changes (ϩⲉ).[25] As these classes should not be considered in terms of a binary opposition, words not infrequently stand somewhere between the two poles of the axis: for instance, *šrj* "small" was recategorized as a noun in LEg with the meaning "son", replacing the ancient noun *sꜣ*, thus closer to class (**4**), except that it remained remarkably stable phonologically (ϣⲏⲣⲉ). Examples for the last two categories [– semantic changes] are (**6**) *šm* "to go", which was preserved in Bohairic with the same meaning, but lost its last consonant (ϣⲉ), already in later LEg, or *šsp* "to receive, to keep" (ϣⲱⲡ), and (**7**) *sḏm* "to hear", which remained extraordinary stable from the earliest attestations down to Coptic (ⲥⲱⲧⲙ), and *jrj* "to do" (ⲉⲓⲣⲉ).

2.3.2.3 Dialects

Variation in Ancient Egyptian can also be diatopic, that is motivated by regional particularisms. The issue of dialects in pre-Coptic Egyptian has always been much debated without achieving a general agreement beyond the very general statement that there were undoubtedly dialectal differences. The main reasons for this are the geographical unbalance of the data (for instance, 90% of the textual evidence in LEg come from the Theban area) and the shortcomings of the hieroglyphic writing as regards phonology (especially, but not exclusively, as regards the vocalic system; see *infra* §2.2.3).

This notwithstanding, a more refined picture showing some linguistic diversity in synchrony is now emerging. Two points should be stressed here. First there are some evidence of synchronic varieties. For instance,

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[25] On this phenomenon of semantic suppletion, followed by a process of lexical replacement, see J. Winand, Lexical (a)symmetry, lexical complementarity, lexical suppletion, in: S. Uljas (ed.), Proceedings of the Crossroads VI Conference, held in Uppsala (20–22 January 2020), Uppsala forthcoming.

the Late Egyptian Future III had two complementary patterns according to the nature of the subject:

> pronominal subject: *jw.f r sḏm* "he will hear"
> nominal subject: *jrj pȝ-rmt (r) sḏm* "the man will hear"

While this system can be observed everywhere in Egypt, in Upper Egypt only, the pattern *jw pȝ-rmṯ r sḏm* was also attested (Winand 2015b).

Second, one has also noted that similarities can happen between two non-continuous stages of Egyptian while being absent from the intermediary stage. For instance, the nominal predication of classification (it is A) is expressed in OEg and Later Egyptian by the pattern A + copula with agreement for gender and number (LEg *rmṯ pȝy* "it is a man" vs. *ḥm.t tȝy* "it is a woman"), but by the pattern A *pw* (invariable) in MEg (*z pw* "it is a man" vs. *ḥm.t pw* "it is a woman).[26]

Some grammatical patterns that were widely used in a given stage of Egyptian suddenly disappeared in the following one, which can point to a dialectal variation. For instance, the sequential *jw.f ḥr sḏm* "and he heard", which was ubiquitous in LEg narrative sections, was replaced by chains of past *sḏm.f* in Demotic and Coptic (§6.2.4).

The traditional reconstruction of a vertical, linear succession from OEg down to Coptic (e.g. Sethe 1924) is now increasingly challenged by a more nuanced view, where the historically attested stages are the written manifestations of regional dialects that once became prominent at a national level for political or cultural reasons.[27]

In Coptic times, due to a better geographically balanced corpus and thanks to the alphabetic writing that was borrowed from the Greek

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[26] See A. Loprieno/M.Müller/S. Uljas, Predication (see fn. 16), 406sqq. For the dialectal hypothesis, see already W. F. Edgerton, Early Egyptian Dialect Interrelationships, BASOR 122 (1951), 9–12.

[27] See for instance, S. Uljas, Archaeology of Language. A Case Study from Middle Kingdom Second Intermediate Period Egypt and Nubia, Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur 39 (2010), 373–382 for a micro-analysis in a well circumscribed geographical area.

tradition, one is now able to spot major dialects, with two supra-dialects that had in turn a supra-regional (almost national) relevance (Sahidic in the South and later Bohairic in the North, which eventually became the language of the Coptic church).[28]

2.4   Presentation of the corpus

Egyptian is a dead language without any living successor, only attested by written sources over nearly four millennia. It is thus of paramount importance to correctly assess the nature of the corpus one is dealing with. [29] During the last decades, Egyptologists made enormous progresses in their understanding of the composition, transmission, and reception of the texts. [30] Without going too far in details, one commonly divides the texts into four categories: everyday life documents, literary compositions, royal texts, and religious texts. Assigning a text to a category does not automatically imply any linguistic coherence; texts could indeed often be made of different registers that followed specific rules. A tale like *Sinuhe*, a literary masterpiece of the Middle Kingdom written in Classical Egyptian, intertwines narrative parts, hymns, a royal letter, and numerous dialogues.[31] As already

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[28] For a comprehensive survey of literary and non-literary Coptic dialects, see A. Boud'hors, Dialectes et régionalismes. La langue des textes coptes documentaires, in: M. Lafkioui/V. Brugnatelli (eds.), Written sources about Africa and their Study (Biblioteca Ambrosiana 3), Milan 2018, 19–34.

[29] While classical sources (Latin and Greek) have been subjected to a conscious filtering by different scribal traditions during Late Antiquity and the Byzantine times, the written material of Ancient Egypt offers a greater variety of textual genres (this is especially true for the non-literary documentary texts).

[30] See S. Polis, Linguistic variation in Ancient Egyptian. An introduction to the state of the art (with special attention to the community of Deir el-Medina), in: J. Cromwell/E. Grossman (eds.), Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period, Oxford 2017, 60–88.

[31] Some texts, as witnesses' testimonies in procedural settings, show manifestations of slang (J. Winand, Words of thieves, in: J. Cromwell/E. Grossman (eds.), Scribal Repertoires in Egypt from the New Kingdom to the Early Islamic Period, Oxford 2018, 127–152; J. Winand, Dialectal, sociolectal and idiolectal variations in the Late Egyptian texts from Deir el-Medineh and the Theban area, in: A. Dorn/S.

seen, ancient Egyptian underwent major changes from Old Kingdom to the late Antiquity. It is largely assumed that changes first appeared in texts closer to the vernacular language ("as if spoken" Egyptian), while texts that were more imbued by ideology and decorum tended to be more conservative, thus less prone to adopt the new forms of the spoken language.[32] As a matter of fact, starting with documentary texts of the everyday life (letters, accounts, contracts, etc.), new linguistic forms only gradually (if they did) spread into the other textual categories.[33]
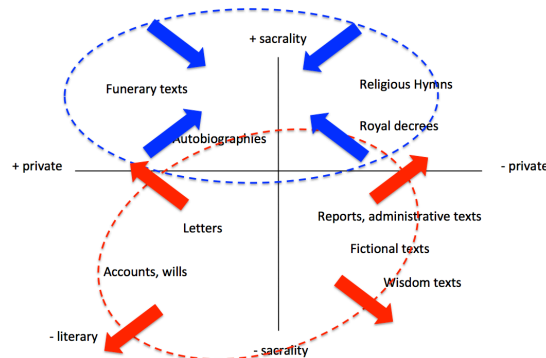
Fig. 2. Distribution of Late Egyptian (lower circle) and Égyptien de tradition (upper circle) in the New Kingdom.

Fig. 2 captures the situation for the New Kingdom, which experienced a situation of diglossia with texts written in Late Egyptian, the newly

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Polis (eds.), Outside the Box. Selected papers from the conference Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis (Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 11), Liège 2018, 493–524).

[32] A passage of the stela of Montuweser (MMA 12.184 – 12th dynasty) is typical in this respect. The nobleman indeed expresses his ability to speak the court's speech, rejecting the use of the definite article, which would eventually become a signature of Late Egyptian (see A. Loprieno, Linguistic variety and Egyptian literature, in: A. Loprieno (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Literature. History and Forms (Probleme der Ägyptologie 10), Leiden 1996, 515–530, here 519; A. Stauder, L'émulation du passé à l'ère thoutmoside. La dimension linguistique, in: S. Bickel (ed.), Vergangenheit und Zukunft. Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der Thutmosidenzeit (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 22), Basel 2013, 77–126).

[33] See Fr. Junge, Sprachstufen und Sprachgeschichte, in: W. Röllig (ed.), XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, vom 21. bis 25. März 1983 in Tübingen: ausgewählte Vorträge, Stuttgart 1985, 17–34.

adopted standard, while retaining "Égyptien de tradition" for some purposes (Winand 2018b). The categories of texts have been distributed in a figure along two main axes (± sacrality, ± private). The lower circle shows the perimeter of Late Egyptian's use; it encompasses texts that are low on the sacrality and literary scales. Late Egyptian can however be found in the private (letters, accounts, wills) as well as in the public sphere (administrative texts). Over the time, Late Egyptian was increasingly used in literary texts, and later in texts that were higher on the sacrality scale. On the other hand, Égyptien de tradition, whose perimeter is delineated by the higher circle, was the preferred idiom for texts that scored high on the sacrality scale. In the course of the New Kingdom, its domain grew smaller as Late Egyptian was sometimes used in royal inscriptions and in some religious compositions.

All this shows that extreme caution is required when handling textual evidence for linguistic analysis. Two contemporary texts can have different linguistic status. Differences can even occur in a single text due to the stratification of the composition. This most often occurs with texts that were transmitted over a long period of time: as some ancient parts were kept as such by the scribes, others could be partially adapted to more recent forms of the language. As a matter of fact, glosses would preferably be composed in the copyist's idiom, which could result in apparently curious sentence structures when the glosses made their way into the text.[34]

For this study, I mainly deal with the textual evidence from Middle/Classical Egyptian and Late Egyptian, two succeeding phases in the history of ancient Egyptian, representing the last stage of Earlier Egyptian and the first stage of Later Egyptian respectively (§2.3.2). When needed, for instance to give a broader historical perspective,

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[34] See, for instance, the uses of the *sḏm.n.f* in a hymn to Sobek (pRamesseum VI) that point to historically different linguistic systems (P. Vernus, Surcodages de l'opposition *sḏm=f/sḏm-n=f* dans un hymne du P. Ramésseum VI (Études de philologie et de linguistique I), Revue d'Égyptologie 32 (1980), 117–121). See also J. Winand/S. Gohy, La grammaire du Papyrus Magique Harris, Lingua Aegyptia 19 (2011), 175–245 for an in-depth analysis of the grammar of a New Kingdom magical papyrus.

older (OEg) or later developments (Demotic and Coptic) have been brought in the discussion.

The texts are cited according to the source (ostracon, papyrus, stele, etc.) except for the Old Kingdom and 18th dynasty inscriptions, which are referred to according to the edition of the *Urkunden des Alten Ägypten* (vol. I and IV), for the sake of convenience. The editions used are mentioned in the list of cited examples (§9). A brief presentation of each text is systematically given with a system of keywords for the date, the linguistic stage, the textual genre,[35] and the type of script. Linguistic glosses have been systematically inserted following the Leipzig Glossing System (di Biase-Dyson / Kammerzell / Werning 2009).

3.   *General considerations on aspect*

3.1   Introduction

The term aspect in linguistics is taken from Russian вид /vid/ "look, aspect, view" (related to Latin *videre*, Greek οἶδα). Studies on Russian aspect (with an important divide between the Russian school and the Anglo-Saxon scholars) have being exerting – and still does – a lasting influence on the perception of aspect as a linguistic phenomenon.[36] In comparison, studies on Semitic languages, like Arabic, a language that passes for prototypical as regards the functioning of aspect, or ancient Greek, have been comparatively neglected in general linguistics studies.[37]

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[35] Attributing a text to a particular genre might seem a hopeless and thankless task. For this study, the following classes have been used: Administrative (texts), Discourse (literary text), Expedition, Fictional (literary text), Graffito, Judicial (texts), Laments, Letter, Letter to the Dead, Miscellanies, Religious (texts), Royal (texts), (Tomb) Caption (= *Reden und Rufe*), Wisdom (literary text). Of course, some texts are border cases and remain difficult to attribute in a single class.

[36] See E. Corre, De l'aspect sémantique à la structure de l'événement. Les verbes anglais et russes, Paris 2009, 17–29.

[37] On Arabic and more broadly Semitic languages, see V. Bubenik, Development of Tense/Aspect in Semitic in the Context of Afro-Asiatic Languages, Amsterdam

Aspect is a component of temporality. Temporality is here considered as an encompassing concept, integrating the expression of the linguistic time,[38] aspect, and actionality, as the internal phasal structure of a process (§3.3). Despite decades of scholarly discussions, there is so far no general agreement on a definition of aspect, not to speak on its functioning.[39] The following issues are regularly debated, and will be discussed in this study as well:

2017; on ancient Greek, see F. Logozzo/P. Poccetti, Ancient Greek Linguistics (New Approaches, Insights, Perspectives), Berlin 2017.

[38] It is generally considered that the linguistic expression of time is secondary in the development of historically attested languages; see T. Givón, Tense-Aspect-Modality. The Creole prototype, in: P. Hopper (ed.), Tense-Aspect. Between Semantics and Pragmatics, Amsterdam – Philadelphie 1982, 115–163, here 155 and Rohde 1996 for a general statement, B. Comrie, Aspect, Cambridge 1976, 72 for African languages, M.-Cl. Paris, L'espace énonciatif en chinois contemporain. Mais où la triade est-elle passée ?, in: C. Fuchs/S. Robert (eds.), Diversité des langues et représentations cognitives, Paris 1997, 93–105, here 93 for classical Chinese, and P.M. Bertinetto, *Temporal Reference, Aspect and Actionality: Their Neutralization and Interactions, Mostly Exemplified in Italian*, in: C. Bache, H. Basbøll & C.E. Lindsay (eds.), Tense, Aspect and Action. Empirical and Theoretical Contribution to Language Typology, Berlin 1994, 113–137, here 124 for Indo-European. For Semitic (and more broadly Afro-Asiatic) languages, J. Perrot (ed.), Les langues anciennes dans le monde ancien et moderne III, Les langues chamito-sémitiques, Paris 1988. The primacy of aspect is also indirectly supported by the fact that the aspectual morphs are closer to the verbal nucleus than the morphs expressing a time relation (S. Dik, Verbal Semantics in Functional Grammar, in: C. Bache/H. Basbøll/C.E. Lindsay (eds.), Tense, Aspect and Action. Empirical and Theoretical Contribution to Language Typology, Berlin 1994, 23–42). While there are many languages that historically moved from aspectual to temporal systems, the reverse journey does not seem documented J. Bybee/R. Perkins/W. Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*, Chicago 1994). For ancient Egyptian, see *infra*, §7.

[39] Standard literature on aspect is H. Klein, Tempus, Aspekt, Aktionsart, Tübingen 1974; B. Comrie, Aspect (see fn. 38) and D. Cohen, L'aspect verbal, Paris 1989. For a historical approach of different theories on time and aspect, see R.I. Binnick, *Time and Verb. A Guide to Tense & Aspect*, Oxford 1991. Pinkster's remarks (H. Pinkster, Tempus, Aspect and Aktionsart in Latin (recent trends 1961–1981), in: H. Temporini (ed.), Aufstieg und Niedergand der Römischen Welt II.29, Berlin 1983, 270–319, here 286) are still worth considering: "As far as I know there are very few

- the role and importance of the internal phasal constitution of states of affairs (actionality of events),
- the role of the argument structure of the verb to modify the basic verbal Aktionsart in the construction of the actionality,
- the relation of actionality with grammatical tenses marked for aspect,
- the expression of aspect outside a system of grammatical oppositions,
- the role of some adverbial adjuncts, especially time adverbials,
- the interaction of aspect with the expression of time,
- the interaction of aspect with other linguistic domains, like modality,
- the interaction of aspect with negative polarity,
- the influence of pragmatic factors.

While all the questions enumerated here are doubtless relevant in any study of aspect, some are more central while other are rather peripheric according to the language under study. For instance, the negated progressive in Late Egyptian can have a strong modal value, but this should be better analyzed as a side effect of the progressive than as a core meaning of this particular aspect (see §6.1.7).

In Egyptology, aspect was hotly debated in the eighties and the beginning of the nineties of the last century. The discussion mainly focused on two domains: the functioning of aspect in (mainly) Earlier Egyptian (Vernus 1986, 1990, Hannig 1986, 1991), and the relation of Egyptian aspect with Semitic (Loprieno 1984, 1986a) and Afro-Asiatic languages (Satzinger 1987). With some exceptions (Winand 2006a, Werning 2008), Egyptologists seem now more concerned with the pre-

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studies in which it is made clear in what sense the author uses for example the notion 'Aspect' (...). The category of Tempus is dispatched most of the time without any indication of its usefulness or necessity. Aktionsart as far as I know is always considered a category which applies to verbs. Criteria for arriving at a classification of verbs (or: states of affairs) are lacking".

or proto-historical stages of the language in a comparative perspective (Kammerzell 2005, Oréal 2009, 2010, Brose 2019).[40] Although such studies are undoubtedly of great interest for grasping how ancient Egyptian developed, they are of limited interest for a better understanding of the functioning of Egyptian in historical times.

In Egyptology, studies on aspect have generally limited themselves to the grammatical system. This was admittedly the first step to take, but the path for explaining aspectuality as a general phenomenon remains extraordinarily long. For instance, such a basic approach cannot satisfactorily explain why the grammatical tenses of two coordinated verbs are different (Ex. 1),[41] why certain verbs are never found with certain tenses (or why their meaning is more or less deeply changed if this is the case, Ex. 2),[42] why a grammatical tense conveys different instructions according to the verb it is used with (Ex. 3),[43] or why the grammatical behaviour of some verbs can be different according to their argument structure (Ex. 4).[44]

[1] *m*   *ꜣḫ.t*   *n*   *sḏm.tj.fj*   *m*   *wgg*
     in   usefull-F   for   listen-PPO-M.SG   in   lack
     n   *nty*   *r*   *th.t*   *st*
     for   REL-M.SG   fut   transgress:INF   =3SG.C

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[40] See also V. Bubenik, Development (see fn. 37) for a more general approach, including all the families of the AA-phylum.

[41] The text is valuable only to those who will listen carefully. As an atelic verb (see *infra* §4.2), *sḏm* normally means "to hear". By using the *sḏm.tj.fj* form, a future perfective participle, the verb takes on the meaning of "listening to" (§6.2.2).

[42] The atelic verb *sḏm* is normally not found with the stative, which implies the selection of the post-phase (§6.2.3). When this exceptionally happens, the meaning of the verb is accordingly changed ("to hear" > "to listen and take into account what has been said").

[43] The standard instruction of the progressive is to make a selection inside the SoA (§6.1.2). With non-durative actionality classes, the progressive then captures the moment that immediately precedes the SoA, with a shade of possible derived meanings like inchoativity, conativity, etc. (see §4.4 and 6.1.3).

[44] The two-place telic verb *šm* "to go" becomes atelic when its second argument is suppressed, taking on the meaning of "traveling, wandering, moving without a specific goal" (see §4.4).

"(a teaching) which consists in something valuable for the one who will have listened, but which will be felt as a lack to him who will neglect it"[45]

MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic   (*Ptahhotep* 49–50)

[2a] *jn   mntk   sḫj   jw   bw   jr.f*
      Q   2SG.M deaf-person SBRD NEG- do\PFV-3SG.M
      sḏm ∅
      listen:INF

"are you a deaf person who cannot hear?"

NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi IV, 2,7)

[2b] *mk   st   sḏm*
      ATT-2SG.M   =3SG.C   listen\RES-[3SG.M]

"look it has been taken into account (lit. "listened to")"

MK – MEg – Letter – Hieratic
(pBrooklyn 35.1446, r° ins. B, l. 13)

[3a] *jw   p3y   šmsw   jnk   ḥr*
      SBRD DEM:M.SG   servant   1SG   PROG-
      spr   r.tn
      reach:INF   to-2PL

"as this servant of mine is about to reach you"[46]

NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pMallet IV, 4)

[3b] *jw   ẖr(j)-ḥb(.t)   ḥr   jr(j).t*
      MCM   lector-priest   PROG-   perform:INF
      ḫ.t
      ritual-F

"the lector priest is performing the ritual"[47]

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[45] Much later, in *Amenemope* (III,11–12), same idea, but with two balanced tenses (*3ḫ p3 dj.t st m jb.k, wg3 n p3 wn st* "it is useful to place it in your heart, and it is harmful to him who neglects it").

[46] Cf. pPurches, 3–4 (J. P. Allen, The Heqanakht Papyri (The MMA Egyptian Expedition 27), New York 2002, pl. 54), for an example in Middle Egyptian. See also *infra*, ex. 65.

[47] With verbs of accomplishment, the aspectual selection corresponding to "to be about" in English (here called the mellic aspect in reference to the Greek auxiliary μέλλω) can be expressed in Late Egyptian by the pattern *nʿj + r* + infinitive (literally "to navigate to do something" > "to go to do something"), which eventually became the regular future in Coptic (E. Grossman/G. Lescuyer/S. Polis, Contexts and inferences. The grammaticalization of the Later Egyptian allative future, in: E. Grossman/S. Polis/A. Stauder/J. Winand (eds.), On forms and functions. Studies in ancient Egyptian grammar (Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 15), Hamburg 2014, 87–136).

OK – OEg – Caption – Hieroglyphic
(*Mereruka*, II, pl. 109, l. 1)

[4a] *jḥ-šm.k*   *r*   *pꜣ*   *ntj*
MODP-go\SBJV-2SG.M   to   ART:M.SG   REL-M.SG
jj.n.k   *jm{.j}*
come\NMZL-ANT-2SG.M   from-{-1SG}
"go back to where you came from"
NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Doomed Prince* 6,11)

[4b] *jḥ-šm.k* ∅   *n*   *ꜣbw.k*
MODP-go\SBJV-2SG.M   as   wish-2SG.M
"travel as you like"
NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Doomed Prince* 5,2)

To understand the general picture, one has to take very seriously the role of verbal actionality. Interestingly enough, verbal lexemes can be analyzed with the same theoretical apparatus as the one that is used for describing aspect. This results from the basic assumption that the State of Affairs (SoA), i.e. the process conveyed by the verbal lexeme, can be projected as a topographical entity (see §4 for a presentation of the principles). The functioning of aspect can then be described as an operation of selecting a phase – the moment of reference (MoR) – within the SoA. The possibilities of such a selection is conditioned by the number and the nature of the SoA's phases and by the instructions conveyed by the aspectual verbal tenses. The two following examples illustrate how the selection corresponding to the progressive aspect is operating on two different kinds of SoAs (for the detail, see *infra*, §5):

Accomplishment   <~[~~]~+>————

Activity   <~[~~]~>

Fig. 3. Contrastive selection made by the progressive
according to actionality classes.

In the eighties, Egyptologists became increasingly aware of the relevance of verbal Aktionsart (Loprieno 1986b, Vernus 1984, Hannig 1986), while generally working with the basic Vendlerian theory. Verbs were accordingly grouped into intuitive semantic categories like verbs

of motion, of perception, of state, of activity, etc.[48] One does not need
to look very closely into the data to realize that the explanatory power
of such a rough classification is limited. The class of the verbs of
motion, for instance, is far from homogeneous. For example, verbs
generally considered as closely related,[49] like the two generic verbs *jwj*
"to come" and *šm* "to go" actually behave very differently: while the
former can basically be categorized as an accomplishment
(<~~~~+>———), the latter should be better analyzed in Earlier
Egyptian as an achievement with a dynamic post-phase (<+>~[~~]~).
Furthermore, while *jwj* is never found without its second argument,[50]
šm is recategorized as an atelic activity when the second argument is
deleted, taking on the meaning "to walk" (cf. *infra*, §4.4).

As just noted, the basic verbal argument structure (the number of
arguments, their syntactic expression, and their semantic content) can
be modified, which has very often important consequences on the
actionality. Classifying *en-bloc* a verbal lexeme (a "vocable" in
Melčuk's terminology) in one semantic class is thus rather meaningless.
What really matters is the specific argument configuration(s) a verbal
lexeme can enter into, which provides the basic information for
determining the number of Lexical Units a verbal lexeme can be split
into. The following table is a rough illustration of the diversity of the
verbal lexical organization. In translation languages, one has often to
shift to another lexeme to adapt to the new meaning.

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[48] See for instance, the list given by S. Groll, The Negative Verbal System of Late
Egyptian, London 1970, 42–44; 54–56 when studying the compatibility of certain
semantic classes with the pseudo-participle and the progressive. More curiously,
the same rudimentary classification is still found recently M. Brose, Perfekt,
Pseudopartizip, Stativ. Die afroasiatische Suffixkonjugation in sprach-
vergleichender Perspektive (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 117),
Wiesbaden 2019.

[49] See also J. Winand, Synonyms (see fn.21) for a contrastive study of the two
near synonymous verbs *pḥ* and *spr* "to reach".

[50] With the exception of the cases of omission under relevance, which are totally
different (cf. *infra*, §3.4.3); see J. Winand, Lexical (a)symmetry (see fn. 25).

Basic configuration		Modified configuration	
sḏm + dir.obj "to hear"	agentless activity	*sḏm* + *n* (benefactive) "to listen to"	agentive activity
jrj + dir.obj. "to do"	accomplishment	*jrj* + ∅ "to act"	activity
šm + *r* (allative) "to go"	achievement	*šm* + ∅ "to walk"	activity
bȝk "to work"	activity	*bȝk* + *m* (locative) "to work at something"	activity
		bȝk + dir.obj. "to create"	accomplishment
ꜥnḫ "to live"	state	*ꜥnḫ* + *m* (locative) "to live on something"	activity

Tab. 4. Changes of meaning by modifying the argument structure.

All languages can express aspectual selections. Cross-linguistically, differences arise mainly for two reasons: 1) despite some common general features, the taxonomy of verbal actionality is language specific, 2) languages differ in how they manage to have the job done: while there are languages that mainly rely on verbal tenses for selecting the relevant phase for expressing aspect (they are the so-called aspectual languages), others use other means, more or less grammaticalized, or more or less lexicalized. Historically languages usually experience major changes in how they select aspectual phases. For languages that express aspect with dedicated grammatical tenses, the main question, besides some inevitable internal evolution, is the relation of the MoR to the temporal point of reference. As will be seen for ancient Egyptian – but this seems to be a trend that is well documented cross-linguistically –, the system of grammaticalized aspectual oppositions that was characteristic of Classical Egyptian gradually integrated temporal instructions to become in the later stages of its history a temporal language (see *infra*, §7).

This chapter is articulated as follows. The theoretical background that frames this study is first introduced (§3.2). After defining aspect as the selection of a phase in a state of affairs (§3.3), one investigates how a state of affairs (SoA) can be analyzed as a phasal structure (§3.4).

3.2   Theoretical background

The present study is framed within a theoretical approach that has been extensively exposed previously (Winand 2006a, 2015d).[51] Aspect is often defined in contrast to linguistic time. Both actually deal with time, but in a different way. According to the *communis opinio*, time, strictly speaking, relates a state of affairs (SoA) to a moment of reference, for instance, the moment of speaking (Comrie 1985: 2), while aspect selects a moment within a SoA.[52] Unfortunately, such a view is a reductionist approach with a rather weak explanatory power. Actually, the relation between a SoA and the temporal point of reference (PoR) is mediated by the moment of reference (MoR), which operates a phasal selection.[53] The MoR is thus the pivotal element that defines the functioning of temporality.

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[51]   Being partly idiosyncratic, it has benefitted from the insights of several scholars from various linguistic schools or trends like Bach, Binnick, Comrie, Desclés, Dik, Givón, Gosselin, Klein, Langacker, and Reichenbach.

[52]   See the traditional definition by B. Comrie, Aspect (see fn. 38), 3: "aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation"; see H. Pinkster *Tempus, Aspect and Aktionsart in Latin (recent trends 1961–1981)*, in *Aufstieg und Niedergand der Römischen Welt*, II,29, 1983, 270–319, here 278 for a similar opposition. One also commonly contrasts time and aspect as being respectively objective and subjective L.A. Michaelis, *Aspectual Grammar and Past Time Reference*, London 1998, 59).

[53]   The moment of reference is reminiscent, without being similar, to Klein's topic time (Time in Language, London-New York 1994, 36–58) or Michaelis' reference time (preceeding fn. 5). The lack of any direct relation between a SoA and the PoR was already emphasized by Klein.

MoR

TIME   ASPECT

PoR   SoA
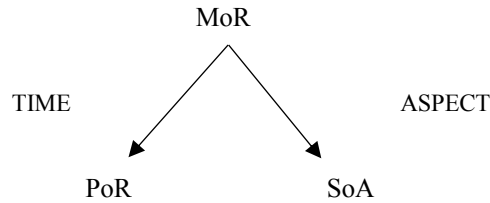
Fig. 4. The two axes of temporality.

A simple contrastive pair of examples shows that there is no direct link between a SoA and the PoR (here the time of speaking):

[5a]   When I looked through the window(b), the dog was in the street(a). It is still there.

[5b]   When I looked through the window(b), the dog was in the street(a). It is no longer there.

The temporal limits of the SoA <dog in the street> do not obviously coincide for the two examples. While the right limit is posterior to the PoR in the first example, it is anterior in the second one. But in both cases, the MoR is the same. It selects a phase of the SoA, whose characteristics are 1) to be inside the SoA without coinciding with its limits, and 2) to be anterior to the PoR. This can be represented by a type of chronograph that will be used throughout this study:
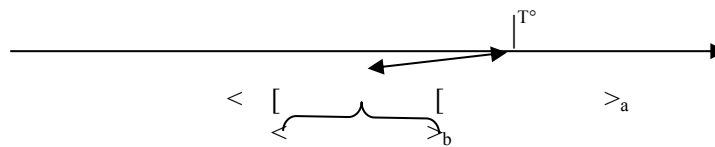
Graph 1. Chronograph of example 5a.
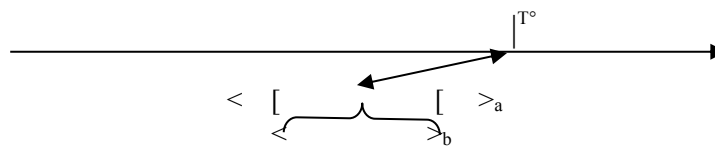
Graph 2. Chronograph of example 5b.

In both graphs, the position of the MoR in the SoA and its relation to the PoR (here T°, for the moment of speaking) remain the same. The SoA [b] corresponds to the phrase "when I looked through the window", which coincides with the MoR of the SoA [a]. The exact

position of the limits of the SoA [a] cannot be set by the instructions given by the grammatical tenses only. The contextual information given by the last sentence, however, which differs in the two examples, shows that in the first case, the right limit of the SoA [a] is after T°, but before T° in the latter case. As regards the left limit, i.e. the beginning of the SoA [a], there is no way to calculate linguistically how distant it is from the left limit of the MoR.

As should be clear by now, the selection of a phase inside the SoA (MoR) is an aspectual instruction. Relating the MoR to the PoR is a temporal instruction (§7). How a MoR is selected in a SoA is highly dependent on two factors: the phasal structure of a given SoA (§3.3) and the grammatical tenses (§5).

3.3   Aspect as a selection of a phase in a state of affairs

Selecting a moment within a SoA implies that SoAs are structured in different components, which are here called "phases". As will be explained in the next section (§3.4), SoAs differ in their respective phasal structure. The simple fact that two verbs (with their argumental structure) when conjugated with the same grammatical tense can have a different interpretation as regards the selection made in their phasal structure (Ex. 6–7), or that some verbs are incompatible with some aspectual tenses (Ex. 8) clearly shows how relevant it might be to define classes of SoAs.

> [6]   He is about to win the race
> [7]   He is about to leave his job
> [8]   *Le garçon était en train d'être dans la rue* (the boy was standing in the street)

In the first two examples, the pattern "to be about to + infinitive" has different implications. In the first example, the process has already begun: one understands that the subject is involved in an activity that, everything being equal, should normally lead him to victory. As will be explained in the next section, some verbs, like "win", can have a pre-phase with specific properties: here [+ DYNAMIC], [+ DURATIVE]. On the other hand, in the second example, the verb "to leave" behaves differently as regards its phasal structure, as there is no pre-phase. The pattern "to be about to + infinitive" is then only indicative of the time

relation. The third example is also interesting in its own right. In French, the so-called progressive, "*être en train de* + infinitive", has the feature [+ DYNAMIC], which normally entails that the subject is agentive, in full control of the process. This explains why a sentence like *Le garçon était en train d'être dans la rue* is not felicitous. This contrasts with English, which allows the progressive for describing momentary situations as opposed to permanent ones. This shows that a grammatical tense marked for aspect in a given language can have – and most often has – different properties than the "corresponding" tense in another language. This also explains why a tense marked for aspect can take (or loose) some new (old) meanings over time.

The number of the phases and their properties, among various criteria, are instrumental for sorting out SoAs in different classes. These classes will in turn be arranged in a so-called taxonomy of actionality (§4.6).

In languages, aspect, as a semantic category, can be expressed by dedicated grammatical means, as is the case in most Semitic languages, in classical Greek, in modern Russian, and in Earlier Egyptian. In this case, one says that these languages are (at least partially) aspectual. Very often, languages can also express aspectual selections with auxiliaries or other means that are outside the grammatical system, like time adverbials (§5.6). There are however only few aspectual languages – if any – that completely neglect the time dimension. How a selected phase within a SoA can be related to an absolute (the moment of speaking) or relative (another SoA) temporal reference is the topic of Section 7.

It should be noted that the verbal Aktionsart only deals with the semantic features that interact with the functioning of the language. For instance, it is important to make a distinction between the verbs of motion as regards their telicity (e.g. "to come" vs. "to walk") as they arguably behave differently. However, determining if a motion is done slowly or quickly, or whether it is oriented upwards or downwards is of interest for a lexicographical study, but has no incidence on the linguistic system.

3.4   States of affairs as phasal structures

The preceding section introduced the concept of a SoA as a phasal structure. This means that the number of phases that constitute a SoA can vary, and that the properties that define a phase can also be different. This section examines first how one can structure a SoA in phases (§3.4.1), and which properties (or qualities) are relevant for describing a phasal structure (§3.4.2). I then examine how these combined criteria can be used to define classes of actionality, before discussing how a basic verbal Aktionsart can be modified by changing the argument structure (§3.4.3).

Before entering the discussion, it might be appropriate to define some terms that will be used throughout this study. The phasal properties of an action when lexicalized in a verb constitutes what is called the ***Aktionsart*** (i.e. mode of action) of the verb, a term that comes from German linguistics (Agrell 1908: 78).[54] Aktionsart is also applied to designate the phasal structure of a sentence, that is of a verbal lexeme actualized in a sentence with its arguments. This is very unfortunate as it is the source of perpetual confusion. I thus make a distinction between the verbal Aktionsart, which defines in some abstract way the phasal structure of a lexeme (for instance "to run") and ***actionality***, which takes into account the verbal lexeme and its argument structure (§3.4.3).[55] This for instance accounts for the difference between "to

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[54] "*Unter Aktionsart verstehe ich (...) nicht die beiden Hauptkategorien des slavischen Zeitwortes, die unvollendete und die vollendete Handlungsform (das Imperfektivum und das Perfektivum) — diese nenne ich Aspekte. Mit dem Ausdrucke Aktionsart bezeichne ich bisher fast gar nicht beachtete — geschweige denn klassifizierte — Bedeutungsfunktionen der Verbalkomposita [...], die genauer ausdrücken wie die Handlung vollbracht wird, die Art und Weise ihrer Ausführung markieren.*" See already Brugmann's definition (Griechische Grammatik, München 1913, 538): "*Art und Weise, wie die Handlung vor sich geht*".

[55] C. Vet's observation (Temps, aspects et adverbes de temps en français contemporain. Essai de sémantique formelle, Geneva 1980, 46) "Par l'absence de toute caractéristique formelle sur laquelle l'analyse aurait pu s'appuyer, l'aspect et le mode d'action [i.e. Aktionsart] sont devenus les notions les plus insaisissables de la grammaire traditionnelle" seems to be as valid today as it was 40 years ago. See also R.I. Binnick (see fn. 39, 213).

run in the park" (atelic activity) and "to run to the post office" (telic activity).[56]

When speaking of the aspectuality of a SoA, one is always dealing with actionality. **SoA** is a cover term for any kind of events, processes or states. Most often in modern Western languages, SoAs are linguistically expressed with a verbal predication. This however does not need to be so. Semitic languages (and ancient Egyptian as well), but also modern Russian, to take well-known examples, have non-verbal predication for expressing identification, classification, or for stating a quality or a situation.[57]

3.4.1   *Structuring a SoA in phases*

A SoA prototypically has three main defining moments: a beginning, an end, and something in between.[58] Actually, such an analysis is insufficient for describing all possible types of SoAs. Indeed, many activities or actions have phases that immediately precede or follow, without belonging *stricto sensu* to the SoA, while cognitively adhering to it. The fact that these adjacent phases can be selected by grammatical

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[56] The concept of Aktionsart is sometimes used (e.g V. Bubenik, Development [see fn. 37], 47) for what is actually lexico-semantic categories (like verbs of perception, verbs of motion, etc.). This approach, which is reductive, has a very limited use as regards the functioning of aspect, since it considers semantic classes as homogeneous, which is obviously not the case.

[57] It should be noted, however, that a verbal predication is regularly introduced for expressing past or future time (Я доктор vs. Я был/была/буду доктором "I am physician vs. I was/shall be physician"). The same situation applies to ancient Egyptian (J. Winand, La prédication non verbale en égyptien ancien, Faits de langues 27 (2006), 73–102). See already E. Benveniste, La phrase nominale, reprinted in: E. Benveniste, Problèmes de linguistique générale I, Paris 1950/1966, 151–167, here 151, who argued that nominal predication differs from a predication with "to be" as expressing a permanent situation as opposed to a contingent situation (in the same spirit, see also R. Langacker, Foundations of Cognitive Grammar I, Stanford 1987 , 84).

[58] Compare the Idealized Causative Model (ICM) as proposed by W. Croft, Event Structure in Argument Linking, in: M. Butt/W. Geuder (eds.), The Projection of Arguments. Lexical and Syntactic Constraints, Stanford 1998, 21–63: Cause … Change … State.

tenses marked for aspect (see Ex. 6) is a clear indication that they should
be integrated in the general representation of SoAs. The following
graph is a first attempt at illustrating a prototypical SoA. The segment
B-C is the SoA strictly speaking, while the segments A-B and C-D stand
for the pre- and post-phases respectively.[59]

```
   A     B               C     D
   -------+---------------+-------
   pre-phase              post-phase
```
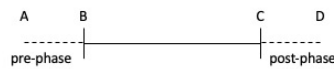
Fig. 5. Schematic representation of a prototypical SoA.

I now turn to the properties that can be assigned to the phases a SoA is
made of.

3.4.2   Phasal properties

Phases are mainly defined by two properties: durativity and dynamicity.
One can also add gradability and telicity, which is not a phasal property,
strictly speaking, but a property defining a SoA globally.

By durativity, one understands that a phase can extend over a span of
time ([+ DURATIVE]) or not ([− DURATIVE]), in which case the phase is
also called punctual. It should be clear from the outset that this property
must be cognitively or culturally evaluated. For instance, SoAs like "to
fall", "to explode", or "to cough" are considered in most communities

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59 The concepts of pre- and post-phase have been introduced in M. Malaise / J.
Winand, Grammaire raisonnée de l'égyptien classique, Liège, 1999 and fully
developed in J. Winand, Temps (see fn. 6), 67–68. For a similar approach, see D.
Delfitto/ P. M. Bertinetto, A Case Study in the Interaction of Aspect and
Actionality. The Imperfect in Italian, in: P. M. Bertinetto et. al. (eds.), Temporal
Reference, Aspect and Actionality 1. Semantic and Syntactic Perspectives, Torino
1995, 125–142, here   136–137 and J. Moeschler, Pragmatique de la référence
temporelle, in: J. Moeschler (ed.), Le temps des événements. Pragmatique de la
référence temporelle, Paris 1998, 157–180, here 160, and also the distinction
between happenings ("to recognize") and culminations ("to die", "to reach the top")
in E. Bach, The Algebra of Events, in: Linguistics and Philosophy 9 (1986), 5–16,
here 6. Note also that Klein's pre- and post-time (W. Klein, Time in Language,
London-New York 1994, 108–117), although superficially similar, have nothing to
do with the phasal properties of the verbal actionality.

of speakers as non-durative. The fact that sophisticated measuring techniques are now availabe to demonstrate that such SoAs actually extend over a period of time, however short, do not – so far – alter the inner representation of such SoAs by the speakers. Simple tests show that there are levels of perception, which can vary according to the type of events, under which an observer is unable to distinguish two stimuli although there is a measurable stretch of time between them. One should accordingly make a distinction between the common use of the lexicon and some particular usages found in scholarly circles. For instance, a sentence like "now you can see that the bomb is exploding" does not affect the common perception of exploding as a non-durative process. Simple tests, like the compatibility with time adverbials, help reveal differences in the phasal structure.[60] For instance, the presence of "for (x) time" in the first example normally implies an iterative meaning, which is not the case in the second one:

> [9]   He coughed for 10 minutes
> [10]   He walked in the park for 10 minutes

The durativity (or non-durativity) of a SoA can also be evaluated by the compatibility with tenses that include durativity in their aspectual instructions. In Egyptian, this is specifically the case with the progressive for activities and accomplishments (§4.2 and 4.3), and with the old perfective for states (§4.1).

A process will be labelled *dynamic* (as opposed to static) if it continuously needs some input of energy. This feature should be

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[60] Linguists have developed a rich set of tests to track semantic differences (M. Kozlowska, Aspect, modes d'action et classes aspectuelles, in: J. Moeschler (ed.), Le temps des événements. Pragmatique de la référence temporelle, Paris 1998, 101–121, here   109–111; L. Gosselin/F. François, Les typologies de procès. Des verbes aux prédications, Travaux de linguistique et de philologie 29 (1991), 19–86, here 39–40; A. Rijksbaron, Aristotle, Verb Meaning and Functional Grammar. Towards a New Typology of States of Affairs. With an Appendix on Aristotle's Distinction between kinesis and energeia, Amsterdam 1989). It should be noted that these tests, whose diagnostic value is undisputable, are only indicative, as phenomena of recategorization can often happen. For instance, "to be" commonly implies a non-agentive subject, but sentences like "Be great!" are acceptable, with the implied meaning "Do what is to be done for becoming great!", thus transforming the subject into an agentive entity.

considered in combination with the criteria of agentivity and control a subject can have upon a SoA, even if the two do not necessarily coincide (see *infra* Ex. 21–26). Once more, dynamicity must be cognitively and culturally evaluated. A process like "to sleep", for instance, can be culturally felt as dynamic or non-dynamic.

SoAs are also sorted out in different classes according to the criterium of ***telicity***, which is not strictly speaking a phasal property. An activity will be considered telic if there is a limit, a goal (Gr. τέλος), inherently contained in this activity, that will automatically cause the activity to end once reached. Atelic activities, on the other hand, can go on indefinitely, at least theoretically. Again, simple linguistic tests are used to evaluate the telicity of an activity. The compatibility of SoAs with specific time adverbials like "in (x) time", or with expression like "it took (x) time to do it" are generally diagnostic of telic activities. Consider the contrasting effect in the two following examples:

[11]   He finished his paper in three hours / (?) for three hours
[12]   The book was on the table for three hours / (?) in three hours

Some telic SoAs are ***gradable***. This means that the activity leading to the final end is continuously built step by step. The concept of gradability is important to understand the behaviour of a particular sub-category of accomplishments, namely the so-called verbs of quality, like *nfr* "to become perfect". For this particular class, the activity proceeds in some homogeneous way, in such a way that the limit of the process is somewhat difficult to ascertain. While in a sentence like "please, read this book!", the end of process is rather easy to determine (once the final page has been reached, the process is normally over), in a sentence like "please, embellish this house!", there will be some uncertainty as to where to put the limit of the process (see the discussion *infra*, §4.3).

The concept of gradability combined with that of telicity can also help better understand all types of SoAs where a dynamic activity is involved. For instance, in "he built his house for two years before being forced to abandon his project", one understands that there will be parts of the house already achieved, because the SoA of [building a house] is gradable, that is made of a series of subintervals, in this case non-homogeneous ones. On the other hand, in "he visited us for two years

before leaving the country", one will probably never consider that there was a single visit that extended over two years. The normal interpretation will be that there was a series of visits that came to an end after two years. While the former example is telic, the latter is not.

Of course, the presence of a grammatical tense or of a time adverbial that is normally not compatible with a particular SoA can force a semantic recategorization of the process. For instance, in the second part of the last example, a possible reading is that it took three hours for someone to bring the book on the table. In ancient Egyptian, the time needed to achieve a process (TEM-Di) is normally expressed with the preposition *n* "for" while temporal phrases for expressing durativity are introduced by the preposition *m* "in" or *ḥr* "on":

[13] *jw*   *jr.n.(j)*   *s(j)*   *n*
      MCM   do-CPD(-1SG)   =3SG.F   in
      3bd   7
      Month   7
      "I have done it in seven months"
      OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hieroglyphic   (*Urk.* I, 124,13–15)

[14] *… ḥr*   *t3j.t*   *kt*   *ḥr*   *hrw* 6 *ḥr*
      …on-   pick:INF   saffron   during   day   6   during
      hrw   7
      day   7
      "… to pick saffron during 6 or 7 days"
      NK –EgTr – Royal – Hieroglyphic   (*Urk.* IV, 2147,3)

With non-durative verbs, time adverbials have often a different focus than what is expected with durative activities or accomplishments. For instance, the dynamic pre-phase of non-durative telic verbs can be accessed to by a TEM-Di (Ex. 15); in the next example, the TEM-D cannot obviously bear on the process itself, but on its resulting state (take the farmers and keep them for one year):

[15] *mk*   *tw*   *r spr*   *r*
      ATT-2SG.M   =2SG   FUT-reach-INF   to
      ḫnw   *n*   *3bd*   *2*
      Residence   in   month   2
      [∼∼∼∼<+>]——
      MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*ShS*, 168)

[16] *jw.j*   *ḥr ḏd*   *n.w:*   *jt3*
      MCM-1SG   on-tell:INF   to-3PL   take\IMP
      p3   *3 jḥwty*   *n*   *p3*

ART:M.SG	3 farmer-M.PL		of	ART:M.SG
ntr	*r*	*wˤw*	*m*	*t3*
god	as	soldier	as	DEM:F.SG
rnp.t				
year-F				

"and I told them to take the three god's farmers as soldiers for
this year"[61]

[<+>———]

NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBologna 1086, 22–23)

3.4.3   *Reclassifying classes of actionality by modifying the basic argument structure*

As has been introduced in the preceding section, the verbal Aktionsart
is an abstract entity. Actually, any verbal lexeme has its own semantic
profile that projects an argument structure. The verbal nucleus
surrounded by its arguments constitutes the ***verbal actionality***. The
argument structure varies according to the number of arguments (verbal
valency), their syntactic realisation, their morphological variations
(singular vs plural, definite vs non-definite, etc), the semantic class they
belong to (count vs mass, etc), and their semantic roles (agent, patient,
experiencer, etc). When one speaks of modifications of the argument
structure, one is actually dealing with variations from what is
considered the prototypical argument structure configuration for any
given verb. Of course, this potentially contains a certain degree of
subjectivity when interpreting the data, especially for languages that are
poorly attested. It seems thus sensible to take as basic the configuration
that is statistically best attested, and to check it against the evidence
coming from other verbs that belong to the same semantic class.

Even if some grey zones subsist in the actionality of certain verbs, the
damage will not be as severe as one could fear. For what is really
important is to have a defined set of rules that will correctly predict the
meaning of any new configuration when the basic argument structure is
modified. I here give a few examples to illustrate this important

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[61] In *bn twtn ḥr dj.t jn.tw jbd 7 n hrw* "you are not allowing anything to be brought
for seven full months" (oCaire CGC 25832, v° 3), one understands that the SoA
never occurred, even once, during the considered time span.

phenomenon. I shall limit myself to the cases of augmented/reduced valency, and of the modification of the syntactic expression of the second argument.[62]

Augmentation or reduction of the number of arguments frequently has an impact on telicity. For instance, atelic intransitive verbs like verbs of motion (to walk, to swim, to run), or of activity (to work) are most often monovalent (one-place argument). Adding a second argument (with different syntactic solutions) ordinarily makes them telic by assigning a specific goal to their activity. On the contrary, suppressing the second and/or the third argument of a telic verb enlarges the scope of the activity, which most often makes the resulting configuration atelic.[63] The following examples illustrate both possibilities:

> [17]   He walked in the park for one hour vs. He walked to the post office in one hour
> [18]   He smoked his cigarette before leaving his office vs. He smoked very regularly till his dead

In the first example, the atelic verb "to walk" becomes telic by adding the phrase "to the post office", which makes it clear that the action ended as soon as the post office was reached.[64] To walk here specifies the modality of going, inheriting from it the semantic feature of telicity. In the second example, there is a contrast between smoking a cigarette, an activity which is naturally limited by the time it takes to smoke a

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[62] The variation between singular and plural very probably accounts for alternation between achieved and unachieved forms in the well-known phraseology: *mry nswt, mrrw njw.t.f, ḥssw nṯr.w.s nb.w* "loved by the king, loved by his city, and praised by all its gods" (*Urk.* VII, 49,2–3): see W. Schenkel, « Singularisches » und « pluralisches » Partizip, in: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo 20, 1965, 110–114; J. P. Allen, Inflection (see fn. 5), 421–426, 443–450). See also K. Jansen-Winkeln, Intensivformen and « verbale Pluralität » im Ägyptischen, in: Lingua Aegyptia 5 (1997), 123–136 for a supposed nuance of intensity, which is not very illuminating here.

[63] One should here make a strong distinction between the omission of an argument under relevance (i.e. retrievable from the co(n)text) and the deletion or suppression of an argument, which is synonym of a valency reduction. See *infra*, §3.4.3.

[64] On the use of "for x time" vs. "in x time" as diagnostic of telicity, see above.

cigarette and smoking as a general activity (underlined by the adverb "regularly"). Of course, the first part of the example could be understood as a regular activity within an appropriate context:

> [19]   He smoked a cigarette after dinner for most of his life ≃ He
>   used to smoke a cigarette after dinner for most of his life

The verbal actionality can also be dependent on how the arguments are syntactically expressed. In the following example, the accusative implies that a specific, contextually identified quantity of water is being consumed. This is not however the case with the genitive, which implies a partitive meaning.

> [20]   Я пью воду (стакан воды) vs. Я пью воды (каждый день)
>   "I am drinking water (a glass of water)" vs. "I drink water
>   (everyday)"[65]

Interestingly enough, the modification of meaning resulting from a change in the syntactic expression of the verbal argument(s) in a source language cannot be systematically rendered by the same lexeme in the target language. In the following section, when discussing the classes of actionality of Egyptian verbs, relevant examples will be given illustrating changes in the argument structure. What follows is a summary of the main cases.

a) a transitive telic verb is made atelic by suppressing its 2nd (and 3rd) argument(s): *jrj* + NP "to do something" > *jrj* + Ø "to act"; *rdj* + NP + *n* NP "to give something to someone" > *rdj* + Ø + Ø "to distribute";

b) an intransitive telic verb is made atelic by suppressing its 2nd argument: *šm* + *r* NP "to go somewhere" > *šm* + Ø "to walk";

c) an intransitive atelic verb is made telic by adding a 2nd argument: *nṯrj* + Ø "to become divine" > *nṯrj* + NP "to deify someone";

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[65]   This is also the case in ancient Greek (πίνειν ὕδωρ vs. πίνειν ὕδατος). In French, one makes a difference between "*il boit le verre d'eau qui est devant lui*" (immediate present) and "*il boit de l'eau*" (general present = he is a water drinker). For Egyptian, see *infra* e), §4.3, 4.4, and 6.1.8.

d) the agentless subject of an atelic verb is made agentive by changing the syntactic expression of the 2nd argument: *sḏm* + NP "to hear someone" > *sḏm* + *n* NP "to obey someone";

e) a transitive telic verb is made atelic by expressing its 2nd argument indirectly: *wnm* + NP "to eat (up) something" > *wnm* + *m* NP "to eat something";

f) a one-place stative verb is made dynamic by adding a 2nd argument: *ꜥnḫ* "to live" > *ꜥnḫ* + *m* NP "to live on something".

4. *Defining ancient Egyptian classes of actionality*

Classes of actionality can be defined by combining the criteria presented in the preceding section: durativity, dynamicity, telicity, and gradability. As already alluded to, assigning a verbal lexeme to a class of actionality is meaningless if one does not take into consideration its argument structure. As verbs can very often modify it, which has an impact of their classification (see *infra*), classification can quickly become a circular process. It is thus crucial to fix some criteria to discriminate between what is basic and what is (or could be) a secondary evolution. I thus shall here consider as basic the argument structure 1) that is statistically best represented, 2) whose arguments are singular and defined.[66] For instance, the basic argument structure for the verb *jrj* "to do" is *jrj* + dir. object; patterns like *jrj* + ∅, i.e. with the deletion of the 2nd argument, or *jrj* + *m* NP, i.e. with the oblique expression of the 2nd argument, will be analysed as secondary developments that led to a recategorization of *jrj* in another class of actionality (from accomplishment to activity in the former case). This methodological position, which is admittedly not completely devoid of subjectivity, mainly due to the state of our documentation, is however very clear in its principles as there are rules accounting for any possible recategorization.

In what follows, I quickly review all the actionality classes that are relevant for ancient Egyptian. The aspectual criteria are systematically

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[66] Most often, the construction that is considered basic is also the most ancient one, which does not automatically imply that it is the original one.

given. The graph given in Fig. 5 above, can now be adapted to integrate the phasal properties. The following conventions have been adopted:

<~~~~~> for dynamic, as opposed to <———> for static
<~> for non-durative, as opposed to <~~~~~> for durative
<~~~+> for telic, as opposed to <~~~~~> for atelic
<++++++> for continuous gradable telic,

For instance, a typical SoA like "to make something" ([+ DURATIVE], [+ DYNAMIC], [+ TELIC]) will be represented as shown in the following graph, that is with a process captured between two brackets followed by a static post-phase:

<~~~+>———
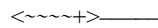
Fig. 6. Schematic representation of a prototypical SoA.

I then give some information on the compatibility of the class under study with the tenses marked for aspect and the time adverbials. This unavoidably will be partly redundant with the next section (§5) where the grammatical system of aspect will be fully discussed. The presentation will consequently be reduced to a minimum in this section. I finally consider some paths of recategorization, mainly due to modifications in the argument structure.

4.1   States

States are not to be confused with situations, which are SoAs considered outside the time flow according to Langacker's division between summary and sequential scanning (1987:78–81). Situations are expressed in Egyptian by non-verbal predications (Winand 2006b, Loprieno et al. 2017: 23–288), while states predicates are verbal. Situations can however be given aspectual or temporal references by means of peripheral verbal auxiliaries (see *infra*, §5.5).

States are prototypically [+ DURATIVE], [– DYNAMIC], [– GRADABLE], and [– TELIC]. Graphically, they can be represented as <———>. The subject is non-agentive. Verbs of state are either one-place (monovalent) or two-place (bivalent) verbs. In the latter case, the 2nd argument is a locative adverbial phrase. While with the other classes of actionality, the old perfective selects the SoA's post-phase, it always takes the SoA itself under its scope (see *infra*, §6.2.2). To this class

belongs a small set of verbs that mostly express a psychological state, like *snḏ* "to be fearsome" or a physical state, like *ꜥnḫ* "to be alive", *ḥḳr* "to be hungry" or *m(ḥ)r* "to be ill". They are normally found with the old perfective for describing a state, but they can also occasionally accept a dynamic construction. The shift from a stative to a dynamic tense entails a semantic recategorization of the SoA into the class of activity verbs (4.2), as the subject is no longer considered as a passive entity, but is given some dynamicity, which can, in some cases, imply some control over the process. The following examples illustrate some contrastive situations:

[21a] *jw.f*   *gr(.w)*   *ḥr*
      MCM-3SG.M   be-silent\RES[-3SG.M]   about
      ḏd.t.n.j   *n.f*
      say\REL-F-ANT   to-3SG.M
      "he is silent about what I told him"
      MK – MEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pUC 32198, r° 16)

[21b] *jr*   *k3.f*   *r*
      COND consider:PROS-3SG.M   to
      ḫsf.f   *ḥr.s,*   *jw.f*
      reprimand:INF-3SG.M   about-3SG.F   MCM-3SG.M
      gr.f   *ḥr*   *jw*   *ḏd.n.j*
      be-silent\IPFV saying MCM   say-CPD-1SG
      "if he considers to reprimand him about it, he remains silent saying 'I have (already) spoken'"
      MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 255–6)

[22a] *jw*   *ms*   *sr.w*   *ḥḳr.w*
      MCM   PTCL   official-M.PL   be-hungry\RES-3PL
      "officials are hungry"
      MK – MEg – Lament – Hieratic (*Ipuwer* 5,2)

[22b] *dj.k*   *n.f*   *t*   *ḥnḳ.t*
      give\SBJV-2SG.M   to-3SG.M   bread   beer-F
      jw.f   *ḥḳr.f*   *jb.f*
      SBRD-3SG.M   be-hungry\IPFV-3SG.M   heart-3SG.M
      "you should give him bread and beer when he longs for food and drink"
      OK – OEg – Religious – Hieroglyphic   (*Pyr.* §1063g)

[23a] *jn* *jw.f*   *tr*   *sḏr*
      Q   MCM-3SG.M   PTCL   sleep\RES-[3SG.M]
      "is he then asleep?"
      MK – MEg – Lament – Hieratic (*Ipuwer* 12,5)

[23b] *jrr.f*   *hrw*   *grḥ*   *sḏr.f*
      do\NMZL.IPFV-3SG.M   day   night   sleep\IPFV-3SG.M

"He will spend the day and the night sleeping"[67]
NK – MEg – Magic – Hieratic   (*Mutter und Kind*, J 7,4)

[24a] *jsṯ*   *t3*   *ḥm.t*   *n*
        SBRD   ART:F.SG   wife-F   of
        p3j.f   *sn*   *ꜥ3*
        ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M   brother   big
        snḏ.tj   *ḥr*   *p3*   *smj*
        be-afraid\RES-2SG   because   ART:M.SG   report
        ḏd.n.s
        say\REL-ANT-3SG.F
        "for the wife of his elder brother was afraid because of the
        report she had said"
        NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Two Brothers* 4,5–6)

[24b] *mṯn*   *ẖnw*   *ḥr snḏ*
        ATT-2PL   Residence   PROG-be-afraid:INF
        m-ꜥ   *g3w*
        because   food-shortage
        "look, the Residence is experiencing fear because of the food
        shortage"
        MK – MEg – Lament – Hieratic   (*Ipuwer* 7,6)

[25a] *ꜥ.t*   *nb.t*   *n*   *z*   *ntj*
        limb-F   all-F   of   man   REL-M.SG
        m(ẖ)r.tj
        be-ill\RES-3SG.F
        "all the limbs of a man that are ill"
        MK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic (pEbers 1,11)

[25b] *jw*   *r(3)-jb.f*   *m(ẖ)r.f*
        MCM   stomach-3SG.M   suffer\IPFV-3SG.M
        "his stomach is suffering"
        MK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic (pBerlin 3038, 13,3)

[26a] *ꜥnẖ.wj*   *jd.w*
        ear-M:DU   be-deaf\RES-3PL
        "the ears are now deaf"
        NK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 14 L)

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[67] The verb *sḏr* is also well attested in dynamic constructions with the meaning
"to lie down": *jw.sn ḥr sḏr ḥr ẖ.t.sn* "and they laid down on their belly" (*Astarte*,
3,y).

[26b]   *ptr*   *sḏm.w*   *ḥr jd*
        look   listen\PTCP   PROG-become-deaf:INF
        "look the hearer is becoming deaf"
        MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Neferti* 38)

These verbs can also exceptionally be found with the *sḏm.n.f*, another perfective form, which can have a resultative meaning in certain syntactic functions (see *infra*, §6.2.2). In contrast to the old perfective, which only selects the resulting state with telic SoAs (the post-phase), the *sḏm.n.f* has a wider focus, including under its scope the climactic moment when the process is achieved (§6.2). In the next two examples, *snḏ* and *ꜥnḫ*, which respectively mean "to be afraid" (Ex. 27) and "to be alive" (Ex. 28) when conjugated in old perfective,[68] take a dynamic sense in the *sḏm.n.f*:[69]

[27]   *snḏ.n.(j)*   *n*   *jt.(j),*
        be-afraid\NMZL-ANT(-1SG)   to   father(-1SG)
        jmȝ.(n).(j)   *n*   *mw.t.(j)*
        be-nice- NMZL-ANT (-1SG)   to   mother-F(-1SG)
        "after having shown respect to my father, and behaved amiably with my mother (I came out of my city and descended from my nome)"
        OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hieroglyphic   (*Urk.* I, 204,2–8)
[28]   *ꜥnḫ.n.j*   *m*   *sf,*
        live-CPD-1SG   in   yesterday
        ṯs.n.(j)   *wj*   *mjn*
        raise-CPD(-1SG)   =1SG   today
        "I came to live yesterday, I raised myself today" (Naville, *LdM*, 179,6 Aa)
        NK – EgTr – Religious – Lin. Hierogl.   (*BD* 179,6 Aa)

The verb *wnn* "to be" is a particular case. As already stated, situations in Egyptian are expressed by non-verbal (i.e., nominal, adjectival, and adverbial) predications. In Old Egyptian, *wnn* is occasionally found in states, always conjugated in old perfective; it is thus never found with a dynamic tense, as is the case for this class of actionality. The meaning seems to be very close to what will be achieved in later stages of

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[68] Old Perfective, also called pseudo-participle or stative according to the linguistic school Egyptologists belong(ed) to, is a component of the achieved tenses: see §6.2.1.

[69] The same contrast holds for *rḫ*, which means "to know" in the old perfective, but "to get knowledge" in the *sḏm.n.f* (see *infra*, §4.4).

Egyptian with the verbs of position, like *ꜥḥꜥ*, *ḥmsj*, and *sḏr* (see *infra*, §6.1.8), i.e. to mark a situation as contingent, temporary, in some cases as the result of a preceding process. Here are some relevant examples:

[29]   *jw*   *pḥtj*   *wn(.w)*
     MCM   strength   be\RES[-3SG.M]
     "(I am rejoicing for you since you are on earth), and your strength is (well) present"
     NK – MEg – Lyric – Hieroglyphic   (*Harper's   Song*, l. 3–4)

[30]   *pfꜣ*   *šm*   *ḥnꜥ.f*
     DEM.DIST=M.SG   walk\PTCP   with-3SG.M
     nn   *sw*   *wn*
     NEG   =3SG.M   be\RES[-3SG.M]
     "the one who walked with him, he is no longer (here)"
     MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Man with his Ba* 128)

The modification of the argument structure can sometimes force a recategorization of the process in another class of actionality. This is for instance the case for *ꜥnḫ* "to be alive", when used with an adverbial extension for expressing instrument:

[31a] *swḏ.n.j*   *wpw.t.j*   *n*   *sꜣ.j*
     hand-over-CPD-1SG   charge-F-1SG   to   son-1SG
     jw.j   *ꜥnḫ.kwj*
     SBRD-1SG   live\RES-1SG
     "I handed over my charge to my son while I was alive"
     MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (Stele   Leiden   V 88, 11)

[31b] *ꜥnḫ.tw*   *m*   *ṯꜣw*   *n*   *djdj.k*
     live\IPFV-3SG.C   on   wind   of   give\NMZL.IPFV-2SG.M
     "one lives on the wind you give"[70]
     MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic(*Sinuhe* B 236)

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70 In the following example, the parallelism with *mwt* "to die" and the presence of a causative phrase suggest an active meaning for *ꜥnḫ* "to live" (rather than "to be alive"): *jw.f mwt.f ḥr.s, jw.f ꜥnḫ.f ḥr.s* "he can die because of this, or he can live because of this" (*KV* 51–52).

4.2   Activities

Activities are a very productive class of actionality. They are prototypically [+ DURATIVE],[71] [+ DYNAMIC], [– GRADABLE], and [– TELIC]. Graphically, they can be represented as <~~~~~>, that is without a pre- or post-phase. Contrary to the states, activities are necessarily dense. This means that if one says that a subject is engaged in an activity, it does not need for him to be active for any subinterval of it.[72]

Activities are atelic. They lack a cognitively salient moment that will mark the end of the process. Activities however can often easily be recategorized in accomplishments by modifying their argument structure (Ex. 32 and 33), by adding an adverbial phrase that implies telicity (Ex. 34 and 35), or by using a specific aspectual auxiliary[73] (see the contrast between Ex. 36 and 37):

    [32]   Paul ran yesterday for an hour
    [33]   Paul ran the mile yesterday
    [34]   Paul ran yesterday to the post office
    [35]   Paul ran yesterday in an hour
    [36]   Paul stopped running yesterday
    [37]   Paul finished running yesterday

The lack of any cognitively salient moment that would mark the end of the process explains why – in contrast to telic SoAs – activities when

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[71] For non-durative verbs of activity (semelfactive), see *infra*, Ex. 49–53.

[72] For example, a statement like "the book is on the table" (state) is true for any subinterval of the SoA, while "Paul walked in the park this morning" (activity) does not imply that the subject actually walked without never stopping during the considered span of time (see already D. Dowty, The Effects of Aspectual Class on the Temporal Structure of Discourse. Semantics and Pragmatics, Linguistics and Philosophy 9.1 (1986), 37–62, here 41–42).

[73] In Egyptian, there is a difference between auxiliaries like *kn* "to end" and *grḥ* "to finish", which signal the end of a telic process, like "to finish" in English, and verbs like *rwj*, which expresses the interruption of a process, like "to stop" in English. The former is normally found with accomplishments and achievements, the latter with activities.

conjugated in a punctual unachieved tense have an inchoative meaning (see *infra*):[74]

[38]   *mr.n.f*   *wj*   *rḫ.n.f*
       desire\NMZL-ANT-3SG.M   =1SG   know-CPD-3SG.M
       ḳnn.j
       character-1sg
       "he showed me his affection because he had got knowledge
       of how brave I was"
       MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic(*Sinuhe* B 106)

[39]   *wn.jn*   *sḫtj*   *pn*   *ḥr rmj.t*
       CJVB:CNSV   peasant   DEM:M.SG   on-cry:INF
       ꜥꜣw   *wrt*
       very-ADVZ   very-ADVZ
       "and this peasant began to cry very loudly"
       MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B1, 55–
       56)

[40]   *wn.jn*   *ḥm.f*   *ḥr rhn.t*
       CJVB:CNSV   majesty-3SG.M   on-squelch:INF
       jm.s
       in-3SG.F
       "and His Majesty began to squelch aroud in it"
       SIP – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (Inscr. of
       Sobekhotep VIII, Karnak, face B, l. 4–5)

[41]   (and after the King's dead) *ꜥḥꜥ.n šms.n.j*
                                         CJVB:ANT   follow-CPD-1SG
       sꜣ.f   *ḥr*   PN
       son-3SG.M   Horus   PN
       "I became a follower of (lit. I followed) his son, King PN"
       FIP – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. Cairo JE 36346, 4)

[42]   *jw*   *bꜣtꜣ*   *ḥr nš*   *m*
       MCM   Bata   on-tremble:INF   in

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[74] In Late Egyptian, and in the subsequent stages of ancient Egyptian, the inchoative can also be expressed by appropriate auxiliaries like *ḫpr* "to become" (*jw.s ḥr ḫpr ḥr sꜣw pꜣy.s hꜣy r-jḳr zp sn* "and she began to watch her husband very closely", *Doomed Prince* 7,8), or by lexical means that never grammaticalized, like *šsp, mḥ r,* and *fꜣj r*, which are typical of the Late Egyptian stories (e.g. *jw.f ḥr fꜣ.t.f r mšꜥ r tꜣ jn.t n pꜣ ꜥš* "and he set off (lit. he lifted himself) to march to the valley of the cedar" *Two Brothers* 13,1–2; see J. Winand, Temps (see fn. 6), 333–336). In Coptic, auxiliaries like ϣⲱⲡⲉ (< *ḫpr*) or ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ are frequently found: "when the disciples heard this", ⲁⲩ-ⲁⲣⲭⲉⲓ ⲛⲁⲅⲁⲛⲁⲕⲧⲉⲓ "they became indignant" (*Gospel of Judas*, p. 34,19–20).

ẖ.t.f   nb.t
body-F-3SG.M   all-F
"(his heart swallowed the water), and Bata began to tremble
in all his limbs"
NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 14,1)

[43]   *jw.j*   (*ḥr*) *tttt*   *jrm.f,*   *jw.j*
MCM-1SG   (on-)quarrel:INF   with-3SG.M   MCM-1SG
ḏd   *n.f* (…), *jw.f*   *ḏd*   *n.j* (…)
say:INF   to-3SG.M MCM-3SG.M   say:INF   to-1SG
"I started to quarrel with him, and I said to him (…), and he
said to me (…)"
NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pBM 10052, 4,9–10)

In the last example, the inchoative sense of the first sentence appears clearly as the following sentences are phases that developed the narrative frame just opened. The specific behaviour of activities, in contrast to telic SoAs, is evident when followed by an adverbial phrase introduced by (*m-*)*ḏr* "when"; the temporal frame of the adverbial phrase (partly) coincides with the activity's, while it is over with telic SoAs:

[44]   *jw.f*   *rmj,*   *m-ḏr*   *ptr.<f*
MCM-3SG.M   cry:INF   when   see\SBJV-<3SG.M>
p3y.f>   *sn*   *sḏr*
<ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M> brother   sleep\RES-[3SG.M]
m   r-ˤ   *mwt*
in   state   death:INF
"he began to cry when he saw his brother lying, dead"
NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 13,3)

[45]   *y3*   *bwpw.j*   *jr*   *n.k*
EXLM   NEG:did-1SG   do:INF   to-2SG.M
p3   *jr.w*   *<n>*   *n3*   *wpw.tjw*
ART:M.SG   do\REL.PFV <to>   ART:PL   messenger-M.PL
n   ẖˤ-m-w3s.t,   *m-ḏr*   *jry.w*   *17*   *n*
of Khaemuaset   when   do\SBJV-3PL   17   of
rnp.t   *m*   *p3*   *t3*
year-F   in   DEM:M.SG   land
"actually I have not done to you what was done to the messengers of Khaemuaset, after they had spent 17 years in this land"
NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Wenamun* 2,51–52)

The inchoative meaning is sometimes best rendered in non-aspectual languages by an appropriate lexeme, slightly different from the basic one. For instance, *mrj* "love" is better translated by "to fall in love", *ptr*

"to see" by "to have a look at", etc. In the following example, the emphasis on the beginning of the process is stressed by the adverbial "in a moment":

[46] *jw   ḥm.f* (ʿ,w,s)   *ḥr mrj.t*   *n.f*
      MCM   Majesty-3SG.M   on-love:INF   to-3SG.M
      r-jḳr   *zp*   *2   m   tȝ*   *wnw.t*
      excellently   time   2   in   ART:F.SG hour-F
      "and His Majesty (lph) fell deeply in love with him
      immediately"[75]
      NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 18,10)

One will also note that activities are never found with tenses that express resultative, like the old perfective or the terminative *sḏm.t.f*, except for cases of recategorization (see *infra*). This is a direct consequence of their being atelic SoAs. Another distinctive feature that sets activites apart from telic SoAs is their behavior when used in the negative pattern *n sḏm.n.f* (or *bw jr.f sḏm* in Later Egyptian). While this pattern expresses the inability or the impossibility of the process with telic SoAs, it can also indicate that a process that took place in the past can no longer happen in the present (and will not in the future):

[47] *rȝ*   *gr,*   *n*
      mouth   be-silent\RES[3SG.M]   NEG
      mdw.n.f
      speak-CPD-3SG.M
      "the mouth is (now) silent; it can no longer speak"
      MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 13)
[48] ("give me back my goods") *jḫ   tm.j   sbḥ*
                            MODP do_not\SBJV-1SG cry:INF
      "and I will no longer cry"
      MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B1, 61)

Verbs of activity do not form a homogeneous class. Subdivisions can be made according to two criteria. A first division can be made between durative and non-durative processes. The second division takes into account the semantic roles of the subject (and of the object to a certain extent).

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[75] Observe here the indirect expression of the object, considered as a beneficiary (lit. "for him").

While most verbs of activity are durative, there is a class of non-durative verbs, also called semelfactive. This class is sometimes analysed as the atelic variety of the verbs of achievement. This is rather confusing as telicity comes first in the analysis of SoAs, as illustrated by the following examples, which show that the aspectual selection made by the progressive does not coincide for the semelfactives and the achievements. In the first case, the meaning is iterative while in the second case, the progressive selects the SoA's dynamic pre-phase:

[49]   he coughed (semelfactive)
       he was coughing ($[<\sim>]_x$)
[50]   he reached the summit (achievement)
       he was reaching the summit ($\sim\sim[\sim\sim]\sim<+>$___)

In Egyptian, this class is represented by a handful of verbs like ꜥš "to utter a cry", bšj "to spit", pwj "to jump", or nw "to have a look". In progressive, they take an iterative meaning:[76]

[51]   *jw.s*   *sḏr.tj*   *<ḥr>*   *bš*
       MCM-3SG.F   sleep\RES-2SG   <PROG->   spit:INF
       "she was lying spitting"
       NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 4,9–10)

[52]   *ꜥḥꜥ.n*   *ptr.s*   *pꜣ*   *ym*   *ḥr*
       CJVB:ANT   see\PFV-3SG.F   ART:M.SG   sea   PROG-
       ḥwi   *m-sꜣ.s*
       beat:INF   behind-3SG.F
       "then she saw the sea rolling (lit. beating) behind her"
       NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 10,5–6)

[53]   *wꜥ*   *ḥr*   *ꜥš*   *jm.sn*   *n*
       one   PROG-shout:INF   in-3PL   at
       sn.nw.f
       two-M:DU-3SG.M
       "they are shouting at each other"
       NK – LEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Poem of Pentawer* § 285)

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[76] When negated, the progressive states that the process cannot happen*: bn twn ḥr nw r.w* "we do not have a look at them" (pChester Beatty III, v° 4,13). The iterative meaning also obtains with the inchoative auxiliary *ḫpr*: *mtw.f ḫpr ḥr ḥwꜣ jnr r nꜣ bꜣk n pꜣ dmj* "and he reportedly began to throw stones to the workmen of the village" (pSalt 124, v° 1,17). On the evidential function of the conjunctive in reported speech, see J. Winand, À la croisée du temps, de l'aspect et du mode. Le conjonctif en néo-égyptien, Lingua Aegyptia 9 (2001), 293–329.

The subject of verbs of activity are commonly agentive in full control of the process [+ AGENTIVE] [+ CONTROL]. To this class belong transitive (*e.g.*, *wḫꜣ* "to seek", *rwḏ* "to administer", *dwꜣ* "to pray", etc.) and, mainly, intransitive verbs (*e.g.*, *ꜥḥꜣ* "to fight", *bꜣk* "to work", *mšꜥ* "to walk", *mdw* "to speak", *ḫntj* "to go upstream", *ḫdj* "to go downstream", *ẖnj* "to row", etc.). When these verbs are conjugated in the progressive, the MoR selects a phase inside the SoA (<~~[~~]~~>):[77]

[54]   *jw*   *jṯ.n.(j)*   *rnp.t*   *6*   *im*   *ḥr*
       MCM   take-CPD(-1SG) year-F   6   there(ADV)   PROG-
       ḫrp   *kꜣ.t*
       manage:INF work-F
       "I spent (lit. took) 6 years managing the work"
       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I,215,13)

[55]   *wd.n.j*   *jšnn*   *ḥr*   *jꜣ.t.f,*   *ꜥꜣm*
       put-CPD-1SG war-cry   on   back-3SG.M   Asiatic-M.SG
       nb   *ḥr*   *nmj*
       all   PROG-   bellow:INF
       "I shouted my war cry on his back, while all the Asiatics were
       bellowing like cattle"
       MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic(*Sinuhe* B 140–141)

[56]   *ꜥḥꜥ.n.(j)*   *jr.n.(j)*   *hrw 8 ḥr ḏꜥr*
       CJVB:ANT(-1SG)   do-CPD(-1SG)   day 8 PROG-explore:INF
       ḫꜣs.t   *tn*
       desert-land-F   DEM:F.SG
       "and I spent 8 days exploring this desert land"
       MK – MEg – Expedition – Hieratic   (Hammamat
       199,7)

Verbs of activity are gradable by nature as shown by their compatibility with adverbial expression of intensity:

[57]   *ḥs*   *wj*   *ḥm.[f]*   *ḥr.s*
       praise\PFV =1SG   Majesty[-3SG.M] for-3SG.F
       ꜥꜣ   *wr.t*
       very-ADVZ   very-ADVZ
       "His Majesty praised me exceedingly for that"
       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 221,9)

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[77] The focus on the activity can be reinforced by an autoreferential object: (Your Majesty's heart will be delighted by seeing) *ẖnn.sn ẖn.t m ḫd m ḫnty.t* "how they will row a rowing hither and thither" (pWestcar 5,3–4). This autofocal stress on the process is also attested with other classes of actionality: *n mwt.n js* A *mwt.t* "(lit.) A has not really died a death" (*Pyr.* 350 T).

With some verbs of activity however the subject has a very limited control on the process [+ AGENTIVE] [– CONTROL], like verbs of sensory perception (*m33* "to see", *sdm* "to hear", *dp* "to taste") and verbs of emotion (e.g. *3bj* "to desire", *mrj* "to desire, to fall in love", *msdj* "to dislike, to hate", *rmj* "to cry, to weep", *sbt* "to laugh", *knd* "to express anger"). In contrast to the former category, they are graphically represented as <------>. They very easily combine with the general, non-progressive imperfective, and are often found without a second argument, which maximizes the global, generic extension of the activity:

[58]   *jr*   *z*   *nb*   *nty*   *jm*
       TOPZ   man   all   REL-M.SG   there(ADV)
       jw.f   *m33.f* ∅
       MCM-3SG.M   see\IPFV-3SG.M
       "everyone who is here can see"
       MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* VII, 365g-
       366a)

[59]   *msdr*   *nds*   *sdm.f* ∅
       ear   small   hear\IPFV-3SG.M
       "an ear whose hearing is weak"
       NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic   (pEbers 91,2)

[60]   *jn*   *mntk*   *shj*   *jw*   *bw jr.f*
       Q   2SG.M   deaf-person   SBRD NEG-do\PFV-3SG.M
       sdm ∅
       "are you a deaf person who cannot hear?"
       NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi IV, 2,7)

As will be shown below (§6.1.3), the Egyptian progressive entails the subject's agentivity. When used with verbs whose subject has no control over the process, the progressive stresses that the subject is now in full control. This recategorization of the SoA is often best rendered in translation languages by another, specialized lexeme. For instance, when conjugated in the progressive, the two Egyptian generic verbs for hearing (*sdm*) and seeing (*m33*) take on the meaning of listening and looking (often close to cognitive processes like witnessing, getting knowledge of, taking note of, etc.).[78] Such a degree of adaptability is

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[78] Of course the same kind of meaning shift happens when these verbs are used with tenses that imply a control over the subject, like the imperative (*jmy ʿnḥ.wy.k sdm j.dd.t.w* "pay attention (lit. prick up your ears), listen to what is said"

characteristic of aspectual languages, which can somehow compensate for a relatively limited set of verbal lexemes by the possibilities offered by the selections made by the MoR. The meaning of the verbs of emotion is similarly affected (*mrj* "to fell in love" > "to desire", *rmj* "to weep" > "to lament", etc.).

[61] *sḏȝwty.w* (...)   *ḥr mȝȝ*   *stȝ.j*
      treasurer-M.PL   PROG-see:INF   introduction-1SG
      r   pr-nsw.t
      to   palace
      "(every time I traveled to the North to pay my respect in this great Residence of His Majesty), the treasurers (…) were witnessing my introduction into the palace"
      MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St.   Munich Glypt. 35,15–16)

[62] *mk*   (*w)j*   *ḥr sḏm*   *ḏd.t(j).f(j)*
      ATT-2SG.M   =1SG   PROG-listen:INF   say-PPO-M.SG
      nb   m   *ʿnḥ.wj.j*
      all   with   ear-M:DU-1SG
      "look I am listening whoever will speak with my two ears"[79]
      NK – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Urk* IV, 509,17)

[63] *jw*   *mdw.f*   *n.j*   *nn*   *wj*   *ḥr*
      MCM   speak\IPFV-3SG.M to-1SG   NEG   =1SG   PROG-
      sḏm   *st*
      listen:INF   =3SG.C
      "he spoke to me, but I was not listening to it"
      MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic(*ShS* 73–75)

[64] *jr.n.(j)*   *ḥr*   *wn*   *ḥr*   *ḥr*
      do\NMZL-ANT-(1SG)   OBLV   was   Horus   PROG-
      mr.t   *grg.s*
      desire:INF   restore:INF-3SG.F
      "I did (it) because Horus was willing to restore it"
      FIP – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (Ankhtifi Iα2)

The difference between progressive and non-progressive imperfective is particularly evident in the following example:

[*Amenemope* 3,9]), or some optative patterns, like *jḥ-sḏm.k*: *jḥ mȝn.k wj m ȝtf ʿȝ rdj.n n.j rʿ* "please, look at me with the great atef-crown Re has given to me" (*CT* IV, 87c–d).

[79] The presence of the instrumental "with my two ears" emphasizes the subject's control over the process (see J. Winand, Variations (see fn. 31).

[65]   *jw.j*   *ḥr m33.f,*   *n*   *m3.n.f*   *wj*
       MCM-1SG   PROG-see:INF-3SG.M   NEG   see-CPD-3SG.M   =1SG
       "while I am looking at him (progressive), he cannot see me
       (non-progressive)
       MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Lit. Fragm.*, II B 2,7)[80]

Verbs of activity have no post-phase, being atelic. However, they can
recategorize when used with perfective tenses like the old perfective for
the intransitive or with the pattern *jw sḏm.n.f* (or *sḏm.f* in LEg) for
transitive verbs, but also with patterns involving the terminative *sḏm.t.f*,
and the participle *sḏm.tj.fj*, which is a resultative future (see *infra*,
6.2.2). With transitive verbs, this implies that the object is felt like a
patient (or at least as an entity whose status has changed at the end of
the process), which is normally not the case.[81] Here are some relevant
examples.

ʿḥ3 "to fight" > "to fight effectively"

[66]   *jw*   *ʿḥ3.n.j*   *r*   *wn-m3ʿ*
       MCM   fight-CPD-1SG   for   really
       "I really fought a full battle"
       NK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* IV, 7,8)
[67]   *tm.tj.fj*   *ʿḥ3*   *ḥr.s*
       not_do-PPO-M.SG   fight:INF   for-3SG.F
       "those who will not have effectively fought for it"
       MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. Berlin 1157,
       19–20)

ʿš (~ *j3š*) "to utter a cry" > "to summon, to call"

[68]   *twj*   *ʿš.kwj*   *m-b3ḥ*   *pr-ʿ3*
       PRS-1SG   summon\RES-1SG   before   Pharao
       "I have been summoned before Pharaoh"
       NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBM 10430, 6)
[69]   *m*   *mdw*   *n.f*   *r*
       PROH   speak:advz   to-3SG.M   until

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[80] See also the contrast in the same text between progressive and non-progressive:
jr m33 sw s m rsw ḥr m33 nṯr ḥry "if a man sees himself in a dream while
contemplating a celestial god" (pChester Beatty III, r° 2,14) vs. *jr m33 sw s m rsw
m33.f sw ḥr šn.t gs.f* "if a man sees himself in a dream seeing himself with a pain in
his side" (pChester Beatty III, r° 7,13).
[81] In sentences like "he can see the building", the object of course remains
unaffected by the process.

jꜣš.t.f ∅
call\PFV-3SG.M
"don't speak to him until he calls you"
MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 126)

m33 "to see" > "to consider"

[70] *jḫ*   *ḏd*   *rmṯ*   *m33.tj.sn*
      MODP   say\SBJV   man   see-PPO-PL
      "and so those who will have considered (it) will say"

      MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 600)

mdw "to speak" > "to make a discourse"

[71] *jw*   *mdw.n*   *ḥm.f*   *m*
      MCM   speak-CPD   Majesty-3SG.M   in
      ꜥḥ.f
      palace-3SG.M
      "His Majesty made a statement in His palace"
      NK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (tCarnarvon I, c.
      2)

sḏm "to hear" > "to take into account"

[72] *mk*   *st*   *sḏm*
      ATT-2SG.M   =3SG.C   hear\RES[-3SG.F]
      "look it has been taken into account"
      MK – MEg – Letter – Hieratic
          (pBrooklyn 35.1446, r° ins. B, l. 13)

[73] *n*   *sḏm.t*   *šnj.t*   *swḏ.j*   *n.k*
      NEG   listen\PFV   Court   bequeath:SBJV-1SG to-2SG.M
      "the Court had not learnt yet that I intended to bequeath to
      you"
      NK – MEg – Teaching – Hieratic(*Amenemhat* 2,5)

Finally, there is a class of verbs with agentless subject [– AGENTIVE].
As has been already explained (§4.1), these verbs belong to the category
of state verbs. They are statistically predominantly found with the old
perfective (resultative perfect). It is only when conjugated in dynamic
tenses that they are recategorized as activities. Contrastive examples
with resultative perfect and imperfective have already been provided.
With a non-resultative, punctual perfect, these verbs take an inchoative
meaning as is the case for all verbs of activity:

[74] *ḥr-jr*   *sj*   *ḥr snb,*   *jw.j*   *ḥr*
      when   =3SG.F   PROG-be-healthy:INF   MCM-1SG   on
      hꜣb   *n.s*
      write:INF   to-3SG.F

"and when she began to feel better, I wrote her"
NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic
    (oCaire CGC 25725 + oLouvre 3251, 2–3)

[75]   *jw.f*   *ḏd*   *n.j* (…), *jw*   *ḫ3tj.j*   (*ḥr*)
       MCM-3SG.M say:INF   to-1SG   MCM   heart-1SG (on-)
      ꜥnḫ (…),   *jw*   *wn.j*   *mr.kwj*
      live:INF   SBRD   was-1SG   be-ill\RES-1SG
      "and he told me (…), then my heart began to live again (…)
      although I was ill"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBM EA 10326, 7–8)

They can also be found with tenses that imply the control over the subject, which consequently becomes agentive:

[76]   *snḏ*   *n.f*   *ḫft*   *spr.t*
      fear\IMP   to-3SG.M   in-accordance-to reach\REL-ANT
      n.f
      to-3SG.M
      "show him respect in accordance to what has happened to him"
      MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 180)

[77]   *mry*   *sš.w,*   *msḏ*   *jb*
      cherish\IMP writing-M.PL   abhor\IMP   heart
      "cherish the writings, abhor the farandole"
      NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pLansing 1,8)

The second argument is commonly unaffected by the process; this means that the object of transitive verbs of activity is [– PATIENT], and the second argument of a verb of motion expresses the location where the activity takes places, and never the goal, which is the domain of telic SoAs.

In Egyptian, verbs of activity do not belong to a morphologically well-defined class.[82] As they are generally telic by nature, the absence of

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[82] In Russian, for instance, semelfactive verbs are recognizable by the presence of the infix -nu- (e.g. кашлянуть "Fr. *toussoter* (to have a slight cough)" as opposed to кашлять "*tousser* (to cough)"). In Egyptian, reduplicated verbs (ABAB) are generally verbs of activity: *mnmn* "to move", *ḫb3b3* "to waddle", *sḫsḫ* "to run", *ksks* "to dance", *ktkt* "to tremble", *g3g3* "to cackle", *tjtj* "to trot", *t̠t̠t̠t̠* "to discuss, to argue". This also applies to the verbs of the type *n*-ABAB like *njnj, nw3w3, nwtwt, nb3b3, nbjbj, nbsbs, nbḏbḏ, np3p3, nf3f3, nfnfn, nftft, nmꜥmꜥ, nrḥrḥ, nhmhm, nhdhd, nḥrḥr, nḫ3ḫ3, nḫjḫj, nḫbḫb, nẖrẖr, nḥ3ḥ3, nsnsn, nšbšb, nšfšf, nšnšn, nḳrḳr, nḳdḳd,*

causative verbs in this class is largely expected, excepted for some rare cases where the verb has lost its causative force.

Activities can be recategorized in other classes of actionality by modifying the argument structure. I shall first consider how the actionality can be altered by the suppression or the addition of an argument, before coming to changes in the syntactic expression of the 2nd argument. This section ends by paying attention to some semantic features of the object like the countable vs mass distinction.

The deletion of the 2nd argument (not to be confused with the absence of an argument under relevance[83]) by suppressing any limit focuses the action on the process itself, which can take in some cases a generic meaning:

[78]   *p3*   *mjw*   *nty*   (*ḥr*)   *nw* Ø
        ART:M.SG   cat   REL-M.SG (on-)   see:IN
        m   *p3*   *kk*
        in   ART:M.SG darkness
        "the cat, which can see in darkness"
        TIP – LEg – Religious – Hieratic (pBM 10252, 87,12)

[79]   *jw*   *b3t3*   *ḥr šm.t*   *r*   *bḥs* Ø   *m*
        MCM   Bata   on-go:INF   to   hunt:INF   as
        p3y.f   *sḫr*   *nty*   *rˁ*   *nb*
        ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M habit   REL-M.SG day   all
        "and Bata went to hunt as was his habit of everyday"
        NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 10,4)

By imposing a limit to the extension of the process, the addition of a 2nd argument has the opposite effect. The activity is then recategorized in

nk3k3, nkjkj, ng3g3, ngmgm, ngsgs, ntḥtḥ, ndbdb, ndfdf, ndsds, nd3d3, ndhdh, ndsds. In historical time, the prefix *n-* is no longer productive. Although its original function remains vague, it can be connected to repetition and reflexivity (P. Vernus, La racine √gm, notion de « rencontre, contact avec », et ses radicaux dérivés (*gmḥ, ngmgm* et *gmgm*), in: R. Nyord/K. Ryholt (eds.), Lotus and Laurel. Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen (CNI Publications 39), Copenhague 2015, 419–430, here 425).

[83] For instance, in *ms(j).t pw jr.n.s ḥr.f, jw mšˁ pn n nswt ḥr m33* Ø "it (i.e. the gazelle) gave birth on it (i.e. the stone), while this troop was looking" (*Hammamat* 110, 7), the absence of the object of *m33* is easily supplied by the context given in the preceding sentence.

the class of accomplishments. As a consequence, when conjugated in a non-resultative perfective tense, they do no longer take an inchoative meaning:

[80]   *jw.j*   *ḥr bȝk.f,*   *jw.j*   *ḥr*
       MCM-1SG   on-work:INF-3SG.M   mcm-1SG   on-
       sḫt.f,   *jw.j*   *ḥr dj.t.f*   *n.s*
       weave:INF-3SG.M   MCM-1SG   on-give:INF-3SG.M   to-3SG.F
       "(she brought me a basket of *dbj.t*-plants), I worked them, I
       weaved them and I gave them to her"[84]
       NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic
           (oCaire CGC 25725 + oLouvre E 3251, 3–4)

[81]   *nȝ*   *nty*   *jw.w*   *(r)*   *ktkt*
       ART:PL   REL-M.SG   FUT-3PL   (FUT)   move :INF
       nkt   *jm.w*   *n*   *dwȝ*   *ḥr-sȝ*   *dwȝ*
       something   in-3PL   from   tomorrow   after   tomorrow
       "those who will move something of them from now on"
       TIP – LEg – Oracular – Hierogl. (Maatkare, l. 5–6)

One-place atelic verbs of motion not unfrequently accept an extension to a 2nd argument. This is well attested cross-linguistically, and Egyptian is in this respect no exception. In the first example, the verb *ḫnj* "to row" has been made telic by adding an object, which is also the case of the verb *ḫnty* "to move upstream, to go southward" by the addition of a Goal. In the second example, the verb *mšʿ*, which basically expresses the generic idea of walking, takes the new meaning of going somewhere because of the extension of its argument structure to a Goal:

[82]   *wn.jn.j*   *ḥr ḫnj.t* PN   *jw.f*
       CJVB:CNSV-1SG   on-ferry:INF   SBRD-3SG.M
       m   ḫnty.t   *r*   *kš*
       PROG-go-upstream:INF   to   Kush
       "then I ferried PN as he was going upstream to Kush"
       NK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* IV, 6,17–
       7,1)

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84   The 2nd argument of the verb *bȝk* "to work" can also be introduced by the preposition *m* ("to work at something": oMichaelidis 6, 1–2). On this, see J. Winand, The oblique expression of the object in Ancient Egyptian, in: E. Grossman/M. Haspelmath/ S. Richter (eds.), Egyptian-Coptic Linguistics in Typological Perspective, Berlin 2015, 533–560.

[83]   *wn.jn*   *s3.t*   <*n*>   *p3*
        CJVB:CNSV   daughter-F   <of>   ART:M.SG
        wr   *ꜥ3*   *n*   *ḫt3*   *ḥr*   *mšꜥ*
        chief   great   of   Khatti   on-march:INF
        r   km.t
        to   Egypt-F
        NK – EgTr – Royal – Hierogl.   (First Hittite mariage, 39)

One will note that the addition of an object to an intransitive verb of
activity does not automatically recategorize it into a telic SoA if the
object cannot be interpreted as a patient:

[84]   *rm.sn*   *tw*
        cry\IPFV-3PL   =2SG.M
        "they mourn you"
        OK – OEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*Pyr.* 451)

Sometimes, the object of a transitive verb of activity is expressed
obliquely, as is the case for *sḏm*, which expresses the generic sense of
hearing, by using the preposition *n* "for". Historically, the construction
goes back to Vb + Ø + *n* (Beneficiary); in a second step, the preposition
phrase was reinterpreted as the second argument. For instance, the
expression *sḏm n* + NP "to listen, to obey" is probably to be understood
as "to listen (to something) to the benefit of someone". The contrast
between the two constructions is well illustrated in Ex. 85, while Ex. 86
is a rare case of the expression *sḏm* + Obj. + *n* NP. The same type of
argument extension is attested for ꜥš "to utter a cry": ꜥš *n* "to call
someone" (etymologically "to utter (a cry) to someone"):[85]

[85]   *j.tm.k*   *sḏm*   *n.f*
        not_do\THMZ-2SG.M   listen:INF   to-3SG.M
        sḏm.k   *3b.t.f*   *jmj.t*   *tp.k*
        listen\SBJV-2SG.M   flame-F-3SG.M   in-ADJZ:F   head-2SG.M
        "if you do not listen to him, you shall hear his flame that is
        upon your head"
        OK – OEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*Pyr.* 675b)
[86]   *jr*   *p3*   *nty*   *jrj*   *t3*   *šps.t*
        PTCL   ART:M.SG REL-M.SG   FUT   ART:F.SG Venerable-F
        r   ḏd   *n.j,*   *jw.j*   *r sḏm.f*
        FUT-say:INF   to-1SG   FUT-1SG   FUT-listen:INF-3SG.M

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85 See also *mrj n* "to feel a desire for someone" (*Two Brothers* 17,10), and *sbj n*
"to laugh at, to mock" (*Amenemope* 24, 9).

n.s
to-3SG.F
"what the Venerable one will say, I shall listen to it to her benefit"
NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 17,10)

[87] *ꜥḥꜥ.n.j*   *ḥr jꜣš Ø*   *n*   *mš*
      CJVB:ANT-1SG   on-call:inf   to   crew
      ntj   *m*   *dp.t*   *tn*
      REL-M.SG   in   ship-F   DEM:F.SG
      "and I called the crew that was on this ship"
      MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*ShS* 170)

In some cases, the prepositional phrase *m* NP "in NP" can substitute for the direct object. This is for instance the case for the verbs of hearing and seeing. The object is felt as a partitive entity, which implies the subject's greater control over the process:

[88] *sḏm.tw*   *m*   *j.ḏd.t.k*
      listen\IPFV-3SG.C   to   say\REL-F-2SG.M
      "one pays attention to what you say"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pAnastasi I, 6,8)

Transitive verbs of activity, being atelic, preferably select as their object mass over countable nouns, and indefinite over definite nouns. Cognitively, mass and indefinite nouns have fuzzy shapes that are easily compatible with SoAs that are not oriented toward a specific achievement. A verb can thus move from one class of actionality to another by slightly modifying its argument structure, as already seen, but also the semantics of its arguments. The verb *ꜥš* "to utter a cry" is a good illustration thereof:[86]

– *ꜥš* + Ø ⇒ "to utter a cry"

[89] *bw*   *sḏm.n*   *n.j*   *wꜥ*   *jm.sn,*
      NEG-   listen-CPD   to-1SG   one   in-3PL
      jw.j   *ḥr*   *ꜥš*
      SBRD-1SG   PROG-   call:INF
      "nobody among them paid attention to me as I was calling"
      NK – LEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Poem of Pentawer*, § 115)

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86 The verb *bꜣk* "to work" is another interesting case (J. Winand, Dialects in pre-Coptic Egyptian, with a special attention to Late Egyptian, Lingua Aegyptia 23 (2015), 229–269).

– ꜥš + NP [INDEF, – ANIMATE] (+ *n* NP [+ ANIMATE])   ⇒ "to utter sth (to someone)"

> [90]   *ꜥḥꜥ.n*   *ḥr*   *ꜥš*   *sgb*   *ꜥꜣ*
>   CJVB:ANT   Horus   shout:INF cry   big
>   "and Horus uttered a loud cry"
>   NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Horus & Seth* 9,1)
>
> [91]   *ꜥḥꜥ.n*   *ꜣs.t*   *ꜥš s*   *gb*   *ꜥꜣ*   *n*
>   CJVB:ANT   Isis   call:INF   cry   big   to
>   *sꜣ.s*   *ḥr*   *m-dd*
>   son-3SG.F   Horus   COMP
>   "then Isis uttered a loud cry to her son Horus, saying …"
>   NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Horus & Seth* 16,2)

– ꜥš + NP [– ANIMATE] ⇒ "read (aloud) sth"

> [92]   *jr*   *pꜣ*   *nty*   *jw.f*   *r*
>   TOPZ   ART:M.SG   REL-M.SG   FUT-3SG.M   FUT -
>   *ꜥš*   *nꜣ*   *sš.w*
>   call:INF   ART:PL   writing-M.PL
>   "whoever shall read aloud these writings"
>   NK – LEg – Graffito – Hierogl. (Graffito DeB 3,13)

– ꜥš + NP [– ANIMATE] + *n* NP [+ ANIMATE] ⇒ "read (aloud) sth to someone"

> [93]   *jw.f*   *ꜥš*   *n.w*   *wꜥ*   *wḫꜣ*
>   MCM-3SG.M   read:INF   to-3PL   one   rescript
>   "and he read aloud a rescript to them"
>   NK – LEg – Administrative – Hieratic
>   (oCGC 25726 + oBM 50722, 4)

– ꜥš + NP [+ ANIMATE] ⇒ "call someone"

> [94]   *j.jr.j*   *ꜥš.w*   *r*   *pꜣy.w*
>   THMZ-1SG   call:INF-3PL   by   ART.POSS:M.SG-3PL
>   *rn*
>   name-M.PL
>   "I called them by their names"
>   NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLouvre 3169, 5)

4.3   Accomplishments

Achievements are telic durative processes, whose post-phase is prototypically static ($<\sim\sim\sim\sim+>$——).[87] With transitive verbs, the 2nd argument is affected (created, annihilated, or modified) at the end of the process. It is important to note that telicity, which is a distinctive mark of this class of actionality, can be implicit or explicit. While the end of the process is clearly set in SoAs like "to write a book", "to build a house", or "to come home", its evaluation becomes more problematic with SoAs like "to shorten, to reduce", "to embellish", etc. In these cases, it is possible to state that the process of shortening (or, more correctly in English, of trimming) a hedge has gone too far (the hedge has now been awfully reduced to nothing) or has not produced any significant result (the hedge is still too high). This means that for some processes, one has some intuitive feeling of where the limit stands. This allows for the use of intensity adverbs like "too much" and "not enough", which are not easily used with explicit telic verbs (? he wrote his book too much[88]). In other words, these are SoAs with a continuous gradable activity. In Egyptian, this category of process is well illustrated by the adjective verbs, i.e. verbs that express a quality like ꜥꜣ "to become great", *nfr* "to become perfect", *dšr* "redden", etc.[89] For this category, the process prototypically progresses very gradually along a continuous pace, which is not the case with verbs of explicit

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[87] The difference between accomplishments and achievements with a dynamic pre-phase ($\sim\sim\sim\sim<+>$——) is discussed in the next section.

[88] If such a sentence can be given an acceptable meaning, one must consider that the adverb bears on the quality of the book, which brings us back to the point.

[89] In some languages, this class of verbs is morphologically marked, as is the case in French, for instance, with the suffix *-ir* (*amaigrir, annoblir, embellir, enlaidir, enrichir, jaunir, raccourcir*, etc.). In Egyptian, the adjectives are actually lexicalized participles of verbs of quality. Their number is diachronically in constant decline. In later Egyptian, they are systematically (except for a handful of Coptic verbs that are formed with the prefix ⲛⲁ-) replaced by relative or circumstantial clauses whose predicate is the corresponding verb of quality conjugated in a perfective tense: *rmṯ* ꜥꜣ "a great man" > *rmṯ jw.f* ꜥꜣ(.*w*) "(lit.) a man who is great (etym. "has become great")". In Coptic, ⲟ "great" has become unanalysable in compounds like ⲉⲓⲉⲣⲟ "Nile (lit. great river)" < *jtr.w* ꜥꜣ.

telicity like *jwj* "to come", *jrj* "to do", *ḳd* "to build", whose activity before coming to their climatic end is far from being homogeneous.

The perfective tenses (old perfective, *jw sḏm.n.f*, *sḏm.t.f*, *sḏm.tj.ff*) state that the situation of the 2nd argument (for transitive verbs) or of the 1st argument (for intransitive verbs) has been modified at the end of the process (<~~~~+>[——]). Here are some relevant examples. In the first one, the last sentence clearly expresses the change of situation of the subject.

[95] *st*   *wḏ,*   *st*   *jw*
      3PL(PRS)   go\RES[-3PL]   3PL(PRS) come\ RES[-3PL]
      n.tn,   *bn*   *st*   *dy*   *m-dj.n*
      to-2PL   NEG-   3PL(PRS)   here(ADV)   with-1PL
      "they are gone, they have come to you, they are no longer with us"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLeiden I 365, 7)

[96] *nꜣ-n*   *wsḫ.w*   *ꜣtp*   *dns*
      ART:PL   boat-M.PL   load\RES[-3PL]   heavily(ADV)
      "the boats are heavily loaded"
      NK – LEg – Caption – Hierogl.   (*Paheri*, 3)

[97] *jw.w*   *jw.tj.sn*
      PTCP.ANT-PL   come-PPO-PL
      "(My Majesty has ordered that no one of these gardeners) who are already here (lit. have come) or who will be here (lit. will have come) (be removed from his place)"
      OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 212, 7–8)

[98] *jw*   *nḥm.n.f*   *tꜣw*   *m*
      MCM   take-out-CPD-3SG.M   breath   of
      fnḏ.j   *n*   *jj.t*   *hrw.w.j*
      nose-1SG   NEG   come\PFV   day-M.PL-1SG
      "he has taken the breath out of my nose before my days have come"
      MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* II, 58c G2T)

[99] *jr*   *swt*   *rmṯ*   *nb.t* (…) *ꜥḳ.tj.sn*   *r*
      TOPZ   PTCL   man   all-F   enter-PPO-PL   to
      is   *pn*
      tomb   DEM:M.SG
      "as for everyone (…) who shall enter (lit. who shall have entered) this tomb"
      MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Siut* I, 225)

With perfect tenses (e.g., imperative, MEg *sḏm.n.f*, LEg sequential), the MoR selects the salient moment of the SoA (<~~~~[+>]——):

[100]   *wn.jn*   *grg*   *ḥr fꜣj*
        CJVB:CNSV   Falsehood   on-raise:INF
        jr.t.f   *r*   *nw*
        eye-F-3SG.M   to   look:INF
        "and then Falsehood raised his eye to look"
        NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Truth & Falsehood* 2,4)

[101]   *jw.f*   *ḥr hꜣb*   *n.j*
        MCM-3SG.M   on-send:INF   to-1SG
        "and he sent (a message) to his father" (K*RI* IV, 417,14)
        NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Dommed Prince* v° 4,12)

[102]   *j.jr*   *st*
        do:IMP   =3SG.C
        "do it"
        NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLeiden I 371, v ° 29)

In progressive, the MoR selects a phase inside the process at the exclusion of its limits (<~[~~]~+>——):

[103]   *jw*   *ḥmw.w*   *ꜥšꜣ*   *ḥr*   *ḳd.f*
        MCM   worker-M.PL   many   PROG-build:INF-3SG.M
        "(one gave me a house) and many workers were building it"
        MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* B 296–297)

[104]   *jḫ*   *pꜣy*   *sḫr*   *bjn*   *nty*   *tw.k*
        Q   DEM:M.SG   action bad   REL-M.SG PRS-2SG.M
        ḥr   *jr.f*   *r.j*
        PROG-   do:INF-3SG.M   against-1SG
        "what is this evil action you are doing against me?"
        NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (oDeM 303, 2–3)

A transitive verb of accomplishment can be recategorized as an atelic SoA if its object is partitive. This obtains in Egyptian by introducing the object with the preposition *m* "in".[90] The two constructions are illustrated for the verb *wnm* "to eat" in Ex. 105 (telic SoA) and Ex. 106 (atelic SoA):

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[90] For typological considerations, cf. *supra*, 3.4.3. In Later Egyptian, the oblique expression of the object became the mark of the progressive without implying a loss of telicity. Early examples of this trend can exceptionally be found in the New Kingdom: *sw jr m pꜣy.f sḫn* "he is doing his job" (see J. Winand, The oblique expression of the object in Ancient Egyptian, in: E. Grossman/M. Haspelmath/S. Richter (eds.), Egyptian-Coptic Linguistics in Typological Perspective (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 55), Berlin 2015, 533–560).

[105] *jw.f*   *wnm*   *nꜣ*   *ꜣb.t*   *nty*
        MCM-3SG.M   eat:INF   ART:PL   salad-F   REL-M.SG
        sw   *wnm.w*   *m-dwn*   *zp*   *sn*
        3SG.M(PRS)   eat:INF-3PL   regularly time   2
        "he ate the salads he usually eats very regularly"
        NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Horus & Seth* 11,11–12)

[106] *wnm.j*   *m*   *t*   *n*   *bd.t*   *ḥḏ.t,*
        eat\SBJV-1SG in   bread   of   emmer-F white-F
        swr.j   *m*   *ḥnḳ.t*   *n*   *bd.t*   *dšr.t*
        drink\SBJV-1SG in   beer-F   of   emmer-F red-F
        "I will eat bread of white emmer, and drink beer of red
        emmer"
        MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* III, 50f B1C)

Verbs of implicit telicity behave quite distinctively in some respects. When conjugated in a general unachieved tense (Ex. 107), the dynamic meaning is strongly felt. This contrasts with the PERFECTIVE tenses (Ex. 108), which focus on the resultative state.[91]

[107] *jw*   *r(ꜣ)-jb.f*   *ḥm.f*
        MCM   stomach-3SG.M   dry\IPFV-3SG.M
        "his stomach becomes dry" (pEbers 39,14)
        NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic (pEbers 39,14)

[108] *gs*   *wnm*   *šmm*   *gs*   *jꜣb*
        side   right   warm\RES-[3SG.M]   side   left
        ḳb
        become-fresh\RES-[3SG.M]
        "the right side is warm, and the left side is cold"
        NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic (pEbers 36,13–14)

With this category of verbs, there is a slight nuance between the old perfective and the *sḏm.n.f* (as is the case with *rḫ*, see *infra*, Ex. 134, 151, 158). While the PERFECTIVE states a situation, the PERFECT (Ex. 110) by integrating the SoA's salient moment (<++++[+>-]——) takes into account the process leading to the new situation.

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[91] In some contexts, the difference between a dynamic and a static perspective is very small as shown by contextual variations: "recipe for expelling blood when it is abundant (ꜥšꜣ.w)" vs. "when it is becomes abundant (ꜥšꜣ.f)"; cf. P. Vernus, Sujet + *sḏm.f* et Sujet + pseudoparticipe avec les verbes de qualité. Dialectique de l'aspect et de l'Aktionsart, in: Fr. Junge (ed), Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens I. FS. Westendorf I, Göttingen 1984, 197–212, here 200.

[109] *jw.f*   *wᶜb(.w)*
       MCM   purify\RES[-3SG.M]
       "(let him come,) he is pure"
       OK – OEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*Pyr.* 1141 P')

[110] *wᶜb.n.f*   *m*   *sḫ.t*   *jꜣrw*
       purify-CPD-3SG.M   in   field-F.PL   reed.M.PL
       "(some comes out at the tip of the day,) after he has purified
       in the fields of reeds"[92]
       OK – OEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*Pyr.* 986b N)

In perfect tenses, the meaning is inchoative as is also the case for verbs
of activity (cf. *supra*, §4.2):

[111] *wn.jn*   *nn*   *n*   *jnr.w*   *ḥr*
       CJVB:CNSV   DEM:C   of   brick-M.PL   PROG-
       wꜣs.t   *r*   *šd*
       deteriorate:INF   to   break:INF
       "(His Majesty ordered this monument to be brought […]) but
       these blocks of stone started to deteriorate to the point of
       breaking"
       MK – MEg – Expedition – Hierogl.   (Hammamat 19, 2–5)

[112] *wn.jn*   *jb*   *n*   *ḥm.f*   *(ḥr)*
       CJVB:CNSV   heart   of   Majesty-3SG.M   (on-)
       nfr   *n*   *mꜣꜣ*   *ẖnn.sn*
       be-perfect:INF   because-of   see:INF   row\NMZL.IPFV-3PL
       "(and they began to row hither and thither) and His Majesty
       began to feel better because of seeing them rowing"
       SIP – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (pWestcar 6,24)

Expressing quality, verbs of implicit telicity are frequently found with
adverbs of intensity:

[113] *sk*   *w(j)*   *jꜣw.k(wj)*   *nfr*
       SBRD   =1SG   become-old\RES-1SG   good
       wrt
       very-ADVZ
       "as I have become extremely old"
       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 223, 4–5)

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92 After Old Egyptian, the transitive construction seems to be preferred: *ḏd z r(ꜣ)
pn wᶜb.n.f sw* "a man who has purified himself should say this formula" (*Book of
the Dead:* 125).

[114]   *jw.f*   *nfr.w*   *wrt*
        MCM-3SG.M   perfect\RES-3SG.M   very-ADVZ
        "it has now become very good"
        OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Mereruka*, I, 30, 23)

Verbs of implicit telicity can be recategorized in the category of verbs of explicit telicity by the adjunct of a second direct argument.[93]

[115]   *mk*   *wj*   *ḥnꜥ.k*   *ḥr*
        ATT-2SG.M   =1SG   with-2SG.M   PROG-
        rnp   *ḥꜥ.w.k,*   *ḥr*
        rejuvenate:INF   body-2SG.M   PROG-
        nḫt   *pḥ.ty.k*
        strenght:INF vigour-2SG.M
        "I am with you busy rejuvenating your limbs, strenghtening your vigour"
        OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Abyd. Mar*. I, 25)

[116]   *jnp*   *ḥr*   *wꜥb.j*
        Anubis   PROG-purify-1SG
        "Anubis is purifying me"
        MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* IV, 344a-b)

[117]   *jw.j*   *nṯrj*   *ns-sy-ḫnsw*
        FUT-1SG   deify:INF   Neskhons
        "I shall deify Neskhons"
        TIP – LEg – Religious – Hieratic   (pCaire *CGC* 58032, 43)

More broadly, verbs of accomplishment can accept the usual processes of recategorization. Here is a summary of the main features with some Egyptian examples.

a) A SoA of accomplishment can be recategorized when the 2nd argument is deleted, which means that the process is no longer given a predictive goal or end (cf. *supra*, §3.4.3). The detelicized processes have a natural affinity for imperfective tenses. As already observed,

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93   Most of these verbs also have a so-called transitive causative counterpart: ꜥꜣ "to be great" : *s-ꜥꜣ* "to make great"; *wꜥb* "to be pure" : *s-wꜥb* "to purify"; *nfr* "to be good" : *s-nfr* "to make good", etc. The distribution of the two series of forms still awaits a comprehensive study, which is outside the scope of this paper; diachrony and the type of texts are important factors to consider. The extension to a 2nd argument is an internal process of Egyptian and should be consequently disconnected from the issue of the existence of a 'Piꜥel form in Egyptian J. Winand 2018, see fn. 6, 6a).

such shifts in meaning often force the translator to use another lexeme: *jrj* + obj. "to do something" vs. *jrj* + ∅ "to act"; *sš* + obj. "to write something" vs. *sš* + ∅ "to write, to do some writing"; *ḳd* + SN "to build something" vs. *ḳd* + ∅ "to work at a building"; *ḏd* + SN "to say something" vs. *ḏd* + ∅ "to speak", etc. The contrast between the two structures is well illustrated in Ex. 118:

[118] *jry.j ∅*   *n*   *jrr*   *nfr.t*
       do\SBJV-1SG for   do\PTCP   good-F

"I will act for him who does something good"[94]
OK – OEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*Pyr.* 1099c P')

[119] *mntk*   *p3*   *nty*   *ḥr jr ∅*
       2SG.M   ART:M.SG REL-M.SG PROG-do:INF

"you are the one who acts"
NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi II, 10,1)

[120] *[w]n.(j)*   *[ḥr]*   *sš ∅,*   *wn.(j)*   *ḥr*
       was(-1SG)   [PROG-]   write:INF was-1SG   under

š⁽.f
palette-3SG.M

"(as I was my brother's deputy,) I used to do the writings, and I carried his palette"
OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 216,9–10)

b) If the direct object is expressed obliquely with the preposition *m* "in", the process is once more detelicized. The purpose of the process is no longer to achieve something but to act – literally – in/on something. The object is thus treated like a partitive (cf. *supra*, §3.4.3).[95]

[121] *jw.j*   *ḥr*   *jr.t*   *m*   *j3w.t*   *nb*
       SBRD-1SG   PROG-   do:INF   in   function-F   all

⁽3   *n*   *pr-⁽3*
big   of   Pharaoh

"as I was engaged in every kind of important duties for Pharaoh"
NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLeiden I 371, r° 10)

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[94] Cf. *jr.k(wj) mj ḳd r ḥs.t wj ḥm.f ḥr.s r ḫ.t nb* "I have acted entirely so that His Majesty praised me for this more than any other thing" (*Urk.* I, 100,11). On the active diathesis of the old perfective in OEg, see A. Stauder, The Earlier Egyptian Passive. Voice and Perspective (Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monogaphica 14), Hamburg 2014, 112–118.

[95] There are of course border cases, where it is debatable if a clause introduced by the preposition *m* should be analyzed as an oblique object or as a circumstantial adjunct.

c) when the second argument has a generic value, the SoA is better analyzed as an atelic activity:

[122] *jw(.j)*   *r*   *jr.t*   *mr*   *k3.t*   *nb.t*
       FUT-(1SG)   FUT-   do:INF   chief   work-F   all-F
       n.t   *nsw*
       of-F   king
       "I shall be the director for every work of the king"
       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 63,2)
[123] *m jr*   *jḳr*   *ḥnms*
       PROH-do   be-excellent:ADVZ   friend
       "do not be (too) clever, (my) friend!"
       MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic   (*ShS* 183–4)

The case of *wnm* "to eat" and *swr* "to drink" are illustrative of the different strategies developed in Egyptian. When used with a definite object (Ex. 124), they clearly belong to the class of the telic SoAs (accomplishments). As a matter of fact, the omission of the direct object under relevance does not obliterate the telicity of the process (Ex. 125). The deletion of the object is another matter, for it triggers the detelicization of the SoA, which is accordingly recategorized as an activity (Ex. 126). As is the case with the verbs of activity, the process, when negated, can express the end of a sequence (no … longer) rather than the non-occurrence of the process (Ex. 127). The focus of a SoA can also be maximally extended as to express a generic activity when the object is indefinite and belongs to the class of the mass nouns (Ex. 128). The same effect can be achieved by expressing the object indirectly with the preposition *m* "in"; the object is then clearly treated like a partitive (Ex. 129). The time extension of the SoA can occasionally be underlined by a TEM-F (Ex. 130).

[124] (date) *jw*   *nb-nfr*   *ḥr dj.t*   *wnm*
                MCM   Nebnefer on-cause:INF   eat\SBJV
       p3   *jḥ*   [*n*]   *p3-nb*
       ART:M.SG   ox   [of]   Paneb
       "Nebnefer caused Paneb's ox to be eaten"
       NK – LEg – Admin. – Hieratic   (oCaire JE 49866, v° 8)
[125] *swr* ∅   *jn*   *z*   *r*   *hrw*   *4*
       drink:INF   PTCL   man   for   day   4
       "to be drunken (i.e. the medecine) by a man for 4 days"

       NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic (pEbers 103,8)

[126]   *wrš.n.s*   *jm*   *ḥr swr* ∅
        spend-day-CPD-3SG.F   there(ADV)   PROG-drink:INF
        "… and she spent her time there drinking"
        SIP – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic (pWestcar 2,10)

[127]   *nn*   *jw.j*   *r wnm* ∅,   *nn*   *jw.j*
        NEG   FUT-1SG   FUT-eat:INF   NEG   FUT-1SG
        r swr ∅
        FUT-drink:INF
        "(if one takes him from me) I shall no longer eat nor drink
        NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Doomed Prince* 6,13)

[128]   *ḥꜣ*   *wsjr*   *pn,*   *swr.k*
        EXLM   Osiris   DEM:M.SG   drink\SBJV-2SG.M
        ∅-*mw*   *jm.s*
        water   in-3SG.F
        "o this Osiris PN, may you drink water from it"
        MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* I, 59d B1P)

[129]   *wnm.j*   *m*   *t*   *n*   *bd.t*   *ḥd.t,*
        eat\SBJV-1SG   in   bread   of   spelt-F   white-F
        swr.j   *m ḥnḳ.t*   *n*   *bd.t*   *dšr.t*
        drink\SBJV-1SG   in beer-F   of   spelt-F   red-F
        "I shall eat bread of white spelt, I shall drink beer of red spelt"
        MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* III, 50f B1C)

[130]   *st*   *ḥr wnm*   *tꜣy.sn*   *wnm.t*
        3PL(PRS)   PRS-eat:INF   ART.POSS:F.SG   food-F
        m-mnt
        daily(ADV)
        "they eat their food everyday"
        NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pSallier I, 4,8)

4.4   Achievements

Achievements are telic non durative SoAs, whose post-phase is prototypically static (<+>——). When conjugated in a resultative tense, they usually state the change of situation of the first (for intransitive verbs) or of the second argument (for transitive verbs).[96] In Egyptian,

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[96] There are however exceptions: for instance, "to reach the summit" means a change of situation for the subject (the summit remains of course unaffected). What really matters is that the situation of one of the arguments has been modified by the end of the process. It is probably not by coincidence if *pḥ* "to reach", which was transitive in EEg, was recategorized in later Egyptian as a verb of motion (*pḥ* + *r* NP); see next fn.

verbs like *ꜥk* "to enter", *prj* "to leave, to go out", or *gmj* "to find" are illustrative of this category.

Some verbs, which express a SoA that is strictly speaking wholly contained in its culminating point, have a dynamic pre-phase that can be selected as a MoR by grammatical tenses (~~~~<+>——). Whether such SoAs must be analyzed as is suggested here, or rather as accomplishments (<~~~~+>——) remains a matter of discussion. The difference between the two types of actionality is a matter of logical implication. If someone is building a house (accomplishment), and suddenly stops or completely ceases doing so, it will remain something of the house (partitive reading). On the other hand, if someone is dying, reaching the summit, or finding the answer, and suddenly stops, there will be nothing left from the activity of the preceding phase, at least at a perceptual level, which is only what matters here. The difference is also evident with some constructions that do not return the same results according to the SoA they are applied to. For instance, the locution "to be about to" does not entail the same reading for both types of process:

> [131] He is about to build a house ≠ He is building a house
>   [   ]<~~~~+>——   ≠   <~[~~]~+>——
> [132] He is about to reach the summit ≃ He is reaching the summit
>   ~[~~]~<+>——

In the first example, the process has not started yet, while in the second example, the dynamic pre-phase has been accessed to with the logical implication that, *ceteris paribus*, the subject will succeed in reaching the summit. For this type of SoA, the locution "to be about to" has the same meaning as the progressive, which is not the case with the type of verbs illustrated in the first example. In Egyptian, verbs like *mwt* "to die", *rḫ* "to get knowledge of", *pḥ* "to reach", and *spr* "to reach"[97] belong to this sub-category of achievements. The following examples illustrate the meaning of such verbs when conjugated in progressive (~~[~~]~~<+>——):[98]

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[97] For the difference between *pḥ* "to reach the final endpoint" and *spr* "to make a stop on a journey", see J. Winand, Synonyms (see fn. 21).

[98] The inchoative or conative meaning of the progressive with this class of verbs is widespread cross-linguistically: see for instance the contrasting pair in Russian:

[133] *jw*   *t3*   *ḫ3s.t*   *ḥr mwt*   *m-ꜥ* *ḥkr.w*
       MCM   ART:F.SG desert-land-F   PROG-die:INF of   hunger
       "this desert land is about to die/is dying out of hunger"[99]
       MK – MEg – Admin. – Hieratic   (*Semnah   Dispatches*,
       4x+10)

[134] *jw*   *pḥ.tw*   *mw.t*   *ḥr rḫ*   *st*
       MCM   reach\IPFV-3SG.C   death-F PROG-know   =3PL
       "one will reach death when trying to know them" (*Ptahhotep*
       288)
       MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic   (*Ptahhotep* 288)

[135] *jw*   *p3y*   *šms*   *jnk*   *ḥr*
       SBRD   DEM:M.SG   servant 1SG   PROG-
       spr   *r.tn*
       reach:INF   to-2PL
       "(do not stand still) as this servant of mine is about to reach
       you"
       NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pMallet IV, 4–5)

If one of the arguments is in plural however, the progressive takes on
an iterative, habitual meaning; it thus recategorizes the SoA as an
activity:

[136] *jw*   *jt.n.s*   X Y Z   *m-ꜥ.k*
       MCM   take-CPD-3SG.F X Y Z   from-2SG.M
       j(w).s   *ḥr jt.t*   *ḫ.t*   *nb*   *n*
       MCM-3SG.M PROG-take:INF   thing-F   all   of

Иван мне давал (imperf.) книгу, а потом не дал (perf.) "Ivan was about to give
me a book, but then did not give (it)" W. Klein, A Time-relational Analysis of
Russian Aspect, in: Language, 71 (1995), 669–695, here 692, ex. 28). See also the
following example in ancient Greek implying three times the verb "to give"
(δίδωμι): "one should know that the Plateans had given (ἐδεδώκεσαν) themselves
to the Athenians. (...) And here is how they gave (ἔδοσαν) themselves. Hardly
pressed by the Thebans, the Plateans first tried to give (ἐδέδοσαν) themselves to the
Lacedaemonians who happened to be there. But those did not accept them (…)"
(Herodotus VI,108). See already R. Kühner/B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der
griechischen Sprache, Hannover-Leipzig 1898, I, 140 about the relevance of the
verbal Aktionsart: "Wenn man in solchen Fällen von einem *Praesens* und
Imperfectum de conatu spricht, so ist es zu beachten, dass diese Spracherscheinung
nicht auf einer besonderen Gebrauchsweise der beiden Tempora beruht, sondern
auf der unbestimmten Bedeutung der so verwandten Verben".

99 Cf. in Russian: Он умирал (imperfective) несколько часов … наконец он
умер (perfective) "he was dying for several hours … and finally he died".

> *ḥm.k*   *r-sꜣ*   *jṯ.t*   *wn.t*   *nb.t*
> person-2SG.M after   take:INF be\PTCL-F   all-F
> *m*   *pr.k*
> in   house-2SG.M
> "she has taken X Y Z from you; she is now taking everything from yourself after having taken all that was in your house"[100]
> OK – OEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pCaire JE 25975, 6–7)

When used with a resultative tense, the MoR selects the post-phase of the process (~~~~~~<+>[——]):

> [137] *hꜣ*   A   *n*   *šm.n.k*   *js*   *mwt.tj*
>   EXLM A   NEG go-CPD-2SG.M NEG die\RES-2SG.F
>   "Lo PN, it is not dead that you went"[101]
>   OK – OEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*Pyr.* 134)
> [138] *m*   *sḏr*   *grḥ*   *mj*   *hrw*   *r*
>   PROH sleep:ADVZ night   as   day   till
>   *spr.t.k*   *r*   *ꜣbḏw*
>   reach\PFV-2SG.M to   Abydos
>   "do not sleep day or night till you have reached Abydos"
>   SIP – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Neferhotep*, 13)
> [139] *s*   2   *wꜥr*   *jm.sn*   *r-ḫꜣ.t*
>   man 2   run-away\RES[-3PL] in-3PL because-of
>   *ḥrj-jḥ*   *nfr-ḥtp*
>   stable-master Neferhotep
>   "two of them have run away because of the stable master N"
>   NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic (pBologne 1094, 3,2–3)

One will note that verbs of achievement do not necessarily have a pre-phase. This can be tested by the compatibility with adverbs like "almost", which return different results according to the presence/absence of a pre-phase. For instance, while "he almost won the race" implies an activity immediately preceding the SoA *stricto sensu* (i.e. the pre-phase), a sentence like "he almost left his home" implies some intention on the subject's behalf (he was willing to leave his home) rather than an aspectual selection of a hypothetic pre-phase.

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[100] For this example, see P. Vernus, Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian. Studies in Syntax and Semantics (Yale Egyptological Studies 4), New Haven, ex. 370.

[101] Interestingly enough, there is a variant in the same corpus with an imperfective (*Pyr.* 450: *mwt.k*).

In Egyptian, these verbs take a conative or a mellic sense (see *supra*, fn. 37) when conjugated in progressive:

[140] *ngȝw*   *ḥr*   *ȝm*   *r.f*
      long-horn   PROG-take-hold:INF   to-3SG.M
      "a long-horn is trying to take hold of him"
      MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* B 120)

[141] *gm.n.f*   *sw*   *m pr.t*   *m*
      find-CPD-3SG.M   =3SG.M   PROG-go-out:INF   from
      sbȝ.f
      door-3SG.M
      "he met him as he was about to go out from his door"
      MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* R 82–83)

[142] *pȝ*   *w*   *n*   *nfr<wsj>*   *m hȝ.(t)*
      ART:M.SG   district   of   Neferusi   PROG-go-down:INF
      "the district of Neferusi is about to fall"
      SIP – MEg – Royal – Hieratic   (tCarnarvon I, r° 15–16)

[143] *ḥr*   *ptr*   *jry.j*   *ȝ*   *rnp.t*   *r*   *nȝ*
      CORD   look   do\PFV-1SG   3   year-F   till   DEM:PL
      jw.j   *ḥms.kwj*   *jw*   *bn*   *twj*   *ḥr*
      SBRD-1SG   sit\RES-1SG   MCM   NEG   PRS-1SG   PRS-
      ꜥk   *r*   *pr*
      enter:INF   to   house
      "for I spent three years up to now, remaining (here), without
      entering (another) house"[102]
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLeiden I 371, v° 35–36)

The difference between achievements with or without a pre-phase is also illustrated when used with the inchoative auxiliary *ḫpr*. While the auxiliary selects the pre-phase in the former case (Ex. 144), it gives an iterative sense in the latter (Ex. 145):

[144] *jw.f*   *ḫpr*   *mwt*   *n.f*   *m-dr*
      MCM-3SG.M   AUX:INF   die:INF   to-3SG.M   as
      pḥ.n   *njw.t*
      reach\SBJV-1PL   city-F
      "and he was nearly dying (lit. began to die) as we reached the
      city"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBM 10375, 24)

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102 When negated, the progressive not infrequently carries a strong modal deontic meaning (see J. Winand, Fuzzy Boundaries, Funny Syntax. Quelques réflexions sur le progressif et d'autres constructions en néo-égyptien, in: H. Amstutz et al. (eds.), Fuzzy Boundaries. FS Antonio Loprieno, Hamburg 2015, 311–331; cf. *infra*, §6.1.6).

[145] *jw.f*   *ḫpr*   *jṯȝ*   *nȝy.w*
       MCM-3SG.M   AUX:INF take:INF ART.POSS:PL-3PL
       md.wt   *r-bnr*   *n*   *nȝy.w*
       message-F.PL outside   to   ART.POSS:PL-3PL
       mw.wt   *nȝy.w*   *sn.w*
       mother-F.PL   ART.POSS:PL-3PL   brother-M.PL
       "and he started to take their messages to the outside, to their
       mothers and brothers"
       NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pTurin 1875 4,2)

With some verbs, the pre-phase has been lexicalized. This is for
instance the case of *gmj* "to find", which cannot be used with the
progressive in the sense of being finding (i.e. looking for, searching) or
being about to find something", as is the case in other languages.
Ancient Egyptian turns in this case to other lexemes, like *wḫȝ* "to
search" and *ḏꜥr* "to seek":[103]

[146] *jw.f*   *jr*   *3 rnp.wt*   *n*   *wḫȝ.f*
       MCM-3SG.M   do:INF   3 year-F.PL to   look-for:INF-3SG.M
       nn   *gm.f*
       NEG   find:INF-3SG.M
       "he spent three years looking for it, without finding it"
       NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 13,5)

The post-phase of an achievement is usually stative. In some cases
however, the resulting situation of an achievement is dynamic. The SoA
itself is the kick-off of an activity.[104] This is for instance the case in

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[103] Another interesting lexical pair is *hȝj* "to fall" – *ḫr* "to lie on the ground" (J.
Winand, Lexical (a)symmetry [see fn. 25]). For the relations between verbs of
cognition like *gmj* and *wḫȝ*, see J. Winand, The Syntax-Semantics Interface in
Earlier Egyptian. A Case Study in Verbs of Cognition, in: J. Allen/M. Collier/A.
Stauder (eds.), Coping with Obscurity. The Brown Workshop on Earlier Egyptian
Grammar (Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology 4), Atlanta 2015, 109–
139.

[104] The situation of Egyptian is not isolated cross-linguistically. For instance, they
are verbs of achievement whose post-phase is dynamic in ancient Greek and
Egyptian Arabic. For instance, in Cairene Arabic: *huwwa râkib* (perf. partic.) *ḥumâr*
"he is riding a donkey", *ana râyiḥ il-madrasa* "I am going to school", *huwwa nāyim*
"he is sleeping" or *ana šâyfu* "I see him". See M. Woidich, Zur Funktion des aktiven
Partizips im Kairenisch-Arabischen, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
Gesellschaft 125 (1975), 273–293, who stresses that these verbs are basically
ingressive. Interestingly enough, when conjugated in the *bi-* imperfective tense,

Egyptian with verbs like *ȝs*, *wꜥr*, *rsj*, *ḥḳȝ* or *šm*. When conjugated in a resultative perfective tense, they take on a dynamic meaning: *ȝs* "to hurry" > "to go quickly", *wꜥr* "to escape" > "to be a fugitive", *rsj* "to awake" > "to act vigilantly", *ḥḳȝ* "to seize the power" > "to exert the power, to rule", or *šm* "to set off" > "to go":

> [147] *ng.t*   *pw*   *m*   *dmj.t*   *mw.s*
>   break:INF   DEM   in   dam-F   water-3SG.F
>   *ȝs.w*
>   Rush-out\RES-3PL
>   "it is a break in the dam, its water is rushing out"
>   MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B1, 308)
>
> [148] *mjt.t*   *jry*   *ḥr*   *m-ꜥ.j*
>   equivalent-F do\PTCP-PASS   also   to-1SG
>   *ḏs.j*   *šm.kwj*   *r*   *bjȝ*   *n*   *jty*
>   body-1SG   go\RES-1SG   to   mine   of   Sovereign
>   "something similar also happened to me as I was going to the
>   Sovereign's mines" (*ShS* 23–24)
>   MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*ShS* 23–24)
>
> [149] *ḥm.j*   *ḥms.(w)*   *ḥr.s*   *mj*   *mȝj*
>   Majesté-1SG sit\RES[-3SG.M]   about-3SG.F   as   lion
>   *ḥr*   *rs.kwj*   *ḥr.s*   *grḥ*   *mj*   *rꜥ*
>   fierce be-vigilant\RES-1SG   about-3SG.F   night   as   day
>   "His Majesty, being vigilant about it day and night, besieged
>   it like a fierce lion"
>   NK – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Urk.*   IV,   184,17–
>   185,1)[105]

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they take an iterative meaning. This also reminds the so-called "intensive perfect" in ancient Greek that has a present meaning with some verbs of perception or declaration, like δέδορκα "I see", or κέκραγα "I utter a cry" (R. Kühner/B. Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache, Hannover-Leipzig 1898, 148–150). Compare with Пошли! Поехали! "let's go!" in Russian, which are also perfective forms.

[105] With a NonExtAch, the verb *rsj* means "to awake": *rs.n.s ḥr stj nṯr* "she awoke at the god's smell" (*Urk.* IV, 219).

[150] *ḥk3.n.sn*   *m-ḫmt*   *rˁ*
rule-CPD-3PL   without   Rê
"(when Asiatics were in the heart of Egypt […]), they ruled
without Ra"[106]
NK – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* IV, 390,7–9)

The meaning of some verbs can be modified when used with grammatical tenses implying the full control of the subject. For instance, *gmj* "to find (sometimes by chance)" can take the meaning "to look for"[107], *rḫ* "to get knowledge of":

[151] *ˁḥˁ.n*   *rdj.n.f*   *n(.j)*   *nn*
CJVB:ANT   give-CPD-3SG.M   to-(1SG)   DEM:C
rḫ.n.f   *jḳr*   *s.t-ˁ(.j)*
know-CPD-3SG.M   excellence   position-1SG
"and he gave this to me, because he had got to know the
excellence of my position[108]
FIP – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (Stele BM 100,
A, l. 6)

Generally speaking, verbs of achievements can be recategorized as atelic activities by modifying their argument structure. By suppressing the second argument, the process is given a wider scope devoid of telicity. For instance, *šm r* NP "to set off to somewhere" takes the meaning of "to walk" when its second argument is suppressed:

[152] *n(n)*   *šm.(j)* ∅   *sḫd.kwj*
NEG   walk\SBJV-(1SG)   be-upside-down\RES-1SG
"I shall not walk upside down"

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[106] See also with the future perfect participle: *jr ḥk3 nb ḥk3.tj.fj m ḥf3.t jr.tj.fj ˁ-ḏw bjn r ḏrj.t tn* "as for every ruler who will rule in Hefat and who will have done something bad and evil (…)" (*Ankhtifi*, II,θ,3), with a nice contrastive effect between *ḥk3.tj.fj* (achievement) and *jr.tj.fj* (accomplishment).

[107] For an extensive study of this verb, see P. Vernus, Le verbe *gm*(*j*). Essai de sémantique lexicale, in: E. Grossman/S. Polis/J. Winand (eds.), Lexical semantics in Ancient Egyptian (Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monogaphica, 15), Hamburg 2012, 387–438; P. Vernus, Racine (see fn. 82), 419–430.

[108] The verb *rḫ* can also be conjugated in the Old Perfective for plainly stating the knowledge of something, without considering any phase of knowledge acquisition: *jw.j swt rḫ.kwj bw nty st jm* "for I know the place where they are" (pWestcar 9,3–4).

MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* VI, 287h)

[153] *šm.k* ∅   *wstn.tw*   *ḥr*   *w3.t*
      walk\IPFV-2SG.M   go-freely\RES-2SG on   road-F
      "you walk freely on the road"
      NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pLansing 8,2)

Analogous effects on the meaning of several verbs of achievement can be observed: *ẖdb* NP "to kill someone" > *ẖdb* ∅ "to commit a slaughter", *rdj* NP *n* NP "to give something to someone" > *rdj* ∅ ∅ "to share, to give lavishly":

[154] *wr*   *dj.f* ∅ ∅   *n*   *pḥ.n*   *z* ∅
      great   give\IPFV-3SG.M   NEG   reach-CPD   man
      "the mighty one gives generously, the common man cannot
      succeed" (*Ptahhotep* 140)[109]
      MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic   (*Ptahhotep* 140)

The deletion of the second argument of a transitive verb can trigger a reflexive meaning (labile verbs, see Kulikov / Lavidas 2014: 871), like with *wn* "to open":

[155] *jw*   *ḥ3ty.j*   *ꜥnḫ,*   *jw*   *jr.t.j*   *wn* ∅
      MCM heart-1SG   live:INF MCM   eye-f-1sg   open:INF
      "and then my heart began to live again, my eyes opened"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBM 10326, 7)

A verb of achievement can also be recategorized in the class of activities by modifying the syntactic expression of the 2nd argument.[110] For instance, the 2nd argument of the verb *ẖdb* "to kill" is sometimes introduced by the preposition *m*, which gives it a partitive meaning:

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[109] The verb *pḥ* NP "to reach someone/something" when used absolutely takes a pregnant meaning "to succeed (to have finally reached the goal)".

[110] One-place verbs can also take a 2nd argument introduced by other prepositions, like *n* "for" and *r* "to", with different shades of meaning. For instance, the verb *mwt* "to die" takes the meaning of "to commit suicide" when followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *n* coindexing the personal pronoun to the subject: (…) *jw.j r mwt n.j* "(if you let him live), I shall die" (*Two Brothers* 5,3).

[156] *jw.j*   *ḥr ẖdb*   *jm.sn*
       MCM-1SG   on-kill:INF   IN-3PL
       "I was making a slaughter among them"
       NK – LEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Pentawer* § 223)

Reclassifying the direct object as a partitive is more commonly attested in negative, which is cross-linguistically widespread:[111]

[157] *bn*   *st*   *ḥr*   *dj.t*   *m*   *nkt*
       NEG- 3PL(PRS) prs-   give:INF in   nothing
       "they give nothing"
       NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (oDeM 127, v° 3)

4.5   Some concluding remarks

In the preceding sections, the classes of actionality relevant for the study of the predicative system of ancient Egyptian have been reviewed. The presentation followed the general division in four classes that is now common in linguistics: states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. The study has however revealed that a more fine-grained definition was needed. The following table gives a summary of all actionality classes relevant in Egyptian with the graphic representation that will be used to visualize the aspectual selections made by the MoR.

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[111] This is the case of Russian, for instance, where the genitive is required when there is a negation, even in non-verbal sentences: воды нет "there is no water".

graphs	actionality classes
<———>	state
<~~~~~>	activity with subject [+ AGT] [+ CTRL]
<------>	activity with subject [+ AGT] [– CTRL]
<------>[-agt]	activity with subject [– AGT]
<-·>/<-~>	semelfactive
<+>	achievement (generic presentation)
~~<+>———	achievement with dynamic Pre- and static PostPhase
<+>~~~~	achievement without Pre- and dynamic PostPhase
<+>———	achievement without Pre- and static PostPhase
<~~~+>———	non-gradable accomplishment with static PostPhase
<+++++>ₑ———	gradable accompl. with explicit telicity and static PostPhase
<+++++>ᵢ———	gradable accompl. with implicit telicity and static PostPhase

Tab. 5. The classes of actionality in Egyptian.

A critical attention was paid to the argument structure, to its variations, and to the possible recategorizations of some SoAs into other classes of actionality. Some observations have also been made on the full/semi/(in-)compatibility with the grammatical tenses marked for aspect. The relevance of the actionality classes in the functioning of the predicative tense system should by now be no longer an issue. This can be evidenced by some contrasting examples where two coordinated verbs or patterns (or two variants of the same text) are grammatically treated differently.

[158]   *jr*   [*sjꜣ*].*j*   *rḫ.n.j* ∅   *nṯr*   *ṯnw,*
        COND [know:PROS]-1SG know-CPD-1SG   god   where(ADV)
        kꜣ   *jrj.j*   *n.f*
        CNSV.POST   do\SBJV-1SG   to-3SG.M
        "if I knew, if I got the knowledge of where the god is, I shall act for him"
        MK – MEg – Lament – Hieratic (*Ipuwer* 5, 3)

[159]   ("a teaching") *m*   *ꜣḫ.t*   *n*   *sḏm.tj.fj*
                       in   usefull-F   for   listen-PPO-M.SG
        m   *wgg*   *n*   *nty*   *r*   *th.t*

in   lack   for   REL-M.SG   FUT   transgress:INF
s
=3sg.c
"that useful for him who will have listened to, and a loss for
him who will neglect it"
MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic   (*Ptahhotep* 49–50)

[160] *jn   jw   jwsw   nnm.f,   jn   jw*
       Q   MCM   hand-scale   wander\IPFV-3SG.M   Q   MCM
       mẖȝ.t   ḥr   rdj.t   ḥr   gs,   jw
       standing-scale   PROG- give:INF   on   side   Q
       jw   rf   ḏḥwty   snf.f
       MCM   PTCL   Thot   behave-mildly\IPFV-3SG.M
       "does the hand scale wander? does the standing scale lean on
       one side? does Thoth behave mildly"[112]
       MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B1, 179–181)

[161] *bn   sw   (ḥr)   nw   n   tȝw*
       NEG 3SG.M(PRS)   (PRS-) look:INF for   wind
       nḥȝ,   bw   ḏʿr.f   pȝ   hȝn
       dangerous   NEG-   scan\IPFV-3SG.M   ART:M.SG wave
       "he does not have a look for the dangerous winds, he does not
       scan the waves"
       NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi IV, 2,8)

[162] *jn   nṯr   jr   jḳr.f* (achieved) /
       THMZ   god   do\PTCP.ANT   prosperity-3SG.M
       jrr j   ḳr (unachieved)
       do\PTCP   prosperity
       "it is god that achieves his prosperity / creates prosperity"
       MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic   (*Ptahhotep* 184)

4.6   Taxonomies of actionality

Classes of actionality can be arranged in taxonomies, in a tree-like
presentation. The organisation presented by Vendler 1967 is still widely
used in most studies on aspect, remaining a standard against which
other models are evaluated, despite the permanent confusion between
two distinct levels of analysis: the proposition (actionality) and the
verbal lexeme (Aktionsart). The following tree is an adapted version
proposed by Mourelatos 1981:

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[112] On this example, see P. Vernus, La date du Paysan éloquent, in: S.I. Groll
(ed.), Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim, Jerusalem 1990,
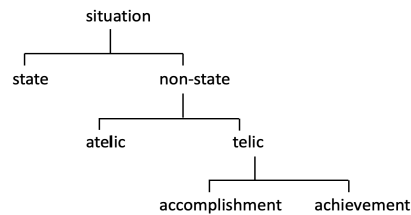1033–1047, here 1043.

```
                                    situation
                        ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                      state                        non-state
                                          ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                                        atelic                         telic
                                                              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                                      accomplishment          achievement
```

Fig. 7. Taxonomy of actionality (Mourelatos 1981).

While the Vendlerian model can claim some general validity, it can and must be adapted to some language specific needs. The following figure is a detailed presentation of the actionality relevant for ancient Egyptian.[113]

```
                                              Actionality
                        ┌─────────────────────────┴─────────────────────────┐
                   Situation                                             Process
                   [− TEMP]                                              [+ TEMP]
            ┌──────────┴──────────┐                         ┌───────────────┴───────────────┐
         Stable             Contingent                   State                             Action
        [− BOUNDED]        [+ BOUNDED]                   [− DYN]                           [+ DYN]
                                                  ┌─────────┴─────────┐         ┌──────────────┴──────────────┐
                                               Stable            Contingent  Activity                       Event
                                                                            [− TEL]                        [+ TEL]
                                                                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐        ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                                                 Durative        Semelfactive  Durative            Punctual
                                                                 [+ DUR]          [− DUR]                        (Achievement)
                                                              ┌──────┴──────┐              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                                           [+ AGT]      [− AGT]         Immediate            Gradable
                                                        ┌──────┴──────┐                                     (Accompl.)
                                                     [+ CTRL]    [− CTRL]                              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                                                                                                    implicit            explicit
                                                                                                    telicity            telicity
```
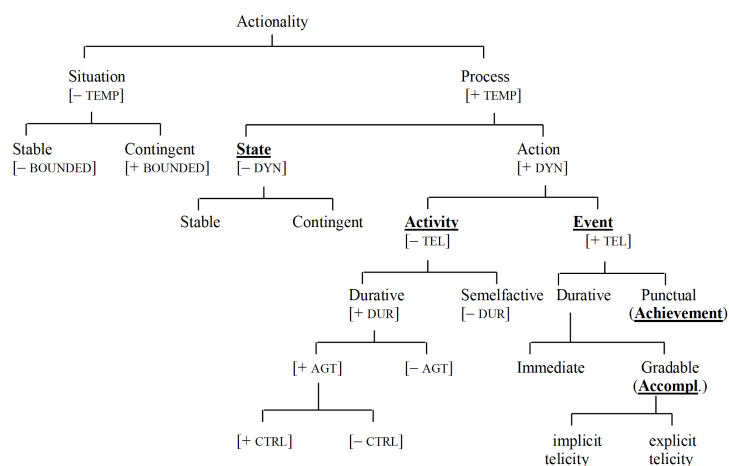
Fig. 8. Taxonomy of the classes of actionality in Egyptian.

5   *Selection of a phase inside and outside a system of grammatical oppositions*

As already mentioned, the selection of a phase in a SoA, i.e. the aspectual selection, can be realized in different ways. When speaking of aspect in a loose way, one has usually in mind the grammatical

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[113] See J. Winand, Temps (see fn. 6) for a detailed discussion.

tenses. In what follows, I briefly review how aspect can be expressed, proceeding along a grammaticalization scale, from what is grammatically most integrated down to some loose expressions that can help determining the aspectual value of a sentence.

5.1   Aspectual tenses in a grammaticalized system of regular oppositions

This is what one usually refers to when speaking of aspect. Tenses that are marked for aspect are organized in a system of regular oppositions, which regulates the speaker's choices. For instance, in English, the progressive belongs to this category, because the speaker cannot leave undecided whether to use the progressive or the non-progressive form. This explains why a sentence like "I now do my work" is not felicitous in English. In French, on the other hand, one can perfectly say "*Je fais maintenant mon travail*". The alternative expression "*Je suis en train de faire maintenant mon travail*" is optional, and is marked. Thus the so-called French progressive ("*être en train de*" + infinitive) does not belong to a regular grammaticalized system of oppositions as is the case for its English counterpart. Such a system of oppositions does exist in French (or maybe more correctly existed in French), but is limited to the past (imparfait "*il venait*" vs. passé simple "*il vint*"). This shows how diverse the grammatical systems can be cross-linguistically.

A very broad distinction can be made between languages where a system of aspectual oppositions is pervasive throughout the conjugation, and languages where such a system works only partially. Russian is probably the first example that comes to mind for the first group. The opposition between imperfective and perfective is systematic: in indicative of course, but also in infinitive, in imperative, and participles. Classical Greek is another good illustration of a deeply integrated system. A comparison between these two languages shows another interesting feature. As Russian (and many other languages like Latin or classical Arabic) has a system of binary oppositions (imperfective vs. perfective), ancient Greek rather opted for a system of ternary oppositions (imperfective vs. perfective vs. perfect).

Middle Egyptian has a partial grammatical system of aspectual tenses. While a regular opposition between imperfect and perfect tenses can be

observed in the indicative and the adjectival forms (participle and relative forms), there is only one form for infinitive and imperative.

Before proceeding further, some considerations on the terminology used in this study might be appropriate. A quick look, for instance, in Cohen's study on aspect (1989) shows how diverse the terminology can be to name the members of the basic aspectual opposition. Although these terms obviously share something in common, they cannot easily be substituted for one another. Most of time, these appellations are language specific, sometimes integrating very peculiar semantic shades that cannot be met otherwise. In this study, I try to take advantage of this terminological profusion by systematically distinguishing the semantic from the grammatical level. The pair PERFECTIVE : IMPER-FECTIVE (written with small caps) is reserved for the semantic level. As such, it can claim to have some universal validity. When these semantic values are realized in the grammatical system of ancient Egyptian tenses, the pair achieved: unachieved (and their subdivisions, see *infra* §6) will be used.

5.2   Tenses marked for aspect that are close to be integrated in a regular system of grammatical oppositions

When considered diachronically, some patterns seem to gradually enter a regular system of grammatical oppositions, being increasingly and systematically used in given circumstances. This could well be the case for the pattern *sw ꜥḥꜥ.w ḥr sḏm* "(lit.) he is now standing hearing" in LEg, which markedly expressed the progressive as opposed to *sw ḥr sḏm*, which had by then became unmarked as regards the opposition between progressive and non-progressive (see *infra*, §6.1.8). However, the new pattern never succeeded to fully integrate the grammatical system (Winand 2015b). This is perhaps also the case for some tentative constructions, outside the aspectual system, that never fully crystalized like *twj r sḏm* for expressing the future,[114] or *nn sw r sḏm* for negating the future in MEg (instead of the frequent *nn sḏm.f* pattern).

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[114] This pattern is built by analogy upon the paradigm of the LEg Present I, *twj ḥr sḏm* (J. Winand, Late Egyptian, in: J. Stauder-Porchet/A. Stauder/W. Wendrich (eds.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles 2018, §§9–10.

5.3   Tenses marked for aspect outside a regular system of grammatical oppositions

Grammatical tenses can convey aspectual instructions without being integrated in a regular system of oppositions. This is for instance the case in ancient Egyptian with the so-called terminative *sḏm.t.f* regularly found in two patterns: *n sḏm.t.f* "he has not heard yet" and *r sḏm.t.f* "until he has heard". These constructions belong to the PERFECTIVE, but remain isolated in the grammatical system. The case of the future participle *sḏm.tj.fj* "who will have heard" is similar. It is also marked as a PERFECTIVE form, but with no IMPERFECTIVE counterpart (the pattern *nty (sw) r sḏm* remains aspectually neutral), nor in the passive. In LEg, the sequential *jw.f ḥr sḏm* is another relevant case; as the main pattern used in narrative to express chains of events (§6.2.4), it is aspectually strongly marked as PERFECTIVE, but remains isolated in the sense that it never was a member of a regular set of grammaticalized oppositions.[115]

5.4   Aspectual verbal auxiliaries

Aspectual phases (or time indications) can also be expressed by dedicated auxiliaries. For instance, "se mettre à" in French or "to begin" in English mark the beginning of a process (inchoative). Such auxiliaries do of course exist in Egyptian. Two remarks are in order here. First, when considering the entire corpus, their use seems to be quite limited, especially in Earlier Egyptian. Second, a distinction should be made between verbal auxiliary that eventually became part of the system (like *ḫpr* for inchoative) and verbal lexemes that were only seldom used, as is the case for some verbs in LEg literary texts. For instance, the verb *šsp* "to take, to receive" is found in a tale to state how sudden a SoA happened, in a way reminiscent to some uses of

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[115] It was however used contrastively to the conjunctive *mtw.f sḏm* in narrative, both aspectually (PERFECTIVE vs. IMPERFECTIVE) and modally (indicative vs. quotative/reportive): see J. Winand, Croisée (see fn. 76).

French "*tomber*" or English "to fall" ("*tomber malade* – to fall ill", "*tomber enceinte* – to fall pregnant"):[116]

> [163] *jw.s   ḥr   šsp   jwr*
>   MCM-3SG.F   on-   receive:INF   conceive:IN
>   *m km   n jȝd.t   šrj.*
>   in completion of moment-F   small-F
>   "and she became immediately pregnant"
>   NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 18,5)

5.5   Time adverbials

Time adverbials can help fix aspectual values that would be left otherwise undecided. [117] This is a very common feature cross-linguistically. The following is a classification of the Egyptian time adverbials:

- TEM-P for fixing a position in time (e.g. *m pȝ hrw* "today", *sf* "yesterday"),

- TEM-D for stating a span of time, its duration (*m ȝ.t ʿȝ.t* "during a long moment"),

- TEM-Di for stating the time needed for doing something (*n jbd 5* "in five months"),

- TEM-D-Lrg for fixing the right limit of a timespan (*r sḏm.t.f* "until he has heard"),

- TEM-D-Llf for fixing the left limit of a timespan (*ḏr zp tpj* "since the First Time"),

- TEM-F for expressing frequency (*m mn.t* "everyday").

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[116] For the semi-auxiliary use of verbs like *mḥ* "to seize", *šsp* "to receive", see J. Winand, Temps (see fn. 6), 333–336.

[117] The term "adverbial" must be taken *sensu lato*. It can take the form of an adverb, *sensu stricto*, but also of every possible way of conveying an adverbial expression: a prepositional phrase, a circumstantial phrase, etc. In some cases, the specification of time can be very indirectly conveyed as in the following example where the time expression is integrated in the instrumental phrase: *ʿḥʿ.n rdd.t wʿb.n.s m wʿb n hrw 14* "and then Redjedet purified herself with a purification of 14 days" (pWestcar 11,18).

To this list, one can add specific adverbs like LEg *dy* "here", which is frequently used as a marker of the *hic et nunc*, hence suggesting a progressive interpretation or an immediate present:

[164]   *r-ḏd*   *twtn*   *dy*   *ḥms.tj*   *ḥr*   *jr.t*
   COMP   PRS-2PL   here   sit\RES-2PL   PROG-do:INF
   jḫ   *m-r-ꜥ*
   Q   also
   "what are you still doing?"[118]
   NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Horus & Seth* 8,3)

As they have different functions, it is not exceptional to find time adverbials in a single sentence. In the following example, three different adverbial expressions are present, namely TEM-P, TEM-D, and TEM-F:

[165]   *jw*   *jr.n.(j)*   *ꜥḥꜥw*   *m*   *rnp.wt*   *m*
   MCM   do-CPD-(1SG)   lifetime   as   year-F.PL   in
   rk   *ḥr*   *<nḫt>-nb-tp- nfr*   *ḥr sjꜣ*
   time   Horus   N.   PROG-know:INF
   jb.f   *rꜥ*   *nb*
   heart-3SG.M   day   all
   "I have spent of long lifetime of many years (TEM-D) under Horus N. (TEM-P) while getting to know his heart everyday (TEM-F)"
   FIP – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. New York MMFA 14.2.6)

It is important to note here that the scope of the time adverbials does not necessarily coincide with the MoR of the aspectual selection. The two following examples illustrate the two options:

[166]   *jw*   *ḥm.f*   *ꜥ,w,s*   *ḥr mr.t*   *n.f*
   MCM   Majesty-3sg.m   l.p.h   on-love:INF   for-3SG.M
   r-jḳr   *zp*   *2*   *m*   *tꜣ*   *wnw.t*
   excellently   time   2   in   ART:F.SG   hour-F
   "and His Majesty (lph) fell in love with him immediately (lit. in the very hour)"
   NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Two Brothers* 18,10)

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[118]   One will note in this example the convergence of several traits: the pseudo-progressive pattern *sw ꜥḥꜥ/ḥmsj/sḏr* + infinitive, the presence of the adverb *dy*, and the particle *m-rꜣ-ꜥ* (for *m-rꜣ-ꜥ*, see J. Winand, Zero(s) [see fn. 17]). All of these point to the impatience expressed by the speaker.

[167] *jw*   *š3d.n.(j)*   *sw*   *n*   *rnp.t*
     MCM   dig-CPD-(1SG)   =3SG.M   in   year-F
     3   r   *jw.t.j*   *r*   *ẖnw*
     3   until   come\PFV-1SG   to   Residence
     "I have dug it in three years before coming back to the
     Residence"
     OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 220,15)

[168] *wn.jn.tw*   *ḥr ḥms*   *ḥr*
     CJVB:CNSV-3SG.C   PROG-sit:INF   on
     šrn3   *m*   *rnp.wt*   *3*
     Shahuren   in   year-F.PL   3
     "and One began to besiege Sharuhen for three years"
     NK – EgTr – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* IV, 4,14)

[169] *jt3*   *p3*   *3 jḥwty*   *n*
     take\IMP   ART:M.SG 3 cultivator-M.PL of
     p3   *ntr*   *r*   *wʿw*   *m*
     ART:M.SG   god   as   soldier   in
     t3   *rnp.t*
     ART:F.SG   year-F
     "take the 3 cultivators of the god as soldiers during this year"
     NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBologne 1086, 22–23)

In Ex. 167, the pattern *jw sḏm.n.f* (see *infra*, §6.2.2) selects the resulting post-phase of the process, while the scope of the TEM-Di lays on the process itself ({<~~~~+>}[——]); one will also note the presence of a TEM-D-Lrg. In Ex. 168, the perfective pattern *wn.jn.f ḥr sḏm* (see *infra*, §6.2.4) has an inchoative meaning when used with an activity, while the TEM-Di takes under its scope the entire process ({[<~[~~~}). Finally, in the last example, the imperative obviously focuses on the MoS while the TEM-Di is concerned with the post-phase of the SoA ({[<+>]——}).

5.6   The role of the arguments and satellites

Aspect of a sentence can also be determined by the nature and the syntactic expression of the arguments and satellites. As has been already shown in the preceding chapter, a non-progressive reading can be favored if some arguments are generic, be it semantically generic "people, poultry, water" or morphologically generic (e.g. plural indefinite). In this respect, the presence of the quantifier *nb* "all, every" is often the sign of a generic reading. Similar effects can be obtained by changing the syntactic expression of the 2nd argument of a transitive

verb, as already shown by examples produced in the preceding sections. As will be clear in what follows, one can observe some correlations between aspect and the nature and the syntactic expression of the main arguments of a verb.

6.   *The grammatical system of aspect in ancient Egyptian*

Aspect is the selection of a phase, here called the moment of reference (MoR), in a SoA. According to the internal structure of a SoA, which varies according to the classes of actionality, the number of selections is obviously limited. The following graph illustrates the possible selections for an accomplishment:
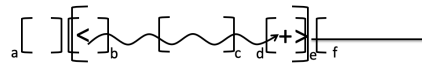
Fig. 9. Possible aspectual selections for an accomplishment.

a = mellic, b = inchoative, c = progressive, d = completive, e = global, f = perfect.

All the phases do not necessarily grammaticalize in every language. For instance, there is no way to say in Egyptian "he has just done it" by contrast to "he has done".

Before entering the detailed discussion of how aspect is organized in ancient Egyptian, some preliminary observations are in order. As already mentioned, Egyptian conjugation patterns are far from being symmetric. For instance, while there is a special negative pattern for stating that a SoA has not happened yet (*n sḏm.t.f* "he has not heard yet"), there is no positive equivalent. The pattern *jw sḏm.n.f* "he has heard" can thus in an appropriate context be given the meaning "he has already heard".[119] This asymmetry is of course typical of aspectual languages. It was also constantly fed by the historical development of the written language where innovative patterns and archaizing forms regularly mixed. To some extent, it can also be analyzed as the

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[119] For the use of the particle ꜥn "again", especially in a negative pattern, see G. Chantrain/J. Winand, La particule gr en néo-égyptien, Revue d'Égyptologie 63 (2012), 43–66.

consequence of semantic and pragmatic constraints. Here are some examples of such asymmetries in Classical Egyptian.

For the perfect, *jw sḏm.n.f* "he has heard" is normally used with transitive verbs while *jw.f jw.w* "he has come" is preferred with intransitive ones.[120] When negated however, the two patterns used the same form, *n sḏm.f / n jj.f* "he has not heard / he has not come", which is inherited from Old Egyptian (the positive *sḏm.f* is still occasionally found with a limited number of verbs). One also has to note that the form *sḏm.n.f* is used with transitive and intransitive verbs alike in the so-called emphatic function (see §6.1.5, 6.2.3). And finally, the negative pattern *n sḏm.n.f* is well documented as the negative counterpart of the IMPERFECTIVE pattern *jw.f sḏm.f* "he hears / he is used to hear".

In narrative sections, some sequential patterns gradually emerged in the end of the OK and the FIP, like *ꜥḥꜥ.n sḏm.n.f* "and then he heard". When used in sequence, the auxiliary was not systematically repeated, which allowed the *sḏm.n.f* to have the capacity of expressing sequentiality as shown in texts where chains of events are no longer introduced by *ꜥḥꜥ.n* (see §6.2.4). The auxiliary *ꜥḥꜥ.n* then enlarged its scope by accepting other types of predicates like old perfective with intransitive verbs (*ꜥḥꜥ.n.f jw.w* "and then he came"), and the phrase *ḥr* + infinitive with both types of verbs, which eventually prevailed (*ꜥḥꜥ.n.f ḥr sḏm / ḥr jj.t*). Occasionally and very exceptionally, this auxiliary (with the auxiliary *wn.jn*, which appeared at quite the same time) is attested with totally unexpected types of predication, like the adjectival predicate (*wn.jn nfr sw* "and then it became perfect").

The *sḏm.n.f* form of a transitive verb can thus be used to expressed the perfect when introduced by *jw*, as a sequential form in a chain of events (with or without *ꜥḥꜥ.n*), but it can also be found to express anteriority, which is rather counter-intuitive. This apparent inconsistency can be explained by pragmatic factors. Actually the *sḏm.n.f* can express anteriority rather than sequentiality in certain narrative schemata. For

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[120] The pattern *jw sḏm.n.f* with intransitive verbs is very exceptionally found: see J. P. Allen, Form, function, and meaning in the early Egyptian verb, Lingua Aegyptia 1 (1991), 1–32, here 1.

instance, it is frequent to state an action first, then the cause which prompted it (see *infra*, §6.2.2, on the PERFECTIVE). In this case, the second predication is regularly expressed by a verb of perception like *mȝȝ* "to see", *gmj* "to find", or a verb of cognition like *rḫ* "to get knowledge of" (see Ex. 249 and 253).

In other cases, the correct sequence of events can be reconstructed by shared principles of causality even if the first action is expressed in the second place. In the following example, the second *sḏm.n.f* cannot obviously be understood as a sequential form for the king obviously came back to Egypt only after defeating his ennemies:[121]

> [170]   *ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥm.f wḏȝ m ḥtp*
>   *sḫr.n.f ḫftj.w.f*
>   "and then his Majesty proceeded back in peace after having slaughtered his ennemies"
>   ME – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*B.H.*, I, pl. 8)

All of this shows that patterns of predication like *jw sḏm.n.f* or *ꜥḥꜥ.n sḏm.n.f* should be taken as regular means for expressing perfect and sequential perfective respectively, but not as grammatical paradigms in a narrow sense. For some flexibility was always the rule in Egyptian.

The evolution of the particle *jw* is another good illustration thereof (Schenkel 2005:238–244). This particle, which is perhaps etymologically connected to the verb of motion *jwj* "to come", basically links the SoA, or more precisely the MoR, to the moment of speaking. This had consequences on the calculus of time and on modality. By linking the MoR to the MoS, *jw* expresses absolute time (see *infra*, §7.1). By using *jw*, the speaker also feels committed to what he is saying; in other words, *jw* was analyzed as a positive marker of indicative modality. These additional features explain why *jw* is not found with the subjunctive tenses,[122] or why it is normally absent with

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[121] See P. Vernus, Le *sḏm.n.f* dans le registre de la narration. Les intermittences de l'accompli, Revue d'égyptologie 35 (1984), 159–171; J. Winand, La progression au sein de la narration en égyptien. Éléments d'une grammaire du texte, Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 100 (2000), 403–435.

[122] On the opposition between the expression of the objective future *jw.f r sḏm* and the subjunctive *sḏm.f*, see P. Vernus, Future (see fn. 100).

the nominal and adjectival predications, which are used to convey a permanent identity or quality.[123]

Already during the MK, *jw* enlarged its scope. It was by then used to play the pivotal role between the MoR and MoS, which was its historical function, but served also as the pivot between the MoRs of two clauses, thus acquiring a circumstantial function. In LEg, the first historic function became frozen in the pattern of the Future III (*jw.f r sḏm*), the second one became the standard expression for adverbial clauses, and for expressing sequentiality in narrative chains of events.[124]

Finally, one has also to observe that the fully-fledged organization of aspect into a binary division between PERFECTIVE and IMPERFECTIVE with two subsidiary classes (see *infra*, §6.1.1 and 6.2.1) is only found with the indicative autonomous predicative forms. For the adjectival forms of the verb (participle and the so-called relative forms), the aspectual opposition remained at the basic supra-level node (*jr* vs. *jrr*).[125] This was also the case for the emphatic patterns (*mr.n.f* vs. *mrr.f*).[126]

In the following sections, I examine how IMPERFECTIVE and PERFECTIVE were expressed, taking MEg, the last stage of Earlier Egyptian, as the main referent with occasional glimpses to OEg, while

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[123] See J. Winand, Prédication (see fn. 57).

[124] The sequential *jw.f ḥr sḏm*, as this pattern is known in the specialized literature, is typical of LEg. Despite its widely extended use, it did not survive in Demotic, perhaps because it was marked as a southern regionalism at a time when the northern idiom, which would later become Demotic, was increasingly used across Egypt for political reasons. On this form, see Junge 1986, Winand 2006a: 412–415.

[125] For the pattern *wnn ḥr sḏm* (progressive participle) see *infra* §6.1.4. The pattern *nty ḥr sḏm* (progressive relative), which is better attested, has a different scope.

[126] The pattern *wnn.f ḥr sḏm* to express the emphatic progressive is a highly marked stylistic pattern. Progressive situations with marked emphasis are usually expressed by the *mrr.f* (§6.1.5).

paying more attention to the developments occurring in LEg, the first stage of Later Egyptian.

6.1   The expression of the IMPERFECTIVE in Egyptian

6.1.1   Semantics of the IMPERFECTIVE

Semantically, the IMPERFECTIVE is subcategorized in two subclasses: the GLOBAL (or GENERAL) IMPERFECTIVE and the PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVE. The GLOBAL IMPERFECTIVE creates an open interval (MoR) inside the SoA, whose left limit matches the SoA's beginning, while its right border is cognitively less salient.[127] The MoR includes the MoS or any other MoR from another proposition (circumstantial function). It can be graphically represented as shown in Fig. 10, where (k,l) stands for the SoA, (i,j) for the MoR, and t° for the MoS:

$$_k<[_i \qquad \qquad |_{t°} \qquad \qquad >_l$$

Fig. 10. Prototypical selection of the GLOBAL IMPERFECTIVE

The PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVE creates a close interval (MoR) inside the SoA whose limits do not coincide with the SoA's limits. It can be graphically represented as shown in Fig. 11:

$$_k< \qquad [_i \qquad |_{t°} \qquad]_j \qquad >_l$$

Fig. 11. Prototypical selection of the PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVE

6.1.2   The expression of the IMPERFECTIVE in Egyptian: non-extensive and extensive unachieved

In the ancient Egyptian grammaticalized system of oppositions, the IMPERFECTIVE was expressed by tenses of the unachieved (Fr. "inaccompli"). The GLOBAL IMPERFECTIVE was prototypically expressed in MEg by the pattern *jw.f sḏm.f* for the non-extensive

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[127] See also Vernus' definition (Future [see fn. 100], 175): "the actions, far from being closely bound to the moment of speech by the general context, can occur and can be repeated at any moment within a period that may have any extent, provided only that it includes the moment of speech among the innumerable punctual moments it encompasses".

unachieved (NonExtUnach) while the PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVE *jw.f hr sḏm* was expressed by the extensive unachieved (ExtUnach) (or *jw.f m jj.t*, most often with verbs of motion).[128] The two patterns have in common to be regularly introduced by the particle *jw* (see *supra*) and by observing the general syntactic structure Subject + Predicate, which is historically the structure of the adverbial predication. They however differ as regards the morphology of the predicate, as *sḏm.f* is a form of the dynamic suffix conjugation and *hr sḏm* is etymologically the preposition *hr* 'on' followed by the infinitive ('he is on hearing'), i.e. a pattern that is historically derived from the adverbial predication.[129]

In a nutshell, the NonExtUnach was used to express general, generic, habitual, or repetitive SoAs, while the ExtUnach was reserved for on-going SoAs. It is important to note here that, contrary to the English progressive, for instance, the Egyptian ExtUnach is originally multiphased and dynamic, which means that its subject is viewed as fully agentive and in full control of the process. Propositions like "the

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[128] Once more, it is important to make a clear distinction between IMPERFECTIVE, which is a semantic category that can claim some general, universal validity, and the unachieved, which is a grammatical tense having language specific properties. Although they obviously share some features, English and ancient Egyptian progressive, for instance, do not exactly behave the same way. For some definitions of the MEg progressive, see R. Hannig, Der Kernbereich des mittelägyptischen Verbalsystems, I. Die Infinitivtempora, Journal of Ancient Civilizations 1, (1986), 21–125, 76; P. Vernus, Aspect and morphosyntactic Patterns in Middle Egyptian, in: G. Englund/P.J. Frandsen (eds.), Crossroad. Chaos or the beginning of a new paradigm, Copenhague 1986, 375–388; P. Vernus, Future (see fn. 100). On the construction *m* + infinitive, see E. F. Wente, The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian, Chicago 1959, ch. 8; P. Vernus, Future (see fn.100), ch.8; J. Winand, Temps (see fn. 6), 303–310.

[129] This is not without parallels cross-linguistically: see B. Comrie, Aspect (see fn. 38), 99 for old English, D. Macaulay, The Celtic Languages, Cambridge 1992, 46, 217–220, 279–281, 408 for Celtic languages; O. Heinämäkki, The Progressive in Finnish : Pragmatic Constraints, in: P.M. Bertinetto/V. Bianchi/J. Higginbotham/M. Squartini (eds.), Turin 1995, 143–153, here 151 for Finnish, Bybee et al. (see fn. 38, 129–131) for African languages, and D. Cohen, Aspect (see fn. 39), 125–127 for some Semitic languages.

statue is standing in the park"[130] cannot be found in Egyptian with the progressive (stative pseudo-participle would be used instead).[131]

– Non-extensive unachieved:

[171] *jw.j*   *m3.j*   *nfrw*
       MCM-1SG   see\IPFV-1SG   perfection
       ḥm.f   *tnw*   *ḥb*
       Majesty-3SG.M   festival   all
       "I see the perfections of His Majesty at every festival"
       FIP – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (Cairo JE 51811, 5)

[172] *jr*   *s3*   *z*   *jr*   *st*
       THM   son   man   do\PTC   3F
       jw   *jt.f*   *bt.f*   *sw*
       MCM   father.3MS   take\IPFV-3S   3MS
       m   ḳnb.t
       in   court.F
       "as for the son of a man who has done it, his father leaves him alone in court"
       FIP – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. UCL 14430, x+9)

[173] *jw*   *jr.tj.f*   *d῾r.sn*   *ḫ.t*
       MCM   eye-F:DU-3SG.M   scrutinize\IPFV-3PL body-F
       nb.t
       all-F
       "his eyes scrutinize every body"
       ME – MEg – Wisdom – Hierogl. (St. Cairo CGC 20538, ii, 11)

– Extensive unachieved:

[174] *jw.j*   *ḥr m῾ḳ*   *dr*   *p3w.t;*
       MCM-1SG   PROG-cook:INF   since   beginning-of-times
       n   *m3.j*   *mjtj*   *srw*   *pn*
       NEG   see\PFV-1SG   copy   duck   DEM:M.SG

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[130] The English progressive can also be used to underline a present, exceptional situation, like "the river is smelling particularly bad these days" (C. Smith, The Parameters of Aspect (Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 43), Dordrecht ²1997, 52).
P. Vernus, Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian. Studies in Syntax and Semantics (Yale Egyptological Studies 4), New Haven, ex. 370.

[131] Examples with non-agentive subjects (outside the special case of body parts or meteorological events) are rare and not attested before the second half of the 12th dyn. For an example in LEg, see *ptr t3 3ḥ.t ḥr šwy* "look, the field is drying" (*KRI* VI, 126,5 – 20th dyn.).

"I am cooking since the beginning of times; I have never seen a duck like this one!"
MK – MEg – Caption – Hierogl.   (*Meir* III, pl. xxiiii)

[175] *djdj.k*   *ḫpr*   *jḳr.k*
       give\NMZL.IPFV-2SG.M manifest\SBJV excellence-2SG.M
       r.f   *m*   *gr*   *jw.f*   *ḥr*
       against-3SG.M in be-silent:INF SBRD-3SG.M PROG-
       md.t   *bjn.t*
       speak:INF   bad-F
       "it is by keeping silent, while he is speaking badly, that you should manifest your excellence against him"
       MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic   (*Ptahhotep* 70–71)

[176] *gm.n.f*   *sw*   *m pr(j).t*   *m*
       find-CPD-3SG.M =3SG.M in-go-out:INF in
       sb3.f
       door-3SG.M
       "he found him as he was about to leave his portal (to step in his official ship"[132]
       MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant*, R 82–83)

The opposition of the two patterns is well illustrated in the following examples:

[177] *jw.j*   *ḥr jr.t*   *mj*   *nṯr;*
       SBRD-1SG PROG-do:INF like   god
       jw.j   *rdj.j*   *ḥ3w-ḥr* *sjp.t*   *n.j*
       SBRD-1SG give\IPFV-1SG surplus count\REL-F to-1SG
       "(I was appointed chief of the Land; he knew I was righteous), for I was acting like a god [extensive], and I was used to give [non-extensive] more than what had been allotted to me"
       SIP – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (Neferhotep, 4–5)

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132 The ms. tradition here offers two variants: *m prj.t* and *ḥr prj.t* "was leaving" (B 1, 65–66), probably to be explained by the particular Aktionsart of *prj* (a non-durative verb of achievement), the nuance between the two patterns being minimal. The passage is perhaps alluded to in *Wenamun* (2,76), a literary piece that was composed much later, in the 21st dyn.: *jw.j gm.t.s m-dr pr.s m p3y.s pr jw.s m ꜥk m p3y.s ky* "I found her as she was leaving her house and about to enter into another one of her".

[178] *jr*   *ḫȝ.k*   *z*   *ḥr mn*
      COND examine:PROS-2SG.M   man   PROG-suffer:INF
      r-jb.f   *jw.f*   *mn.f*   *gȝb.f*
      stomach   MCM-3SG.M   suffer\IPFV-3SG.M   arm-3SG.M
      "if you examine someone who is suffering from stomach
      [extensive], and who suffers (occasionally) from his arm
      [non-extensive]"
      NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic   (pEbers 37, 10–11)

[179] sk   bAk-jm   Hr md.t   m   dbHw qaH (…)
      SBRD   servant   PROG-speak:inf   in demand stupid
      sk   jrj-mDA.t   m jw.t   r   rA-Aw (…)
      SBRD   courrier   PROG-come:inf   to   Turah
      sk   bAk-jm   jT.f   hrw 6   m
      Xnw
      SBRD   servant   take\IPFV-3SG.M   day 6   in Residence
      Hna   Tz.t   tn   n   Hbs.t.s
      with   troop.F   DMS   NEG dress\PFV-3SG.F
      "well, this servant is complaining against those stupid
      requirements (…), for the courrier is about to come to Turah
      (…). And now this servant spends six days in the Residence
      with this troop until it is clothed (anew)" [133]
      OK – OEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pCaire JE 49623, 4–7)

The two sub-categories of the unachieved are sometimes found as
variants in literary texts for conveying subtle semantic nuances:

[180] *sḏm.n.j*   *ḫrw.f*   *jw.f*   *ḥr md.t* (B) /
      hear-CPD-1SG   voice-3SG.M   SBRD-3SG.M   PROG-speak:INF
      jw.f   *mdw.f* (R)
      SBRD-3SG.M   speak\IPFV-3SG.M
      "and I heard his voice as he was speaking / when he spoke"
      MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* B 2 and R
      25)

In the first version, the two clauses are perfectly co-extensive (i.e. the
hero heard all that the other was saying), while in the second one, which
is the unmarked member of the opposition, nothing of the like is

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[133] This example opposes in three consecutive sentences introduced by the
backgrounding particle *sk* the three main patterns of the unachieved: Subject + *ḥr*
+ infinitive, Subject + *m* + infinitive, and Subject + *sḏm.f*. See P. Vernus, Future
(see fn. 100), ex. 286; E. Oréal, Les particules en égyptien ancien. De l'ancien
égyptien à l'égyptien classique (Bibliothèque d'Etude 152), Cairo 2011, 199.

implied. It could well have been that the hero caught only parts of the discourse he unwillingly witnessed).[134]

The core value of the NonExtUnach makes it less suitable in narrative. Some rare examples can nevertheless be found, expressing, in contrast to achieved tenses, customary or habitual SoAs:

[181] *wpwty*   *ḫdd*   *ḫnt(y)*   *r*
       messenger   go-north\PCTP   go-southwards\PTCP   to
       ḫnw   *ꜣb.f*   *ḥr.j*
       Residence   stop\IPFV-3SG.M   on-1SG
       "the messenger travelling north- or southwards to the
       Residence used to stop by me"[135]
       MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* B 94)

[182] *ḥm.f*   *hꜣb.f*   *wj*   *zp.w*
       Majesty-3SG.M   send\IPFV   =1SG   time-M.PL
       ꜥšꜣw   *r*   *wpw.t*   *nb*   *n*   *mnḫ.t*
       numerous-M.PL   to   mission-F   all   of   excellency
       mrr.t   *ḥm.f*
       desire\REL.IPFV.F   Majesty-3SG.M
       "His Majesty sent me several times in all important missions
       wished by His Majesty"
       MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. BM 569, 3–5)

The past converter *wn* is sometimes found to formally mark the time relation, both with the NonExtUnach and the ExtUnach:

[183] *wn.j*   *wšd.j*   *ḥm.wt*   *ḥr.s*
       was-1SG   interrogate\IPFV-1SG worker-F.PL about-3SG.F
       "I asked the workers about it"
       MK – MEg – Expedition – Hierogl.   (Inscr. Sinai 90,8)

[184] *wn.t(w)*   *ḥr ḳd*   *ḥnrt*   *pn*
       was-3SG.C   on-build:INF   wall   DEM:M.SG
       "one was building this wall"
       MK – MEg – Expedition – Hierogl.   (Žaba, *Rock Inscr.* 73,
       6)

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134 On this famous passage, see P. Vernus, Future (see fn. 100), ex. 394; M. Malaise/J. Winand, Grammaire (see fn. 5), ex. 1282. In LEg, see also the contrast between *bn sw ḥr stn/bw jr.f stn r pr.t r šmw* "he is making no distinction / he does not distinguish between summer and winter" (pAnastasi II, 7,7 vs. pSallier I, 7,7).

135 One will note the presence of the unachieved participle (*ḫdd ḫnt(y)*).

Finally both sub-classes of the unachieved can also be found in complex narrative patterns introduced by specialized auxiliaries like *ꜥḥꜥ.n* and *wn.jn* (see *infra*, §6.2.4).

As illustrated in the preceding examples, the two constructions of the unachieved are commonly found in independent clauses. They can also be used in adverbial clauses, with occasional syntactic adaptations (like dedicated particles, or cases of embedding). Three types of time relations have to be considered: a) the MoR of the adverbial clause is completely embedded in the MoR of the main clause ([**[   ]**]), b) the MoR of the main clause is completely embedded by the MoR of the adverbial clause (**[**   [   ]   **]**), c) the two MoRs are co-extensive ([**[   ]**]):

[185]   *wm.t-jb*   *pw*   *m33.f*   *ꜥš3.t*
        stout-hearted DEM   see\IPFV-3SG.M   multitude-F
        "it is a stout-hearted when he sees the multitude"
        MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* B 58–59)

[186]   *gm.n.j*   *ḥf3w*   *pw*   *jw.f*
        Find-CPD-1SGsnake   DEM   SBRD-3SG.M
        m jj.t
        in-come:INF
        "I found that it was a snake that was coming"
        MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*ShS*, 60–62)

[187]   *ꜥḥꜥ.n(.j)*   *jr.n(.j)*   *hrw*   8
        SBJV:ANT-(1SG)   do-CPD-(1SG)   day   8
        ḥr ḏꜥr   *ḫ3s.t*   *tn*
        on-explore:INF   desert-land-F   DEM.F.SG
        "and then I spent 8 days exploring this desert land"
        MK – MEg – Expedition – Hierogl.   (*Hammamat* 199, 7)

[188]   *rk̲.t-jb*   [*pw*]   *ḥr*   *m33.f*   *wj*   *ḥr*
        envy   [DEM]   because   see\IPFV-3SG.M   =1SG   PROG-
        jr.t   *wp.t.k*
        do:INF   mission-F-2SG.M
        "it is envy because he sees me doing your missions"
        MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* R 141–2)

[189]   *gm.(j)*   A   *ḥms*   *ḥr swr*
        find\PFV-(1SG)   A   sit\RES-[2SG.M]   PROG-drink:INF
        "I found A as he was drinking"
        NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (oBM 5624, r° 5)

With non-durative SoAs, coextension implies repetitive action. In the following example, the subject insists that during a long period he

never, even once, entered another house (on the effects of the progressive on modality, see §6.1.6):

[190]   *ḫr*   *ptr*   *jry.j*   *3*   *rnp.t*   *r*   *n3*
            CORD look do\PFV-1SG 3   year-F   till   DEM:PL
            jw.j   *ḥms.kwj,*   *jw*   *bn*   *twj*   *ḥr*
            SBRD-1SG   sit\RES-1SG MCM   NEG PRS-1SG   PRS-
            ꜥḳ   *r*   *pr*
            enter:INF   to   house
            "and look, I spent three years up to now staying quiet, and
            never entering (another) house"[136]
            NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLeiden I 371, v° 35–36)

6.1.3   *The unachieved tenses and the actionality of the SoA*

As has been exposed and fully exemplified in the preceding sections, the use of these two patterns was conditioned by the actionality of the SoA, and their meaning could accordingly be more or less deeply adapted. The system of oppositions should thus be considered and evaluated in function of the classes of actionality. The following pairs exemplify the flexibility and the adaptiveness of the system.

a) NonExtUnach vs. pseudo-participle (perfect): these two tenses contrast with some stative verbs like *jw.f ḥḳr.f* "he hungers" vs. *jw.f ḥḳr.w* "he is hungry" (§4.1).

b) ExtUnach vs. pseudo-participle (perfect): these two tenses contrast with verbs of quality (or more correctly gradable accomplishments with implicit telicity): *jw.f ḥr nfr* "it is becoming perfect" vs. *jw.f nfr.w* "it is perfect" (§4.3).[137]

c) NonExtUnach vs. ExtUnach with dynamic but low agentive verbs like *jw.f sḏm.f* "he hears" vs. *jw.f ḥr sḏm* "he is listening to" (increased agentivity, see §4.2).

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[136] Compare, in the same letter (v° 30–31), with *jw bn twj ḥr wnm ḥr swr m sḫr n rmṯ* "(and I spent eight full months) without eating nor drinking like a man", where the MoR of the circumstantial clause is also co-extensive to that of the main clause, but with durative verbs of activity.

[137] On the opposition between the perfect and the adjectival predicate for this class of verbs, see §6.

d) old perfect *sḏm.f* vs. ExtUnach vs. perfective *sḏm.n.f* (or pseudo-participle) with some cognitive or psychological verbs, like *jw.f ḥr mrj.t.j* "he is becoming fond of me" (*jw.f ḥr rḫ* "he is trying to know") vs. *mr.n.f wj* "he felt in love with me" (*rḫ.n.f wj* "he got to know me") vs. *mr.f wj* "he loves me" (*rḫ.f wj* or *jw.f rḫ.w wj* "he knows me").

e) dynamic durative verbs (accomplishment) vs. dynamic non-durative verbs with a pre-phase, like *jw.f ḥr jrj.t* "he is doing" vs. *jw.f ḥr mwt* "he is dying / he is about to die" (§4.4).

f) dynamic durative verbs (accomplishment) vs. dynamic non-durative verbs without pre-phase with ExtUnach *jw.f ḥr sḏm*, like *jw.f ḥr jrj.t* "he is doing" vs. *jw.f ḥr ꜥš* "he is shouting" (§4.2).

g) dynamic durative verbs of motion (accomplishment) vs. dynamic non-durative verbs of motion without pre-phase with ExtUnach *jw.f m sḏm*, like *jw.f m jj.t* "he is coming" vs. *jw.f m prj.t* "he is about to leave" (see *supra*, §4.4).[138]

6.1.4   The adjectival forms of the unachieved

In the adjectival forms, aspect was reduced to the binary basic opposition between unachieved and achieved participial and relative forms. The participial construction *wnn(.w)/wn(.w) ḥr sḏm*, which combines the auxiliary *wn(n)* "to be" conjugated in the unachieved (Ex. 190) or achieved (Ex. 191) participle with the progressive *ḥr* + infinitive is exceptionally found:[139]

[191]   *k.t*   *jrr.t*   *n*   *wnn.t*   *ḥr*
        another   do\REL-F   for   be\PTCP   PROG-
        wšš   *bꜣg*
        expell:INF   viscous-liquid
        "another (remedy) that is done for a woman that is expelling
        a viscous liquid"
        NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic   (pEbers, 93,11)

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[138] Cf. *mṯ wj m hꜣj.t r km.t r jnj.t ꜥkw jm n ḫrd.w.j* "look, I am about to go down to Egypt to bring therefrom provisions for my children" (*Peasant* R 1,2–3).

[139] There is also the possibility of using the ExtUnach in a relative clause introduced by the relative pronoun *nty*: *mj nty ḥr sḫꜣ.t k.t md.t* "like someone who is remembering something else" (pEbers 102,16).

[192] *sr*   *wn*   *ḥr jr.t*   *wp.t*
       official   was   on-do:INF   mission-F
       "the official that was doing the job"
       MK – MEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pUC 32099B 1,9)

6.1.5 *The substantive mrr.f form*

Another form that belongs to the unachieved group of tenses is the so-called *mrr.f* form, which geminates the last strong consonant of several classes of weak verbs (i.e. verbs that end with *-j* or *-w*, like *jrj* 'to do' and *mrj* 'to like') and of the geminating verbs (like *wnn* 'to be' and *mꜣꜣ* 'to see'). [140] It syntactically behaves like a substantive, hence its appellation as nominal or substantival form in the specialized literature (see *supra*, Ex. 188). The following examples illustrate its use as subject of an adjectival predication (*jrr*), object of a verb (*prr.j*) or in a determinative clause introduced by *nj* "of" (*jrr*)

[193] *jw*   *ꜣḫ*   *wrt*   *jrr*   *z*
       MCM   usefull   very(ADVZ)   do\NMLZ.IPFV   man
       ꜣḫ.t   *n*   *jb.f*
       be-usefull\REL-F   for   heart-F
       "it is very usefull that a man does what is useful for his heart"[141]
       MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. CGC 20543, 18–19)

[194] *jw*   *grt*   *wḏ.n*   *ḥm.f*
       MCM   PTCL   order-CPD   Majesty-3SG.M
       prr(.j)   *r*   *ḫꜣs.t*   *tn*
       go-out\NMLZ.IPFV-(1SG)   to   desert-land-F   DEM:F.SG
       "for His Majesty has ordered that I go out to this desert land"
       MK – MEg – Expedition – Hierogl.   (Hammamat 113, 10)

[195] *mk*   *rnp.t*   *nꜣ*   *n.t*   *jrr*
       ATT-2SG.M   year-F   ART:PL   of-F   do\NMLZ.IPFV
       z   *n*   *nb.f*
       man   for   lord-3SG.M

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[140] On the verbal morphology of EEg, see A. Loprieno, Egyptian (see fn. 4); M. Malaise/J. Winand, Grammaire (see fn. 5); J. P. Allen, Egyptian (see fn. 5); J. P. Allen, Old Egyptian (see fn. 5), 2015.

[141] In this use, the substantive form is in variation with the circumstantial use of the unachieved *sḏm.f*: *nfr n.tn jr.tn st* "it is good for you if/when you do it" (*Urk.* IV, 123,4).

"look it is a year when a man should work for his lord"
MK – MEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pHeqanachte I, v° 9)

In this capacity, it is also used to highlight viz. emphasize the pragmatically salient adverbial phrase, which also explains its other frequent name, the emphatic *mrr.f/sḏm.f*.[142]

[196] *m*   *dg(.w)*   *r*   *nty*   *m-bȝḥ.f,*
       PROH   look:ADVZ   to   REL-M.SG before-3SG.M
       dgg.k   *r*   *nty*   *m-bȝḥ.k*
       look\NMLZ.IPFV-2SG.M to   REL-M.SG before-2SG.M
       "do not look at what is before him! you should look only at what is before you!" (*Ptahhotep* 122–123 L²)
       NK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 122–123 L²)

[197] *mrr.k*   *wš.t(w)*   *ꜥrj.t.k*
       wish\NMZL.IPFV-2SG.M destroy\RES-2SG   gate-F-2SG.M
       ḥr-jḫ
       Q
       "why do you wish your gate to be destroyed ?"
       OK – OEg – Letter – Hieratic   (Cairo Bowl, 4–5)

[198] *djdj.k*   *ḫpr*   *jḳr.k*
       give\NMZL.IPFV-2SG.M appear\SBJV   excellence-2SG.M
       r.f   *m*   *gr*
       against-3SG.M   in   be-silent:INF
       "it by being silent that you will make appearent your excellence"
       MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 70–71)

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[142] The emphatic forms, whose main functions were discovered by H. J. Polotsky, Études de syntaxe copte, Cairo 1944, were crucial in the development and later in the theorisation of the so-called Standard Theory in Classical Egyptian (L. Depuydt, The standard theory of the "emphatic" forms in Classical (Middle) Egyptian: a historical survey, Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 14 (1983), 13–54). Its systematic pairing between morphological forms and syntactic functions was later challenged (P. Vernus, Parties (see fn. 12); M. Collier, Predication and the Circumstantial *sḏm(=f)/sḏm.n(=f)*, Lingua Aegyptia 2 (1992), 17–65; S. Uljas, The Modal System of Earlier Egyptian Complement Clauses. A Study in Pragmatics in a Dead Language (Probleme der Ägyptologie 26), Leiden 2007; J. Winand, Une grammaire de l'égyptien de la 18e dynastie, Orientalistische Literaturzeitung 92 (1997), 293–313; J. Winand, Temps et aspect, see fn. 6), giving way to a new, more flexible model where semantic and pragmatic factors have been integrated to account for the many "distorsions" observed in the Standard Theory.

In the grammatical system of ancient Egyptian, there are basically two forms that function syntactically as nominal forms, the *mrr.f* form and the *sḏm.n.f* form as the unachieved and the achieved member of the aspectual opposition respectively. The expression of the progressive or the stative in these syntactic environment is only exceptionally found, usually in compositions that display some stylistic virtuosity.[143]

[199]   *wnn.k*   *ḥr rdj.t*   *dj.tw*   *n.f*
        NMZL-2SG.M   on-give:INF   give\SBJV-PASS   to-3SG.M
        ꜥḳw   *nn*   *rdj.t*   *rḫ.f*   *ntt*   *ntk*
        food   NEG   give:INF   know\SBJV-3SG.M   REL-F.SG   2SG.M
        rdi   *n.f*   *st*
        give\PTCP   to-3SG.M   =3SG.C
        "you shall be delivering provisions to him, but without letting him know that it is you that give them"
        MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant*, B1 114–115)

[200]   *wnn(.j)*   *ḥr*   *stp*   *zꜣ(.j)*
        NMZL-1SG   PROG-   extend:INF   protection(-1SG)
        ḫꜣ.t   *mj*   *rꜥ*
        over-2SG.F   like   Rê
        "it is like Re that I am extending my protection over you"
        NK – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* IV, 227, 6)

6.1.6   Unachieved tenses and modality

As regards the expression of modality, the NonExtUnach not unfrequently conveys a sense of possibility, as shown in the following examples:

[201]   *jn*   *mt.w*   *jrr*   *st,*   *jw.s*
        THMZA   vessel-m.pl   do\PTCP   =3SG.C   MCM-3SG.F
        grt   *ḫpr.s*   *m*   *ꜣtw*   *ḥr*   *mt*
        also   happen\IPFV-3SG.M   by   rupture   on   vessel
        "it is the vessels that normally do it, but it can also happen by the rupture in a vessel"
        NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic   (pEbers 108,7)

[202]   *jw*   *r(ꜣ)*   *n*   *s*   *nḥm.f*
        MCM   mouth   of   man   save\IPFV-3SG.M

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[143] Except for a handful of examples, it seems to be more favoured in the 18th dynasty, probably as a manifestation of some stylistic refinement. There was also a prospective/future emphatic form, *sḏm.w.f* (> LEg *j.sḏm.f*), which did not belong to the system of aspectual oppositions.

  sw
  =3SG.M
  "the speech of a man can save him"
  MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*ShS* 17–18)

This nuance of impossibility is also well perceptible in the negative counterpart *n sḏm.n.f*. This negative pattern combines the negative marker *n* with the achieved *sḏm.n.f* form. What is negated is the start of the process that would lead to a new situation (*n sḏm.n.f* = "he has not (even) begun to hear" > "he cannot hear").[144]

 [203] *n*   *ꜥḥꜥ.n.tw*   *m* *hꜣw.f*
    NEG   stand-CPD-3SG.C in vicinity-3SG.M
    "(it is a vindictive), one cannot stand in his vicinity"
    MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Sinuhe* B 55–56)

When negated, the ExtUnach can also take a strong modal value – in this case a deontic one –, which is consistent with the core meaning of this aspect which implies an increased commitment of the agent in the SoA (see *supra*, §6.1.1). This extended use of the ExtUnach is best attested in LEg.[145]

 [204] *ḥr* *bn* *tw.k*   *sḏm*
    CORD NEG PRS-2SG.M listen:INF
    "for you are not willing to listen"
    NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic (pLansing 2,8)
 [205] *ḥr* *twtw* *m-sꜣ.s*   *m-r-ꜥ, bn*
    CORD PRS-3SG.C after-3SG.F still NEG
    twtw   *ḥr* *hꜣꜥ.s*
    PRS-3SG.C PRS- abandon:INF-3SG.F
    "for one is still after her, one is not giving her a break"
    NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic (oAshmolean 1945.37 +
    1945.33 + oMichaelides 90, r° 13)

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[144] Historically the implied meaning of impossibility was first perceptible with atelic SoAs. For the inchoative meaning of this class of actionality when conjugated in non-extensive achieved tenses, see §6.2.2.

[145] There is so far only one example of *nn sw ḥr sḏm* in MEg: *jw mdw.k n.j nn wj ḥr sḏm st* "you speak to me, but I am not listening" (*ShS* 73–75).

6.1.7   The negative system

The negative system of the unachieved tenses in MEg at first glance looks rather puzzling, for it seems to offer a chiasmic paradigm of the positive and negative patterns of the non-extensive unachieved *sḏm.f* and the achieved *sḏm.n.f* (Gunn's rule, see Gunn 1924:93–118, Polotsky 1976:44–46):

		Non-ext. unachieved	Achieved
MEg.	+	*jw.f sḏm.f*	*jw sḏm.n.f*
	−	*n sḏm.n.f*	*n sḏm.f*

Tab. 6. Gunn's rule.

This once more illustrates the asymmetric morphological structure that is the mark of many aspectual systems (see *supra*, §6). Actually, the negation of a generic, habitual SoA (*jw.f sḏm.f*) is obtained in Egyptian by the negation of the process that would eventually lead to this SoA. It is not by chance that the negation *n sḏm.n.f* was first used with atelic SoAs as this class of actionality originally took an inchoative meaning when conjugated in the NonExtAch *sḏm.n.f* (see *infra*, §6.2.3).[146] In OEg, *n sḏm.n.f* is occasionally found with telic verbs for negating the perfective, as shown in the first example and well illustrated in the second contrasting pair from the OK and MK respectively:

[206] *rdj   ḥm.f   sn.f   rd.f,*
       give\PFV   Majesty-3SG.M   kiss\SBJV-3SG.M   foot-3SG.M
       n   rdj.n   ḥm.f   sn.f   tꜣ
       NEG give-CPD Majesty-3SG.M   kiss\SBJV-3SG.M   ground
       "(when His Majesty praised him for the "affair"), His Majesty made him kiss His foot, but His Majesty did not make him kiss the ground"
       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 53,1–3)

[207] *n   jrj.n.j   jḫ.t   ḏw.t   r   rmṯ /*
       NEG   do-CPD-1SG   thing-F   bad-F   against   man
       n   jr.j   jwj.t   r   rmṯ
       "I have done no harm to nobody"

---

146 In the appendix given in Satzinger's study (H. Satzinger, Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen, München 1968, 22–28), most of verbs attested in the *n sḏm.n.f* pattern are indeed atelic.

OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 226,15)
MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. BM 562, 11–12)

The *n sḏm.n.f* pattern is also commonly used for negating a situation with the verbs of quality, which are expressed positively by the extensive perfective (perfect): *jw.f nfr.w* "it is now excellent" vs. *n nfr.n.f* "it is not excellent" or "it has not become excellent".

[208]   *n*   *nḏm.n*   *n.f*   *dg3. f*
        NEG   be-pleasant-CPD   to-3SG.M   look\SBJV-3SG.M
        n   ḫ3b.t.f
        to shoulder-F-3SG.M
        "it is not pleasant to him if he tries to have a look at his shoulder"
        NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic   (pSmith 2,25–26)

[209]   *ʿḳ.t(j).f(j)*   *r.f*   *nj*   *wʿb.n.f* […]
        enter-PPO-M.SG   to-3SG.M   NEG   purify-CPD-3SG.M
        "(whoever will have taken a stone from this tomb) or will have entered it without having purified himself"
        OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 250,5–6)

Of course, the choice between *n sḏm.f* (achieved), *n sḏm.n.f* (Non-ExtUnach), or *nn sw ḥr sḏm* (ExtUnach) can also depends on how the speaker intends to present the SoA. In Ex. 210, it is stated *en bloc* that Antynakht did not listen to what the peasant said, while in Ex. 211, the negative pattern stresses the repeated failure of spotting the correct place during these eight days:

[210]   *jr.jn*   *sḫtj*   *pn*   *ʿḥʿw*   *r*   *hrw 10*
        do-CNSV   peasant   DEM:M.SG   lifetime   to   day 10
        ḥr spr   *n   ʿnty-nḫt pn, n   rdj.f*
        PROG-implore:INF   to   Antynakht   NEG   give\PFV
        m3ʿ.f   *r.*
        head- 3SG.M   to-3SG.F
        "and this peasant spent up to 10 days imploring this Antynakht, but he did not pay attention to it"
        MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B1 62–63)

[211]   *ʿḥʿn*   *jr.n.(j)*   *hrw   8 ḥr ḏʿr*
        CJVB:ANT   do-CPD-(1SG)   day   8 PROG-explore:INF
        ḫ3s.t   *tn,*   *n   rḫ.n.j*
        desert-land-F   DEM:F.SG   NEG   know-CPD-1SG
        bw.s
        place-3SG.F

"and I spent 8 days exploring this desert land, without never finding (lit. knowing) its place"
MK – MEg – Expedition – Hierogl.   (Hammamat 199,7)

Ex. 212 emphasizes that the subject was never listening, the progressive successively scanning every single moment of the first clause, while in Ex. 213, it is implicitly stated that there was no listening at all, as if the subject had remained deaf to what was said to him:

[212] *jw*   *mdw.f*   *n.j,*   *nn*   *wj*   *ḥr*
       MCM   speak\IPFV-3SG.M   to-1SG   NEG   =1SG   PROG-
       sḏm   *st*
       listen:INF   =3SG.C
       "he spoke to me, but I was not listening to it"
       MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*ShS* 73–75)

[213] *mk*   *wj*   *ḥr spr*   *n.k,*   *n*
       ATT-2SG.M   =1SG   PROG-beg:INF   to-2SG.M   NE
       sḏm.n.k   *st*
       listen-CPD-2SG.M   =3SG.C
       "look I am begging you, but you do not listen"
       MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B2, 113–114)

As a means for expressing impossibility or the non-capacity of doing something, *n sḏm.n.f* sometimes alternates with the negation of the subjunctive, as illustrated by occasional textual variants:

[214] *nn*   *ḥwr.f*   *jm.f*   / *n*
       NEG   be-unhappy\SBJV-3SG.M   in-3SG.M / NEG
       ḥwr.n.f   *jm.f*
       be-unhappy-CPD-3SG.M in-3SG.M
       "(as for the scribe, whatever his place in the Residence,) he will not be unhappy therein / he cannot be unhappy therein"[147]
       MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Teaching of Khety*, IIe)

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[147] See also the variations in the tradition of the *Coffin Texts*: *n jr.n.k / n(n) jr.k šm.t sḫd.tj* "you cannot / you won't go with your head upside down" (*CT* I, 59c–60b).

		NonExtUnach		ExtUnach
OEg	+	*jw.f sḏm.f*		
	−	*n(j) sḏm.n.f*		
MEg I	+	*jw.f sḏm.f*		*jw.f ḥr sḏm*
	−	*n sḏm.n.f*		[*nn sw ḥr sḏm*]
MEg II	+	*jw.f sḏm.f*	*jw.f ḥr sḏm*	*jw.f ḥr sḏm*
	−	*n sḏm.n.f*		[*nn sw ḥr sḏm*]
LEg	+	*sw ḥr sḏm*		*sw ḥr sḏm*
	−	*bw sḏm.f > bw ir.f sḏm*		*bn sw ḥr sḏm*

Tab. 7. Evolution of the unachieved tenses from OEg to LEg.

Tab. 7 gives a summary of the evolution of the negative system from OEg to LEg. In LEg, the negation of the ExtUnach (progressive) is the morphological counterpart of the positive pattern. It is well attested in autonomous sentences, but also in adverbial clauses for marking the coextension of the two SoAs:

[215] *jn   bn   twk   m nˁj   jrm*
       Q   NEG   PRS-2SG.M   PROG-navigate:INF   with
       nꜣ   ḥbs.w
       ART:PL clothe-M.PL
       "are not you going with the clothes?"
       NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBM 10375, 26)

[216] *jw.s   ḥr   ḫpr   ḥr sꜣw*
       MCM-3SG.F   on-   aux:INF   PROG-watch:INF
       pꜣy.s   hy   r-jḳr   zp   2
       ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.F   husband   excellently   time   2
       jw   bn   sy   ḥr dj.t   pr.f
       SBRD   NEG   3SG.F(PRS) PRS- give:INF   go-out\SBJV-3SG.M
       r-bl   wˁ
       outside   alone
       "and she began to watch closely her husband, without letting him to go outside alone"
       NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Doomed Prince* 7,8)

As already noted (see *supra*, f), the negated ExtUnach can take a strong modal value with deontic force. As regards the NonExtUnach, the negative pattern *bw jr.f sḏm* most often express general, iterative, or generic statements, but is also found with static or near static (i.e. dynamic processes with a subject very low on the agentivity scale, like

verbs of perception and psychological verbs, see *supra*, §4.2) SoAs with present tense reference:

[217] *bw*   *jr.j*   *ptr.f*   *m-ẖnw*
       NEG   do\IPFV-1SG   see:INF-3SG.M   inside
       nȝy.k   *kȝ.w*
       ART.POSS:PL-2SG.M   bull-M.PL
       "(and he said to him: 'where is my bull?') I cannot see it among your bulls' "
       NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic (*Truth & Falsehood* 8,6–7)

[218] *jsṯ bw*   *jr.k*   *ršw,*   *mtw.k*
       Q   NEG   do\IPFV-2SG.M   rejoice:INF CORD.MOD-2SG.M
       dj.t   *jry.tw*   *n.k*   *wḏ*
       give:INF   do\SBJV-PASS   to-2SG.M   stela
       "why do you not rejoice, and let a stela be erected for yourself?"
       NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Wenamun* 2,54–55)

The difference between extensive and non-extensive can sometimes be the occasion for subtle distinctions as illustrated in the next example:

[219] *bn*   *twk*   *ḥr hȝb*   *n.j*   *nfr*   *m-r-pw*
       NEG   PRS-2SG.M   prs-write:INF   to-1SG   good   o
       bjn;   *ḥr*   *bw*   *jr*   *rmṯ*   *m*   *nȝ*
       bad   CORD   NEG   do\IPFV   man   in   ART:PL
       nty   *twk*   *hȝb.w*   *ḥr*   *snj*
       REL-M.SG   PRS-2SG.M   send:INF-3PL   on-   pass:INF
       ḥr.j   *ḏd.f*   *n.j*   *ꜥ.k*
       on-1SG   say\IPFV-3SG.M   to-1SG   condition-2SG.M
       "(can you please write me on your condition (…)? but you are not writing (ExtUnach) to me in good or bad, and no one whom you send (NonExtUnach) pass by me to tell me your condition"
       NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi V, 21,1–3)

6.1.8   *Historical development*

Historically, the *sḏm.f* was alone in charge of expressing IMPERFECTIVE in the OK (see *infra*, Table 8).

[220] *mk*   *wj*   *jw.j*   *nt-ꜥ*
       ATT-2SG.M   =1SG   come\IPFV-1SG   comrade
       "look, I am coming, comrade!"
       OK – OEg – Caption – Hierogl. (*Mereruka*, pl. 162)[148]

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[148] Cf. P. Vernus, Future (see fn. 100), ex. 396.

The pattern Subject + *ḥr* + infinitive is attested in OEg since the 5th dynasty. It gradually penetrated the grammatical system in the late OK and in the FIP. The construction Subject + *m* + infinitive, besides some rare examples, is almost exclusively attested with verbs of motion. In MEg, it could take a mellic or a progressive meaning according to the class of actionality it was used with (Vernus 1990:158), before being restricted to the latter meaning in LEg:

[221]   *mṯ*   *wj*   *m ḥꜣ.t*   *r*   *km.t*
       ATT-2SG.F   =1SG   PROG-go-down:INF   to   Egypt-F
       r   *jn.t*   *ꜥkw*   *jm*   *n*   *ẖrdw.j*
       to   bring:INF   food   there(ADV)   for   child-M.PL-1SG
       "look, I am about to go down to Egypt to bring back therefrom
       some food for my children"[149]
       MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* R 1,2–3)

[222]   *twk*   *m*   *jfd*   *r-ḥꜣ.t*   *nꜣ*
       PRS-2SG.M   PRS-run.away:INF   before   ART:PL
       ꜥdd.w
       young.man-M.PL
       "you are running away before the youg men"
       NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi V, 6,4)

In LEg a new pattern that somehow continues the *m* + infinitive construction is sporadically attested. Under the form *m* + *nꜥj* + (*r*) + infinitive "(lit.) to be going to do something", it first expressed the mellic aspect (to be about to) before becoming the regular future tense in Coptic (Future I), following an evolutionary path well attested cross-linguistically.[150]

[223]   *twk*   *rḫ.tw*   *pꜣy*   *mšꜥ*   *nty*
       PRS-2SG.M   know\RES-2SG.M   DEM:M.SG   trip   REL-M.SG
       twj   *m*   *nꜥj*   *r*   *jr.f*
       PRS-1SG   PROG-   navigate:INF   to   do:INF-3SG.M
       "you are aware of this trip I am going to make"
       NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBN 197 V, v° 2,3)

The following table captures the main steps of the evolution of the means expressing the EXTENSIVE IMPERFECTIVE in EEg:

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[149] See also *pꜣ w n nfr<wsj> m ḥꜣ.(t)* "the district of Neferusy is about to fall" (tCarnarvon I, r° 15–16). Due to its particular Aktionsart, the verb *šm* "to set off, to go" is not attested with in this pattern.

[150] E. Grossman/G. Lescuyer/S. Polis, Contexts (see fn. 47).

	NP + *m* + inf.	NP + *ḥr* + inf.	NP + *sḏm.f*
OEg	---	---	± PROGRESSIVE
MEg I	+ MELLIC	+ PROGRESSIVE	---
MEg II	+ MELLIC [− DUR] + PROGRESSIVE [+ DUR]	± PROGRESSIVE	
LEg	+ MELLIC [− DUR] + PROGRESSIVE [+ DUR]	± PROGRESSIVE	

Tab. 8. The expression of the EXTENSIVE IMPERFECTIVE (OEg-LEg).

Diachronically, the progressive as a grammatical pattern gradually took in charge the whole domain of the unachieved.[151] This evolution was perhaps facilitated by the occasional use of the progressive (note the absence of the particle *jw*) to describe more vividly situations having a general relevance, as shown by some passages from the wisdom literature or the textual genre of lamentations that describe new situations as if they were unfolding right before the reader's eyes:

[224] *ḏd.jn*   *sḫtj*   *pn:*   *ḥꜣw*   *n*   *ꜥḥꜥw*
　　　 say-CNSV   peasant   DEM:M.SG measurer   of   corn
　　　 ḥr   *jꜣṯ*   *n.f*   *t*
　　　 PROG-   trick:INF to-3SG.M bread
　　　 "and then this peasant said : the measurer of corn is tricking
　　　 for his own profit!"
　　　 MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B1, 104–105)

In LEg, the pattern *jw.f ḥr sḏm > sw ḥr sḏm* was the only one left for expressing both GLOBAL and PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVE, which could sometimes create some ambiguity as in the following example where the statement can refer to some habitual SoA or to an ongoing process:

[225] *jw.w*   *ḏd*   *n.j:*   *nꜣy.k*   *rmṯ*
　　　 MCM-3PL   say:INF   to-1SG   ART.POSS:PL-2SG.M man
　　　 (*ḥr*)   *ṯꜣw*   *jmn.t*
　　　 (PROG-)   take:INF West-F

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[151] Typologically, such an evolution is well attested: see B. Comrie, Aspect (see fn. 38), 39; J. Bybee/O. Dahl, The Creation of Tense and Aspect Systems in the Languages of the World, Studies in Language 13 (1984), 51–103, here 82. For the case of Aramaic, see D. Cohen, Aspect (see fn. 39).

"and they said that my (lit. your) men plundered/were plundering the West"
NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pBM 10052, v° 12,4–5)

The correct interpretation is often suggested by the semantic features of the arguments or the satellites.[152] For instance, if they have a collective value, a generic sense,[153] or if they are massive (as opposed to count) nouns, then the semantic extension of the proposition is maximized, which is most often congruent with a non-progressive reading. In the following example, the subject is followed by the quantifier *nb* "all, every" and is frontally thematized by the particle *jr* "as for", which contributes to interpret it as a generic class:

[226] *jr   rmṯ   nb   nty   ḥr   mwt* (…)
     TOPZ man   all   REL-M.SG PROG-   die:INF
     "as for anyone who dies (…)"
     NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (oDeM 126, 3–4)

The functional extension of the progressive is also perceptible in some peripheric usages like in its use as a synchronic performative present progressively taking over the role of the *sḏm.n.f* during the SIP. The first example (late 12th dyn.) illustrates the intermediary step between the classical, progressive meaning of the pattern, while the second one (late 20th dyn.) offers an unmitigated example of a performative statement:

[227] [*jw.j*]   *ḥr sḏm*   *nꜣ*   *hꜣb.n.k*
     [MCM-1SG]   PROG-listen:INF ART:PL   write\REL-ANT-2SG.M
     ḥr.s   *m*   *ḫꜣ*   *n*   *ṯꜣtj*
     about-3SG.F   in   office   of   vizier
     "(the herald of Elephantine, Heqaib, said:) 'I take notice (lit. I am listening) of what you wrote me about in the vizier's office"
     MK – MEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBerlin 10470, II, 11–12)
[228] *twj*   *dj.t*   *pꜣ*   *jry.j*   *nb*   *jrm* A
     PRS-SG   give:INF ART:M.SG do:REL-1SG   all   with A

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152 The presence of a TEM-F is an obvious marker of a non-extensive reading: *ḥr twtw ḥr šd bꜣk.f m-dj.j rnp.t n rnp.t* "for one requires from me its revenue year after year" (pCairo CGC 58057, 8–9).

153 In LEg, the system of the definite/indefinite article is gradually taking shape: see J. Winand, Zero(s) in Ancient Egyptian, in: M. Müller & S. Uljas (eds.), Proceedings of the Crossroads IV Conference (Basel, March 2009), Lingua Aegyptia, 17 (2009), 319–339; J. Winand, Late Egyptian (see fn. 114).

(…) *n.s*   *m*   *p3*   *hrw*
       to-3SG.F   in   ART:F.SG   day
"Today I give to her all that I have done with A"
NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pTurin 2021 +
pGeneva D 409, v° 2,11–12)

When there was a need felt to express unambiguously a progressive action, LEg turned to specific constructions, which albeit widely used never completely grammaticalized (Winand 2014). The best represented pattern is composed of one of the three verbs of posture (*ˁhˁ* "to stand", *ḥmsj* "to sit", and *sḏr* "to lay down") conjugated in the stative form followed by the phrase *ḥr* + infinitive, lit. "he is standing/sitting/lying while listening" (cf. *supra*, §5.2).[154] Another device is the locative adverb *dy* "here" (variant *ˁ3*), which was used to express absolute time relation with the MoS (see *infra*, §7). The extended pattern *sw ˁhˁ.w ḥr sḏm* and *dy* can sometimes be found together. The two following examples illustrate in a similar syntactic context the classical and the extended pattern respectively:

[229]   *ḥr*   *ptr*   *wrš.f*   *jw.f*
        CORD   look   spend-day\pfv-3SG.M   SBRD-3SG.M
        ḥr   *jn*   *t3*   *jnḥ.t*
        PROG-   bring:INF   ART:F.SG   jug-F
        "but look, he spends the day carrying the water jug"
        NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (oDeM 328,2–3)

[230]   *jw*   *PN*   *ḥr jr.t*   *hrw*   *2*
        MCM   PN   on-do:INF   day   2
        jw.f   *dy*   *ḥms*   *ḥr b3k*
        SBRD-3SG.M   here(ADV)   sit\RES-[3SG.M]   PROG-work:INF
        p3   *wt*
        DEM:M.SG   coffin

        "and PN spent two days working on this coffin"[155]
        NK – LEg – Admin. – Hieratic   (oCGC 25504, v° II,7)

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[154] See J.-M. Kruchten, Etudes de syntaxe néo-égyptienne. Les verbes *ˁhˁ*, *ḥmsi* et *sḏr* en néo-égyptien. Emploi et signification, Brussels 1984, J. Winand, Temps et aspect (see fn. 6), 329–333; J. Winand, Dialects (see fn. 86). For some African parallels, see B. Heine/U. Claudi/F. Hünnemeyer (eds), Grammaticalization. A Conceptual Framework, Chicago 1991. For other examples of this pattern, see ex. 189–190.

[155] With the participles, *dy* entails a progressive reading: *wn.w dy m-dj.j ḥr mḏḥ ḥr* [ ] "(men from the docks) that were with me acting as carpenters on [ ]" (oGardiner 362, v° 8).

For the verbs of motion, the pattern *sw m jj.t* marked the progressive (Ex. 232) as opposed to *sw ḥr jj.t*, which was the unmarked tense:

[231] *jḫ*   *h3b.t*   *n.j*   *ḥr*   *ꜥ.t*
      MODP write\SBJV-2SG.F   to-1SG   about   condition-2SG.F
      m-ḏr.t šms   *nb*   *nty*   *ḥr*   *jj.t*
      by   servant   all   REL-M.SG PRS-   come:INF
      dy   *m-dj.t*
      here(ADV)   from-2SG.M
      "please, write me about your condition by any servants who
      come here from your part"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLeiden I 364, 7)

[232] *jw.j*   *nw*   *r 11*   *n*   *br, jw.w*   *m-*
      MCM-1SG   see:INF   to 11   of   boat SBRD-3PL in-
      jw   *m*   *p3*   *ym*
      come:INF   from   ART:M.SG sea
      "and I noted 11 boats that were coming from the sea"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (*Wenamun* 2,62)

Finally, one should also note the occasional use of the preposition *m* 'in' for marking the object. In EEg, the preposition was used to express the partitive, as well illustrated with verbs of eating and drinking (see *supra*, Ex. 105–106). In LEg, the preposition could also occasionally be met with to mark the progressive, an evolution that underwent a grammaticalization process in Demotic.[156] Ex. 233 (time of Ramses II) perhaps illustrates the first step of this process (detelicized *jrj* "to do" > "to act", followed by the preposition *m* "in" with its full locative meaning), while in Ex. 234 (Ramses XI), the verb *jrj* probably retains its core meaning of doing something as the object refers to a specific task (as opposed to the expression *j3w.t nb* "all duties" of the former example):

[233] *jw.j*   *ḥr jr.t*   *m*   *j3w.t*   *nb*   *ꜥ3*
      SBRD-1SG   on-do:INF   in   duty-F   all   big
      n   *pr-ꜥ3*
      of   Pharao
      "as I was acting in all important duties of Pharao"
      NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pLeiden I 371, r° 10)

[234] *sw*   *(ḥr)*   *jr.t*   *m*   *p3j.f*
      3SG.M(PRS)   (PRS)   do:INF   in   ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M

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156 See J. Winand, Dialects (see fn. 86).

shn
job
"he is doing his job"[157]
NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pTurin 1971, v° 6)

As was already the case in MEg, the marked progressive pattern was sometimes used to express general statements in a specific living and colorful way. This can be *inter alia* observed in some passages from the *Miscellanies*, a corpus of texts that includes descriptions of the vicissitudes of many occupations in order to glorify the profession of scribe.[158] The second example clearly mixes the negated ExtUnach and the TEM-F *m-mn.t* "everyday":

[235]   *p3*   *rtḥ.ty*   *ꜥḥꜥ*   *ḥr ḳnf,*
        ART:M.SG   baker   stand\RES-[3SG.M]PROG-bake:INF
        ḥr h3ꜥ   *ꜥkw*   *r*   *t3*   *ḥ.t*
        PROG-throw :INF   bread   to   ART:F.SG   oven-F
        "the baker is busy baking and taking the breads from the oven"
        NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi II, 8,3)

[236]   *bn*   *twtw*   *ptr*   *p3*   *j.jr*   *nb*
        NEG- PRS-3SG.C   see:INF   ART:M.SG do:REL   all
        jm.f   *m-mn.t*
        in-3SG.M   everyday
        "(lit.) everyday, one is paying no attention to what is done there"
        NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pTurin A, v° 3,6)

This can also be observed in negative: in the two following examples, describing a similar situation, the ExtUnach and the NonExtUnach are alternatively used:

[237]   *bn*   *sw*   *(ḥr)* *šsp*   *fḳ3*   *n*   *ꜥd3,*
        NEG- 3SG.M(PRS)   (PRS-) receive:INF   gift   of vilain
        bn   *sw*   *ḥr dd*   *n*   *jnj*
        NEG- 3SG.M(PRS)   PRS-say:INF to   bring\PTCP
        mtrw.t
        witness-F.PL
        "he is not willing to accept the gifts of the vilain, he is not willing to speak to the one who bring witnesses"

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[157] To be contrasted with the contemporary *twn* (*ḥr*) *jry šḥn.w* "we are doing the tasks" (pBM 10375, v° 11).

[158] On this, see J. Winand, Boundaries (see fn. 102).

NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pBologna 1094, 2,4–5)

[238] *ḥt3*   *m*   *b3w.f*   *wˁ,*   *bw*
       Khatti   in   power-3SG.M   alone   NEG
       šsp   *nṯr*   *wdn.f,*   *bw*
       receive\PFV god   offering-3SG.M   NEG
       ptr.f   *mw*   *n*   *nw.t*
       see\PFV-3SG.M   water of   sky-F
       "Khatti is in his power alone, the god does not accept its offering, he cannot see the water of the sky"
       NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pAnastasi II, 2,3–4)

While special devices emerged to mark a progressive process, LEg gradually developed a pattern to express generic statements. This construction, *ḥr-sḏm.f*, is composed of the particle *ḥr*, which originally in EEg marked a special type of sequentiality, viewed as a contingent, necessary consequence of the preceding proposition (Vernus 1990: Ex. 238).[159] In LEg, this pattern evolved in two respects: it gradually loosed its logical implication with what precedes, expressing then the general validity of a statement (as there is a logical link between A and B, then B is always true, even if A is no longer expressed), and it could then be used as an independent clause (Neveu 1995: Ex. 239). In its final auxiliated form, it became in Demotic (*ḥr-jr.f-sḏm*) and Coptic (ϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ) the regular fully grammaticalized pattern for expressing the habitual, generic present as opposed to the Present I (Layton 2000: §377), directly inherited from LEg, which remained the unmarked member, i.e. able to express either PROGRESSIVE or NON-PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECTIVE (Ex. 241a–b):

[239] *wsf.f*   *ḥr*   *db3*   *fnḏw*
       delay\IPFV-3SG.M   OBLV   block\SBJV   nose-M.PL
       "when it is delayed, then the noses inevitably get blocked"
       NK – LEg – Religious – Hieratic (*Hymn to the Nile*, II, 5–6)

[240] *jr*   *p3*   *nty*   *jw*   *mn*
       TOPZ   ART:M.SG rel:m.sg   MCM   not_existant
       m-dj.f   *ˁdd*
       with-3SG.M child

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[159] On the delicate relations between *sḏm.ḥr.f* (generic necessity), *ḥr.f sḏm.f* (case-specific necessity), and *ḥr sḏm.f* (*ḥr* + different grammatical patterns), which were previously analysed as equivalent, see now J. E. Clayton, *ḥr and Modal Obligation in Earlier Egyptian*, Liverpool 2018.

ḥr-jn.f		*n.f*	*ky*	*nmḥ*
OBLV-bring\SBJV-3SG.M		to-3SG.M	another	orphan

<r>	*sḫpr.f*
<to>	raise:INF-3SG.M

"as for the one who does not have a child, he usually adopts one for himseld to raise him"

NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (oBerlin 10627, 9–12)

[241a]	*sw*	*(ḥr)*	*jr.t*	*m*	*p3j.f*
	3SG.M(PRS)	(PRS-)	do:INF	in	ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M

sḥn
job

"he is doing his job

NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pTurin 1971, v° 6)

[241b]	*sw*	*(ḥr)*	*ḳd*	*m-mn.t*
	3SG.M(PRS)	(PRS-)	build:INF	everyday

"he builds everyday"

NK – LEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Amenemope* 24,15)

Finally, one has to note that the opposition between progressive and non-progressive was preserved in the negative. While the negative morphological counterpart of *sw ḥr sḏm* (± PROGESSIVE) took in charge the negation of the progressive (*bn sw ḥr sḏm*), the older EEg pattern n *sḏm.n.f*, after several transformations (> *bw sḏm.n.f* > *bw sḏm.f* > *bw jr.f sḏm*), remained as the negative pattern of the non-progressive till Coptic (ⲙⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ).

As will be discussed in the next section, the pattern *ḥr* + inf., which originally expressed the PROGRESSIVE, was quickly used in narrative constructions with dedicated auxiliaries to express a sequence of events (see *infra*, §6.2.4). This culminated in LEg with the so-called sequential *jw.f ḥr sḏm*.

6.2   The expression of the PERFECTIVE in Egyptian

The PERFECTIVE is generally considered the marked member of the aspectual opposition. According to a widespread opinion, a SoA under the scope of the PERFECTIVE would be viewed as a single point.[160] This

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[160] Cf. the classic definition by B. Comrie, Aspect, 16: "Perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation". This opinion is widely held in Slavistics (see

definition has been challenged by many scholars, who rather emphasize the notion of limit (or boundary).[161] When taking into account the SoA's actionality for determining the meaning of the PERFECTIVE, the notion of limit indeed imposes itself (§6.2.1). A characteristic trait of the PERFECTIVE seems to be encapsulated in the notion of climactic moment as already proposed by Parsons (1989: 220–21) and Klein (1994: 106). In Egyptology, the PERFECTIVE has been analyzed as explicitly marking the limit of the process.[162]

As detailed in a previous study (Winand 2006: 195), I define the PERFECTIVE as the aspect that selects in a given SoA the interval that is cognitively the most salient.[163] The consequences of this definition are exposed in the next section.

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already F. de Saussure, Cours de linguistique générale: publié par Charles Bally et Albert Sechehaye avec la collaboration de Albert Riedlinger. Lausanne 1916, 161–162, A. V. Bondarko, Русский глагол, Leningrad 1967, 31, A. Isačenko, Die russische Sprache der Gegenwart, München 1968, 350). For ancient Egyptian, see Hannig's contrastive opposition R. Hannig, Zum mittelägyptischen Tempussystem, Göttinger Miszellen 56 (1982), 35–52, here 44) between the view from outside (PERFECTIVE) vs. from inside (IMPERFECTIVE).

[161] See O. Dahl, Perfectivity in Slavonic and Other Languages, in: C. de Groot & H. Tommola (eds.), Aspect Bound: a Voyage into the Realm of Germanic, Slavonic, and Finno-Ungrian Aspectology, Dordrecht 1984, 3–22, here 9–12, H. Filip, Aspectual Properties of the AN-Construction in German, in W. Abraham & T. Janssen (eds), 1989, 259–292, here 266; J. Lindstedt, Understandind Perfectivity – Understanding Bounds, in: P.M. Bertinetto et al. (eds.), Turin 1995, 95–104, here 96.

[162] See A. Loprieno, Aspekt und Diathese im Ägyptischen, in: Fr. Junge (ed), Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens I. FS. Westendorf, Göttingen 1984, 87–102, here 88–89: "*ein merkmalhaftes (markiertes) Glied, das einen Vorgang beschreibt, der durch das semantische Merkmal der 'Abgeschlossenheit' markiert ist. Wir nennen dieses den perfektiven Aspekt*". A. Loprieno's later position (Ancient Egyptian (see fn. 4), 75) is more consensual, underlining the "contextual completeness" of the PERFECTIVE.

[163] This very much reminds an old – and apparently neglected – definition given by S. Karcevski (Système du verbe russe, Prague 1927, 91): "*la perfectivation d'un procès n'est autre chose que la concentration de notre attention sur l'un des moments concrets du procès à l'exclusion des autres, d'où l'illusion que le procès perfectif n'a point de durée*". Karcevski's study has been reedited in 2004 with a commentary by I. Fougeron, J. Brueillard, and G. Fougeron.

6.2.1   Semantics of the PERFECTIVE

According to the definition given above, the PERFECTIVE should be viewed as an arch-category. Its contextual meaning is dependent on the SoA's actionality: if used with a telic SoA, it expresses the COMPLETIVE (or TERMINATIVE), but the INCHOATIVE (or INGRESSIVE) with an atelic SoA. Very often, languages develop a secondary category, which is marked as extensive (see *supra*, §6.1.2 for the IMPERFECTIVE). For the PERFECTIVE, this category captures the phase that comes into being as the result of the process. This phase is most often viewed as static, but dynamic post-phases are also attested (see *infra*, §6.2.3). The RESULTATIVE, as it is known, is thus prototypically found with telic SoAs, selecting the post-phase of the process. Table 9 captures the selections operated for the main classes of telic and atelic SoAs:

	PERFECTIVE		
	NON-EXTENSIVE		EXTENSIVE
	COMPLETIVE	INCHOATIVE	RESULTATIVE
Telic SoA	<~~~~[+>]	—	<~~~~+>[——]
Atelic SoA	—	[<[~~~~>	—

Tab. 9. Sub-classes of perfective according to actionality classes.

Many languages have only one grammatical tense for expressing all subcategories of the PERFECTIVE. It is not uncommon however cross-linguistically to have a dedicated tense, here called the stative. Historically in ancient Egyptian, this form originally stayed outside the grammatical system of aspect, entering an opposition of actionality between states and activities. In some languages, the stative became part of the general system of aspectual oppositions, taking in charge the RESULTATIVE, without losing its ability of expressing the stative. This is what happened in ancient Egyptian. Once fully integrated in the aspectual system, the stative not infrequently can end up taking in charge all the usages of the PERFECTIVE as is well illustrated in contemporary French where the "passé composé" (*il a fait*) is the only tense left for expressing both a sequence of events in a narrative, formerly expressed by the "passé simple" (*il fit*), and the present perfect.

6.2.2   The expression of the PERFECTIVE in Egyptian: non-extensive and extensive achieved

In MEg, there are basically two tenses that are in charge of expressing the PERFECTIVE: the *sḏm.n.f* form and the stative (also called old perfective or pseudo-participle by Egyptologists). The first one (probably derived from a form of participle) is the result of a historical development within Egyptian, while the latter is linked to the Akkadian permansive.[164] Others constructions, introduced by a verbal auxiliary (*ꜥḥꜥ.n* or *wn.jn*), were also created in the second half of the OK for expressing narrative chains of events (§6.2.4).

Two other tenses were also aspectually marked, but their use was syntactically very much restricted. The terminative *sḏm.t.f*, which can probably be related to some perfective Semitic forms with a *-t* suffix (Loprieno 1986a), is only found in MEg in two patterns: *n sḏm.t.f* "he has not heard yet" and *r sḏm.t.f* "until he has heard" (see exx. 69, 73, 98, 138, 179).[165] These two patterns, which have a very specific and limited role, survived until Coptic (*n sḏm.t.f > bw sḏm.t.f > bw jr.t.f sḏm* > ⲘⲠⲀⲦϤⲤⲰⲦⳘ, and *r sḏm.t.f > j.jr.t.f sḏm > šꜥ.t.f sḏm* > ϢⲀⲚⲦϤⲤⲰⲦⳘ).[166] In EEg, beside the achieved and unachieved participial forms, there was a so-called *sḏm.tj.fj* form "he who will have

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[164] On the variety of appellations, see J. Winand, Teaching Ancient Egyptian. Between Linguistics and Philology, in: A. Vervobsek/B. Backes/C. Jones (eds.), Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie, Munich 2011, 173–184, here 179. On the intricate reconstruction on the pre-OEg pattern and uses of the old perfective (and its possible connections to the so-called archaic perfective *sḏm.f*), see E. Oréal, Fracture d'actance et dynamique morphosyntaxique. Le renouvellement du perfectif en ancien égyptien, Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris 102 (2007), 367–397; E. Oréal, Same Source, Different Outcomes. A Reassessment of the Parallel between Ancient Egyptian and Akkadian 'Stative' Conjugations, Lingua Aegyptia 17 (2009), 183–200; E. Oréal, Traces of a Stative-Eventive Opposition in Ancient Egyptian. Rethinking Pseudoparticiple as Old Perfective, Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 137 (2010), 145–156.

[165] The form *sḏm.t.f* can also be introduced by the preposition *ḏr*, but this pattern, already recessive in MEg, is no longer attested in LEg (L. Zonhoven, Studies on the *sḏm.t.f* verb form in Classical Egyptian, PhD thesis, Leiden 1997).

[166] In later LEg, the preposition *r* was replaced by the preposition *šꜥ(-r)* "until" (J. Winand, Etudes (see fn. 6), 295–297).

heard", which is sometimes, but inaccurately – called the future participle. This form is morphologically characterized by the presence of an infix *-t(j)*, perhaps to be related to the suffix of the *sḏm.t.f,* followed by the 3rd suffix pronoun (masc. *sḏm.tj.fj,* fem. *sḏm.tj.sj,* and plural *sḏm.tj.sn*). While the form is undisputedly future oriented, it is also a perfective form as shown by its interactions with the SoAs actionality (see *supra,* exx. 67, 70, 97, 99, 159, 209, and fn. 105).

Finally, some tenses, like the imperative, without being formally linked to the PERFECTIVE aspect, have most often the same effects on the actionality of the processes. For instance, in Ex. 242, the imperative takes an inchoative/conative meaning, while in Ex. 243, it forces upon the verb *sḏm* "to hear" an agentive reading "to listen", which is also the case with psychological verbs (Eg. 244) :[167]

[242] *rḥ*   *p3*   *jmw*   *p3*   *rmṯ*   *nty*
       know\IMP   ART:M.SG ship   ART:M.SG   man   REL-M.S
       jw.k   *dj.t*   *n.f*   *t3y*   *šꜥ.*
       FUT-2SG.M   give:INF   to-3SG.M DEM:F.SG letter-F
       "try to know the ship and the guy you will give this letter to"
       NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pTurin 1971, v° 3)
[243] *sḏm.w*   *jrf*   *ṯn*
       listen\IMP   PTCL   =2PL
       "o you, pay attention!"
       NK – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* IV, 367,14)
[244] *m jr*   *snḏ*
       PROH-do   be-afraid:ADVZ
       "do not be(come) afraid!"
       NK – MEg – Caption – Hierogl.   (*Paheri* 3)

The uses of the two main tenses depend on three main factors: syntax, the SoA's actionality, and the enunciative register (narrative, discourse, and narrative discourse).[168]

6.2.3   *The achieved tenses and the SoA's actionality*

The Egyptian stative has two main functions according to the classes of actionality. With the states, it merely states that the SoA is true for a

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[167] While ancient Greek and Russian make a distinction between a perfective and an imperfective imperative, there is only one single imperative form in Egyptian.
[168] On the 'narrative discourse' and its relevance for EEg, see *infra,* §7.1.

given MoS. With the other classes, it selects the SoA's resulting phase (post-phase). The following table gives an overview of the selections operated by the stative with an Egyptian example.

states	<——>	<[——]>	*ʿnḫ* "to be alive"
activities [+ agt]	<~~~~~>	—	
activities [– agt]	<--------->	<~~~~~>[——]	*sḏm* "to hear" > "to listen"
semelfactives	<~>	<~>[——]	*ʿš* "cry" > "to be called"
accomplishments (a)	<~~~~+>——	<~~~~+>[——]	*jrj* "to make"
accomplishments (b)	<+++++>——	<+++++>[——]	*nfr* "to become perfect"
achievements (a)	~~~~<+>——	~~~~<+>[——]	*mwt* "to die"
achievements (b)	<+>~~~~	<+>[~~~~]	*šm* "to set off" > to walk"[169]

Tab. 10. Phasal selections made by the stative according to actionality.

When compared to the *sḏm.n.f* form in its resultative use, the difference, however small, seems to be that the MoR of the *sḏm.n.f* integrates the right boundary of the SoA (<~~~~[+>——]) while it is excluded with the stative (<~~~~+>[——]). This is consistent with the claim that the *sḏm.n.f* first expressed the COMPLETIVE. The RESULTATIVE is then to be analyzed as an extension of this basic meaning. The contrast between the two forms can be grasped when they are both used with the same verb in opposition, like *rḫ* "to learn":

[245]   *ḏd.n.f*   *nn,*   *rḫ.n.f*
        say-NMZL-ANT-3SG.M   DEM:C   know-CPD-3SG.M

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169 Cf. *supra*, ex. 147–150, and the following discussion. In LEg, *šm* was recategorized as an accomplishment. In RESULTATIVE, its meaning was consequently "to be gone" (static post-phase).

       ḳd.j
       behaviour-1SG
       "he said so, because he got to know (had learnt) my
       behaviour"
       MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* B 31–32)

[246] *jw.j*   *swt* *rḫ.kwj*   *bw*   *nty*   *st*
       SBRD-1SG   PTCL know\RES-1SG NEG   REL-M.SG =3PL
       jm
       there(ADV)
       "for I know the place where they are"
       SIP – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (pWestcar 9,3–4)

The same opposition is also visible with verbs of quality. In the
following pair, there is a contrast between the *sḏm.n.f* form that focuses
on the transition between the patient's illness and his recovery, and the
stative of the second example that simply registers the situation that
holds at the moment of speaking:

[247] *jw*   *nḏm.n.f*   *ḥr-ꜥ.wy*
       MCM   be-pleasant-CPD-3SG.M   immediately
       "he immediately recovered"
       NK – MEg – Medical – Hieratic   (pHearst 6,2)

[248] *jw*   *nn*   *nḏm.w*   *wrt*
       MCM   DEM:C be-pleasant\RES-3SG.M   very(ADVZ)
       "that is very pleasant"
       OK – OEg – Caption – Hierogl. (Mastaba of
       Nianch-Khnum and Khnum-Hotep, pl. 34–35)

It is also perceptible in the so-called emphatic use of the *sḏm.n.f*, which
as a backgrounding form belongs to the resultative branch of the
PERFECTIVE. As was established by Polotsky in a seminal study (1944),
the emphatic forms lay a special focus on the adverbial adjunct, which
is so-to-say foregrounded, with a large array of rhetoric effects.[170] The
rhematization of the adverbial adjunct shows that the action itself was
viewed as relevant as the resulting situation. This is obviously the case
when the adjunct is an instrument, a TEM-P, or when it contains an
interrogative word (Ex. 249). Very often, the emphatic form is used in
binary sentences for a contrasting effect (Ex. 250). It is also quite

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[170] The emphatic function was hotly debated by Egyptologists in the eighties and
the nineties, with discussion focussing on the relations between morphological
forms and functions (one-to-one vs. one-to-many correspondences). See *supra*,
§6.1.5.

commonly found to add a precision to a previous sentence, resuming the same verb, which consequently conveys only old, background information (Ex. 250–252):

[249] *jj.n.tn*   *tnw*
       come-NMZL-ANT-2PL   from-where(ADV)
       "where did you come from?"
       MK – MEg – Admin. – Hieratic (*Semnah Dispatches*, II, x+ 13–14)

[250] (he erected a new temple for Ptah in magnificent white limestone …) *jst*   *gm.n*   *ḥm.f*
                                         SBRD   find-NMLZ-ANT   Majesty-3SG.M
       r-pr   *pn*   *m*   *ḏb.t*
       temple   DEM:M.SG   in   brick-F
       "it is in bricks that His Majesty had found this temple"
       NK – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* IV, 879,5)

[251] *ʿḥʿ.n.(j)*   *ḫnt.kwj* (…),
       CJVB:ANT-(1SG)   go-southward\RES-1SG
       ḫnt.n.j   *m*   *ḥsb*   *600*
       go-southward- CPD-1SG   with   worker   600
       "and I went southward (…), it is with 600 workers that I went southward"
       MK – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*B.H.*, I, pl. 8,14)

[252] *ḏd.f* (discourse), *ḏd.n.f*   *nn,*
       say\PFV-3SG.M   say-NMZL-ANT-3SG.M   DEM:C
       rḫ.n.f   *ḳd.j*
       know-CPD-3SG.M   character-1SG
       "he said (…), if he said so, it is because he got to know my nature"
       MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Sinuhe* B 31–32)

As already mentioned, the stative expresses a situation from the point of view of the patient-object for the transitive verbs, and of the agent/experiencer-subject for the intransitive verbs.

[253] *ḏd*   *n* PN *ntt*   *wj*   *jj.kwj,*
       say\IMP   to PN REL-F   =1SG   come\RES-1SG
       wr.kwj,   *ꜣḫ.kwj*
       become-great\RES-1SG   transfigure\RES-1SG
       wsr.kwj
       be-powerful\RES-1SG
       "tell PN that I have come, having now become great, transfigured and powerful"   (*CT* III, 268/69a-270/71b)

With the former class, the role of the stative must then be evaluated against the passive forms of the suffix conjugation, which are dynamic

in essence (Stauder 2014:288–295). In this respect, the presence of an agent is only very exceptionally found with the stative:

> [254] *jw.j*   *h3b.kwj*   *jn*   *ᶜ3*
>   MCM-1SG   send\RES-1SG   PTCL   great
>   *pw*   *nb*   *jtmw*   *jwtj*
>   DEM:M.SG   lord   Atoum   NEG.REL-M.SG
>   *mnj.n.f*
>   pass-away-CPD-3SG.M
>   "I was sent by this great one, the lord Atum who cannot pass away"
>   MK – MEg – Religious – Hierogl.   (*CT* V, 285a B2Bo)

Diachronically, the number and the uses of passive forms sharply decline in LEg to become virtually non-existent in Demotic and absent in Coptic. The passive as a way of presenting a SoA from the viewpoint of the patient then survived only to a limited extant (Ex. 255). Active forms with a neutral, referentless subjects were used instead. This tendency can be traced back to EEg where the passive morph *-tw* was reinterpreted as a suffix pronoun, down to LEg, where examples of 3rd plural pronouns without an explicit referent are already registered (Ex. 256) gradually replacing the neutral pronoun *-tw* (Ex. 257), and finally to Demotic (Ex. 258) and Coptic (Ex. 259) where the neutral generic 3rd plural pronouns are the only means left to express passive dynamic SoAs.[171]

> [255] *jr*   *p3j.w*   *smtr*   *jn* X
>   do\PFV-PASS   ART.POSS:M.SG-3PL   interrogation   PTCL
>   "their interrogation was made by X"
>   NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pBM 10054, v° 1,2)
> [256] *dd.tw*   *n.j*   X
>   say\PFV-3SG.C   to-1SG
>   "one told me X"
>   NK – LEg – Miscellanies – Hieratic   (pKoller 2,2)
> [257] *jn*   *t3*   *nty*   *bwpw.w*
>   THMZ   ART:F.SG   REL-M.SG   NEG:did-3P
>   *jn.t.s*   *n.j*
>   bring:INF-3SG.F   to-1SG

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[171] It is possible to combine a peripheric agentive phrase (introduced by *jn* or *m-dr.t*, or ϩⲓⲧⲛ with an active referentless verb form: ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩϫⲟⲟϥ ϩⲓⲧⲙ̅ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ "what was said by the prophet (lit. what 'they' said by the prophet)" (*Acts* 13,40). Cited by Layton (B. Layton, Grammer, see fn. 6, §175).

"it is the one that has not been brought to me (lit. that they did not bring)"

NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pBM EA 10326, r° 9–10)

[258] *ḥwj.w*   *stj*   *r*   *p3j.j*   *ꜥ.wj,*
       strike\pfv-3pl fire   to   art.poss:m.sg-1sg   xxx
       Dd.f   n.j: m-Dr   njm
       say\PFV-3SG.M   to-1SG   by   Q

"my house has been set on fire (lit. they set fire on my house). He asked me: by whom?"

LP – Dem. – Judicial – Demotic (pRylands IX, V 1)[172]

[259] ⲁⲩ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄   ⲉ-ⲡⲉⲕ-ⲥⲟⲡⲥ
       PFV-3PL-hear   to-your-prayer

"your prayer has been heard (lit. they heard your prayer)"

AD – Coptic – Religious – Coptic   (*Luke* I,13)[173]

6.2.4   Achieved tenses in narratives

Narratives are basically structured as sequences of SoAs organized along a chrono- and logical order (Fig. 10). In the ancient Egyptian culture, at least, they are naturally anchored in the past.
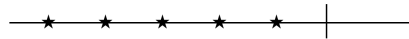
Fig. 12. Prototypical organization of a narrative.

Important consequences can be derived from this: events reported in narratives are no longer relevant to the moment of speaking/reading (MoS); narratives thus tend to be interpreted as more objective, since past events can be (easily) checked, which explains why they commonly imply entities distinct from the narrator (3rd person). Narratives thus contrast with discourses, which are potentially polemic, often subjective, highly relevant to the MoS, and systematically

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172 The question that follows ("by whom?") shows that the first sentence is to be understood as a passive equivalent.

173 The Greek version has εἰσηκούσθη ἡ δέησίς σου. See B. Layton, Grammar, see fn. 6, §175, who discusses the ambiguity of such constructions, which can be read as dynamic or non-dynamic in absence of any decisive element, like an agentive phrase.

involving a speaker and a hearer (1st and 2nd persons) who repeatedly commute their roles.[174]

Of course, a narrative can stage the narrator as an actor. Two cases must be considered. The actor, who happens to be the narrator, presents himself/herself as a distinct entity whose actions have no impact in the MoS. Very often however, the actor/narrator reports SoAs whose relevance can still be felt in the MoS. This constitutes a mixed category, midway between narrative and discourse. I proposed elsewhere to label this intermediary register "narrative discourse" (Winand 1995, 2006a: 371–372). In ancient Egyptian, the narrative discourse is worth considering as it formally combines grammatical means that are normally specific to either of these two registers. The best example in this respect is the pattern *jw sḏm.n.f* for expressing the present perfect, i.e. an event that occurred in the past but also led to a new situation (post-phase) still relevant at the MoS. As already discussed (§6), the particle *jw* explicitly links the SoA to the MoS. When combined with the *sḏm.n.f* (generic achieved tense), it formally sets the resulting post-phase in its MoR.
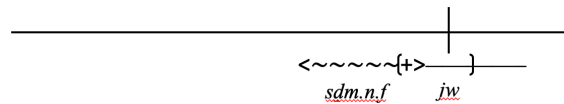
Fig. 13. Linking the post-phase to the moment of speaking.

The narrative discourse is the natural register for the so-called autobiographies and expedition reports.[175] The purpose of these texts is to present an individual character as fitting the social and moral model set for any Egyptian by highlighting the important events of his career.

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[174] The opposition between narrative and discourse as a constitutive frame in shaping the presentation of events is now well received: see Weinrich's pioneering study (H. Weinrich, Tempus. Besprochene und erzählte Welt, Stuttgart 1964), and E. Benveniste, Phrase (see fn. 57).

[175] The autobiographies are thus a response to the didactic literature, or rather an illustration of the operational validity of the social norm that was disseminated all over the country; see A. Gnirs, Die ägyptische Autobiographie, in: A. Loprieno (ed.), Ancient Egyptian Literature. History & Forms (Probleme der Ägyptologie 10), Leiden 1996, 191–242, here 196–197.

All that was achieved in the past is thus plainly relevant in the present as a justification of the deceased's status in the afterlife. It is not thus exceptional for an autobiography to list a series of activities, all expressed by *jw*- clauses, without necessarily observing a strict chronological order.

[260] *jw   rdj.n.(j)   t   n   ḥkr*
       MCM give-CPD(-1SG)   bread   to   be-hungry\PTCP
       jw   ḥbs.n.(j)   ḥ3y   jm.s
       MCM   dress-CPD(-1SG) be-naked\PTCP   in-3SG.F
       jw   gr   mḥ.n.(j)   wdb.w.s (…)
       MCM   also   fill-CPD(-1SG)   bank-M.PL-3SG.F
       jw   gr   ss3.n.(j)   wnš.w   nj.w
       MCM   also   satiate-CPD(-1SG)   chacal-M.PL   of-M.PL
       dw.t (…)
       hill-F
       jw   jr.n(.i)   ḥrj-tp,   mr-šm‘   m   sp3.t
       MCM   do-CPD(-1SG)   director   chief-cereal   in   nome-F
       tn
       DEM:F.SG
       "I have given bread to him who was hungry, I have dressed him who was naked in it (the nome), I also have filled its banks (…), I have satisfied the chacals of the hills (…), I have acted as directeur and chief for the cereals in this nome"
       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 77,8–15)

As already said, the backbone of a narrative are the successive steps that express the unfolding of the story. This orderly sequence can be interrupted for giving background information. These circumstances are generally synchronous or anterior to the time of the main sentence. In ancient Egyptian, projections into the future are more limited in narratives except for final clauses and consequences.[176]

The following graph is a theoretical and schematic representation of a narrative whose structure has been modelized as a sequence of vectors:

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[176] In the LEg *Tale of the two Brothers* (5,4), there is a passage in a discourse with a retrospective look at what the future could have looked like, but this remains exceptional: *p3-wn twj* (ḥr) *šn p3y smj bjn wn jw.f r jr.f m sf* "for I am (still) suffering because of this evil project he would have done yesterday".
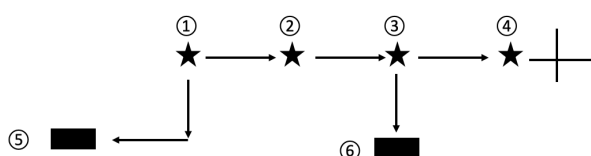
Fig. 14. Schematic representation of a narrative chain.

This imaginary schema could roughly be phrased as follows: "X did *a* (1) after doing *y* (5), he then did *b* (2), and then *c* (3) while doing *z* (6), and finally did *e* (4). SoAs 5 and 6 are thus moments that momentarily halt the progress of the narration for giving background information that can be backwards (5) or forwards (6) oriented or simultaneous to the MoR of the SoA of the main clause (7).

As was already recognized, chains of events are mostly made of telic and dynamic SoAs, while static and atelic SoAs are usually found in adverbial clauses for expressing background information. From a formal perspective, there is a marked correlation with non-extensive achieved tenses and foreground information, and with unachieved tenses (and to some extent, extensive achieved tenses) and background information. Furthermore, the emphatic uses and negative statements are rarely (if ever) found in foreground.

	Foreground information	Background information
SoA	telic	atelic
	dynamic	static
Grammatical tenses	NonExtAch	ExtAch Unach
Negation	exceptional	well attested
Emphasis	no	well attested

Tab. 11. Correlations between pragmatic functions and actionality, grammatical tenses, negation and emphasis.

During its long history, ancient Egyptian inevitably used different grammatical forms for expressing the progression of the main events (#1,2,3,4 in Figure 14). More importantly, the rationale structuring the

expression of a sequence of events was not maintained unchanged. The following is an attempt at showing the structural changes in organization from Old Egyptian down to Coptic.

In the most ancient texts, a sequence of events was usually expressed by a chain of *sḏm.f* forms. In the OK autobiographies (narrative discourse), stative is also found, with an active sense, in the first person, to focus on the relevance of an action achieved by the speaker/agent

[261] *hꜣb*   *w(j)*   *ḥm[.f]*   *r ḥw.t-nbw* (…)
       send\PFV   =1SG   Majesty-[3SG.M]   to Hatnub
       shꜣ.k(wj)   *n.f*   *ḥtp*   *pn*   *n*
       send-down\RES-1SG   to-3SG.M altar   DEM:M.SG   in
       hrw 17 (…)
       day   17
       rdj   *nꜥ.f*   *m*
       give\PFV-PASS   navigate\SBJV-3SG.M   PROG-
       ḫd   *m*   *wsḫ.t*   *tn*
       go-downstream:INF   in   barge-F   DEM:F.SG
       šꜥ.k(wj)   *n.f*   *wsḫ.t*   *m*   *šnḏ*   *n.t*
       heed-out\RES-1SG   to-3SG.M barge-F   in   acacia   of-F
       mḥ   *60*   *m*   *ꜣw.s*   *mḥ*   *30*   *m*   *sḫw.s*
       cubit   60   in   length-3SG.F cubit   30   in   width-3SG.F
       "His Majesty sent me to Hatnub (…) I sent down to him this altar in 17 days (…) it was transported downstream in this barge. I heed out for it a barge of acacia wood, 60 cubits long and 30 cubits wide"

       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl. (*Urk.* I, 107,16–108,5)[177]

During the end of the OK and the FIP, a new system emerged that would eventually become standard in Classical Egyptian, i.e. in the elite language that was used in royal inscriptions, in autobiographies, and in the literary texts. In the most sophisticated pieces, one can observe a two-tier organization: first an opening statement that can pragmatically assume different functions (summary statement, temporal setting, etc.), followed by the exposition of events that can extend over several sentences. The latter part, which is obviously the longer one, can in turn be structured in what I call elsewhere paragraphs (Winand 2000). Paragraphs are not taken here in a loose, typographic way, but as constitutive members of the syntactic organization, as they are signaled

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[177] Translated after E. Doret (Narrative (see fn. 5), 63).

by specific grammatical patterns. The following schema illustrates the structure of a prototypical narrative in ancient Egyptian.
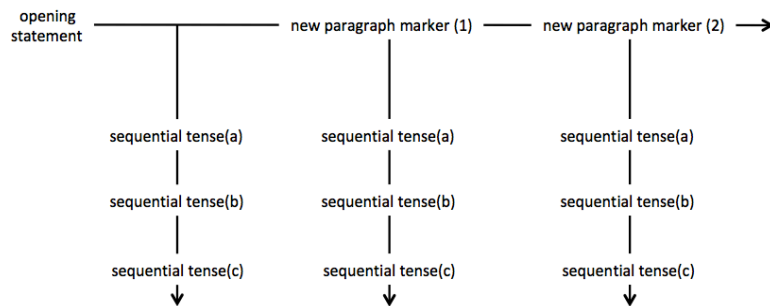
Fig. 15. Segmentation of a narrative in paragraphs.

In Classical Egyptian, there exist basically two paragraph markers: ꜥḥꜥ.n and wn.jn. The first one is the *sḏm.n.f* form of the verb ꜥḥꜥ "to stand";[178] the second one is the *sḏm.jn.f* form (see *infra*) of the verb *wnn* "to be present". The narrative auxiliary ꜥḥꜥ.n was first used in conjunction with another *sḏm.n.f* form (co-verb construction). The pattern's original meaning was probably close to "he stood up and did X". The pattern ꜥḥꜥ.n *sḏm.n.f* was quickly challenged by a construction which combined ꜥḥꜥ.n with the predicate *ḥr* + infinitive. Such a construction might seem curious at first glance as it combines two kinds of different aspectual instructions: NonExtAch (ꜥḥꜥ.n) and ExtUnAch (*ḥr sḏm*). The result was first an inchoative meaning, as can be observed in the first attestations, before evolving to a NonExtAch. This new pattern had first the advantage of not being restricted to transitive verbs as was the case with the older pattern ꜥḥꜥ.n *sḏm.n.f*. It also offered other possible extensions to new types of predicates like the old perfective (ꜥḥꜥ.n.f *jw.w* "and then he came"), but also to some unusual combinations that were explored by the scribes for

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178 The auxiliary ꜥḥꜥ can be compared to Late Middle Aramaic *ka-qaṭel* "he is killing", with *ka* < present partic. of *qūm* "to stand" (V. Bubenik, Development (see fn. 37), 5). Compare also the use of стать "to stand" in Russian as an aspectual auxiliary for expressing the conative in positive, and a strong denegation in negative: Я стал её уговаривать "I tried to persuade her" (M. Bulgakov, *Morphin*, Moscow, 1927, March 19).

literary purposes.[179] The pattern *ꜥḥꜥ.n.f* + *ḥr* + infinitive / old perfective was perhaps the model for the *wn.jn* headed constructions that followed the same patterning. It remains difficult to properly assess the (semantic/pragmatic) differences between *ꜥḥꜥ.n* and *wn.jn*. In the LEg stories, *wn.jn* seems to operate at a higher level than *ꜥḥꜥ.n* in the general structuring of the narrative as shown by its lower frequency, the occasional use of the red colour by the scribes,[180] and its higher ability to introduce a new topic. Whether this distribution was already valid for EEg remains an open issue. For one has to take into consideration possible idiosyncratic uses by the scribes for stylistic reasons, and variations due to regional particularisms. The *ꜥḥꜥ.n/wn.jn* headed constructions were usually expended by one or several *sḏm.n.f*s.[181]

[262]   *wn.jn.s*   *ḥr dbn*   *tꜣ*   *ꜥ.t* (…)
        CJVB:CNSV-3SG.F   on-go-round:INF   ART:F.SG room-F
        ꜥḥꜥ.n   *rdj.n.s*   *mꜣꜥ.s*   *r   pꜣ*   *ẖꜣr*
        CJVB:ANT   give-CPD-3SG.F   head-3SG.F   to DEM:M.SG sack
        gm.n.s   *jr.tw*   *m-ẖnw.f*
        find-CPD-3SG.F   do\PFV-PASS   inside-3SG.M
        "and then she began to go round the room (…), she then paid
        attention to this sack and found that it was done from its
        inside"
        SIP – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (pWestcar 12,3–4)

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[179] For instance, *ꜥḥꜥ.n* and *wn.jn* are also found with non-verbal predicates: *ꜥḥꜥ.n tꜣ pn r-ḏr.f ẖr sẖr nb ḏd.f* "and this entire land (became submitted) to (lit. under) all the plans he said" (graffito Hatnub 20,5); *wn.jn.f m ḏr.t.f m msḥ n mnḥ* "and then it (was) in his hand as a crocodile of wax" (pWestcar 4,1).

[180] On the use of red colour for structuring a text, see J. Winand, La ponctuation avant la ponctuation. L'organisation du message écrit dans l'Égypte pharaonique, in: J.-M. Defays/L. Rosier/Fr. Tilkin (eds.), À qui appartient la ponctuation ?, Brussels 1998, 163–178;R. Enmarch, Paratextual signs in Egyptian texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, in: N. Carlig/G. Lescuyer/A. Motte /N. Sojic (eds.), Proceedings of the Conference « Signs in Texts » held in Liège, 2–4 June 2016 (Papyrologica Leodiensia 9), Liège to be published in 2020.

[181] In some texts, sequence of *ꜥḥꜥ.n* can be found, which suggests that its structuring function was not consistently recognized by the scribes: e.g. stele Louvre C 11,4–17: (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n.j šm.kwj* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n rdj.n sr pn* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n swꜥb.n.j sw* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n ḥw.w bꜣḳ* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n dwꜣ.n.f n.j* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n rdj.n.f n.j* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n sr n kꜣp wḏꜣ.w* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n mꜣ(.w) nꜣ-n kꜣ.wt* (…), *ꜥḥꜥ.n.tw ḥꜥ.w jm* (…).

In narrative, the *sḏm.n.f* form can have two main functions (besides its role as an emphatic marker, see §6.2.3): it can be used in a sequence of events, and it can also have a backgrounding circumstantial function. These two functions have an opposite value as regards the calculus of time (for- and backward movement, respectively). There is nothing, except the context, for disambiguating the form as shows in the following example, where the two functions following the same opening construction (*sḏm pw jr.n.f*) are alternatively attested:[182]

[263] *wḏȝ   pw   jr.n   nn   nṯr.w,   jr.n.sn*
       go:INF   DEM   do\REL-ANT DEM.C god-F.PL do-CPD-PL
       ḫpr.w.sn   *m*   *ḥny.t* (…)
       appearance-M.PL-3PL   as   dancer
       spr   *pw*   *jr.n.sn*   *r*   *pr*
       reach:INF   DEM   do\REL-ANT   at   house
       rˁ-wsr,   *gm.n.sn*   *sw*   *ˁḥˁ*
       Raweser   find-CPD-3PL   =3SG.M   stand\RES[3M.SG]
       dȝjw   *sḫd*
       garment   disturb\RES[3M.SG]
       "and then these goddesses went after making their appearances as dancers, and then they arrived at Ra-weser's house, and they found him standing, (his) garment disturbed"
       SIP – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (pWestcar 9,27–10,2)

Besides the *ˁḥˁ.n*/*wn.jn* headed constructions, MEg also developed a series of three forms taking in charge sequentiality: *sḏm.jn.f, sḏm.ḥr.f,* and *sḏm.kȝ.f* (with variants). The three infixes – *jn, ḥr* and *kȝ* – are all related to ancient verbs of saying. The *sḏm.jn.f* (to which the *wn.jn.f-* headed patterns belong) is part of the PERFECTIVE domain, being mainly found in narratives for stressing important events, the *sḏm.ḥr.f* presents the SoA as a necessary (be it scientific, logical or legal) consequence of what precedes, and the *sḏm.kȝ.f* is future oriented (see Vernus 1990, Polis 2005). Besides the *sḏm.ḥr.f* formation, Egyptian developed another pattern whose first element was the particle *ḥr*, which could be originally followed by numerous tenses. In Late Egyptian, the combination *ḥr* + subjunctive *sḏm.f* grammaticalized into a single unit,

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182 For instance, simple principles of causality can help. In *hȝ.t pw jr.n sḫtj pn r km.t, ȝtp.n.f ˁȝ.f* "this peasant went down to Egypt after loading his donkeys" (*Peasant* R 5), it is obviously better to load the donkeys before starting the journey.

eventually evolving as the expression of the generic present (*ḥr-sḏm.f* > *ḥr-jr.f-sḏm* > ϣⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄).[183]

As already discussed, the *sḏm.n.f* is the building block of chains of narrative events. The same form can also have a backgrounding function as an anterior tense and put some emphasis on an adverbial phrase or clause (see *supra*, §6.2.3). In the emphatic use, the *sḏm.n.f* is always linked to a circumstantial, backgrounding function (Ex. 264).[184]

[264]   *jst*   *jr.n*   *ḥm.j*   *nn*   *n*
        SBRD   do-CPD   Majesty-1SG   DEM:C   of
        mnw   *n*   *jt.j* (…)   *n-ꜥ3.t-n*
        monument   for   father-1SG   because
        mrr.j   *sw*   *r*
        love\NMLZ.IPFV-1SG   =3SG.M   more-than
        nṯr.w   *nb.w*
        god-M.PL   all-M.PL
        "for My Majesty did these monuments for my father (…)
        because I love him much more than all the (other) gods"[185]
        SIP – MEg – Royal – Hierogl.   (St. of Neferhotep, 39–40)

In LEg, the overall structure consisting of an opening formula followed by one or several dedicated sequential forms subsisted, but with some important modifications. First, the *sḏm.n.f* as a sequential form was replaced by *jw.f ḥr sḏm*.[186] This construction, which was widely attested in EEg to express the ExtUnach (§6.1.3) gradually enlarged its

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[183] See now J. E. Clayton, Obligation (see fn. 159). The *sḏm.jn.f* form can still be sparingly found in LEg, but only in literary texts and some legal documents.

[184] This is also clearly the case in LEg, where the emphatic of the past is a specific tense (*j.jr.f sḏm*; see P. Cassonnet, Etudes de néo-égyptien. Les temps seconds *i-sḏm.f* et *i-iri.f sḏm*. Entre syntaxe et semantique, Paris 2000).

[185] Very often, the first part of the sentence gives thematic, background, old, and given information. This is illustrated in this example by the demonstrative *nn* "these" which points back to something that was already mentioned.

[186] There is another sequential tense that fully developed in LEg, namely the conjunctive *mtw.f sḏm*. This pattern was mainly used in future oriented discourses, but also in generic statements. As opposed to the sequential *jw.f ḥr sḏm*, the conjunctive is additive (not enumerative) and aspectually neutral (it is actually a chameleonic form that takes on the TAM values of the introducing tense). Occasionally it is found in narrative when it expresses the quotative or a repeated action, by contrast with the sequential, which is indicative and semelfactive by essence (see J. Winand, Croisée [see fn. 76]).

scope to take in charge all the sub-classes of the unachieved tense system (§6.1.8). On the other hand, the particle *jw*, which originally linked the SoA's MoR to the ToS (absolute time reference), became increasingly used during the MK as a circumstantial connector, a role that will eventually become emblematic in later Egyptian. In LEg, the construction *jw.f ḥr sḏm* can thus, *prima facie*, express a simultaneous activity (ExtUnach in an adverbial clause) or an event in a sequence of actions (NonExtAch). The difference between the two functions is morphologically marked in the negative (*jw bn sw ḥr sḏm* for the former vs *jw.f ḥr tm sḏm* for the latter), and by the restriction for the sequential construction to one type of verbal predicate (*ḥr* + infinitive, while other predicates are available to the circumstantial *jw*). The transition from a circumstantial use expressing a simultaneous progressive process to a non-extensive process is probably the result of the insertion of the pattern into a register of enunciation which by nature focusses on stating sequences of events without unnecessary elaboration. Such an evolution is otherwise documented in other languages, as in Aramaic for instance (Cohen 1989: 151). The second marked difference with EEg is the disappearance of the paragraph markers, except in some LEg tales and legal texts, where *ꜥḥꜥ.n*/*wn.jn*-headed constructions were kept as stylistic markers (Ex. 265). In the first example, the opening sentence is a perfect *sḏm.f* (less likely a passive *sḏm.w.f*), which has a labelling or title function. The following sequential forms then developed what has been announced in the introductory sentence.[187]

[265] *r-nty*   *swḏ(.j)*   *pꜣ*   *ḥtr*   *n*
       QUOT   deliver\PFV-1SG   ART:M.SG   tax\PTCP   to
       pꜣ   *ḥr* (...)
       ART:M.SG   Tomb
       jw   *nꜣ*   *rwḏw*   *n*   *bn*
       MCM   ART:PL   controller-M.PL   of   oustide
       (*ḥr*)   *šsp.f*
       (on-)   receive:INF-3SG.M
       jw.sn   *ḥr*   *jṯ.t.f*   *r*   *pꜣ*   *ḫ*
       MCM-3PL   on-   take:INF-3SG.M   to   ART:M.SG   Tomb
       "I have delivered what was due to the Tomb; the controllers from the outside took charge of it, and they carried it to the Tomb"
       NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (oGardiner 13,4–6)

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[187] On the encapsulation process, see J. Winand, Progression (see fn. 121).

[266]   *wn.jn.f*   *ḥr sḏm*   *p3*   *ḏd*
        CJVB:CNSV-3SG.M   on-listen:INF   art:m.sg   say\rel.pfv
        t3y.f   *jḥ*   *h3ty*
        ART.POSS:F.SG   cow   first
        jw   *t3*   *k.t*   *ḥr ⁽k*
        MCM   ART.F.SG other   on-enter:INF
        jw.s   *ḥr ḏd.f*   *m-mjt.t*
        MCM-3SG.F   on-say:INF-3SG.M   likewise
        jw.f   *ḥr nw*   *ḥr*   *p3*   *sb3*
        MCM-3SG.M   on-see:INF   under   ART:M.SG   door
        n   *p3y.f*   *jḥ*
        of   ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M   stable
        jw.f   *ḥr ptr*   *rd.wy*   *n*
        MCM-3SG.M   on-look:INF   foot-M:DU   of
        p3y.f   *sn*   *⁽3*
        ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M   brother   big
        "thus he listened to what the first cow had said, and the other
        entered, and said likewise, and he looked under the door of
        his stable and he saw the feet of his older brother"
        NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Two Brothers* 5,9)

After LEg, the narrative sequential form *jw.f ḥr sḏm* was no longer used.
Instead, Demotic and Coptic express chains of events by repeating a
sḏm.f form (> *jr.f sḏm* > ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄), which can be analyzed as a present-
perfect tense with a broad range of meanings like the "passé composé"
in French ("il a fait"), which took over the uses of the non-extensive
achieved "préterit" ("il fit"). The *sḏm.f* form (resp. ⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄) was by
then used with transitive and intransitive verbs, which was not the case
in EEg and in LEg. One will note the regular use in Coptic of ⲁⲩⲱ "and"
to link the sentences in a continuous chain.

[267]   *dj*   PN *jn.w*   *mnḫ* (…), *jr.f*   *w⁽ rms* (…),
        cause\PST PN bring\SBJV wax,   do\PST.3MS INDEF boat
        ⁽š.f   *sḫ*   *r.w,*   *dj.f*   *⁽nḫ.w,*
        call\PST.3MS   spell to.3PL, cause\PST.3ms live\SBJV.3PL
        dj.f   *n.w*   *t3w, ḥwj.f*   *st r p3 jm,*
        give\PST.3MS to.3pl wind, throw\PST.3MS 3PL to DEF water
        mḥ.f   *t3*   *shr.t*   *pr-⁽3*   *m*   *š⁽*
        fill\PST.3MS DEF boat.F Pharaoh with sand
        "PN let be brought wax (…), he made a boat (…), he recited
        a spell on them (i.e. the wax men), he made them live, he gave
        them breath, he threw it in water, he filled Pharaoh's boat with
        sand"
        LP – Demotic – Fictional – Demotic   (*Setne* I, III,28)

[268] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ-ϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲝ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
       and PST-3MS-make-INDEF-whip out
       ϩⲛ̄-ϩⲉⲛ-ⲛⲟⲩϩ   ⲁ-ϥ-ⲛⲉⲝ-ⲟⲩⲟⲛ   ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ
       inside-INDEF.PL- cords PST.3MS-throw-someone all out
       ϩⲙ̄-ⲡ-ⲉⲣⲡⲉ   ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉ-ⲥⲟⲟⲩ   ⲛⲙ̄-ⲛⲉ-ϩⲟⲟⲩ
       inside-DEF.M-temple and DEF.PL-sheep with-DEF.PL cattle
       ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ-ϥ-ⲡⲱϩⲧ   ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄-ⲛ̄-ϩⲟⲙⲛ̄ⲧ
       and PST-3MS-incline out   in-DEF.PL-copper
       ⲛ̄-ⲛ̄-ⲣ̄ⲉϥⳉⲓⲕⲟⲗⲩⲙⲃⲟⲛ
       of-DEF.PL-money traders
       ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁ-ϥ-ϣⲟⲣϣⲣ̄   ⲛ̄-ⲛⲉⲩ-ⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⳉⲁ
       and PST-3MS-throw in-POSS.3PL-table
       -"and he made a whip out of cords, and he expelled them all
       out of the temple, and the sheep and the cattle as well; and he
       scattered the coins of the money changers and he overturned
       their tables"[188]
       AD – Coptic – Religious – Coptic   (*John* 2,15)

6.2.5   The negative system

In EEg, the basic negative pattern is *n sḏm.f*, which negates both *jw
sḏm.n.f* (for transitive verbs) and *jw.f jw.w* (for intransitive verbs).[189]
This construction is thus mostly found in discourse and narrative
discourse. As a matter of fact, the need of negating SoAs embedded in
a narrative chain of events was rarely felt, except for expressing
something exceptional, or unattended (see *infra*, Ex. 271–272).

Besides this basic negative construction, special patterns for
emphasizing that a SoA never happened are also attested: *n-pꜣ.f sḏm*

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[188] The Greek version uses coordinated aorists: "καὶ ποιήσας φραγέλλιον ἐκ
σχοινίων πάντας ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, τά τε πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς βόας, καὶ τῶν
κολλυβιστῶν ἐξέχεεν τὸ κέρμα καὶ τὰς τραπέζας ἀνέτρεψεν". One will note that the
opening backgrounding aorist participle (ποιήσας) did not receive any special
treatment in the Coptic version (ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁϥ-ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲉ-ⲟⲩ-ⲙⲁⲥⲧⲓⲅⲝ).

[189] The negation *n sḏm.f* is the negated perfect *sḏm.f*, which is still productively
found in OEg. For a reconstruction of this form, its relation with the pseudo-
participle, and the emergence of the *sḏm.n.f*, see E. Oréal, *Fracture* (see fn. 164).

"he never heard in the past" and *n-zp sḏm.f* "it never happened that he could hear".[190]

[269]   *n*   *pȝ*   *ḥr*   *n*   *rmṯ*   *ḫpr*
NEG happen\SBJV desire of man   happen:INF
"a human desire has never happened"[191]
MK – MEg – Wisdom – Hieratic (*Ptahhotep* 115–116)

[270]   *n-zp*   *ḏd.(j)*   *ḫ.t*   *nb*   *ḏw*
NEG-happened say\PFV(-1SG) thing-F all   wrong
jw   *hȝb*   *r*   *rmṯ*   *nb*
untrue   dishonest against man   all
"it never happened that I said something wrong, untrue or dishonest against anyone"
OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I, 204,9–10)

The former construction eventually became the default negative pattern in later Egyptian (LEg *bwpw.f sḏm* > Dem. *bn-pw.f sḏm* > Coptic ⲙ̅ⲡⲉ-ⲅ-ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̅).

In LEg, the sequential pattern *jw.f ḥr sḏm* can be negated with the non-clausal negative verb *tm* "lit. to complete > to finish". The examples are not numerous and usually convey a sense of contrast or unexpectedness:[192]

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[190] In the negative construction *n-pȝ.f sḏm*, the auxiliary verb *pȝ(w)* "to do something in the past" is followed by an infinitive, while in *n-zp sḏm.f*, the verb *zp(j)* "to occur, happen once" is followed by the subjunctive, which is the subject of *zpj* (that-form). The verb *zpj* is seldom used independently: *ntj.w jm.s n zp wˁ jm* "from those who were in it (i.e. the boat), there was no one left" (*ShS* 38–39).

[191] The auxiliary *pȝw* is also, but very rarely, found in positive: *jw pȝ.n sḏm mjt.t* "we have already heard something like that in the past" (Inscr. Sinai 90,11).

[192] Besides negative adverbs (*n* and *nn*), Egyptian also used, comparatively, a remarkable handful of negative verbs, like *nfr(-n)*, *m*, *jmj*, and *tm*. The last one (still found in Coptic, ⲧⲙ) is a non-clausal negation, found with the infinitive, the participles and the relative forms, in some dependent clauses like the subjunctive, and with non-initial main clauses like the conjunctive (*mtw.f tm sḏm*), and the sequential (*jw.f ḥr tm sḏm*); *tm* is also found to negate the "emphatic" forms (also in combination with the discontinuous negation *n … js*; see P. Vernus, Le sémantisme fondamental de la négation n-js, in: H. Amstutz/A. Dorn/M. Müller/M. Ronsdorf/S. Uljas (eds.), Fuzzy boundaries. Festschrift Antonio Loprieno I, Hamburg 2015, 289–300).

[271] *jw(.j)*   *(ḥr) hꜣb*   *<n>*   *nꜣ-n*
     MCM-(1SG)   (on-)send:INF   <to>   ART:PL-of
     rwḏ.w   *m-ḏd* *jm*[*y*   *jw.t*]   *n.j*
     controller-M.PL COMP   give\IMP come\SBJV]   to-1SG
     rmṯ   *r*   *in.t.j*   *r* south   *jw.sn*
     man   to   bring:INF-1SG   to south   MCM-3PL
     ḥr   *tm*   [*dj.t*   *jw.t*]   *rmṯ*   *nb*
     on-   not_do   [give:INF come\SBJV]   man   all
     "then I wrote to the controllers saying 'send me some people
     to bring me to the south', but they did not send anyone"
     NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (oGardiner 13, v° 1–6)

[272] *jw.f*   *ḥr ḏd*   *n.j* (…) *jw.j*   *ḥr*   *tm*
     MCM-3SG.M   on-say:INF   to-1SG   MCM-1SG   on-   not_do
     sḏm   *n.f*
     listen:INF   to-3SG.M
     "and he told me (…), but I did not listen to him"
     NK – LEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Two Brothers* 5,2)

In Coptic, however, the same effect is conveyed by the generic negative pattern of the past ⲘⲠⲈ-ϥ-ⲤⲰⲦⲘ̄:

[273] (and they all said: 'we are strong'),
     ⲀⲨⲰ   ⲘⲠⲈ-ϣ-ⲠⲈⲨ-ⲠⲚ̄(ⲈⲨⲘ)Ⲁ   ⲦⲞⲖⲘⲀ
     and   NEG.PST-can-POSS.3P-spirit   dare
     Ⲉ-ⲰϨⲈⲢⲀⲦ-ϥ̄   Ⲙ̄-ⲠⲈϤ-Ⲙ̄ⲦⲞ   ⲈⲂⲞⲖ
     for-stand-3MS   in-poss.3MS-presence   out
     "but their spirits did not dare to stand before him"[193]
     AD – Coptic – Religious – Coptic   (Ev. of Judas,
     p.35, 5–8)

7.   Aspect and time

Aspectually oriented languages are only rarely completely insensitive to the relation of the MoR to the point of reference (PoR). The PoR can be absolute (moment of speaking, or T°) or relative (another MoR). In a loose way, a general time reference can be fixed pragmatically by the general context of utterance (§7.1). Linguistically, the time relation of a MoR can be expressed by a large variety of means, which can be sorted out in two main categories: the grammatical ones (§7.2), and the lexical ones (§7.3).

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[193] One will note that the coordinator is ⲀⲨⲰ, not ⲀⲖⲖⲀ.

Diachronically, there are many examples of languages where aspectual oppositions were central in the predicative system gradually evolved into a system where temporal oppositions become predominant (the reverse path however does not seem historically attested, see *supra*, fn. 37). Ancient Egyptian is no exception: LEg underwent an evolution (starting already in later MEg) that gave more attention to time relations reducing the importance of aspect as a formalized tense system of marked oppositions.

7.1   The expression of time and the pragmatic context

I already exposed (§6.2.4) the three-level organization of the expository modes in discourse, narration and narrative discourse. This provides a general frame for calculating time relations without the help of dedicated grammatical means or specific lexical expressions. For instance, the narrative frame provides sufficient background information to interpret correctly the time reference of a nominal predication, which is neutral in Egyptian as regards the time relation, as shown in the following example with the mention of the reign of a specific king (but see next section, §7.2):

> [274] *jnk*   *z3b*   *sš.w*   *n*   *rk*   *wnjs*
> 1SG   senior   scribe-M.PL   in   time   Ounas
> "I was a senior scribe in the time of Unas"
> OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (Mastaba of Hesi,
> pl. 35b)

7.2   The expression of time with grammatical means

In aspectually oriented languages, time relations can also be specified by dedicated grammatical morphs, internally (viz. synthetically), like in classical Greek (γέγραφε "he has written" vs. ἐγεγράφει "he had written") or externally (viz. analytically), by a morph usually standing before the core of the predication, like "to be" in English ("He was speaking with his mom when I arrived"), or *kan(a)* in Arabic[194] (*kana yaktubu* "he was writing").

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194 See V. Bubenik, Development (see fn. 37), 25.

In EEg, the role of the enunciative particle *jw* has already been alluded to. The oldest textual evidence suggests that *jw* was first a pragmatic particle that created a strong assertive modal link between a SoA and the enunciator, hence its qualification as being a "real, positive indicative marker".[195] As a secondary development, it acquired a temporal meaning: the modal link with the enunciator was extended to the enunciator's temporal and local setting (his/her *hic-et-nunc*). For instance, the prototypical resultative function of the pattern *jw sḏm.n.f* (see *supra*, §6) is the result of the anchoring of the COMPLETIVE *sḏm.n.f* into the speaker's time frame through the particle *jw*. In the course of the MK, *jw* became an adverbial syntactic marker. In other words, it gradually loosed its capacity of linking a SoA's MoR with the speaker's ToU to eventually link the MoR of two different SoAs. It thus ended up as a relative time marker. This evolution explains its role as a circumstantial marker, which it retains down to Coptic, but also its use in LEg in the pattern *jw.f ḥr sḏm* for expressing sequentiality in a narrative chain of events (see *supra*, §6.2.4).[196]

Another morph worth considering here is the past converter *wn* that was continuously used since OEg down to Coptic (ⲛⲉ).[197] According

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[195] The scholarly literature on *jw* is impressive: see F. Junge, Der Gebrauch von *jw* im mitellägyptischen Satz, in: M. Görg/E. Pusch (eds.), Festschrift Elmar Edel, Bamberg 1979, 263–271; A. Loprieno, Ancient Egyptian (see fn. 4), 166–167; W. Schenkel, Die Partikel *iw* und die Intuition des Interpreten. Randbemerkungen zu Antonio Loprieno, On fuzzy boundaries in Egyptian syntax, Lingua Aegyptia 15 (2007), 161–201; J. Winand, Temps (see fn. 6), 374.

[196] It was however kept as a frozen morph in the Future III (*jw.f r sḏm*) as shown by the circumstantial pattern *jw jw.f r sḏm*, where the two kinds of *jw* are combined (J. Winand, Etudes [see fn. 6], 491–492).

[197] It overwhelmingly appears in autonomous or circumstantial clauses, but it is also occasionally found in participial and relative clauses, sometimes in highly sophisticated patterns (see *Two Brothers* 5,4 cited in fn. 172). The past converter was derived from the verb *wn(n)* 'to be (present)', whose forms were largely grammaticalized for expressing the existential predication (*wnn*), and entered narrative patterns like *wn.jn.f ḥr sḏm* 'and then he heard'. An extensive study of the past converter *wn* in LEg was the subject of a PhD by Philippe Collombert (Du Néo-Egyptien au Démotique. Procédés grammaticaux pour l'expression des

to the *communis opinio*, the role of *wn* was to set a SoA in the past (Junge 1996: 169–171, Allen 2000: 20.16). More correctly, its main function is to state that the MoR is closed before the point of reference, prototypically the ToS ("disjoint past", see Winand 2006a:383–387). A SoA under the scope of *wn* is thus presented as no longer relevant at the point of reference.[198] The difference between *twj jj.kwj* and *wn.j jj.kwj* does not lay in the process of coming itself (in both cases, the subject did come), but in the fact that in the former case the subject is still present at the moment of speaking ("I have come" = "I am here") while in the latter one, he is no longer present ("I had come"). The opposition between a distant, no longer relevant past and a past whose consequences can still be felt is illustrated in the following example.

[275] *wn(.j)*   *ḥr jp*   *n.f*   *jš.t.f*   *nb ...*
       was(-1SG)   PROG-count:INF   to-3SG.M   belongig-F   all
       jw   *ḥm*   *j[p].n(.j)*   *n.f*   *ḥ.t*   *m*
       MCM   PTCL   count-CPD(-1SG)   to-3SG.M   thing-F   in
       pr   *n*   *ḏ.t.f*   *ꜥḥꜥw*   *r*   *rnp.t*   *20*
       house   of   domain-F-3SG.M   lifetime   for   year-F   20
       "I was making the inventory of all his belongings (…) I have indeed made for him the inventory of his belongings in his domain for a period of twenty years"
       OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.*   I,216,16–217,3)

In later LEg, the scope of *wn* widened to become a general marker of past SoAs, and finally a absolute time marker (Winand 2014). Compare the two following examples in LEg, both introducing a narrative made by a witness. While the former one (beg. of the 20th dyn.) still opened his report with an unintroduced Present I, the latter one (late 20th dyn.) opted to mark the time frame with the past converter:

[276] *[jr]*   *jnk*   *twj*   *ḥms.kwj*   *m*   *pr*
       [TOPZ]   1SG   PRS-1SG   sit\RES-1SG   in   house
       jmn-ḥtp
       Amenhotep
       "as for me, I was (lit. sitting) in the domain of Amenhotep"
       NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (oNash 5, v° 6)

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relations temporelles, unpubl. PhD thesis, Paris 2000), which unfortunately remained unpublished.

[198] This also explains why *wn* also became a marker of *irrealis* in LEg (see S. Polis. Étude de la modalité en néo-égyptien, unpubl. PhD thesis, Liège 2009).

[277] *jr*   *jnk*   *wn.j*   *ḥms.kwj*   *m*   *pȝ*   *pr*
       TOPZ   1SG   was-1SG   sit\RES-1SG in   ART:M.SG   house
       n   X
       of   X
       "as for me, I was (lit. sitting) in the house of X"
       NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pBM 10052, r° 3,25)

As already noted, languages do not systematically use a verbal predication for expressing an identification, a classification, a quality, or a situation. However, verbal operators are regularly present for specifying past and future references. Moreover, languages sometimes have special means to make a distinction between generic and immediate present SoAs.[199] The following examples illustrate the situation for ancient Egyptian. Ex. 278 states the subject's identity as being a royal scribe (nominal predication), while Ex. 279 views the same SoA as being a transitory state in the subject's live (adverbial predication). Egyptian can also use verbs of position, like *ꜥḥꜥ* "to stand", *ḥmsj* "to sit", and *sḏr* "to lay" for expressing a transitory state (Ex. 280), or aspectual auxiliaries to focus on a particular phase of the SoA, like Ex. 281, where the verb of position, *ḥmsj*, is preceded by the auxiliary verb *ḫpr* "to become", which here takes an inchoative meaning, being conjugated in the so-called sequential, a non-extensive perfective tense (see *supra*, §6.2.4).

[278] *jnk*   *sš*   *njsw.t*
       1SG   scribe   king
       "I am a royal scribe"

[279] *jw.j*   *m*   *sš*   *njsw.t*
       MCM-1SG   as   scribe   king
       "I am (presently) a royal scribe"

[280] *ḫr*   *pȝj.k*   *sn* (…)   *dy*
       CORD   ART.POSS:M.SG-2SG.M   brother   here(ADV)

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[199] For instance, in classical Russian, there was a distinction between Subject + Nominative vs. Subject + Instrumental, the former expressing a permanent, the latter a contingent situation (Я твой отец "I am your father" vs. Я врачом "I am physician"). A similar contrast obtains in Spanish between *ser* "to be" for a permanent situation and *estar* "to be" for a transitory situation (J. Alcina Franch/J. Blecua, Gramática española, Barcelona 1975, §7.4.4.1). See J. Winand, Predication (see fn. 57).

ꜥḥꜥ   m   tꜣ   knb.t
stand RES[-3SG.M]   in   ART:F.SG court-F
"for your brother (…) is now standing in court"²⁰⁰
NK – LEg – Letter – Hieratic   (pTurin 1977, 8)

[281] jw.j   ḥr ḫpr   ḥms.kwj   m
       MCM-1SG   on-become:INF   sit\RES-1SG   in
       pꜣj.f   pr
       ART.POSS:M.SG-3SG.M   house
       "and I became settled in his house"
       NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pCairo JE 65739,2)

If the SoA is situated in the past (Ex. 281) or in the future, Egyptian
uses the auxiliary verb *wn(n)*. In EEg, this auxiliary is only found with
the adverbial predication, which actually expresses a predication of
situation (the subject is in [*m*] the social situation of being a scribe).²⁰¹
The past converter *wn* can also – very exceptionally – be used with an
adjectival predication (Ex. 282).²⁰²

[282] wn.j   m   sš   njsw.t
       was-1SG   as   scribe   king
       "I was a royal scribe"

[283] wn   ꜥꜣ   ḥzz   w(j)
       was   big   praise\NMZL-IPFV   =1SG
       ḥm.f   ḥr   hꜣb.t   w(j)   ḥm.f
       Majesty-3SG.M   on-   send\REL-ANT =1sg   Majesty-3SG.M

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²⁰⁰ Standing before a court of justice is normally a transitory state, but note this
example from the *Tale of Horus & Seth* (13,12), which states, with a good sense of
humour, that the two contenders have been arguing for 80 years (*80 rnp.t r tꜣy jw.n
m tꜣ knb.t* "it is now 80 years we are in court"), without the auxiliary verb *ꜥḥꜥ*.

²⁰¹ In Russian, the presence of the verb "to be" in past or future always triggers
the use of the instrumental (Я был(а)/буду врачом "I was/shall be a physician"),
while in contemporary Russian, the nominative is increasingly used in every
circumstance (thus Я врач "I am a physician" is also very common). In Egyptian,
time adverbials can be found with the predication of situation (adverbial predicate),
but only exceptionally with the nominal or adjectival predicates. Sentences like *wn
z pw ṯnj* "there was an old man" (*Ipuwer* 16,1) are no counterexamples as the
nominal predicative pattern, A *pw*, has not its habitual classifying function, but
rather the role of introducing a new character in a story.

²⁰² Adjectival predications are occasionally found with time adverbials that limit
the scope of the temporal reference: *nfr sj r wn.s m-ḥꜣ.t* "she is better than she was
previously" (*Urk*. IV,879,4–7).

ḥr.s
on-3SG.F
"it was important that His Majesty praised me for what His Majesty had sent me for" (*Urk.* I,221,4)
OK – OEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (*Urk.* I,221,4)

7.3   The expression of time with lexical means

It is not exceptional for time relations to be expressed by specific lexical means. In the following examples, the moment when the action of arriving (or leaving) is completed is only expressed by the temporal adjunct:

[284a] « Je suis arrivé hier » (I arrived yesterday)
[284b] « Je suis arrivé aujourd'hui » (I arrived today)
[285a] « Je pars aujourd'hui » (I am leaving today)
[285b] « Je pars demain » (I am leaving tomorrow)

In Egyptian too, the presence of a temporal adjunct is often sufficient to fix the time frame:

[286] *jw   jz.t   m   sf,   m3ˁ.t   mjn*
        MCM   evil   in   yesterday   truth-F   today
        "evil was yesterday, truth is today"
        NK – EgTr – Religious – Lin. Hierogl.   (*BD* 84,8)

The TEMs can coincide with the MoR or have another scope. In the first example, one will note the co-occurrence of the adverbial *m sf* "yesterday" and the past converter *wn*, which is typical of 'temporalization' of the predicative system in later LEg (cf. *supra*, §7.2). In the second example, the adverbial adjunct *ḥr hrw 5* "since 5 days" lexically sets the left limit of the MoR (TEM-D-Llf):

[287] *wn.k   dy   ˁḥˁ.tw   m-b3ḥ*
        was-2SG.M   here(ADV)   stand\RES-2SG.M   before
        sr.w   m   sf
        official-M.PL   in   yesterday
        "you was here yesterday before the officials"
        NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pBM 10052, 7,3)
[288] *pr.s   m-ˁ.j   ḥr   hrw   5*
        go-out\PFV-3SG.F   from-1SG   since   day   5
        "she left me since 5 days"
        NK – LEg – Poetry – Hieratic   (pChester Beatty I, v° C3,9)

The two chronographs can be represented as follows (the broken brackets materialize the SoA's limits, the square brackets the MoR, and the braces the scope of the time adjunct):
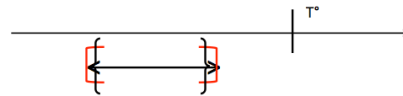
Fig. 16. Chronograph of Ex. 287.
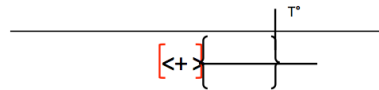
Fig. 17. Chronograph of Ex. 288.

Sometimes, the distinction between different variants of time relations could not be made without a time adverbial as is the case for the general, generic, or habitual present, and for immediate and progressive present.[203]

[289] *jw.j*   *ḥr ẖdb*   *r*   *tnw*   *zp*
       MCM-1SG   PRS-kill:INF   at   every   time
       "I kill at every occasion"
       MK – MEg – Fictional – Hieratic   (*Fowling and Fishing*
       B 2,7–8)

[290] *twj*   *ḥr dj.t*   *p3*   *j.jr.j*
       PRS-1SG   PRS-give:INF ART:M.SG do:REL:PFV-1SG
       nb *jrm* X (…)   *m*   *p3*   *hrw*
       all   with   in   ART:M.SG day
       "I hereby give today all that I have acquired with X"
       NK – LEg – Judicial – Hieratic   (pTurin 2021 +
       pGeneva D 409, r° 2,11–12)

In the following example, the presence of *rꜥ nb* (TEM-F) with an achievement leads to an inchoative meaning, or rather to the starting point of a repetitive sequence of events:

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[203] See also the role of *dy* "here" in this respect (cf. *supra*, §5.6).

[291]   *wn.jn.tw*   *ḥr rdj.t*   *n.f*   *t*
        CJVB:CNSV-3SG.C   PROG-give:INF   to-3SG.M   bread
        10 ḥnḳ.t   *ds*   *2*   *rˁ*   *nb*
        10 beer-F   jug   2   day   all
        "and one began to give him 10 pieces of bread and two jugs
        of beer everyday"
        MK – MEg – Discourse – Hieratic   (*Peasant* B1, 115–116)

The contrast is visible in the following pair:

[292]   *wn.j*   *wšd.j*   *ḥm.wt*   *ḥr.s*
        was-1SG   interrogate\IPFV-1SG   craftsmen-F   about-3SG.F
        "and I interviewed the craftsmen about it"
        MK – MEg – Expedition – Hierogl.   (Inscr. Sinai 90,8)

[293]   *wn.jn*   *ḥm.f*   *wšd.f*   *wj*
        CJVB:CNSV   Majesty-3SG.M   interrogate\IPFV   =1SG
        ˁd.f   *bjꜣ.t*   *n.t*   *rˁ*   *nb*
        perceive\SBJV-3SG.M   character-F   of-F   day   all
        "and His Majesty began to interrogate me so that he could
        perceive the everyday mood"
        FIP – MEg – Autobiogr. – Hierogl.   (St. BM EA 574, 3–4)

8.   *Conclusions and Perspectives*

The study of aspect has to be considered in a larger perspective than is
usually done in our studies. If grammatical aspect, understood as a
system of tenses, is admittedly the most prominent feature, it is only
one of the many parameters that contribute to the functioning of aspect.

As should be clear by now, aspect can no longer be studied while
leaving aside the actionality of the SoAs, which turned out to be a basic
component of aspectuality. While the instructions given by the
grammatical tenses are now rather well understood, significant
progresses can still be made by correctly assessing the SoAs'
actionality. Hopefully, the role of the argument structure in modifying
the basic verbal Aktionsart is increasingly better known. One now better
understands how augmentation or diminution of the number of
arguments can affect the actionality, and how the syntactic expression
of the second argument can influence the basic meaning of the verbal
Aktionsart.

The data however that are needed to refine the analysis should be
improved, quantitatively and qualitatively. It is only by studying a large

amount of examples coming from different textual genres, from different places and times, that our theoretical model will be improved significantly. It is thus of utmost importance to systematically build up databases with the relevant information. This would constitute a significant step forward in our understanding of complex linguistic systems like aspect, which too often still eludes a satisfactory explanation.

9. List of Egyptian texts mentioned in the text in brackets

Abydos Mariette
I, 25   115

Amenemhat (Teaching of)
2,5   73

Amenemope (Teaching of)
3,9   fn. 78
24,15   241b

Ankhtifi
Iα2   64
II,θ,3   fn. 106

B.H. (Beni Hasan = *Urk.* VII)
I, pl. 8   170
I, pl. 8,14   251

BD (Book of the Dead)
84,8   286
125   fn. 92
179,6 Aa   28

Cairo Bowl
4–5   197

CT (Coffin Texts)
I, 59c–60b   fn. 147
I, 59d B1P   128
II, 58c G2T   98
III, 50f B1C   106, 129
III, 268/69a–270/71b   253
IV, 87c–d   fn. 78
IV, 344a–b   116
V, 285a B2Bo   254
VI, 287h   152
VII, 365g–366a   58

Doomed Prince (= Late Egyptian Stories)
4,12 = *LES* 2,12   101
5,2 = *LES* 3,1   4b
6,11 = *LES* 5,9   4a
6,13 = *LES* 5,11–12   127
7,8 = *LES* 6,14–15   fn. 74, 216

First Hittite mariage
39 = K*RI* II,250,7–10   83

Fowling and Fishing
B 2,7–8   289

Graffito
DeB 3, 13 = K*RI* IV, 377,8   92
Hatnub 20,5   fn. 179

Hammamat (Inscriptions of)
19,2–5   111
113,10   194
199,7   56, 187, 211

Harper's Song
l. 3–4   29

Horus & Seth (= *Late Egyptian Stories*)
8,3 = *LES* 47,9   164
9,1 = *LES* 48,16   90
11,11–12 = *LES* 52,16–53,1 105
13,12 = *LES* 55,13–14   fn. 200
16,2 = *LES* 59,12–1   91

Hymn to the Nile
II, 5–6   239

Inscr. of Sobekhotep VIII, Karnak,
face B, l. 4–5   40

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