

**THE MODAL SYSTEM OF EARLIER EGYPTIAN  
COMPLEMENT CLAUSES**

**On the Expression of Subjectivity in a Dead Language**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the  
University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy**

**by**

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All clear-cut ideas turn out to be wrong.

T.E. Hulme

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## ABSTRACT

The present thesis belongs to the area of Egyptological language studies and proposes a novel analysis of the grammar and meaning of *complement clauses* after governing verbs and prepositions in Earlier (Old and Middle) Egyptian. In this language there are two principal types of such clauses: some appear introduced by the specific elements, whereas others are un-introduced and employ different types of verb-forms, most importantly the so-called geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* and others without this feature. This work challenges the current syntactic analysis of the use of these different construals and proposes that their variation serves to express differences in *modality*. It is argued that in Earlier Egyptian the basic division of complement clauses into introduced and un-introduced corresponds to differentiation between *assertion* and *non-assertion*. In the affirmative, complements presented as assertions by the speaker are specifically marked as such by the elements *ntt/wnt* and are modally *realis*. To indicate that the complement is *not* asserted but modally *irrealis* instead, these introducing elements are not used. A parallel system exists also in the negative where asserted complements are marked by the element *tw* whereas the negations *tm/nfr.n* mark *irrealis*. In the affirmative, the different types of un-introduced complements also differ in meaning. The variation of the geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*-forms serves to express gradations in the speaker attitude towards the complement proposition and its discourse relevance as information. The non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*-forms express a subjectively more 'distal' *irrealis* which is typically associated with greater speaker non-commitment, non-acceptance and negative attitude. The geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* is a more 'proximal' *irrealis* used to describe e.g. 'real' and accepted situations, but which are presupposed or otherwise treated as information of less than optimal relevance to the hearer.

The modal parameters determining the use and occurrence of the above complement construals are defined and surveyed in Earlier Egyptian affirmative and negative object- and subject complement clauses of governing verbs and prepositions. Also certain additional patterns of complementation are identified as supplementing the system outlined or as extraneous to it. The discussion is also extended to cover the more abstract conceptual characteristics of Earlier Egyptian *irrealis* manifest in complement clauses, and these are found to share notable similarities with the temporal properties of the forms used for non-assertion in the said environment. The thesis concludes with a summary of the findings and a brief discussion of possible further applications of *realis* and *irrealis* modality in grammatical study of Earlier Egyptian. The analysis is founded on an extensive use of examples collected from texts representing all registers and genres, and, whenever possible, on comparisons with other languages.

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This work is dedicated to the memory of Anni Uljas; *mnw pw n st nfrw=s*.

## INTRODUCTION

### 0.1. Preliminaries

#### 0.1.1. Orientation

‘With the means at our disposal it is not possible to distinguish different moods in Egyptian, if such existed.’ Thus Sir Alan Gardiner in his *Egyptian Grammar*, still justly the most admired and widely used work on the Ancient Egyptian language in general and Middle Egyptian in particular.<sup>1</sup> After nearly eighty years after its first publication, views concerning the issue of which Gardiner made his brief remarks have changed, but generally the role of *modality*- a cover term for a wide array of subjective speaker ‘attitudes and opinions’-<sup>2</sup> in the grammar of Earlier (Old and Middle) Egyptian remains ill-understood and its different manifestations little explored.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, gleaned through the prism of modern Egyptological treatises, the early language of the pharaohs, a medium of some of the earliest and most cultivated literary and philosophical works in world history, appears as somewhat of a cross-linguistic anomaly. Of the three ‘domains of meaning’ of tense, aspect and modality (henceforth TAM) the first two seem to have had a notable role in the grammatical organisation of the language, whereas the third is at best marginally represented. Earlier Egyptian appears to have been manifestly a ‘TA-language’ largely bereft of the sophistication of expression attained by means of grammatical mood and modality in almost all other linguistic systems both ancient and modern.

The present work seeks to elevate the role of modality in Egyptological linguistics by proposing a novel, semantic-pragmatically based analysis of the grammar of Earlier Egyptian *complement clauses*, with a principal focus on clausal complementation after various main clause predicates.<sup>4</sup> The traditional syntactic

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<sup>1</sup> Gardiner 1957 (henceforth GEG) §294.

<sup>2</sup> The latest general discussions of mood and modality are Bybee *et al* 1994 and Palmer 2000; also Palmer 1986 is still useful. A convenient survey of the concepts discussed in 0.1.2 below is provided by Roberts 1990, 363-67.

<sup>3</sup> It is not the purpose of the present work to provide a historical overview of modality in Egyptological linguistics; the most relevant works pertaining thereto will be noted and discussed as occasion arises. For the term Earlier Egyptian, see Loprieno 1995, 5-6.

<sup>4</sup> With the *infinitive*, Earlier Egyptian governing verbs occasionally develop meanings different from their lexical semantics, some of which are clearly modal (see Uljas 2003, 393-95). However, the



definition of these subordinate construals as ‘*noun clauses*’, whose structural character is comparable to that of substantives, has stood the test of time. Rather akin to nouns, in English a clause may function as an *object* complement of a transitive verb as in (1) below or as a *subject* complement of e.g. a passive predicate as in (2):<sup>5</sup>

(1) Jill knew that Jack had left.

(2) That Jack had left was known (by Jill).

Besides entering the structure of the governing clause, the subordinate proposition also fleshes out (‘complements’) its semantics: prototypically the latter constitutes a compulsory semantic argument of the matrix predicate, required by its inherent meaning as a situation-description.<sup>6</sup>

In Earlier Egyptian, clausal object- and subject complements of verbs are commonplace and display two main types of construal. In the affirmative, the more prevalent of these is *directly embedded bare*, or *un-introduced, suffix-conjugation forms*, typically the *sdm=f*.<sup>7</sup> In example 1 below the clause *ḳnn=f* functions syntactically as the object of the governing matrix predicate *m33* ‘see’, as does *ḥs tn N* in relation to *mr(i)* in 2 and *sipw* in relation to *wḏ* in 3. In contrast, *mss=s* in 4 represents the subject of the adjective verb *ḳsn* ‘be difficult’:

1 (Urk IV 892, 6-7) Amenemheb testifies to the bravery of his royal master on battlefield:

*iw whm.n=i {n} m33 ḳnn=f iw=i m šmswt=f*

Again I saw how brave he was, when I was in his following.

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infinitive itself has no TAM-profile or concord properties of person/number/gender. Consequently, infinitival complement clauses fall beyond the present scope.

<sup>5</sup> However, particularly in object complementation this provides merely the most basic blueprint for the structure which is much less static than might seem; see 1.1 below. In addition, clausal subjects and objects are the least *prototypically* ‘noun-like’ constituents in the overall syntactic category of complementation and there are good reasons to believe that their use as complements arises diachronically from various much looser clause-combining strategies *by analogy* with the syntactic treatment of proper nouns as subjects or objects; see Givón 2001 vol.2, 35, 39, 78-89 for discussion.

<sup>6</sup> However, this is the case only insofar as the matrix verb is a truly lexical predicate. In Egyptian as elsewhere, various auxiliary verbs also govern syntactic complements, but the argument-projecting facilities of the former are no longer functional and, as a signal of this, the complements themselves are almost invariably infinitival (see Uljas 2003, *passim*). Auxiliarisation is a diachronic process and auxiliaries are derived from earlier fully lexical verbs. One such development in Earlier Egyptian is discussed in 2.3 below.

<sup>7</sup> Discussion of complements with bare *sdm.n=f* will be postponed to 5.1 below.

2 (UC 14301, 1-3) From an Appeal to the Living:

*i ʿnhw [t]p[w] t3 iw.t(y)=s[n] r [b]i3 pn mr=tn ḥs tn ntr=tn dd=tn [h3] m t hnkt*

O the living upon earth who will come to this mining-region; as you will want your god to favour you, may you say: ‘a thousand bread and beer...’

3 (CT I 131a-b) The deceased is stated to be under Osiris’ command:

*iw wd.n wsir sipw sw wrty-ḥk3w*

Osiris has ordered the two Great-of-Magic to examine him.

4 (Westcar 9, 21-22) The story of the birth of three kings describes their mother’s travails:

*wʿ m nn hrw ḥpr wn.in rd-ddt ḥr šnt=s ksn mss=s*

One of these days, Redjedet was suffering because her labour was difficult.

As in the examples above, the un-introduced *sdm=f* of mutable roots shows writings both with and without gemination/doubling as well as with the endings *-w* and, rarely, *-y*.

The second principal (albeit less ubiquitous) type of affirmative complements after verbs is clauses *introduced* by the element *ntt/wnt*:<sup>8</sup>

5 (Urk IV 81, 2-3) The king ends his letter announcing his accession to his Nubian viceroy:

*h3b pw r rdit rh=k st ntt pr-nsw ʿd wd3*

This is a correspondence to let you know it, and that the royal house is sound and prosperous.

In Earlier Egyptian clauses may also appear in various other complement environments, most notably as objects of *prepositions* used as conjuncts. In the affirmative, suffix-conjugation forms, particularly the *sdm=f*, may again appear directly embedded, as in 6-8 below, or the complement may be introduced by *ntt* or, rarely, *wnt* as in 9:<sup>9</sup>

6 (Sin R141-42) Sinuhe expresses his opinion to his host on the motives of an adversary:

<sup>8</sup> Rarer modes of introducing complements will be discussed in 5.2 and 5.3 below.

<sup>9</sup> In Earlier Egyptian, finite complements are also used as *predicates* of the non-verbal *pw* and as (direct and indirect) *genitives*. Full discussion of these must be left to a further occasion, but brief remarks of the first-mentioned construal will be found in 7.2 below.



*rkt-ib [pw] hr m33=f wi hr irt wpt=k*

It is but envy because he sees me carrying out your business.

7 (Siut I 297-98) Hapdjefa gives instructions on the use of a taper by an official performing his mortuary-cult:

*3w=f s(y) n hm-k3=i r-s3 iri=f irt=f im=s m hwt-ntr*

He is to pass it on to my *k3*-priest after he has done what he is to do with it in the temple.

8 (Ebers 88, 19) From a medical instruction on treating a bleeding swelling:

*dd=k hr=s 3st nt ds dd=k st r h3w snf*

Whenever you put a splinter of fire-stone on it, you are to apply it in such a way that blood can flow down.

9 (Amenemhat IIIa-b) Amenemhat I, assassinated whilst taking repose, advises his son from beyond the grave:

*sdr=k s3w n=k ib=k ds=k hr ntt nn wn {n}<sup>10</sup> mr n s hrw n ksnt*

Whenever you sleep, keep yourself alert, because no man has a servant on a difficult moment.

In negation, there is a similar overall formal division. Again the complement may be un-introduced in which case the negative verb *tm* or the negative construction *nfr.n* appears; in introduced complements, the element *iwt* (or, alternatively, *ntt* + *n*-negation) is used:

10 (Siut I, 229) Hapdjefa describes his impeccable conduct in life:

*ink dr bhbh m k3-s3 sgr k3-hrw r tm=f mdw*

I was one who removed the pride from the arrogant and silenced the loud-mouthed so that he would not speak.

11 (Urk I 129, 2-3) The king notes to his envoy concerning a dwarf which the latter is bringing:

*dd.n=k hr hm(=i) iwt sp in.t(i) mit(y)=f in ky nb*

You have said to my majesty that never has his like been brought by anyone else.

<sup>10</sup> So pMillingen 1, 5; all other variants have correctly *wn*.

The current *opinio communis* among students of Egyptian is that the guiding parameters of this grammatical organisation are primarily *syntactic* in character. The roots of this theoretical conception lie to a notable degree in *wissenschaftsgeschichtliche* trends peculiar to Egyptological linguistics. Early discussions of Earlier Egyptian complementation were already characterised by a rather scant concern with the particulars of meaning of clausal complements, most scholars contenting themselves with descriptions of their syntax and typology.<sup>11</sup> However, the structural orientation in the analysis of the grammar of these constructions was, it seems, perpetuated by the so-called Standard Theory (henceforth ST) of Egyptian based on the work of H.J. Polotsky.<sup>12</sup> Although many of the basic tenets of the ST have recently been challenged, the effects of the ‘polotskian revolution’ are still widely felt in Egyptological linguistics and nowhere more so than in the manner in which the grammar of complement clauses is viewed. Prior to the advent of the ST, the use of the different complement patterns had been described in terms of dialectics between form and function. For example, according to Gardiner, in un-introduced complements the various verb-forms employed as subjects and objects of verbs and after prepositions had these syntactic roles only ‘virtually’ without being specialised for such uses.<sup>13</sup> In the ST, however, form and function were largely synonymous; the geminating *sdm=f* and its non-geminating counterpart, analysed as a separate (or various separate) ‘prospective’ form(s), were interpreted as *nominal forms* or nominal ‘transpositions’ and their ability to function directly as complements as well as their negation therein by *tm*, the negator of all ‘nominal forms of the verb’, was cited as particularly transparent testimony of this inherent syntactic nature.<sup>14</sup> In contrast, *ntt* and *wnt* (as well as *iwt*) were argued to allow forms and constructions somehow syntactically inappropriate for ‘nominal’ use to function

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<sup>11</sup> See e.g. Sethe 1899, §§150-01; Erman 1928, §§523-25a, 531-32d; GEG §§154-57; Lefebvre 1955 §§687-711 (henceforth LGEC); DeBuck 1952 §§119, 126; Edel 1955-64 §§1014-27 (henceforth EAG).

<sup>12</sup> For summaries of the rise and key hypotheses of the ST, see Depuydt 1983; 1995.

<sup>13</sup> GEG §§182-88, 193; this is a clear *functionalist* formulation of grammatical use; see 0.2 below.

<sup>14</sup> Polotsky 1944, §§30-31; 1964, 277; 1969, 470; 1987, 19; Frandsen 1975, 25, 57, 69; Schenkel 1975, 41; Silverman 1985, 281; Depuydt 1983, 29-30; 1993, 19 among others (but cf. De Cenival 1972, 41). *tm* is characterised as ‘nominal’ already in Sethe 1899 §994. Further proof of this was also seen in the obvious morpho-syntactic similarities between the ‘nominal-’ and *relative* forms, the former of which were, from early on, seen as actual ‘abstract relative forms’ (Polotsky 1944, §32 and *passim*; most recently Allen 2000, chapter 25). This topic will not be discussed in the present work, but certain remarks pertaining thereto will be found in the conclusion.



thus.<sup>15</sup> The ST analysis of the assumed inherent structural properties of the forms and elements employed in complementation as the *primus motor* of their grammar not only shared resemblance with linguistic theories aiming at mathematising language and greatly in vogue between 1950's and 1970's. It also seemed, for the first time, to provide a model capable of accounting for all complement patterns by reference to the common denominator of 'nominality': for example, before the ST there had been no explanation to the use of *ntt*, which e.g. Gardiner describes merely as an element 'occasionally used for 'that'' after selected verbs, but proposes no explanation as to what might condition its use.<sup>16</sup> However, the ST 'nominal hypothesis' entailed an assumption of the grammar of complement clauses (and Egyptian in general) as almost wholly driven by syntactic rules and viewed the role of semantic-pragmatics as a largely secondary matter confined to differentiating between the various un-introduced 'nominal forms'. In addition, this was also mostly seen as reducible to differences in time-reference, and the assumption of complement 'prospective' form(s) as expressive of futurity and those with the geminating *s $\overline{d}m=f$*  as associated with relative present or no particular timing seems to have been taken as read to the extent that unequivocal statements to this effect are of great rarity.<sup>17</sup> However, their virtual absence also reflects the pervasive tendency among the ST to view the 'transpositions' system *an sich* as a sufficient explanation for grammatical phenomena. Polotsky himself reserved his most 'reactionary' fervour against the earlier views of Gardiner *et al* when discussing just the complement-uses of his 'nominal forms', at times even arguing that they represented purely syntactic entities wholly beyond the system of TAM.<sup>18</sup> Junge's dismissal of the complement form-variation as mere irrelevant hesitation of 'speakers' intuition' or nebulous irregularity in the 'surface structure', expressive of TAM 'Zusatzinformation' represents the

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<sup>15</sup> Gilula 1970, 213; 1971, 16; Polotsky 1976, 2.3.1; Junge 1979, 83; Doret 1986, 34n.264; Satzinger 1986, 299, 307; 1989, 216; Allen 1986b, 25-27, 33; Silverman 1985, 272; 1986a, 38; Sweeney 1986, 339. Already Gunn (1924, 176) and Erman 1928, §531 refer to *ntt/wnt* as 'nominalisers'. Hypotheses on the precise syntactic character of the forms/constructions after *ntt/wnt/iwt* are discussed in 1.2.4 below; for the 'prospective', see 0.2 below.

<sup>16</sup> GEG §187.

<sup>17</sup> Most recent and explicit in this respect are Doret 1986, 23, 49 and Allen 2000, 365-66. However, it may be that the issue has been avoided also due to the frequent and apparent violations of the 'prospectivity' of the non-geminating *s $\overline{d}m=f$*  in complementation, particularly after prepositions; see 4.3. The issue of the bare *s $\overline{d}m=f$* -forms and tempus will be discussed at length in 6 below.

<sup>18</sup> Particularly the geminating *s $\overline{d}m=f$* ; see Polotsky 1964, 281; cf. also 1944, §§30-31; 1969, 470; 1987, 19.



apogee of this theoretical mindset.<sup>19</sup> However, such extreme views were usually not shared even by the most reductionist ST treatises heralding the triumph of ‘*Syntax ohne Verbalsatz*’ and also Polotsky’s later work is characterised by increasing stress laid on the importance of semantics, particularly tempus, in the verbal system of Earlier Egyptian.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the ST analysis of complementation as based on incorporation of nominal verb-forms and nominalised clauses into their predetermined syntactic slots has proved to be lasting. At pace with the gradual inauguration of the ST as the most widely accepted paradigm for analysing Egyptian, also in the domain of complementation the number of approaches deviating from its precepts was reduced to naught.<sup>21</sup> Among the advocates of the ST or more broadly in the intellectual climate permeated by it, there appears to have been little enthusiasm for specifically studying the semantic or pragmatic characteristics of the ‘nominal forms’ in complementation. Practically all post-1950’s and pre-1990’s discussions of the *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms and *tm* in these construals simply assume their putative ‘nominality’ therein. Also in the current predominantly ‘post-polotskyan’ landscape of Egyptological linguistics, views on the grammar of complement clauses continue to reflect the deeply entrenched conception of its syntactic underpinning. The assumption of the ‘nominal’ or ‘nominalised’ character of the bare complement *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms and *tm/nfr.n*-clauses, as well as the role of *ntt/wnt* as ‘nominalisers’ or nominal *converters* of various ‘non-nominal’ patterns not ‘specialised’ for such use still serves as the point of departure for well-nigh all discussions, differences in theoretical meta-language notwithstanding.<sup>22</sup>

However, in spite of this admirable consensus, at closer inspection the current ‘nominal hypothesis’ of Earlier Egyptian complementation turns out to be bedevilled

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<sup>19</sup> Junge 1978a, 102-04, 109.

<sup>20</sup> Again, this is particularly so with the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*; see Polotsky 1965, §49; 1976, 2.3.1; 1990, 770 and chapter 6 below.

<sup>21</sup> Even the few approaches seeking an alternative to the ST make concessions with complement clauses; e.g. Thacker claims that by Middle Kingdom the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* had come to express ‘energetic’ sense, (1954, 331) *except* in complementation for which he accepts Polotsky’s analysis of the forms used therein as relative forms of some sort (209). Even Gardiner, in his review of Polotsky 1944, felt obliged to state that it contained ‘no more penetrating pages’ than those devoted to *tm* (1947, 99n.4). Borghouts (1985, 36-37; cf. also 1986, 58-59) argues that the use of the geminating form is motivated solely by temporal factors, but notes also that in complementation the ‘nominal’ character of the verb is undeniable. Yet, since all suffix-conjugation forms (allegedly) originate in nouns, here this inherent character merely ‘shimmers through’; for an outright rejection of this argument, see Satzinger 1993, 205.

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. Collier 1990a, 83-84; 1991a, *passim*; 1999, 57; Loprieno 1995, 109; Malaise & Winand 1999, §§574, 601-03, 611, 612-18, 895-923; Allen 2000, 188, 396.

by inconsistencies of all sorts. The most immediately apparent difficulties pertain to the use of *ntt/wnt*. The syntactic analysis of these elements suggests that complements with and without them are in no way semantic-pragmatically different; indeed, the tacit assumption seems to be that as syntactic ‘converters’, *ntt/wnt* themselves are essentially *meaningless*. However, their actual distribution does not support this view. For example, *ntt* and *wnt* are widely used to introduce object complements of verbs of locution, cognition and perception, but they never occur e.g. after verbs of volition, ordering or preventing:<sup>23</sup>

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| * <i>iw mr.n=f ntt ink dd=i st</i>  | ‘He wanted that it would be me who will say it’ |
| * <i>iw dbh.n=f ntt dd=s n=f st</i> | ‘He asked that she would say it to him’         |
| * <i>iw wd.n=f ntt=f r dd st</i>    | ‘He ordered that he say it’                     |
| * <i>iw hsf.n=f ntt dd=f st</i>     | ‘He prevented him from saying it’               |

This clearly has nothing to do with the syntactic nature of the construals following *ntt/wnt* and it remains unclear why such restrictions should apply if the role of these elements is simply to ‘nominalise’ the following construal and if the clauses thus introduced represent mere ‘analytic counterparts’ or substitutes of the ‘nominal forms’.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the *syntagmatic* as opposed to *paradigmatic* properties of *ntt/wnt/iwt* have aroused remarkably little interest. As before the ST halcyon days, comments to this effect largely amount to mentions that they occur only after ‘certain verbs’ and prepositions,<sup>25</sup> although in the latter domain these elements are often interpreted as not introducing complements at all, but seen to form non-isomorphic ‘adjunct connectors’ of the type ‘preposition-*ntt*’ with the preceding prepositions.<sup>26</sup> Yet, the analysis of the ‘bare’ *ntt* and *wnt* as ‘nominalisers’ and ‘converters’ does not fully explain why clauses introduced by these elements appear where they do, and, in addition to the syntagmatic anomalies noted, this holds also more generally. Seeing that also the ‘specialised’ ‘nominal forms’ are of course allegedly used as complements instead of syntactically ‘unsuitable’ ones, why are the latter not ‘substituted’ by the geminating *sdm=f* or the ‘prospective’ more consistently? To wit, why were e.g. the statives *pr-nsw* ‘*d wd*’ in 4 above not replaced by ‘*d wd*’ *pr-nsw*,

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Uljas 2000, 126; 2003, 388.

<sup>24</sup> Polotsky 1976, 2.3.1; Satzinger 1986, 306; cf. also Meltzer 1991, 227.

<sup>25</sup> Gilula 1970, 213; cf. Doret 1986, 34n.263; Allen 1986a, 11; 1986b, 25.

<sup>26</sup> For discussion of this topic, see 4.3 below.



i.e. ‘nominal *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*’s’ of some sort? What motivated the use of *ntt* + the ‘unsuitable’ stative here but not e.g. in 1 above, where the complement situation is similarly an intransitive state, but this time appears as *k<sub>nn</sub>=f*?<sup>27</sup> In a similar vein, if prepositions are assumed to govern *ntt*-complements rather than to form ‘preposition-*ntt*-connectors’, it may be asked what exactly prompted the use of *ntt* + *nn wn* in 9 above, when, in principle, this could have been ‘substituted’ by a bare preposition *hr* + the ‘nominal’ negation *tm wn mr n s hrw n ksnt*?

As for un-introduced complements, the problems of the ‘nominal hypothesis’ are further exacerbated by the fact that there is at least one common governing predicate which accepts many of the so-called ‘non-nominal’ forms and constructions as its objects *without* a ‘converter’.<sup>28</sup> The ‘nominal’ character of the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*, the alleged ‘prospective’ and the negation *tm* is also seriously in doubt generally. If the ST ‘nominal hypothesis’ is to be accepted, these forms must behave ‘nominally’ in all their occurrences. However, the ‘nominal’ character of the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* in second tenses, its most widely attested use, rests on a dubious structural analogy with adverbial predicate constructions and a highly suspect analysis of ‘predication’.<sup>29</sup> Also the ‘prospective’ occurs in patently non-nominal environments such as initial or final ‘so that’-clauses which even the most venturesome ST postulates have failed to analyse as nominal in character.<sup>30</sup> This last property pertains also to *tm*, but its capability to negate adjuncts is not restricted to final clauses and it is also the negation of sequential sentences with the elements *ih*, *hr* and *k3*.<sup>31</sup> The ‘nominal’ analysis can scarcely be salvaged by arguing that the patterns in question may not be universally *nominal* but *nominalised* for complement use if no mechanism and origin for this (derivative?) ‘syncategorisation’ is indicated

<sup>27</sup> For Junge, (1979, 83) *ntt/wnt* is required if the construals subordinated are to retain their status as *sentences* rather than *clauses*. This assumes that e.g. a bare non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* cannot constitute a ‘sentence’, a view to which even Junge himself does not subscribe (1989, 84). See also 1.3.2 below.

<sup>28</sup> See 1.2.4.2 below.

<sup>29</sup> See Collier 1990a, 80-82; 1992, *passim* and 7.2 below.

<sup>30</sup> Several solutions have been offered to this dilemma. Attempts to divide the non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* into ‘adverbial’ and ‘nominal’ forms (Allen 1982, 25; Depuydt 1993) as well as hypotheses of the possibility of using ‘nominal’ forms ‘adverbially’ (Allen 1984 §290; Doret 1986, 43) have been rife. The initial uses have been argued to represent complements of some zero ‘ $\emptyset$  main predicate’ (Schenkel 1975, 41; 1978, 113; Junge 1978a, 122; Depuydt 1983, 46; Allen 1984 §255; 1991, 7-8; Kammerzell 1988, 41; Janssen-Winkeln 1995 extends this to even final uses; for counter-arguments, see Uljas 2000, 126-27) or ‘single noun clauses’ (Polotsky 1964, 271; Doret 1986, 23n.88).

<sup>31</sup> For other *tm*-negated adjuncts, see 3.3 below. There has been no shortage of ST attempts to interpret constructions with *ih/hr/k3* as ‘nominal’, see Satzinger 1968, §§73, 78 for one.

and since it clearly has no effect on writing.<sup>32</sup> When it is added that there are good reasons to doubt the entire division of the *sdm=f*-forms in Earlier Egyptian, (see 0.2 below) the assumption of ‘nominality’ as the founding principle in the grammar of complement clauses in this language seems unlikely to be correct and is perhaps best eschewed altogether.

### 0.1.2. Assertion and Non-assertion

It is argued in the present work that instead of syntactic characteristics of the forms and constructions employed, the grammatical organisation of Earlier Egyptian complement clauses is based on modality and differentiation between *asserted* and *non-asserted* complements. Since these concepts belie great complexity, a discussion and illustration of their meaning and nature is indispensable.

The term *assertion* refers to a particular kind of *speech act* the performing of which is regulated by the co(n)text of the communication and its intent. Asserting requires the following *preparatory conditions* to be fulfilled:<sup>33</sup>

- The S(peaker) has a reason (evidence etc.) for *believing in the veracity* of the p(roposition); S is *committed* to *p*; *p* is *not obvious* to both S and the H(earer).

In addition, and following from the last criterion above, the speaker’s aim must be that of *informing* H of *p* and of his commitment thereto, typically in view of convincing H of *p*. This requirement for assertion is known as the speaker’s *illocutionary intention*:

- S intends to present *p* as an actual state of affairs; S assumes that saying *p* is relevant to, and in the interest of H; S wishes H to believe *p* and that S is committed to *p*

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. the remarks in Eyre 1986, 132; 1987, 27.

<sup>33</sup> See Searle 1969, 67; Bach & Harnish 1979, 41-42; Edmondson 1981, 145; Levinson 1983, 277; Allan 1986, 193; Wierzbicka 1987, 321; cf. also Allan 1998, 925; Langacker 1991, 496.



Thus, *p* is asserted if *S* indicates some degree of *positive commitment* towards the information it conveys and the latter is not something that *S* knows or assumes to be already known by *H*: i.e. asserted propositions have a proportionally high *information value*. Conversely, and abstracting away from the more precise taxonomy of speech acts, propositions in which one or more of these criteria are not fulfilled represent *non-assertions*. This provides a *notional* definition for assertion and non-assertion as particular kinds of *illocutionary forces*. However, the *grammatical coding* of the notional concepts is an altogether different issue, and here assertion and non-assertion become a matter of *modal* organisation. In general terms, modal systems and grammatical coding for modality are activated by the status of propositions as assertions or non-assertions. In particular, the use of grammatical *indicative* or *realis* corresponds to expression of asserted propositions; in case of non-assertion, languages resort to *non-indicative* or *irrealis* patterns. The *formal* method of coding these two categories displays notable variation. *Realis* may be overtly indicated as such, but is usually *unmarked*,<sup>34</sup> whereas expression of the often more *marked* *irrealis* ranges from particles and modal auxiliaries to verbal inflection, *primus inter pares* the *subjunctive mood* of numerous (particularly Romance) ‘Standard Average European’ languages.<sup>35</sup> For example, in Spanish the use of the subjunctive is directly linked to non-assertion; a proposition may appear in the subjunctive if<sup>36</sup>

- The speaker has doubts of its veracity (3)
- It describes an unrealised situation (4)
- The information conveyed is presupposed (5)

(3) Dudo que sea (SUB) buena idea	‘I doubt that’s a good idea’
(4) Necesito que me devuelvas (SUB) ese libro	‘I need you to return that book to me’
(5) Me alegra que sepas (SUB) la verdad	‘I’m glad that you know the truth.’

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Givón 1982, 155; 2001 vol.1, 330-31.

<sup>35</sup> Many languages are said to have a specific ‘irrealis’ rather than subjunctive mood, but this is largely a result of (Whorfian) research tradition: many modern linguists seem to have opted to employ ‘irrealis’ in their descriptions of various ‘exotic’ languages, perhaps to stress their uniqueness; cf. Palmer 2000, 185. Yet, both subjunctives and the ‘irrealis’ are grammaticalisations of the notional category of non-assertion. The traditional view of the subjunctive, apparent in the etymology of the word itself, (Italian *subiungō*, ‘subjoin’) is that it is the mood of *subordination*. This old assumption has been rightly discarded in linguistics.

<sup>36</sup> Adapted from Lunn 1995, 430; see also the fundamental study by Hooper & Terrell 1974.



Particularly the first and the last of these properties fail the preparatory condition for assertion: doubt equals *lack of commitment* and presupposition represents unchallenged information which the speaker assumes to be *already obvious* to, and accepted by the audience.<sup>37</sup> Presupposed information lacks *relevance*: communicating what is already shared cannot be the speaker's illocutionary intention and remains, by definition, unasserted. Notably, the above examples involve complement clauses and there are no *syntactic* reasons barring the use of the indicative here. Instead, the subjunctive is chosen for each proposition because 'potentially assertable information must have two qualities: it must be both reliable... and informative as to news value. Information that is lacking in EITHER of these qualities... is unlikely to be asserted.'<sup>38</sup>

However, the words 'potentially' and 'unlikely' in the last quote already raise various issues concerning this seemingly simple set of principles, which are decisive for the understanding of Earlier Egyptian complementation. Assertion and non-assertion are *prototype*-based, rather than 'classical' Aristotelian categories whose all members are equally representative of the category as a whole; both can be viewed as encompassing certain core semantic notions surrounded by a peripheral domain of other more or less 'good examples' of (non-)assertion.<sup>39</sup> As a result, languages vary considerably in what they classify as modally realis and irrealis within and between themselves, and to what extent. Particularly in irrealis, devices for expressing *gradations* of non-assertion are commonplace. Thus the grammatical treatment of e.g. *epistemic* expressions, i.e. speaker attitude towards the authenticity-status of a proposition, as either realis or irrealis, universally reflects the degree of tentativeness expressed:<sup>40</sup>

(6) Spanish: Tal vez me estaba (IND)/estuviera (SUB) esperando  
'Perhaps s/he was/might have been waiting for me'

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<sup>37</sup> It is to be noted that presupposition is *not* tantamount to logical 'necessarily true'. Presupposition as a linguistic concept refers solely to shared knowledge between speakers and hearers; it is perfectly possible to assert propositions whose logical truth-value is co(n)textually uncancellable, provided that the speaker does not assume this to be common ground with the hearer; cf. Hooper & Terrell 1974, 485; Klein 1975, 355; Palmer 2000, 3-4; Givón 2001 vol.1, 302. This issue is also relevant with so-called 'factive' and 'implicative' verbs (see 1.1 and 1.3.1 below).

<sup>38</sup> Lunn 1989b, 691, emphasis by the author.

<sup>39</sup> See Lunn 1989b and Bybee 1998 in particular. Thus e.g. when referring to irrealis-use, many authors prefer to speak of 'reduced assertion' (Bell 1980, *passim*) or 'suspension of affirmation' (Lunn 1989b, 687).

<sup>40</sup> Givón 1994, 300-01; 2001 vol.1, 314-15.

- (7) ‘He’s a spy; I know it.’      ‘He must be a spy: look at him!’      ‘He may be a spy,  
who knows.’

Much of *deontic* modality, i.e. expression of will, is grammatically irrealis across languages, but deontic is also subject to gradations of politeness, the assessed potential for control and manipulation over the ‘targets’ of the attitude, and thus in the likelihood of the state of affairs referred to.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, the indeed very ‘assertive’ imperative often varies with less direct modal auxiliaries or subjunctives/jussives, (8-9) and in Caddo, (N. Iroquoian) affirmative imperatives are realis-marked whereas negative imperatives and ‘obligatives’ are irrealis, reflecting the degree of expectation of compliance and realisation (10):<sup>42</sup>

- (8)      ‘Go!’                              ‘You must/should/may/might go’
- (9)      Biblical Hebrew:                  שמר (IMP)                              תשמר (JUSS)  
   ‘Guard’                                      ‘May you guard’
- (10)      dáyʒbah (REAL)                      kaššáyʒbah (IRR)                      kassánayʒaw (IRR)  
                                 ‘Look at it’                              ‘Don’t look at it’                      ‘He should sing’

This also shows an important faculty of ‘non-realisation’ *vis-à-vis* irrealis. There is no requirement that situations treated as irrealis be ‘unreal’. It is not ‘reality’, or again, ‘truth values’, that determine the modal status of propositions. These concepts are logico-philosophical ‘absolutes’, whereas irrealis relates to speaker *assessments* of low information value, as in case of most certainly ‘real’ presupposed, or e.g. in case of futurity, to ‘people’s *judgments* concerning the *degree* to which their ideas accord with what they *believe to be* objective reality’.<sup>43</sup> Hence languages often divide the expression of futurity into ‘more’ and ‘less’ ‘objective’ types; the following examples from Central Pomo (N. California) illustrate this well:<sup>44</sup>

- (11)      maʒá qa-wá-č-in (REAL) hlá-ʒ-wá č=k<sup>h</sup>e      ténta-lil wá-n-hi (IRR) ʒá

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Givón 1975a; 1994, 298-300; Fleischman 1989, 8-12; Mithun 1995, 377.

<sup>42</sup> Hebrew and Caddo data from Greenberg 1965, 51 and Chafe 1995, 356-58 respectively.

<sup>43</sup> Chafe 1995, 364; emphasis by SU; cf. also the discussion in Bendix 1998, 253-54.

<sup>44</sup> Data from Mithun 1995, 370, 378.

‘We’ll go around eating’ (certain)

‘I’ll go to town’ (less certain)

Another more familiar example of the same phenomenon is the variation in Earlier Egyptian between the bare initial ‘prospective’ *sdm=f* and the ‘pseudo-verbal’ *iw=f r sdm*, recognised by most commentators as that between ‘subjective’ and ‘objective’ future respectively.<sup>45</sup> The latter tends to occur when there are sufficient grounds for the speaker to be committed to the realisation of the situation, making it more assertable. It is no accident, for example, that first person intentions are mostly expressed by *iw=i r sdm*, as people tend to be more committed to and in control of their own actions than of those of others, or that the same pattern is the favourite also when the situation is somehow expectable through ‘experience’, ‘norm’, or e.g. divine prognostication.<sup>46</sup> The use of such variants is not based on any more ‘objective’ criteria than speaker assessment and approximation of likelihood and possibility of some future state of affairs; the final say on what to consider realis or irrealis belongs to the speaker.<sup>47</sup> This is also apparent in the way in which speakers may *withhold* from asserting if e.g. they do not *accept* the proposition, as in the Albanian example (12), or because they do not wish to imply that what they say represents their *own* commitment, as e.g. in German ‘journalistic’ style (13):<sup>48</sup>

(12) E na i dashka (ADM) bullgaret.. ai e.. e pse keshtu u pritka nje Bullgar?

‘And he ‘likes’ Bulgarians. Him? Ha! After all, is that how you treat a Bulgarian?’

(13) Er sei (SUB) mit S in Streit geraten und habe (SUB) sich von diesem bedroht gefühlt

‘He had allegedly become involved in a quarrel with S and felt threatened by

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. Hannig 1982, 47; Vernus 1990, 24-26; Reintges 1997, 123-24 and numerous others.

<sup>46</sup> Thus for example, Peas B1 42 *mk wl r nhm ʕ=k sh̄ty* ‘I am going to take your donkey, peasant’, does not portray the speaker as ‘compelled to seize the donkey as a logical punishment of the transgression’ (Vernus 1990, 14) but expresses a firm personal conviction to act, but, unlike e.g. the long string of first person bare *sdm=f*s in Sh.S. 139-46, does not protest the speaker’s willingness to act, which appears to be the key element in the latter (i.e. ‘I will (=am *willing* to) spread your fame at home’). Similarly, the standard expression *try=i r h̄st=k* ‘I will do as you ask’ (EAG §472) expresses willingness to obey; the variant *lw=l r irt r h̄st=k* is notably rare.

<sup>47</sup> A fine empirical study to this effect in Spanish is Lavandera 1983.

<sup>48</sup> The Albanian ‘admirative’ usually expresses surprise but can also indicate mockery and non-acceptance as here, both of which represent reduced assertion; see Haiman 1995, 333-34 for similar examples from other languages. For the German data, see Palmer 2000, 42; cf. Fleischman 1995, 533. In French, the conditional is similarly used.



him'

Also the requirement of 'informativeness' and relevance from asserted propositions is a very flexible concept.<sup>49</sup> For example, in Spanish, pairs such as the following are not uncommon:<sup>50</sup>

- (14) Aunque es (IND)/sea (SUB) mi hija, la escuento muy guapa  
'Although she is my daughter, I find her very pretty.'

Here the indicative signals that the information about 'she' being 'my daughter' is communicated both as actual and relevant, whereas the subjunctive codes it as concessive and presupposed. Such variation reflects speaker *evaluation* of the proposition information value and does not follow from any mechanical rule. Understanding it herein requires particular attention to the *co(n)text*: speakers' motives for treating propositions as informative or not can only be recovered by examining the *discourse as a whole* rather than isolated clauses or sentences. Further, there is no hard and fast limit to what speakers may and may not evaluate as 'informative'; this depends on the quality of their *performance* in a given linguistic and even 'extra-linguistic' context. For example, in Spanish the subjunctive can signal that the audience is believed to be already 'reasonably' acquainted with the information, and the extent to which this can be taken is quite remarkable. In journalistic Spanish a prior mention of some proposition in the headline may suffice to prompt the use of the subjunctive when it is resumed in the main text:<sup>51</sup>

- (15) Headline: La bandera que besó es la que, en su día, también beso (IND) el Rey N, y bordó (IND) su tatarabuela la Reina doña Y.  
'The flag that he kissed is the one that one day king N also kissed and his great-great-grandmother queen Y embroidered.'
- Text: Y, I final, besó la bandera roja que hace treinta años besara (SUB) su padre el Rey y que un día bordara (SUB) su tatarabuela la Reina doña Y.

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<sup>49</sup> A superb discussion of the concept of 'relevance' and communication in general is Sperber & Wilson 1995.

<sup>50</sup> Lunn 1989b, 697-98.

<sup>51</sup> Lunn 1995, 433.

‘And, at the end, he kissed the red and gold flag that his father the king had also kissed thirty years ago, and that his great-great-grandmother queen Y had once embroidered.’

The next example derives from a gossip-magazine. Its author assumes the information in the relative clause to be ‘old news’ to faithful readership and indicates this with non-assertion:<sup>52</sup>

- (16) La pareja, que se hiciera (SUB) famosa por interpretar el papel de marido y mujer en *El Pájaro Espino*, es (IND) en la vida real un matrimonio feliz.  
 ‘The couple, who became famous for their role as husband and wife in *The Thorn Birds*, is happily married in real life.’

Here the principal information with the highest ‘news value’ is in the main clause, where the indicative appears. However, e.g. Russian and Polish dispense with the notion of ‘relevance’ from their grammaticalisation of modality altogether and code even presupposed information as indicative.<sup>53</sup> This emphasises that the grammaticalisation of meanings as realis and irrealis is also a *cross-linguistic* variable. There are certain senses such as counterfactual, whose non-assertivity is somehow signalled in almost every language.<sup>54</sup> Yet the treatment of e.g. interrogatives, negatives and conditionals, all notional non-assertions, varies greatly. For example, simple negated propositions in Alambalak (Papuan) are irrealis-marked, but realis in Central Pomo:<sup>55</sup>

- (17) fiñji noh-r-fě-r (IRR) ‘He did not die.’  
 (18) Ranch=ʒel qdi yhétač č<sup>h</sup>ów ʒi-n (REAL) ‘Because they didn’t keep up the rancheria...’

<sup>52</sup> Lunn 1989a, 254; 1989b, 693; 1995, 432-3; cf. also Lavandera 1983, *passim*.

<sup>53</sup> Noonan 1985, 99; Wierzbicka 1988, 152.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Lyons 1977, 795; for representative samples of languages, see D. James 1982, 377-84; Roberts 1990, 392. For counterfactuals in Earlier Egyptian, see 4.2 and 5.1 below.

<sup>55</sup> Data from Roberts 1990, 390 and Mithun 1995, 382.



This is because negation can be viewed either as expression of total lack of commitment (negated assertion) or of commitment to falsity- (negative assertion) or kept outside the system of modality altogether, as in most European languages.

Finally, assertion and non-assertion overlap *conceptually* with semantic categories other than modality, with grammatical consequences. For example, in some languages certain types of verbal *aspect* prompt irrealis-marking due to perceived similarity with ‘unreality’. Thus e.g. in Caddo, infrequent (19) and in Bargam (Papuan) past habitual propositions (20) are irrealis:<sup>56</sup>

(19) wást’áybah (IRR) ‘I seldom see it’

(20) miles-eq leh-id (IRR) ‘when (the pig) used to return...’

Metaphorically, these meanings involve characteristics that set them ‘close’ to irrealis. Something taking place seldom is subjectively ‘as good as nothing’ and in Caddo this conceptual ‘family resemblance’ results in grammatical marking of such situations as irrealis. Habitual refers to a mass-like series of events rather than any one particular situation occupying a specific locus in time; the degree of individuation of the ‘sub-events’ is low and the proposition may even refer to a mere *tendency*.<sup>57</sup> Thus habitual events may be viewed with precisely that ‘lack of belief in or lack of commitment to... the reality, realization, or referentiality of an event or sequence of events’<sup>58</sup> characteristic to irrealis.<sup>59</sup> This apparent lack of ‘coherence’ of realis and irrealis has led to occasional doubts of their validity as grammatical concepts.<sup>60</sup> However, it could be argued that instead it shows their fundamentally *scalar* nature. The basic classes of non-assertion and assertion receive almost as many expressions in modal systems as there are languages and they can be further modulated into a

<sup>56</sup> Data from Chafe 1995, 357 and Roberts 1990, 383.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Givón 1994, 270; 2001 vol.1, 305; Fleischman 1995, 537-39; Palmer 2000, 179; 190-01. This is reflected in various ways. For instance, nouns under the scope of the habitual ‘hybrid modality’ are non-referring: in ‘he used to buy a newspaper every day’ ‘newspaper’ is non-referential and lacks a specific counterpart in ‘reality’. Note also the (particularly American) English use of ‘would’ for past habitual.

<sup>58</sup> Fleischman 1995, 522, 537.

<sup>59</sup> Irrealis and realis marking of verbs is sometimes affected even by case-marking of associate nouns and their definiteness; see Givón 2001 vol.1, 214; cf. also Martin 1998, 199. In Romance, attributive relative clauses of indefinite nouns commonly employ the subjunctive.

<sup>60</sup> E.g. Bybee 1998 and Bybee *et al* 1994, *passim*; see Givón 1994, 320-28; Palmer 2001, 188-91 for a rebuke.

notable degree. Yet, there is remarkable agreement across languages on e.g. what sorts of non-assertions constitute the ‘nucleus’ of irrealis and qualify for modal coding as such, but overall realis and irrealis form a *continuum* of linguistic meaning without clear-cut lines of demarcation mutually or with other categories of grammar. In addition, and as a corollary of the previous point, irrealis and realis meaning is associated with linguistic expressions (verb-forms, particles etc) in a non-arbitrary manner. The metaphorical linkage between e.g. habitual aspect and irrealis results in a linguistic *mapping* of both onto the same or co-occurring grammatical expressions. The task of the linguist is to define and explain this sort of procedures in the grammar of the specific language under study.

### 0.1.3. The system

In Egyptology the above issues have received little attention, and attitudes towards even the general status of modality in Earlier Egyptian have tended to be somewhat reserved, particularly among the ST.<sup>61</sup> Polotsky’s dismissal of anything like an ‘*echter modus*’ in Egyptian reverberated through the writings of his followers,<sup>62</sup> and the ST preoccupation with syntax resulted in sidelining of modality in favour of structural speculations.<sup>63</sup> In complementation, modality has hardly been discussed at all, although some researchers have proposed geminating *sdm=f* complements to portray the situation as an ‘objective fact’ or ‘indicative’ and those with a bare *sdm=f* without gemination to entail ‘an element of possibility or doubt’.<sup>64</sup> Most have had little to say about the pragmatic profile of *ntt/wnt/iwt*-clauses, but have concentrated on the character of the forms and constructions *after* these elements

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<sup>61</sup> Notably, Gardiner’s stance in this matter, quoted above, did not amount to denial of modality in Egyptian *a priori*, but merely conceded the then current lack of suitable methodological tools for exploring this phenomenon. These are apparent e.g. in Sander-Hansen’s (1941) inspired, but perhaps premature attempt to distinguish moods in Egyptian.

<sup>62</sup> Polotsky 1964, 272; one may note e.g. the mitigating remarks by Depuydt 1993, 13n.7 and Callender’s (1986, 11) claim that on ‘internal grounds’ the notion of mood is redundant in Egyptian, justly disputed by Junge (1989, 39).

<sup>63</sup> A *prima facie* example of the result of this is Vernus 1990, which attempts a synopsis of modality in Earlier Egyptian future expressions, but is marred by religious adherence to ST dogmas entirely incompatible with the concept of modality, a problem neither avoided nor substantially remedied by reviewers (Ritter 1992a, Schenkel 1992). In some discussions modality and pragmatics in general is argued to have given way diachronically to syntax as the driving force in grammar, including that of ‘originally’ modal patterns such as the geminating *sdm=f* or *tm* in the mature ‘syntactic system’ of Classical Egyptian (Loprieno 1991a, 215, 223; 1995, 82).

<sup>64</sup> Doret 1986, 23, 39, 49; see also Gilula 1971, 16; Allen 1984, §§365, 703; Malaise & Winand 1999, §908. However, there has been some divergence in views as to how many different ‘prospective forms’ the latter disguises and how does this effect sense (see 0.2 below).

rather than the clauses as a whole. When taking this course, *ntt/wnt/iwt* have usually been viewed as ‘syntactic equivalents’ of various initial elements and the properties of the clauses have been studied from this perspective.<sup>65</sup> Comments on modality and *tm*-complements are extremely scarce.<sup>66</sup> The term ‘assertion’ has been applied to the illocutionary force labelled thus- particularly in connection with the auxiliary *iw*, which has been characterised as an ‘assertion-particle’- but assertion has mostly not been treated as a modal concept.<sup>67</sup> ‘Irrealis’ has been evoked but seldom, and always as a synonym for ‘unreal’.<sup>68</sup>

However, when understood as modal categories in a manner common with linguistics, realis and irrealis are analysable as the determining concepts behind the grammatical organisation of Earlier Egyptian complementation. The foundations of the system can be summarised as follows:

- 1) The basic division of complement clauses into introduced and un-introduced corresponds to differentiation between assertion and non-assertion. Where the prerequisites for assertion are satisfied, the subordinate clause is specifically *marked* as asserted by the *modal operators ntt/wnt* or the negative *iwt*. Such complements are modally *realis*.
- 2) To indicate that the complement is not asserted, *ntt/wnt* or *iwt* are not used, and the complement remains un-introduced. In the affirmative, *s $\overline{d}m=f$* -forms are principally employed, in the negative *tm* and *nfr.n* appear. Complements of this sort are modally *irrealis*.
- 3) Unlike in many modern languages with a singular conjugated irrealis, e.g. a subjunctive mood, Earlier Egyptian displays two strategies of expressing

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<sup>65</sup> See 1.2.4.1 below.

<sup>66</sup> But see 3.3 below. Silverman (1985, 281) and Vernus (1990, 119) note *tm* to be the negation of both geminating and non-geminating *s $\overline{d}m=f$* -complements, which may indicate belief that it inherits the properties of both.

<sup>67</sup> See Assmann 1974, 65; Junge 1978a, 103-08; 1989, 105; Ritter 1995, 99. Only Eyre (1991, 113) treats *iw* as modal in its ‘assertive’ role. Zonhoven (1997b, *passim*) contrasts assertion and presupposition, Assmann (*ibid*) treats the former as equivalent to ‘predication’ and views adjuncts as ‘non-asserted’. Callender (1983, 90) correctly calls *hm* a particle of ‘enhanced veracity and... relevance’ and of ‘assertion’. In Late Egyptian the issues of assertion and illocution have received more attention; the most recent study to this effect is Sweeney 2001.

<sup>68</sup> The term is first used in Egyptology by Till (1934). See also Vernus 1990, 16; Reintges 1997, 56; Hannig 2003, 64.



irrealis. The bare geminating and non-geminating *sḏm=f*-forms divide up the domain of irrealis and non-assertion in a principled and meaningful way. Their mutual variation in complementation is based on the hierarchically graded status of the irrealis which they express, and serves to differentiate between ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ non-assertion of the complement. However, in negated clauses, the modal (and formal) distinctions between these two degrees of non-assertion are neutralised and they share the common irrealis negations *tm* and *nfr.n*.

In short, this organisation is based on the variation of clauses introduced with the realis operators *ntt/wnt* and bare *sḏm=f* irrealis complements. However, there are also a number of additional complement construals which either supplement this system in certain semantic-pragmatic environments or do not make part of it at all, but rather complement it and/or reveal various aspects of its diachronic position in Ancient Egyptian.<sup>69</sup>

The remainder of this work demonstrates how this system functions in practise and what are the parameters for coding a complement as an assertion or non-assertion in Earlier Egyptian. The point of departure for the discussion are affirmative object complements of main clause predicates after which both asserted and un-asserted clauses are attested and which best illustrate the key principles of their variation. It is then demonstrated that there are also transitive verbs which, for reasons explained, systematically disallow realis *ntt/wnt*-introduced object clauses. However, these are nevertheless shown to form part of the same overall system of assertion and non-assertion covering all complementation after verbs. Subsequent chapters elaborate this by concentrating on the little-studied affirmative subject complements as well as negative complements after verbs. The discussion is then extended to preposition complements, for which a modal reanalysis is proposed along the lines established for complementation after governing predicates. In the final major section of the present work, the more abstract conceptual foundations of the grammatical ‘mapping’ of Earlier Egyptian irrealis modality as revealed in complementation are surveyed, and a new, cognitive-based general model thereof is proposed. The analysis presented here is also intended to provide an initiative and methodology for tackling many of these

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<sup>69</sup> These complement patterns will be discussed in 5 below.

and other problem-areas of Egyptian grammar from a modal perspective. It is suggested at various points, and more extensively in the conclusion, that modal irrealis and realis play a role in the grammar of many other types of construals in Earlier Egyptian beyond the relatively restricted domain of complementation. Nevertheless, complement clauses of governing verbs and prepositions offer an ideal basis for investigating modality at this stage of the linguistic history of Egyptian inasmuch as they provide sufficient data (largely) free from the burden of various complicating factors pertaining to initial clauses, most notably the character of auxiliaries, the issue of predication and the question of theme-rheme/topic-comment-oppositions.<sup>70</sup> They reveal a system for expressing subjective meaning whose basic characteristics are recognisable as language universals, whose expressive potential is remarkable, and whose functional flexibility is deeply impressive.

## 0.2 Methodology, Terminology, Morphology and Sources

Before embarking on the discussion of the system outlined above, various notes must be made on methodological and related issues. The approach adopted in the present work has, to an extent, a *comparative* element. Studying Ancient Egyptian is archaeology of a language in which cross-linguistic comparisons provide the only support available for hypotheses on semantic-pragmatics. The imperfectly preserved evidence cannot be understood or analysed in isolation. Indeed, and as a conscious rejection of Bloomfieldian views according to which researchers of language have no direct access to 'meaning' but only form, it is argued herein that systematic application of comparisons from other languages and close attention to the co(n)text in which the expressions studied occur allow substantiated (and not necessarily purely hermeneutic) judgements to be made of even such subtleties as the expression of attitudinal information in dead languages. As an illustration of this, one may look back on the Biblical Hebrew examples in (9) above.

The discussion is not couched in the vocabulary of any particular theory. However, from *cognitive grammar* is adopted the view of the ideational basis of modality as '*force dynamics*', i.e. as metaphorical abstraction of physical forces and

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<sup>70</sup> The literature on these topics is immense; most detailed discussions are Junge 1989 and Collier 1992. However, they will all be touched upon several times in the present work and in some more depth in 7.2.



barriers into the domains of compulsion and obligation in deontic, as well as reasoning in epistemic modality.<sup>71</sup> A modal ‘force’ may be someone’s authority and status in deontic, and some indubitable set of premises and evidence in epistemic modality which function metaphorically as ‘real’ physical forces affecting material beings. This approach explains well e.g. the intuition that ‘epistemic necessity’ (must) presupposes ‘*compelling* evidence’ which ‘*forces* the conclusion that...’ etc. The ‘forces’ involved are subjected to equally abstract ‘barriers’: e.g. in ‘he may not go’ an authority in deontic, or some ‘mental block’ in the epistemic reading prevents the action or conclusion.

From *functionalist* approaches to grammar derives the demarcation between form and function, particularly in what pertains to the active *sḏm=f*-forms used.<sup>72</sup> As seen, in un-introduced complements, verbs with *ultimaefirmae* roots appear both with and without gemination and some also with additional consonants. Thus e.g. the 3<sup>ae</sup> *inf* verbs *iri* and *h3(i)* are found written as *ir*, *irr*, *iry* and *h3*, *h33*, *h3y* and *h3w*. Anomalous roots display further peculiarities- e.g. *iw(i)* occurs both as *iw* and *iwt*- whereas immutable ones show no variations. The most widely shared assumption is that, of the various *sḏm=f*-forms postulated, employed herein are the geminating form and one or several ‘prospective forms’ which do not geminate in the mutable root-classes, appear variously with or without the endings *-w* and *-y*, and show diagnostic spellings such as *iwt* in anomalous verbs.<sup>73</sup> Opinions diverge on whether this system characterises Earlier Egyptian throughout or is restricted to the earliest stratum of the language,<sup>74</sup> as well as on the extent to which particularly the assumed prospective form(s) represent full *paradigms*. According to one view, formal distinctions such as the endings *-w* and *-y* observable in singular roots can be generalised, and ‘forms’ defined as paradigms of writings of all roots sharing the same syntactic position with

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<sup>71</sup> Talmy 1988 is the standard theoretical text, Sweetser 1990, chapter 3 an illuminating practical discussion.

<sup>72</sup> The past passive *sḏm=f* will be treated as a independent form due to its combinability (at least in Classical Egyptian) only with noun subjects, which indicates that it no longer forms part of the suffix-conjugation. Some of the following remarks apply also to causative roots which have forms displaying the endings *-w* and *-y*.

<sup>73</sup> Depuydt 1993 provides a comprehensive summary of all the views on ‘prospective forms’ in Egyptological language studies. See also Schenkel’s recent study on the endings *-w* and *-y* in Coffin Texts (2000b).

<sup>74</sup> The most recent assumption is that originally there were (at least) two ‘prospective’ *sḏm=f*s, which have largely merged by Middle Egyptian (Allen 1984, §266; Loprieno 1991a, 210-17; 1995, 81). However, the division is often evoked also later, particularly to create ‘adverbial’ and ‘nominal’ ‘prospectives’ (Depuydt 1993, 22 and n.30 above).



the 'diagnostic' writings.<sup>75</sup> However, this old hypothesis, which underpins most current divisions of *sḏm=f*-forms in general, is suspicious. It seems fallacious to argue that, say, a writing such as [mr=f] represents some 'prospective *sḏm=f*' only because it occurs e.g. in final clauses with future-modal meaning if it is simultaneously maintained that [mr=f] is 'also' the writing of some other (in this case 'circumstantial') *sḏm=f*-form of the same verb *mr(i)* in gnomic main clauses after *iw* or in adjuncts with relative present tense. What can actually be observed in *writing* suggests that [mr=f] is the same *form* in each case, but its semantic-pragmatic and syntactic *function* is not. Of course, theoretically it is possible that, e.g. as in Hebrew, the inflection of the Early Egyptian verb was not based only on consonantal, but also *vocalic* variation. Native speakers confronted with an unfamiliar text might have utilised syntactic and syntagmatic context to separate forms differing only in vowels; i.e., having recognised the function of some string of consonants proceeded to inflect it into a fully vocalised form. However, it is not known whether this strategy was actually employed, and its application is in any case forever lost to modern Egyptologists who have access to Earlier Egyptian only as it survives in the vowel-less writing. The unpleasant reality is that ultimately grammars of this language describe merely the behaviour of the bare consonantal skeletons of words, and the extent to which this corresponds to the living, spoken mode of communication is unknown. In what survives of Earlier Egyptian, then, form must equal *written morphology*, and, as a consequence, researchers are bound to primarily write *grammar of function* rather than of form. The two cannot be equated, as this will result in postulating 'forms' with no morphological identity whatsoever: e.g. the paradigm of the 'circumstantial *sḏm=f*' contains not a single writing which does not also serve some other function. When 'forms' become defined as nothing but function, one runs a serious risk of a categorical error, and the proliferation of 'identically written forms' which is an inevitable outcome of such an approach amounts to a flagrant aberration of Occam's razor, one of the most sensible principles in philosophy of science.

An alternative approach has been advocated by Allen who views the occurrence of differently written *sḏm=f*'s in a given syntactic position as variation of

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<sup>75</sup> This principle originates in Erman 1889, 11n.2 and was embraced by ST (Polotsky 1969, 466-67; 1990, 769).

*functional counterparts*.<sup>76</sup> This interpretation accepts that e.g.  $h33=f$  and  $spr=f$  are not the same *form*, but may share the same function. In complementation, Allen distinguishes a ‘nominal aorist’ active  $s\bar{d}m=f$  signalled by gemination in root-classes showing this property, a ‘prospective’  $s\bar{d}m=f$  with the ending  $-w$ , and a ‘subjunctive’ which for the verb  $iw(i)$  is written  $iwt$ .<sup>77</sup> This division also touches upon modality: the ‘aorist’ describes a ‘simple occurrence of an action’ whereas the ‘subjunctive’ ‘carries a sense of contingency or necessity that the prospective seems to lack.’<sup>78</sup> The present work seeks to build on Allen’s original insight, and treats form as strictly *isomorphic* of semantic-pragmatic and syntactic function, which relate to *use* instead.<sup>79</sup> The geminating and ‘prospective’ forms of the  $s\bar{d}m=f$  are not understood to exist as paradigms of the Earlier Egyptian verb as a whole.<sup>80</sup> What will, for reasons explained in time, be termed *proximal irrealis* represents a *modal function of the  $s\bar{d}m=f$*  which is a particular sort of non-assertion and contrasts with another irrealis function of the  $s\bar{d}m=f$ , termed *distal*. Verbs with immutable roots are interpreted as allocating both these functions to the one and only  $s\bar{d}m=f$ -form they possess. Verbs of *ultimaefirmaef* roots possess a specific *form* for the proximal irrealis, namely the geminating  $prr=f/ntrr=f$ , but are viewed as assigning the distal function mostly to the non-geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$ . However, many of these roots also possess *forms* for the latter function:  $h3w=f$ ,  $sw3w=f$ ,  $iry/mry/hsy=f$  etc., which do not occur in other functions,<sup>81</sup> and are not seen as ‘full writings’ of something else any more than  $h3=f$ ,  $sw3=f$  etc. are understood to represent ‘*Defektivschreibung*’. These distal irrealis forms are but rarely used and apparently under diachronic pressure of elimination and morphological collapse, with their function(s) increasingly assigned to the non-geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$ .<sup>82</sup> The short form of 2<sup>ae</sup> *gem* roots such as  $m33$  is associated with distal, the long with proximal function(s).<sup>83</sup> Of the anomalous roots,  $rdi$ ,  $in(i)$  and  $wnn$

<sup>76</sup> Allen 1984, §212; Allen’s object of research are the Pyramid Texts.

<sup>77</sup> Allen 1984, §§258-64.

<sup>78</sup> Allen 1984, §§258, 267, cf. §364; 1982, 22; cf. also Malaise and Winand 1999, §§593- 94, 606-11.

<sup>79</sup> Comparable views have recently been expressed by Eyre (1994).

<sup>80</sup> The same holds also with the ‘circumstantial’  $s\bar{d}m=f$ , which ought to disappear altogether.

<sup>81</sup> In the PT/CT  $s\bar{d}m=f$  written thus occur with future passive sense, but these most likely represent the same form with no fixed voice as yet; cf. n.455 below for a similar situation with the negatival complement.

<sup>82</sup> Rather similarly Schenkel 1975, 62; 1981, 517; cf. also Loprieno 1986a, 38n.39.

<sup>83</sup> However, in the Classical language the writing  $m3=f$  appears to have been established as a distal irrealis form after the demise of the independent ‘indicative’ which survives only in the bound negative  $n\bar{s}dm=f$ . Although the morphology of the ‘indicative’ in the different roots is identical to that of the non-geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$  used in complementation, in the historical language it can be interpreted as a



possess separate proximal forms  $dd=f/inn=f/wnn=f$ ,<sup>84</sup> but allocate distal functions to the forms  $rdi/di$ ,  $in/int$  and  $wn$ .<sup>85</sup> In sum, some roots possess special forms of  $s\bar{d}m=f$  for the proximal and distal irrealis, some do not, and instead employ forms which may also function differently, depending on where they are used. The geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$ , and forms in  $-y$  and  $-w$ , are formally definable *moods*; all other (bare) forms of active  $s\bar{d}m=f$  without gemination and the endings  $-w/-y$  have, in complementation, irrealis *function*. The former two may be grouped as *modally marked* forms; the profile of the latter will be defined later. The Earlier Egyptian system of expressing modality with un-introduced complement clauses can be tabulated as follows:

		Proximal		Distal	
		Form	Function	Form	Function
<u>Immutable roots</u>		x	$s\bar{d}m=f$	x	$s\bar{d}m=f$
<u>Mutable roots</u>					
$2^{ae}$ gem		x	$m\bar{3}\bar{3}=f$	$m\bar{3}n=f/m\bar{3}=f$	x
<i>ult inf</i>		$h\bar{3}\bar{3}=f$	x	$h\bar{3}w/h\bar{3}y=f$	$h\bar{3}=f$
anom.					
	<i>rdi</i>	$dd=f$	x	x	$rdi=f/di=f$
	<i>iw(i)</i>	x	$iw=f$	x	$iwt=f$
	<i>wnn</i>	$wnn=f$	x	x	$wn=f$
	<i>in(i)</i>	$inn=f$	x	x	$in=f/int=f$
	<i>ii</i>	$iy=f?$	x	$i(i)=f?$	$iit=f$

separate 'form' seeing that it is only formed of transitive verbs, accepts only noun subjects and occurs only in absolute initial position; see Doret 1986, 24-27 and 4.3 below.

<sup>84</sup> The form  $tww=f$  is attested only twice (Gilula 1985, 137n.3) and never in complementation. It may be that the verb *ii* 'come' differentiates between the distal and proximal formally (see n.393). As for *wnn*, it should be noted once and for all that  $wnn=f$  is nothing but the geminating form of this verb, not a 'frozen' 'prospective' (Allen 1982, 25) etc. When initiating adverbial predicate clauses it sometimes appears to be 'emphatic' and sometimes not, but this arises from the status of *wnn* as a semantically empty auxiliary. In second tenses the initial verb represents backgrounded, less than optimally relevant information, (see 7.2) but a predication such as *wnn* with very little semantic content by default never carries a degree of salience sufficient for it to become the central locus of interest, i.e. foreground. *wnn* is thus, paradoxically, both 'always', and 'never', 'emphatic'. Similarly, *wn* is simply the non-geminating form of this verb, not several identically written 'converters' nor an idiosyncratic spelling for  $wn.n=f$  (see n.629 below).

<sup>85</sup> The forms *ii/iit*, *in/int*, *di/rdi* and *iw/iwt* cannot be divided functionally. Examples of both are found in every syntactic or semantic-pragmatic function argued as a domain of only one or the other, including 'Gunn's construction', after causative *rd(i)*, in the negations *nn* and *n-sp*, final clauses, circumstantial clauses and second tenses. The forms  $iit=f/int=f/iwt=f$  are not specialised 'subjunctives' formally either, as the ' $s\bar{d}mt=f$ ' of these verbs is also written thus and apparently is the same form.



By necessity, the discussion will mostly focus on mutable roots, which show clear formal differentiation between the distal and proximal irrealis functions.

Finally, the present work has a strongly *philological* and *example-based* focus. Particularly when dealing with dead languages, elusive modal nuances can only be extracted from a large amount of data rather than selected examples. The sources utilised span the period between the late V dynasty and the reign of Amenhotep III. Pre-XVIII dynasty examples derive from texts representing all textual genres and registers, whereas later material is largely restricted to royal and private monumental inscriptions.<sup>86</sup> Such a wide diachronic scope is required by the relatively infrequent occurrence of complement clauses with revealing morphology and is perhaps less than ideal. As a precautionary measure, therefore, and notwithstanding the unavoidable degree of arbitrariness associated, the Pyramid Texts (henceforth PT) have been excluded from consideration.<sup>87</sup> Yet, the realis-irrealis organisation appears to be discernible in these texts as well,<sup>88</sup> and it remains intact throughout the material studied: signs of its collapse appear late and are limited in number.<sup>89</sup> In view of the many quite thoroughgoing diachronic developments elsewhere in the language between late Old- and early New Kingdom, the modal system of complementation represents one of the most persistent characteristics of the Ancient Egyptian language.

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<sup>86</sup> Exceptions are the early New Kingdom medical papyri Edwin Smith, Ebers and Hearst, as well as the Book of the Dead, but all examples thither derive from the fine manuscript of Nu (pBM 10477). New Kingdom royal *Unterweltsbücher* are not included.

<sup>87</sup> Some PT spells are clearly contemporary Old Egyptian, some use language which seems exceedingly archaic. Although the Coffin Texts (henceforth CT) incorporate excerpts from the PT, they are nevertheless included in the present corpus, seeing that independently their idiom is closer to Middle Egyptian than the language of the PT (cf. Polotsky 1969, 466).

<sup>88</sup> For a brief discussion of the system outlined and the PT, see 7.1. PT passages will also be noted at several occasions for comparison against the data studied.

<sup>89</sup> See 5.3 and 7.1.

# 1. MODALITY IN AFFIRMATIVE OBJECT COMPLEMENT CLAUSES AFTER GOVERNING VERBS

## 1.1. Introduction

Of the two types of complementation after governing verbs, *object* complement clauses are by far the most widely attested in Earlier Egyptian and other languages alike. Although in Earlier Egyptian the question of survival and evenness of the evidence are always an issue, a wide variety of matrix verbs with object complements other than the bare infinitive or the *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* from immutable roots abound in the textual corpus.<sup>90</sup> Regardless of the particular language in question, in these constructions one notices a certain contrast between relatively clear syntax and highly complex semantic-pragmatics. It has been noted that the degree to which the situations described in the main and subordinate clauses are integrated is reflected iconically in their grammar, with the complement displaying signs of increasing morpho-syntactic dependence from the main clause the more the situations are assimilated.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, the more general *hypotactic* relationship of the clauses- i.e. one between a dependent subordinate- and a dominant main clause- remains the same.<sup>92</sup> Yet, there also exists a related strategy of clausal combination known as *direct speech*, (*oratio recta*) which belongs to the same scale of inter-clausal cohesion between transitive verbs and following clauses as complementation, but is best considered apart from the latter.<sup>93</sup> In direct speech, or ‘quoting’, the relationship between the combined clauses is *paratactic*: they have equal status and maintain their grammatical independence.<sup>94</sup> For example, in 12 and 13 below, the direct quotes after the verbs *say* and *answer* are self-contained sentences:

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<sup>90</sup> E.g. GEG §184; LGEC §§690-98, 700-11 and Callender 1975, 72-73 provide lists thereof. For verbs attested only with bare immutable *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* complements, see 1.3 below. The discussion here will include all lexical transitive verbs except *rdi*, which, despite of protestations to the contrary, (Junge 1978a, 97) is not simply a governing matrix verb but a (semi-)grammaticalised causative, and is to be treated as such.

<sup>91</sup> See Langacker 1991, 439; Hopper & Traugott 1993, 171; Givón 1994, 278-79; 2001 vol.2, 39-90; Uljas 2003.

<sup>92</sup> Halliday 1985, 218.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Li 1986, 36-37; Givón 2001 vol.1, 156.

<sup>94</sup> Halliday 1985, 250.

12 (Sin B23) Sinuhe succumbs to exhaustion in the desert:

*ḏd.n=i dpt mwt nn*

I said: ‘this is the taste of death.’

13 (Sin B260-61) The king has just implied that Sinuhe need not fear, then:

*wšb.n=i st m wšb snḏw ptr ḏdt n=i nb=i*

I answered to this with an answer of a frightened man: ‘what is my lord saying to me?’

‘Direct speech’ need not involve a verb of locution.<sup>95</sup> Humans use language also for thinking, and just as it is possible to quote words spoken, it is also perfectly feasible to quote thoughts: ‘I thought: ‘I’ll quickly see if he’s in’’ is almost a paraphrase for ‘I said to myself: ‘...’’.<sup>96</sup> This is possible also in Egyptian:

14 (Sh.S. 56-59) The sailor is about to encounter the giant snake for the first time:

*ḥḥ.n sdm.n=i ḥrw kri ib.kw w3w pw n w3ḏ-wr*

Then I heard a tumultuous noise, but only thought: ‘it is (just) a wave of the sea.’

Here the speaker’s thoughts are given a wording, and as in locution proper, this is reflected by employing a grammatically independent nominal predicate construction after ‘think’.<sup>97</sup> A quote never represents a semantic argument of the governing predicate, and is also logico-semantically independent. ‘Direct speech’ purports to be an authentic reproduction of the words or thoughts quoted. In the instances above, the speaker is quoting *himself*, but he may also quote others:

15 (Westcar 8, 8-9) The king has been told that a magician has arrived:

*ḏd.in ḥm=f is in n=i sw*

<sup>95</sup> Janssen-Winkel (1996) distinguishes between clausal ‘Kontextform’ and ‘Zitierform’ complements after various verbs; these correspond to complements and quotations respectively. However, parataxis is often evoked simply to explain away complementation violating the ST principles of the use of ‘nominal forms’; see 1.2.4.2 below.

<sup>96</sup> Halliday 1985, 255-56.

<sup>97</sup> Thus *w3w pw* is not an instance of a nominal predicate direct complement of *ib(i)*, as analysed e.g. in GEG §186, 3n.7 and Callender 1975, 74. Quoting herein gives a more fragmented, dynamic shape to the situation-description, which is well in accord with the texture of the narrative: I only thought: ‘...’, i.e. in fleeting and without great concern at first. The text does not lose any of its elegance; indeed, the more one is able to recognise different rhetoric devices employed by the ancient authors, the lesser the danger of underestimating their expressive skills, *a la* ST.



Then his majesty said: ‘Go, bring him to me.’

The *real* speaker (narrator) lends his voice to the *original* speaker (the king) but the quote displays no signs of ‘removal from the reality of the original utterance’.<sup>98</sup> In object complementation, by contrast, the deictic elements of the subordinate clause are modified to conform to the perspective of the real speaker- his identity and spatio-temporal status- regardless of whether these are shared with the main clause subject. For example, in a sentence such as:

(21) ‘Jack said that Jill was coming there’

the complement stands for the presumed original ‘Jill is coming here’ uttered by the subject ‘Jack’, who is not the real, but the original speaker.<sup>99</sup> This is an exemplar of prototypical *reported* ‘indirect speech’, (*oratio obliqua*) after a *verbum dicendi* in which the complement does not simply reproduce the original words. For the study of complement modality, direct speech is of limited interest, seeing that, as in 15 with the imperative, it expresses also these features in exactly the same manner as independent main clauses.<sup>100</sup> In object complementation, determining the modal status of the subordinate clause as an assertion or non-assertion is far more complex a matter in which the semantic-pragmatic dependency of the complement from its governing predicate, the often extreme sensitivity of this to co(n)textual factors, and the potential presence in the sentence of participants other than the speaker play a significant role. The effects of these factors must be briefly illustrated.

Object complement modality is not merely a matter of main verb taxonomy, although the character of the governing verb is of paramount importance as regards the type of semantic-pragmatic dependency of the complement. A complement may be ‘meaning-dependent’ of a governing verb in respect of<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Fleischman 1995, 532; cf. Coulmas 1986, 2; Li 1986, 38.

<sup>99</sup> The changes in temporal deixis in particular have often been assigned to a set of mechanical rules of ‘sequence of tenses’ (e.g. Comrie 1985, 104-17). See Palmer (1986, 166-67) and Langacker (1991, 253-60) for an outright rejection and (35) below for an example of the role of tense-changes in modality.

<sup>100</sup> But see Palmer 2000, 196-98; Martin 1998, 205.

<sup>101</sup> Adapted from Noonan 1985, 92.

- time
- propositional attitude
- information value

Complement non-assertion typically results when these dependencies render the subordinate clause ‘unrealised’, subject to ‘negative propositional attitude’ or ‘presupposed’, all characteristic motivations for the use of irrealis/subjunctive patterns.<sup>102</sup> In *all* languages finite complements whose time-reference is determined by the governing verb are treated as unasserted, and Earlier Egyptian is no exception.<sup>103</sup> Such verbs are e.g. those of *commanding, requesting, intending, desiring, preventing* etc. which are *notionally non-assertive* in that they impose an unrealised profile on their complements.<sup>104</sup> However, this does not mean that modality were purely a matter of ‘lexical determinism’ even in such instances. For example, different complement patterns may signal gradations in assessed controllability over, and expectations on the realisation of the situation, as in the following French examples with *want*, where the infinitive implies that the situation wanted is expected to occur and the subjunctive that this is not so much the case.<sup>105</sup>

- |      |                      |  |
|------|----------------------|--|
| (22) | Je veux partir (INF) | Je veux que j’aie (SUB) le temps de me préparer à partir |
|      | ‘I want to leave’    | ‘I want to have time to prepare myself to leave’         |

Thus even with notionally non-assertive verbs the grammatical form of the complement is influenced by factors of whether something seems more generally ‘expectable’ or ‘controllable’. The reason for this may also be *polysemy* (multiple meaning): for example, the Spanish verb *mandaron* means both ‘order’ and ‘tell’ but the latter implies far less control and manipulation and the two senses are indicated by

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<sup>102</sup> See 0.1.2 above.

<sup>103</sup> In e.g. Bulgarian, this is argued to be the *only* factor determining complement modality (Noonan 1985, 94).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Givón 1994, 272; 2001 vol.1, 309.

<sup>105</sup> See Wierzbicka 1988, 141-42. This behaviour is usually treated as ‘equi-deletion’ of complement clause subjects co-referential with the main clause actor. This is clearly not the case here; rather, the subjunctive clause results from there being various sorts of force dynamics barriers between the situation willed and the expresser of this attitude.

infinitive and subjunctive complements respectively.<sup>106</sup> With notionally non-assertive verbs, non-indicative appears also when the complement is a *report*:

- (23) Spanish:        Le mandaron que se callara (SUB)  
                          ‘They ordered that he keep quiet’.

Yet, the deictic shifts take place as normal, showing that the overall perspective to the situation is still that of the *real* speaker. With past reported orders, some languages even grammaticalise differences such as whether the situation ordered took place at some point between the time of ordering and the time of *speaking*.<sup>107</sup> Although this information is not attitudinal, it neither originates in the subject of the governing verb but is added by the speaker and represents a definite ‘intrusion’ of the latter to the situation frame. Nevertheless, indication of the real speaker’s attitude towards complements of notionally non-assertive verbs does not occur in reports other than in the first person. There is no language where speaker attitude towards the content of e.g. third person reported orders would be modally expressed: nowhere does one find different ways of constructing the complement in ‘They ordered that he keep quiet’ according to what is the *real* speaker’s attitude towards ‘his keeping quiet’. The modality of complements of notionally non-assertive verbs such as *order* is always assigned from the perspective of the *original* speaker and speech context.

The situation is rather different with verbs describing *propositional attitude* towards the complement situation/information, or *content of communication*. Complements of such verbs have independent time-reference, and many of the latter are notionally *assertive* in that they describe committed attitude.<sup>108</sup> Verbs of *locution*, *knowledge* and *perception* are obvious representatives of this class: what is said is of course potentially asserted, and knowledge of something equals strongest attainable certainty and commitment to facilitate assertion. Similarly, vision is most *objective* kind of support for certainty concerning situations in the world, followed closely by auditory evidence.<sup>109</sup> In contrast, some verbs such as *doubt* describe negative attitude.

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<sup>106</sup> Givón 1994, 281.

<sup>107</sup> See 1.3.2 below.

<sup>108</sup> Hooper 1975, 95.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Sweetser 1990, 37-40; Uljas 2003, 393. A note should be made herein on the thorny issue of ‘factivity’ (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971). This term refers to verbs such as ‘see’ and ‘know’ which render their complements ‘necessarily true’. Factivity has been seen as synonymous with presupposition, but this assumption entails confusion between ‘semantic’ and ‘pragmatic’



Across languages, expressions of positive and negative propositional attitude are typically associated with asserted and non-asserted complements respectively, but here in particular various subjective and contextual factors make their effects felt. For example, verbs of *belief* express commitment and are generally followed by the indicative in Spanish, but the subjunctive may appear if the matter ‘believed’ is still viewed somewhat tentatively:<sup>110</sup>

- (24) Sospecho que es (IND)/sea (SUB) mentira  
 ‘I suspect it is a lie’

Although complements of verbs notionally assertive verbs *may* be assertions, they do not *always* assert. Similarly, the verb *think* is followed by the indicative in Spanish and many other languages if it is affirmative, but by the subjunctive, if negated:<sup>111</sup>

- |      |                              |                                    |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (25) | Creo que habla (IND) inglés  | No creo que hable (SUB) inglés     |
|      | ‘I think she speaks English’ | ‘I don’t think she speaks English’ |

This is because ‘not-think’ equals doubt, which cancels the assertion in the complement. Conversely, the verb *doubt* is notionally an explicit signal of inability to assert, and e.g. in Portuguese takes subjunctive complements when affirmative, but indicative if negated:<sup>112</sup>

- |      |                                |                                   |
|------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (26) | Duvido que venha (SUB)         | Não duvido que virá (IND)         |
|      | ‘I doubt whether he will come’ | ‘I don’t doubt that he will come’ |

‘No doubt’ is, of course, tantamount to commitment. As in main clauses, complement assertion and non-assertion thus often depend of the semantics of the overall *co(n)text* and of whole *sentences* rather than individual verbs. The speaker attitude affects the

presupposition (see n.37 above; Hooper & Terrell 1974, 485; Hooper 1975, 116-17; Levinson 1983, 204-25). ‘Factive’ verbs presuppose the logical *truth* of their complements, but do not in any sense indicate that the information therein is assumed to be *shared* by the speaker and hearer. Nothing prevents from asserting something known and seen, as long as the speaker does not take it for granted that this is already common ground between himself and the audience. See also n.120 below.

<sup>110</sup> Butt & Benjamin 2000, 258.

<sup>111</sup> See Butt & Benjamin 2000, 241; Hooper & Terrell 1974, 486; Hooper 1975, 121n.21. Also e.g. French, Italian, Portuguese, Russian and Polish behave similarly.

<sup>112</sup> Willis 1974, 294.

asserted/non-asserted alternation of the complements of 'assertive' verbs also when the speaker and the subject of the main clause are, unlike above, not the same. In general, sentences with assertive verbs potentially contain *two* assertions:

- (27) 'Oedipus said that his mother was beautiful' → Assertion 1: Oedipus said X  
Assertion 2: his mother was  
 beautiful

The assertion in the first clause is assigned to the real speaker, whereas the complement represents something said by the referentially different main clause subject and is an 'indirect' assertion. But the deixis in the latter shows that it is anything but faithful to the 'original'. The real speaker is free to modify and even add information to the complement not conveyed originally. In (27) it may be that Oedipus actually said e.g. 'my *wife* is beautiful', with the information that his wife is also his mother being provided by the real speaker.<sup>113</sup> In that case the complement represents even less what the original speaker said; it gives a *report* of this, but is certainly not his *assertion*. The real speaker's ability, willingness etc. to assert or non-assert the complement, and so *comment* on its content, is decisive to modal status. This is evident e.g. in German reported speech:<sup>114</sup>

- (28) Er sagt, er müsse (SUB)/muß (IND) nach Hause  
 'He says he must go home'

The subjunctive in the complement indicates that the speaker does not necessarily *believe* the reported proposition, whereas the indicative shows that he does.<sup>115</sup> In Italian, mood may be used to indicate that the reported proposition is not *accepted* by the real speaker:<sup>116</sup>

- (29) I maligni dicono che il nonno N riscuotesse (SUB) fino una gabella 'sul coito'.

<sup>113</sup> Coulmas 1986, 3-4; this is known as the *de dicto/de re*-ambiguity.

<sup>114</sup> Palmer 2000, 114.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Coulmas 1986, 16; Wierzbicka 1988, 150; Palmer 2000, 198-99. The same principle lies behind the main clause use of subjunctive or conditional in French and German 'journalistic style' (see 0.1.2 above).

<sup>116</sup> Maiden & Robustelli 2000, 326.

‘Wicked people say that grandfather N levied a tax ‘on copulation’.

Variation of this sort has little to do directly with the governing verb. The speaker’s role is also revealed in instances where the ‘assertivity’ of *say* is manipulated, e.g. again through negation. For example, the following utterances are more typical reports of questionings taking place in a judiciary system where the innocence of the suspect is the default assumption:

- (30) ‘He does not say if he is a burglar’  
 German: Er sagt nicht er wäre (SUB) ein Einbrecher.

The non-indicatives communicate that the speakers are not aware of the true state of affairs described in the complement and *cannot* assert it. But e.g. in Stalin’s USSR, an interrogator might report a failure to extract a confession from an accused whose guilt has already been decided beforehand, as follows:

- (31) ‘Kamenev does not say that he is a class-enemy’  
 German: Kamenev sagt nicht, daß er ein Klassenfeind ist (IND)

Here it is explicitly told that the subject never asserted the complement, but the real speaker is committed to Kamenev being a ‘class-enemy’, and frames it as an assertion.<sup>117</sup> Verbs of cognition and perception abide to the same principles based on the knowledge and acceptance of the real speaker. In reported *speech* proper a reference to the complement as a ‘subject assertion’ may be appropriate when this participant is positively reported to have carried out a *speech act*. However, otherwise reference to ‘assertion’ is meaningful only with respect to the *real* speaker: if the complement e.g. merely informs what someone *knows*; it need not report anything beyond what the sentence subject can be *imagined* as having said. The real speaker provides the wording, and again his role is crucial in determining the complement modality. For example, the following sentences are ungrammatical:

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<sup>117</sup> This shows clearly that it is incorrect to argue that the complement assertion is simply assigned to the subject and that the ‘S(peaker) is not himself asserting the existence of T’ (the situation; Langacker 1991, 255). The indicative pertains solely to the real speaker. Cf. Butt & Benjamin 2000, 254 for subjunctive/indicative expressing the same contrast in Spanish. Swedish uses conditional vs. indicative and Finnish interrogative vs. indicative to same effect.



- (32) \*I don't see/know that he is here  
 German: \*Ich sehe/weiß nicht, daß er hier ist (IND)

If the speaker says that he does not know something, he cannot phrase the latter as an assertion, which signals that he *does* know it.<sup>118</sup> Yet the sentences below are perfectly acceptable:<sup>119</sup>

- (33) 'He does not see/know that/whether he is here'  
 Spanish: Yo no sabia que él estuviera (SUB)/estaba (IND) ahí  
 'I did not see/know whether/that he was there'

In the first sentence it is innocuous what the subject of the sentence sees or knows; the *that*-clause shows the real speaker to be in a position to assert because he sees/knows that the complement situation obtains.<sup>120</sup> *Whether* indicates that this is not so, or that the speaker *does not wish to confirm* this. The speaker may withhold the assertion also if e.g. it is not his illocutionary intention to provide his audience with the information of whether 'he' actually is/was 'there', regardless of whether or not he is presently aware of this. In the sentences with past tense in (33), indicative is acceptable provided the speaker is *now* in a position to assert; i.e. capable and willing in the current speech-context to commit himself to the 'reality' of 'him' having been 'there'. The non-indicative versions again signal a contrary situation: either the speaker is still unaware of the 'real' state of affairs, or simply deems it unnecessary to inform/confirm this. In other words, the assertion/non-assertion variation reflects the character of the overall *discourse*.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Hooper 1975, 119; Wierzbicka 1988, 146.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Butt & Benjamin 2000, 254.

<sup>120</sup> However, unlike with speaking, the real speaker is (almost) bound to belief if reporting someone else's visual confirmation or knowledge of something; hence the oddity of 'Jack knows/sees that Jill is there but I don't believe it. Nevertheless, 'Jack hears that Jill is there, but I don't believe it' is more acceptable because auditory evidence is less reliable and easier for the real speaker to overrule. This scalar organisation shows that the issue is not that of 'factivity'. Seeing and hearing are equally 'factive', but visual confirmation is more 'believable'; cf. the different weight assigned to eye-witness testimonies and 'hearsay' in court-proceedings, or the ranking of visual evidence higher than auditory in evidential modal systems (Willett 1988).

Finally, there are verbs which render their complements ‘informatively’ dependent by indicating that they are presupposed; a verb of this sort is e.g. *regret*.<sup>121</sup> Languages which do not code background information as irrealis show no differences herein.<sup>122</sup> The number of genuinely presupposing object complement-taking verbs is small, and none are attested in Earlier Egyptian. However, speakers may also *evaluate* when a complement is new information and when not, as in (33), where the use of *whether*/subjunctive may be motivated by the lack of *relevance* of the information about ‘somebody being there.’ The utterance ‘I did not see whether he was there’ may reflect the speaker’s assumption that the audience is already aware of the true state of affairs or that the complement information simply is immaterial in the current speech context, perhaps because the most salient issue currently is *that* the speaker did not see something rather than *what* he might not have seen.

Accordingly, whether or not an object complement is an assertion or non-assertion depends on a range of issues including the notional properties of the main verb, the discourse context and the ‘position’ of the real speaker. In every instance indicative/realis signals the complement to be known, believed and accepted by the real speaker to whom it is assertable. Irrealis/subjunctive could be said to signal the speaker’s attitude and ‘epistemic perspective’ to be ‘I cannot/don’t want to say this.’<sup>123</sup> In Earlier Egyptian affirmative object complements after governing predicates, *ntt/wnt*-introduced realis- and bare *sḏm=f* irrealis clauses are used under the same conditions. When asserting the complement is ruled out, or the speaker opts to indicate that for whatever reason he is not fully committed to the proposition, does not accept it or intend to present it as optimally relevant information, *ntt/wnt* are not used, and a bare *sḏm=f*, which in certain verb-classes can be formally divided into two types of irrealis, appears instead.<sup>124</sup> One single verb stands outside this organisation,<sup>125</sup> but its status overall is marginal. Bare *sḏm=f* irrealis-, and *ntt/wnt*-introduced realis object complement clauses indicate what is the real speaker’s illocutionary intention and ‘position’ *vis-à-vis* the subordinate proposition, and these

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<sup>121</sup> This is seen e.g. by the survival of the presupposition under negation: I regret/do not regret that I left >> I left. Defeasibility (as in ‘Jack won’t have to regret doing a PhD because he failed it’) does not affect the choice of mood.

<sup>122</sup> Thus e.g. in Russian complements of presupposing verbs such as *regret* are indicative (Noonan 1985, 99).

<sup>123</sup> Wierzbicka 1988, 159.

<sup>124</sup> See 0.2 above.

<sup>125</sup> See 1.2.4.2 and 5 below.

subjective stances are not grammatical or lexically-determined constants in Earlier Egyptian any more than in modern languages.

## 1. 2 Modality in affirmative object complements after notionally assertive verbs

For a modal analysis of Earlier Egyptian affirmative object complement clauses and complementation more generally, the notionally *assertive* verbs of *locution*, *perception* and *cognition* are of decisive importance. Of all governing predicates, these verbs occur with the widest range of object-clause types, from those introduced by *ntt/wnt* to bare geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*-forms. Although combining with any one of these construals is not a prerogative of the said verbs, examples of the latter are sufficiently common to allow the modal character and parameters of employment to be established completely for *ntt/wnt*-, and initially for the two types of bare *sdm=f*. Similarly, with these predicates it is possible to differentiate between *ntt/wnt*-introduced assertions and un-introduced non-assertions in general terms even when the latter are represented only by a morphologically unrevealing *sdm=f* from immutable roots, whose value as evidence with verbs not attested with *ntt/wnt* is limited.

### 1.2.1 Locution: The Verb *dd*, 'say', and Indirect Speech

#### 1.2.1.1 Core

According to Gardiner, 'the highly developed indirect speech found in Latin, where all the pronouns after 'he said' or the like are reduced to 3<sup>rd</sup> pers., hardly exists in Egyptian.'<sup>126</sup> This is largely true for Middle Egyptian, but in Old Egyptian, complement clauses after *dd* are characteristically introduced by the element *wnt* after which they assume the guise of 'indirect speech' of traditional Western grammars.<sup>127</sup> Yet, Egyptian gradually gave up this sort of hypotactic linkage of clauses and receded into a paratactic system of quoted speech after 'say'. Indirect speech introduced by specific elements largely disappeared by the advent of the Middle Kingdom, occurring only in consciously archaising sources and the Coffin Texts, but not e.g. in

<sup>126</sup> GEG §224.

<sup>127</sup> Gilula 1971, 16; 1972, 59; Doret 1986, 34n.263.



the classical literature of the period, where it is replaced by direct quotes. In contrast, the method of expressing indirect speech *without* an introducing element was not subjected to similar diachronic elimination, but survived throughout the lifespan of Earlier Egyptian. However, indirect speech complements of this variety differ from those ushered in by additional elements not only in construal, but also in pragmatic function: proper ‘indirect speech’ was retained in the Earlier Egyptian grammatical oeuvre for a specific modal purpose only.

In Old Egyptian *wnt* alone is used after *dd* in the elite tomb-autobiographies and secular texts generally, *ntt* being reserved for other verbs attested with introduced object complements. This raises a question of the possible differences of *ntt* and *wnt*.<sup>128</sup> Both share the same negative equivalent *iwt*, and although there are no Old Egyptian examples of this element after verbs other than *dd*, in the Coffin Texts *iwt* occurs both after *dd* and predicates earlier more closely associated with *ntt*.<sup>129</sup> *wnt* appears after verbs other than *dd* already in the Old Kingdom and, conversely, examples of *dd* + *ntt* are attested in the Pyramid Texts.<sup>130</sup> In the Coffin Texts and later, *ntt* is wholly interchangeable with *wnt* regardless of the governing predicate. This progressively increasing overlap of the syntagmatic properties of these elements from early on is also paralleled by their closely similar etymology.<sup>131</sup> But it is first and foremost their identical *pragmatic* function which suggests that *ntt* and *wnt* represent two near-synonymous elements with essentially the same role in the grammatical system, whose differentiation appears to have been slight throughout the diachronic history of (at least written) Earlier Egyptian.

Of all the *verba dicendi* of Earlier Egyptian, *dd* is the only one certainly attested with *ntt/wnt* and indirect speech.<sup>132</sup> Perhaps as a reflection of its diachronic and typological restrictions, the grammatical phenomenon of indirect speech in Earlier Egyptian has received very little special attention among Egyptologists.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>128</sup> See Polotsky 1964, 480-81 and 1.2.4 & 1.2.4.1 below.

<sup>129</sup> See 3.2 below for examples and discussion.

<sup>130</sup> See e.g. PT 1102a; Nt 40-41.

<sup>131</sup> For this, see 1.2.3 below; Gardiner 1920, 53; GEG §§233, 237; EAG §1019; Allen 1986b, 25.

<sup>132</sup> The verbs *sml* ‘report’, *whm* ‘repeat, relate’ *mdw* ‘speak’, *wšb* ‘reply’, *šn(i)* ‘curse’, *šd(i)* ‘recite’ and the defective verbs *l* and *hr* are attested with direct speech only; cf. Jenni 2003, 239n.3. See also 1.2.3 below.

<sup>133</sup> A partial exception to this is a most idiosyncratic study of ‘quotations’ by Goedicke (1955), where it is argued that in *wnt*-clauses the object is actually *wnt* ‘what is real’, followed by an appositional proposition. This interpretation fails to take into account the thoroughly grammaticalised status of *wnt* (and *ntt*). See Doret 1986, 14n.13 and 1.2.3 below. Significant efforts have, in contrast, been made in

Nonetheless, indirect speech with *dd* + *ntt/wnt* is rather widely encountered; the following example could be argued to represent a *locus classicus*:

16 (Urk I 128, 10-11) The young Pepy I writes to his emissary concerning previous correspondence:

*dd.n=k [r] md3t=k tn wnt in.n=k inw nb ʕ3 nfr*

According to this your letter, you have said that you have brought all (sorts of) fine and abundant tribute.<sup>134</sup>

This is an archetypal instance of *reported* indirect speech, where the subject pronoun in the complement is altered from ‘I have brought’, what the recipient probably said ‘originally’, to conform to the real speaker’s vantage point. Syntactically, *wnt* marks the boundary of the subordinate clause and in translation corresponds closely e.g. to English *that*, German *daß*, or *at(t)* of most Scandinavian languages. Also in terms of modality, the sentence is a paradigm example of the kind of ‘indirect’ assertion where the complement reported speech represents an assertion assigned to the subject of the main clause verb. Similar examples with *wnt* from Old Egyptian and later with *ntt* are e.g.:

17 (Urk I 63, 2-3) The king refers to his addressee’s ground-plan for a ceremonial court:

*sk tw dd=k hr hm(=i) wnt iri.n=k sw r [3w] mh 1000 [wsh] mh 440[...] hft wddt n=k m stp-s3*

Now, you tell to my majesty that you have made it to (be) 1000 cubits [in length] and 440 [+X] cubits in [width] according to what you were ordained in the court.

18 (Urk I 62, 1-3) The king recalls what his addressee said concerning a building-project:

*[dd.n=k]<sup>135</sup> hr hm(=i) wnt=k r irt š hft ddd[t] m stp-s3 [...] m hmt=k sk tw dd=k hr hm(=i) wnt=k r [...]*

[You have said] to my majesty that you are going to make a pool (?) in accordance with what was said in the court [...] in your absence, but you tell my majesty that you will [...]

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study of indirect speech in Late Egyptian (see Peust 1996 *passim* and 47-48 for a historical summary; cf. also Junge 2001, 220-01) and in Coptic (Quecke 1990).

<sup>134</sup> Similarly Urk I 128, 14-15.

<sup>135</sup> Sethe’s restoration is undoubtedly valid, seeing what follows; cf. also EAG §1025.

19 (CT V 397m-o) The god Orion says to the deceased concerning certain divine beings:

*ii.n=k is 3h.ti ʿpr.t(i) rh.n=k rnw=sn dd.n=k n=sn ntt ʿm.n=k dsrt*

Verily you have come transfigured and equipped, having learnt their names and told them that you have swallowed the Red Crown.

20 (CT VI 328f-g) The deceased asks a divinity to say to Osiris:

*sdm=k mdw ntr pw št3 hr hnty s(my)t i3btt ddw wnt=f hr ts=i*

Hear the word of this god whose face is hidden, foremost of the eastern desert, who says that he is knitting me together.

21 (pTurin 54002, 8-9) The author tells about some information conveyed to him by a third party:

[...] *dd.n=f n(=i) wnt rdi.n=k st.t(i) mm hk3t 10 m nhn*

He said to me that you have caused ten *heqats* of emmer seed to be sown in Hieraconpolis.

In all these instances the original and the real speaker are different individuals. Only one example of reported speech with co-referential main clause subject and speaker is attested, in an explicitly ‘performative’ context:

22 (MMA 13.182.3, vertical 3-4) King Intef II sings praise to goddess Hathor:

*dy(=i) rh=s dd(=i) r-gs=s ntt w(i) hʿ.kw m m33=s*

I let her know, I say by her side that I am rejoicing at seeing her!

However, just as the shifts in pronouns with referentially different governing clause subject and the real speaker show the real speaker’s orientation to be that employed in the deictic profiling of the situation-description, it is also his attitudes and opinions that are more relevant with respect to the modal character of the complement. In most cases above, the subject of the sentence is also the addressee. It seems unlikely that the real speaker’s intention is to particularly ‘inform’ the addressee that the latter has asserted something, seeing that this can usually be expected to be obvious. In fact, in many of these instances the *primary assertion* of



the *sentence as a whole* is the complement clause.<sup>136</sup> The same holds also with impersonal matrix subjects:<sup>137</sup>

23 (Urk I 104, 12) Weni relates the background of a punitive campaign he orchestrated:

*dd.t(i) wnt btkw nht m h3styw pn*

It was told that there were strong trouble-makers among these hill-dwellers.

The discourse-function of these sentences is rather to express the speaker's own degree of faith and commitment- perhaps in view of further commenting upon the matter, as is frequently the case in letters whence most of the above instances derive- and to tell *what* was said rather than *that* it was said. This is manifestly the case in instances where the original speaker cannot have asserted anything, as e.g. when the governing verb refers to *futurity*:

24 (CT III 268/69a-270/71b) CT Spell 228 begins with a declaration by the deceased:

*i wr ʿk dd n iʿb sš iry-ʿ3 n wsir ntt wi ii.kw wr.ki 3h.ki wsr.ki*

O Great Enterer; tell him who unites writings, the door-keeper of Osiris, that I have come, being great, transfigured and mighty.<sup>138</sup>

25 (Louvre C10, x + 9-11) King Sebekhotep I says to a divine being:

*i.dd=k n hr wnt wi hʿ.kw m m3ʿ-hrw=f m-b3h psdt*<sup>139</sup>

Tell Horus that I was delighted of his vindication before the Ennead.

These examples of course are not instances of reported speech; instead, the addressees are told to say something which they have not (yet) said. In the next instance the speaker expresses a wish that the complement proposition would be said by some unspecified participant:<sup>140</sup>

<sup>136</sup> See Hooper 1975, 94-95. It may be, if some or all of the initial un-introduced *sdm.n=f*'s are to be interpreted as second tenses, that the governing clauses in fact constitute *non-assertions*; this depends ultimately on the modal analysis of second tenses; see 7.2.

<sup>137</sup> Alternatively, the complement could here be interpreted as the *subject* of passive *dd.t(i)*. See n.380 below for discussion of this problem.

<sup>138</sup> B5C has *n ntt*. A further similar example is the rather obscure CT VI 340j. In CT V 49c the *ntt*-clause also contains the particle *is*, (see 5.2, example 312) some variants omitting *ntt*.

<sup>139</sup> So Pierret (1874-78, vol.2, 34) and all subsequent authors citing this example except Helck (1975, 5) who has *i.dd=k n hr hwnt=i hʿ.kw*.

<sup>140</sup> It seems that the future governing clause contains an impersonal subject omitted under relevance (cf. Collier 1990c, 88) rather than that the subordinate clause is a subject complement.

26 (CT VI 408m-q) A myth narrates the laments of Horus when subjected to vicious attacks by Seth:

*3d=f wi ph=f wi i.in hr iw hw 3 dd ø n mwt(=i) tw ntt wi snd.ki wrt iw.ki m pf(3) gs ntt wd<sup>c</sup> 3d=f wi*

‘He rages at me and attacks me’- so said Horus, stranded. ‘If only someone would tell that mother of mine that I am very afraid and stranded on the yonder side, and that the Outcast rages at me!’

The strongly irrealis modal character of the main clause is particularly noteworthy. Whatever the identity of the main clause subject, the complements in these examples are patently unasserted by this participant, whereas the same does not hold with the real speaker who is wholly committed to the subordinate situations and asserts them. It matters but little that the governing clause does not confirm an act of speaking having ‘originally’ occurred at all. After the verb *dd*, the elements *ntt/wnt* can thus be analysed to mark object complement clauses as modally *realis speaker assertions*.

Alternative analyses of *wnt*- and *ntt*-complements have been proposed by Loprieno, according to whom *wnt* and the main verb together form a ‘thematic N(ominal) P(hrase)’, with *wnt* ‘containing’ an indefinite (deleted?) object for the verb, followed by a ‘rhematic NP’, as a ‘nominalization of a complex adverbial sentence or of a *ju*-sentence by means of *wn*’ (from *wnt*).<sup>141</sup> If applied to 16 above, the structure would be as follows:

NP theme	NP rheme
S[[ <i>dd.n=k st r md3t=k tn</i> ] S[ <i>wn[iw in.n=k inw nb]</i> ]]	

That is, the entire complex is assumed to constitute one large ‘balanced sentence’-construction. However, it is not the case that *wnt* or any part thereof is the ‘object’ of *dd*- this is clearly the entire complement clause which the element introduces.<sup>142</sup> In a further analysis, Loprieno interprets *ntt* separately from *wnt* as an ‘actualiser’ that

<sup>141</sup> Loprieno 1988, 69-70.

<sup>142</sup> Loprieno’s analysis shares similarities with those by Goedicke (1955), Gunn (1924, 176) and Lefebvre (LGEC §701) and is prompted by problems encountered by Doret (1986, 81) with this particular example in explaining how the complement clause, which he assumes to be a *vedette*, can function as such after an ‘emphatic’ *dd.n=k*. If there is anything ‘emphasised’ in the sentence, this is surely *r md3t=k tn*: the king is not laying stress on what his addressee has said, but on the fact that the latter has put his claims in writing delivered to his majesty (the translation of 16 above follows this interpretation).

indicates the following proposition to be 'thetic' in character, i.e. to represent 'cotextually new information'.<sup>143</sup> Also this hypothesis suffers from difficulties. 'Theticity' refers to a particular strategy of information-structuring by the speaker whereby the described situation and its associated participants are viewed as having equal communicative salience.<sup>144</sup> Thus e.g. expressions of participant-focus are diagonally opposite to thetic.<sup>145</sup> Yet, *ntt/wnt*-introduced cleft sentence objects are commonplace and show that there is no such constraint with these elements.<sup>146</sup> It may also be asked what precisely is there in verbs of locution/cognition/perception that allows 'theticity' when many other matrix verbs do not.<sup>147</sup> Another alternative analysis of *ntt/wnt* has been suggested by Allen, who interprets complements introduced by these elements to express absolute *tense*.<sup>148</sup> In an example such as 16, *wnt* would show that the tense of the subordinate verb is viewed from the real speaker's temporal perspective (the time of the speech act) and as 'relevant to his own present situation'. This proposal captures superbly the importance of the speaker's position, but must be deemed too tempus-oriented.<sup>149</sup> Many patterns following *ntt/wnt* are non-verbal and with them the question of absolute versus relative timing does not arise.<sup>150</sup> For Allen the lack of an introductory element signals the tense of the subordinate clause to be relative (taxical) to that of the governing predicate.<sup>151</sup> However, in such un-introduced complements the absence of *ntt/wnt* seems to reflect

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<sup>143</sup> Loprieno 1991a, 214. However, in Loprieno 1995 (100, 109, 200) most of the earlier arguments concerning *ntt* and *wnt* appear to have been abandoned; both are simply referred to as 'conjuncts' or 'converters'.

<sup>144</sup> Sasse 1987; Lambrecht 1994, 137-46; for example, a proposition 'John is singing' may represent a categorical (non-thetic) assertion if it answers the question 'What's John doing?' In such a case the reply is about 'John' and the information concerning what he is doing figures more salient. If, however, the same sentence answers to 'What's the ruckus?', then the utterance 'presents' the situation as one un-analysable whole '(It is) [John singing]', where neither the event or its argument(s) figures larger in the information-chunk as a whole. In English this difference is not specifically marked beyond intonation, whereas e.g. in Japanese there are grammatical indicators of theticity.

<sup>145</sup> Sasse 1987, 572-73.

<sup>146</sup> See examples 68 and 70 below. Also *ntt*-introduced 'adjunct-focus' second tenses seem to appear after verbs (see 1.2.4.1) and are certainly found after prepositions (4.3 below).

<sup>147</sup> Indeed, theticity is not determined by any lexical or other grammatical factor, but arises from speaker's shaping his contribution in response to what sort of information he beliefs his audience to seek.

<sup>148</sup> Allen 1986a, 11-12.

<sup>149</sup> However, the objections against Allen's thesis raised by Meltzer (1987, 148-50) are unconvincing and based solely on the assumption of correctness of the ST system.

<sup>150</sup> See below for examples with nominal and adverbial predicate. Perhaps noticing this problem, Allen suggests that with nominal predicates *ntt/wnt* may be merely 'appositional', and with adverbial constructions these elements 'could be considered markers of syntactic function only' (1986b, 33).

<sup>151</sup> Allen 1986a, *passim*; this is seen to apply generally and not only to complementation.



differences in the speaker ‘position’ *vis-à-vis* the subordinate proposition rather than in syntax or tempus.

As seen, e.g. in certain negative contexts the real speaker may be *denied* the capacity to assert the complement, and this affects the grammatical form of the complement.<sup>152</sup> There are no certain examples of clausal complements after negated *dd*,<sup>153</sup> but negation is not the only operation that may alter the assertivity of a complement: *interrogative* has often closely similar effects. If the main verb of locution is questioned, in German the subjunctive is characteristically used in the complement and a *whether/if*-clause in English.<sup>154</sup>

- (34) Sagt er er wäre (SUB) müde?  
 ‘Does he say if he is tired (or not)?’

Yet this does not result automatically from the interrogative, but concerns its *scope*. The *if*/subjunctive shows that the complement is under the scope of the interrogation as well; i.e. the speaker is not only (or even primarily) interested in whether someone *said* something, but also in finding out whether that someone is ‘tired’ or not. The use of a non-indicative herein is thus a signal that the real speaker is actually *unaware* of the status of the complement clause situation as well, and asks for its confirmation or denial.<sup>155</sup> In instances of this sort, *ntt/wnt* is not employed after *dd* in Earlier Egyptian:

27 (CT V 103e/T1C, M2C) The ferryman of the dead asks the deceased:

*in dd=k d3=k ir gs i3bti n pt*

Do you say you will ferry over to the eastern side of the heaven?<sup>156</sup>

28 (CT VI 316p-r) Part of a dialogue between the deceased and gods:

<sup>152</sup> 1.1 above.

<sup>153</sup> Sin B7 is hardly to be read *n dd=t nḥ(=i) r-s3=f* ‘I did not say I would live after it’ or even as direct speech. *nḥ* may be an infinitive, which appears after *dd* in Admonitions 1, 2 with the specific sense: *n dd rḥty f3t 3tpw=f* ‘Washerman refuses to carry his load.’

<sup>154</sup> Palmer 2000, 121; see also Hooper 1975, 98-99.

<sup>155</sup> Here again apply the usual caveats pertaining to different contexts: ‘Does he say that he is tired’ is quite acceptable if this is known to be the case and all that is enquired is the saying. No comparable examples exist in Egyptian with *say*, but they are to be found after *know*; see 1.2.2.1 below.

<sup>156</sup> Similarly in CT V 80b-c/T1C; for the other variants and further examples, see below.

*h3 i.n=sn i.n ntrw r N pn in dd=tn h3w N pn r w<sup>c</sup>b r-gs išnw pi*

‘Go down!’ So they say, namely the gods, to this N (=me). Do you say N (I) should go down to bathe beside this *išnw*?<sup>157</sup>

The non-occurrence of *ntt/wnt* herein is not due to the relative futurity of the complement situation; as is clear from examples 18 above and 47 below, future complements after *dd* or in general are not restricted to bare *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms.<sup>158</sup> Similarly, it is neither the case that some assumed ‘theticity’ is suddenly cancelled in these examples. What is decisive is that the real speaker is not reporting anything said by the sentence subject but instead enquires whether something is/has been said *and* about the complement. Rather similar effects can also be seen with *conditionals*. In the following example the governing predicate and its complement are both part of a conditional protasis, which equals recognition from the speaker’s part that the situations they describe are merely open possibilities; again no *ntt/wnt* is used:<sup>159</sup>

29 (pTurin 54003, r11-12) Words of a magician to a serpent:

*ir dd.n=k wd=k<sup>c</sup> r rhyt<sup>c</sup> hm irt hr hhyt gr rmt*

If you have said that you thrust (your) hand against mankind, the flaming eye of Horus will go forth and men will fall silent.

In all these instances the real speaker remains, in various ways, unaware of the actuality (or perhaps more properly *actualisation*) of the complement situations, and is hence *incapable of committing himself* to them. For this reason the subordinate clauses are not introduced by *ntt/wnt*, but are coded as irrealis with a bare *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*. Rather than the geminating form, in the morphologically revealing examples non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms appear, including those with the ending *-w*.<sup>160</sup> Lack of gemination seems to correlate with propositions which are ‘most’ un-assertable for the speaker due to one reason or another.

These considerations allow also a better insight into the following example which is a textual variant to 27:

<sup>157</sup> Similarly CT VI 317b-c.

<sup>158</sup> The inverse holds as well; see below for examples with a non-future meaning.

<sup>159</sup> Imagining contexts where this is not the case is less straightforward; for instance, sentences such as ‘If you know that 2+2=4, say it’ are more properly concessive than interrogative.

<sup>160</sup> The verb *d3(i)* shows *d3* also in the instance quoted in n.156. 29 writes *wd*; it may be that this verb also has a geminating form *wdd*. See 40 for *it(i)* and 40-44 & 46 for *in(i)*.

30 (CT V 103e/T1Be) The yon ferryman says to the deceased:

*ḏd=k ḏḏ=k ir gs i3btī n pt*

You should say if you will ferry over to the eastern side of the heaven.

The editor of T1Be seems to have understood the ferryman's words not as a question, but as an exhortation.<sup>161</sup> What differentiates this instance from the kind exemplified by 24-25 above is the same difference as that between English 'you should say if you will ferry over' and 'you should say *that* you will ferry over'. The first one asks for clarification as to what the addressee is planning to do, whereas the second is a request for the latter to say something, but with the speaker already aware of his addressee's intentions to carry out the action referred to in the complement. Thus, the absence of *ntt/wnt* again signals the speaker's position with respect to 'assertability'; his degree of knowledge of and commitment to the complement state of affairs, which are not present in the examples above but are replaced by the 'negative epistemic stances' of unawareness, doubt and ignorance.

However, there are a formidable number of examples of affirmative object complements after *ḏd* with seemingly nothing in the grammatical context that would render the subordinate proposition beyond the 'mental scope' of the speaker or affect his knowledge and beliefs concerning it, but where no *ntt/wnt* is employed regardless. Instead, they appear to be straightforward examples of reported speech with all the modifications in deixis; for example:

31 (CT V 66e-h) The deceased says to a malevolent spirit:

*ii.n=i ḥr=k sw3=i ḥrw=k nšnš=i mḏ3wt=k ḥr nn n mrmr ḏd.n=k iry=k r=i ḥr išt=i*

I have come to you that I may break your pens and tear up your books because of this double ill which you said that you would do to me for the sake of my property.

32 (CT VI 93d-e) The deceased expresses his faith in the protection by Atum:

*nḥm=f w(i) m-ḥ šḥt ḏwt ḏdw rmt ntrw 3ḥw mwt iri=sn sw r b3=i*

<sup>161</sup> The same variation is observable in CT V 80b-c, where T1C has *in ḏd=k*, whereas all the other variants have either *ḏd=k* or *i.ḏd=k*. The latter version appears to be the original in this instance.



He will save me from the evil slaughter which men, gods, spirits and the dead say that they will do against my soul.<sup>162</sup>

33 (Sin B110-11) Sinuhe characterises the ‘Goliath of Retenu’ who challenged him to a duel:

*pry pw nn sn-nw=f dr.n=f s(y) r-dr=f dd.n=f ḥ3=f hn<sup>c</sup>=i*

He was a champion without equal: he had come to dominate it (his tribe) entirely, and he said he would fight with me.

Yet all these examples share one crucial characteristic in common. Whether the question is of some unspecified malice, an act of murderousness, or an unprovoked fight, the situations described in the subordinate clauses are all most unwelcome to the speaker. Although the complements are reported as certainly having been asserted by the main clause subjects, they constitute scenarios to which the real speaker certainly does not *want to* commit himself. In other words, the issue is not that of speaker incapability, but *unwillingness* to express commitment and *accept* an unpalatable complement situation. This sophisticated conveying of information about the commitment and acceptance in Earlier Egyptian is paralleled by various devices employed in modern languages to signal similar notions; for example, tense may be used in English:<sup>163</sup>

(35) ‘The ancients thought that the sun moved round the earth; they did not know that it is the earth that moves round the sun.’

Here the past and present signal respectively that the first proposition is not accepted to describe a ‘real’ situation, whereas the second is considered acceptable by the speaker. In many languages mood is employed to signal the same variation. In addition to the Italian example (29) above where the subjunctive is used after *say* for this very reason, the same phenomenon occurs also in Spanish:<sup>164</sup>

(36) Admito que aprenda (SUB)

<sup>162</sup> The lack of agreement between *ḥ<sup>c</sup>t* and *ddw* apparently results from mechanical copying from the identical CT VI 93a where the antecedent is *sdb* ‘impediment’.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Palmer 1986, 166-67; 2000, 198; instances such as these show conclusively that the deictic shifts have nothing to do with mechanical ‘sequence of tenses’.

<sup>164</sup> See Klein 1975, 360; cf. Bergen 1978, 224.

‘I admit that he is learning’

The verb *admitir* ‘admit’ is normally used to assert the complement and the indicative is employed, but this can be overruled if the speaker is ‘forced’ to admit something which he does not *accept*, even when this may be something very real and ‘true’, as above. In such instances the speaker may still decide to *refrain* from asserting the proposition and use the subjunctive instead. Exactly the same holds also for the Earlier Egyptian examples above. Non-geminating *sḏm=f*’s, including special forms in *-y*, (judging from the writings *iri/iry* in 31-32) are again used to indicate that the lack of acceptance from the real speaker’s part to what is said is strong and the complement is coded as modally irrealis, i.e. unasserted, although the original speaker is indeed reported to having said the proposition. Further examples of similar sort after *ḏd* and with the same motivation for the lack of realis-marking are the following:<sup>165</sup>

34 (CT V 244b-245a) A mocking comment said of a defeated serpent-demon:

*i[nw] n=k imy-nhd=f...mk hwt pr m pt m-hnw tpht sbi ḏd.n=f sbi=f r r<sup>c</sup> iri=f<sup>c</sup> w3 r=f s3 r=f in snš wr*

Woe unto you, *imy-nhd=f*-serpent... See, burning has gone forth from the sky into the cavern of the rebel although he had said that he would rebel against Ra and commit robbery against him; now his mouth is guarded by the Great Annihilator.

35 (*Ächt* d1-6) An execration-text heaps curses upon enemies specified in the following terms:

*sbi.t(y)=sn w3.t(y)=sn ḥ3.t(y)=sn ḏdw ḥ3=sn ḏdw sbi=sn m t3 pn r-ḏr=f*

Those who will rebel, those who will conspire, those who will fight, those who say that they will fight, and those who say that they will rebel- in all of this land.<sup>166</sup>

36 (*Ti* pl. 123, middle register) A boast uttered by a worker in a reaping-scene:

*išst pw ḏd i.iri=f m tr(=i)*

Who is someone who can say that he can do (reaping) at my pace?<sup>167</sup>

<sup>165</sup> See also CT IV 385e; CT V 324j; CT VI 318g (all *iry=k*); Nu pl. 22/BD 90 (*iri=k*). CT V 247b-c has *sbi=f...iri=f<sup>c</sup> w3*, CT VI 93a *iri=sn* and CT VII 111f *w3w=sn*; CT II 51b has *iri=sn* but the context is obscure; Ptahh. 111 is corrupt.

<sup>166</sup> Similarly *Ächt* h 4-5; h 14-15; n 4-6.

<sup>167</sup> Similarly in the bottom register.

In the first of these examples the motivation for the lack of commitment is apparent, particularly as it is clear from the context that by the time of speaking the malevolent intentions of the original speaker had failed to materialise. The purpose of the text in 35 is to annul all such intentions described, including their very likelihood, rather than to express them as accepted, and in 36 the speaker is so certain of his own excellence in the task at hand that he expects no answer whatsoever. In this last example the clause does not refer to future, but merely describes a general situation towards which little ‘faith’ is expressed. In the following most interesting example, the bare *sdm=f* represents a ‘virtual’ conditional of a highly unpleasant situation:

37 (CT VI 198n-p) The deceased states that he will not partake in consumption of faeces:

*bwt=i pw ḥs n swri=i snt=f wsšt ntr nb dd wnm=i bwt=i wnm=f ḥn<sup>c</sup>=i*

Excrement is my detestation and I will not drink its ‘sister’ urine, o every god who has said that if I eat what I detest, he will eat with me.

In the following example the clear non-acceptance of the (immediately denied) complement situation weighs more than the fact that it is also part of an interrogative sentence:

38 (CT VII 34a-e) A question addressed to the deceased concerning Seth:

*in sm<sup>3</sup>.n=f tw dd.n ib=f mt=k n mt=k mk tw irf ḥpr.t(i) r=f m mnw n sm<sup>3</sup>*

Has he slain you or has his heart said that of have died? You have not died. See, you have become an enduring bull against him!

Noteworthy here is also the apparently past sense of *mt*. In the following famous passage, the speaker’s tone and rhetorical intent is close to sarcastic:

39 (Sh.S. 149-52) The sailor has just promised to send the snake myrrh and incense:

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n sbt.n=f im=i m nn dd.n=i m nf m ib=f dd=f n=i n wr n=k ḥntyw ḥprt nb sntr ink  
is ḥk<sup>3</sup> pwnt ḥntyw n=i-im(y) sw ḥknw pf dd.n=k in.t(w)=f bw pw wr n iw pn*

Then he laughed at me and these things I had said, which were foolish in his mind, saying to me: ‘You don’t have much myrrh or any sort of incense, whereas I am the ruler of Punt, and myrrh is mine. And that incense which you said would be brought; it is the mainstay of this island.’



In every case the speaker does not accept the complement proposition, and no *ntt/wnt* appears.<sup>168</sup>

### 1.2.1.2 Praxis: an example text

The most extensive source of examples displaying the full richness of motivations for lack of speaker commitment after *dd*, and also one that contains an example with a bare non-geminating *sdm=f* in close proximity to a *wnt*-clause, are Coffin Texts Spells 38-40.<sup>169</sup> The text is of considerable complexity and furnishes a case for testing the hypothesis presented above in at least an equal measure as it provides further examples. The spells present a remarkable account of a court-case between a deceased father and his son before a tribunal of divinities. The son is about to enter the yonder realm himself and eager to usurp his father's position in the hereafter. He employs refined rhetoric to persuade the judges of the righteousness of his intentions. The father's words betray clear reluctance to bow to the pressure and hand over his status. The tribunal plays a passive role throughout and makes no contribution, although the contestants address it as much as they do each other, and arguments, protests and accusations are hurled to and fro. The debate opens with the son addressing the tribunal and exhorting it to confirm that the transition of rights has their blessing and that the gods have specifically summoned him:

#### 40 (CT I 158a-159c)

*mtn it=i pf h'w=i pf mhy=i pf h3.n=i n=f pf imy imnt imy hrt-ntr siwy n=f wi m d3d3t  
dd n=f int wi tp-r=tn s'r.tw hrw=i m t3 pn n nhw nt(y) wi im=f dd n=f it=i st=f  
nhm=i s'h=f m t3 pf dsr nt(y)=f im=f*

See that father of mine; that attendant, guardian and champion of mine for whom I have descended; him of the West and of the necropolis! Announce me to him in the tribunal; tell him that your mandate<sup>170</sup> has brought me (now that) my days in the land

<sup>168</sup> Also the PT provide the following particularly fine examples: PT 944a-b *ii.n=f ir=k dd.n=f sm3=f tw n sm3=f tw twt sm3=k sw* 'Although he has come against you and said that he will slay you, he will not slay you; it is you who will slay him.' PT 1477a-b *in tr.n=tn ir=f dd.n=tn mt=f n mt=f* 'Have you acted against him and said that he will die? He will not die.' PT 481a-b is an earlier version of 38 above.

<sup>169</sup> See Faulkner 1962; Grieshammer 1975/76 and De Jong 1994 for previous studies. The version primarily followed herein is B16C.

<sup>170</sup> *tp-r*, 'Ausspruch' (Erman & Grapow 1926-31 (henceforth *Wb*) V, 287; Hannig 2003, 1423) clearly refers here to an authorising pronouncement.

of the living where I was are over. Tell him that I may take his seat and assume his status in this holy land where he is.<sup>171</sup>

The son cannot be certain whether the tribunal will accept culpability of the looming usurpation, nor whether it will announce that he is brought to present his claim by their agency, which undoubtedly is *not* the case.<sup>172</sup> *ntt/wnt* appears in none of these instances and *int* is easily interpreted as past. The son then continues by asking the tribunal whether they have been told why he has been brought before them<sup>173</sup> and seems to suggest an alternative for the mandate to take over to be announced to originate from the father:

41 (CT I 159d-h)

*in dd n=tn in.tw=i n=tn r s3r n(=i) it=i pf r iw<sup>c</sup>=i st=f r nhm=i s<sup>c</sup>h=f in dd=tn  
in.tw=i n=tn (n)<sup>174</sup> tp-r=f*

Have you been told that I am brought to you so that my father might be dispossessed<sup>175</sup> in my favour and that I may inherit his seat and assume his status? Will you (rather) say that I am brought to you because of *his* pronouncement?

The son's point appears to be that if the tribunal has been told that his intentions are so negative, this is not to be believed; his words show a denial of that suggestion, but the tribunal may consider announcing the transfer of rights in the name of the father-without hearing the latter.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Faulkner (1962, 36; 1973-78 vol.1, 30) and Silverman (1980, 9) understand both instances of *dd* as *sdm.n=f's* reporting e.g. the father having said that his son may usurp his status. This misses the point of the subsequent exchange of arguments quite fundamentally.

<sup>172</sup> Compare this with example 197 below where the situation is very similar but the complement is introduced by *lwt*, the negative equivalent of *ntt/wnt*. The difference seems to be based on the degree to which the speaker expects the complement to be believed and perhaps also the main clause speech act to be said by the addressee(s).

<sup>173</sup> However, the construction in this sentence in fact belongs elsewhere in the discussion. The subordinate clause is not an object- but a *subject* complement of the passive *dd*; see 2 below.

<sup>174</sup> The B12C<sup>b</sup> and B16C versions have no *n* before *tp-r=f*. However, the damaged B13C<sup>b</sup> omits the dative *n=tn* but has [...] *in.t(w)=i n tp-r=f*, which must mean 'I am brought because of his pronouncement'. It seems thus that in the two first-mentioned versions the *n* is lost in a haplography with the final *n* of *n=tn*.

<sup>175</sup> So Silverman 1980, 9.

<sup>176</sup> Faulkner (1962, 36; 1973-78 vol.1, 30) interprets the first question as 'have ye said?' (*in dd.n=tn*). As the tribunal says nothing at any point, this is unlikely to be correct. His rendering of the second question as 'Do you say that I may bring you his utterance' makes little sense and ignores the *n* noted in n.174 above and the *w* after *int* in B12C<sup>b</sup>.

At this point the father puts forth a rebuttal whose central claim is rather obscure. Next the son addresses his father and attempts to persuade him to testify that it is his will that the son succeed his father:

42 (CT I 160g-161b)

*in dd=k in.tw=i r t3 pw dsr {rdi.n.t(w)=f}<sup>177</sup> nt(y)=k im=f r st=k imt hrt-ntr...r phr rf  
n=i 3hw=k r nhm=i i3wt=k r dd(=i) rf 3hw(=i) mitw=k r=k*

Will you say that I be/am brought to this holy land where you are to your position in the necropolis...so that<sup>178</sup> your might may revert to me, that I may take for myself your offices and also that I may say: 'My power is equal to yours.'

The father replies to this by arguing that the usurpation plotted by the son will result in a harmful situation where the father's enemies will be given a free rein to exult over him and his house will face destruction. The son seems amazed of this attack and launches upon a forceful denial:

43 (CT I 162d-163d)

*3h ntr(y) ir=k m imnt m t3 pw dsr nt(y)=k im=f b3=k n=k 3hw=k hn<sup>c</sup>=k mr.n=k b3=k  
im=i tp t3 in dd=k in.tw=i r=i r t3 pw dsr nt(y)=k im=f r sd rf pr=k r whn rf<sup>c</sup>rrw(t)=k  
r wsr rf iw<sup>c</sup>w=k r nhn hftw=k im=k ist wi<sup>c</sup> 3 m t3 pn hr db3 nst=k hr s3k bdšy=k*

You have divine might for yourself in West, in this holy land where you are; you have your soul and your powers are with you. You wanted your soul in me upon earth. So how can you say that I am brought to this holy land where you are to destroy your house, to break up your gate and despoil your inheritance so that your enemies will exult over you? Why, I am here in this land for the sake of reasserting your seat and for pulling together your weakness!

The son is not asking whether his father said the complement proposition since he himself has just heard it but rather what is his justification for doing so. He appears genuinely offended by the accusations and shows that he does not accept them at all.

<sup>177</sup> This clause appears wholly spurious.

<sup>178</sup> Because of the particle *rf*, Faulkner (1962, 36) translates as imperative 'despite the preceding *r*' (*ibid* 38n.o)



There then follows a lengthy section where the son protests his righteousness as an heir, after which he again turns to the tribunal and asks could they not<sup>179</sup> acclaim his rights, seeing that he is now part of the community of the blessed dead:

44 (CT I 168d-169a)

*in rr dd=tn in.tw=i r st nt it=i pf...isk rh.n=i kd=tn m3.n=i hnw=tn*

Shouldn't you say that I be brought to the status of my father...for I know your nature and have seen your abode?

Without expecting an answer the son continues with a further denial of his father's accusations:

45 (CT I 169d-170f)

*dd n=tn šsp=i s'h=f nhm=i st=f r nhn hftw=f im=f...dd n=tn whn(=i) rf mshnt=f m*

*iw nsrsr...sk ink is irr db3=i nst=f tpt t 3 nt (sic) 'nhw m iw nsrsr imi wš=s m tp t3*

You have been told<sup>180</sup> that I would receive his status and take his seat only that his enemies may exult over him... and you have been told that I would overthrow his abode in the Island of Fire... But I am, rather, one who acts and I will replace his seat upon the land of the living and on the Island of Fire lest it be destroyed upon earth.

Here the son presents a report of his father's accusations and signals that he is not the least committed to their correctness; quite the contrary.

After some further argument there follows the final example from this most extraordinary text employing *dd*, where a bare non-geminating *sdm=f* and *wnt* appear closely together: first the son appears to say grudgingly to his father that at least his right to be brought to be beside his father should be recognised,<sup>181</sup> but reminds him of what the latter had said earlier:

46 (CT I 174j-175b)

<sup>179</sup> See Silverman 1980, 22-23; 88-93 on the particle *rr* as marking the question as rhetorical and expecting an affirmative reply; but cf. Junge 1983, 548.

<sup>180</sup> Again the construction involves 'not object- but subject complementation after a passive *dd*. Faulkner (1962, 40) has 'you have said', which entails an assumption that the tribunal said the negative accusations. It did not; the father did, and the son now seeks to denounce them.

<sup>181</sup> This seems to imply that the son actually admits defeat and pursues the second-best option, which is to be with the father in the hereafter, although not in a superior position.

*mk dd.t(w) in.t(w)=i n=k r wnn hn<sup>c</sup>=k m t3 pw dsr nt(y)=k im=f dd.t(w) wnt mdw.n=k  
r int=i ds=k r db3 nst=k šsp=i s<sup>c</sup>h=k r nš=i tw m st=k tw m t3 pw dsr nt(y)=k im=f r  
dd 3hw r=k ntw hn<sup>c</sup>=k*

Look, it should be said<sup>182</sup> that I am brought to you to be with you in this holy land where you are, although it is said that you yourself have spoken against bringing me to occupy your throne, as I might assume your status only that I may oust you from this your seat in this holy land where you are, so that spirits who are with you will speak against you.

Assuming that the interpretation of the son's intentions is correct, the complement of the first *dd* parallels closely the Spanish use of the subjunctive after *admitir*, with the speaker unwilling to commit himself to it. But in the second instance he is merely recalling what he is told that his father has said,<sup>183</sup> and concedes the fact that his father indeed expressed reluctance to hand over his position, referring to the various excuses cited. It is only here that *wnt* makes its appearance. Accordingly, the text does not present all its indirect speech without this element, but in all but one instance there are factors mitigating the speaker's commitment and acceptance of the complement proposition, for which reason it appears as *ntt/wnt*-less irrealis.

Another example where a *wnt*-introduced complement and one with a bare *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* appear close to each other after *dd* in reported speech is 47 below, where the context is unfortunately both damaged and obscure, and the motivation for the variation unclear:

46 (CT VI 277q-278d) Ra is evoked on behalf of the deceased:

*i r<sup>c</sup> iw dd.n h[ftw ip]f nw wsir N nhm=s[n] hdt ʿ3t tp=k 3tfw imw wp=k iw dd.n=sn  
wnt=sn r hdt tpw r hnn r[...] m-b3h iw dd.n=sn wnt=s[n] r hnn m3<sup>c</sup>t*

O Ra, those enemies of Osiris N have said that they will take away the great White Crown on your head and the Atef-crown upon your brow. They have said that they

<sup>182</sup> The subject of the main clause is the indefinite *-t(w)*, 'one' and the subordinate clause is an object complement.

<sup>183</sup> By whom? The reference is less than lucid, but the interpretation offered herein appears better than that suggested by Faulkner's (1962, 42) translation 'See it is said that I am brought to you to be with you... a word to you yourself is indeed spoken to bring me to occupy your seat...' which lacks semantic and grammatical justification.

are going to destroy heads and to confuse [...] in the presence. They have said that they are going to disturb Order.

Nevertheless, *ntt/wnt*-introduced and un-introduced complements after *dd* do appear side by side, and there seems to be a definable set of pragmatic parameters for their respective uses, which relate directly to the real speaker's knowledge, commitment and acceptance of the complement state of affairs. Un-introduced non-geminating *sdm=f*s do not 'substitute' for realis *ntt/wnt*-complements or *vice versa*; their distribution is complementary. In addition, the former clearly function as 'echter Modus' in Earlier Egyptian indirect speech and are used for non-assertion under exactly the same conditions as in other languages.<sup>184</sup> It is of some interest that the sole form of indirect speech after *dd* that survived after the Old Kingdom and the stage of language represented by the Coffin Texts is the one *without ntt/wnt*. Thus it seems that in Classical Middle Egyptian, with its system of quoting speech directly, the Latin-style 'highly developed indirect speech' referred to by Gardiner is an indication of *irrealis modality* and speaker *non-assertion* of the complement. The same situation pertains also to the other potentially *ntt/wnt*-combining predicates of Earlier Egyptian, whose complements similarly display a split between asserted/assertable and *irrealis* complements and with the same grammatical division into introduced and un-introduced object complements respectively.

### 1.2.2 Verbs of Cognition and Perception

#### 1.2.2.1 Seeing is believing and other truisms: realis, irrealis, knowledge and perception

Besides locution, in Earlier Egyptian the division between *ntt/wnt*-introduced and bare suffix-conjugation object complement clauses is primarily found after predicates that describe mental states and perception. Unlike with *dd*, this feature remains constant throughout the stage of Egyptian language discussed in the present work. The verbs in question are *rh* 'know', *m33* 'see', *si3* 'perceive' (visually) and *sdm* 'hear'. As affirmative main clause assertions, all these verbs make a strong claim

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<sup>184</sup> *Contra* Polotsky 1969, 272.



for the ‘reality’ of their object clauses, regardless of possible differences between the original and the real speaker.<sup>185</sup> This imposes certain differences between the said verbs and verbs of locution with respect to the indication of speaker commitment and acceptance, for which reason they are best considered separately. However, the principles governing the grammar of their complements are for the most part the same. Although there is a considerable quantitative bias in favour of *rh*, affirmative non-future verbs of cognition and perception with *ntt/wnt*-introduced object complements are common in Earlier Egyptian:<sup>186</sup>

48 (EAG §1022) Iyni-hor says concerning his tomb:

*iw rmt nb rhy wnt iri.n(=i) sw*

Everybody knows that I made it.

49 (Siut I 310) Hapdjefa reminds officials that cancellation of funerary-arrangements is unacceptable:

*mtn rh.n=tn ntt ir ht nbt ddt sr nb nds nb r hwt-ntr m tp n šmw=f n ndm.n n=f ht ht im*

Look, you are aware that as for anything that any official or any ordinary citizen gives to the temple from the top-ration of his harvest, reversal therein is not pleasant to him.<sup>187</sup>

50 (Haskell Museum 13945, 1-2) The author reminds her dead addressee of the protection promised by another deceased person to his son:

*i(w)=k rh.t(i) ntt dd.n idw r s3=f ir wnnt wnt im nn di(=i) nkḥm=f n nkḥmt nbt iri m n(=i) mitt irt*

You know that Idu said of his son: ‘Whatever there might be in the hereafter, I will not allow him to be afflicted by any mishap.’ Please do the same for me!

51 (UC 32126, fragment II, 3-4) A reply to an inquiry concerning the addressee’s sister:

*mk tw rh[.ti] ntt sy mn.ti hr wpt [gs]-i3b*

Look, you know that she is fixed on the listing of [Ges]-Iab.

<sup>185</sup> See 1.1 above.

<sup>186</sup> Further examples of *rh* + *ntt/wnt* not quoted elsewhere are CT I 140g (*wnt ntf sr*); CT IV 84j-k (*ntt it.n N...pr.n=f N*) Berlin Hi Pap 3, pl. 6b (*wnt sp.n n=f [...]*); MFA 04.2059, r6 (*nt(t)=s [...]*); pBerlin 10036, 15 (*ntt st š3*); Urk IV 429, 5 (*nty (sic) wb3 hr=i*); 592, 1 (*ntt s3=f pw*); 993, 9 (*ntt nḥ=f*); Nu pl. 41/BD 78 (*it.n=f*).

<sup>187</sup> Similarly 280-01.

52 (Urk IV 1111, 9-13) An instruction concerning the vizier's conduct in land-disputes:

*ir sprty nb nty r dd mnmn t3š=n hr m33.t(w) ntt st hr htm n sr iry hr=f šd=f šdwt n t3  
d3d3t smnmnt st*

As for any petitioner who shall say: 'Our boundaries have been moved'; when it has been seen that<sup>188</sup> they (i.e. land-register documents) carry the seal of the relevant official, then he (the vizier) can confiscate the *šdw*-lands of that council which caused them to be moved.

In these examples the subordinate clauses represent reports of what the main clause subjects know or see. However, as seen, they do not amount to assertions from the subject's part inasmuch as the subject is not necessarily saying, or has not said, anything; this may also happen with main verbs of locution, but is always the case with other verbs.<sup>189</sup> This issue does not arise e.g. in the numerous instances of *rh* and the verbs of perception where the speaker indicates his own knowledge or sensory experience in the first person and is the complement 'original speaker':<sup>190</sup>

53 (Urk I 61, 9) The king tells his addressee what he thinks of the latter's skills as an organiser:

*sk hm hm(=i) rh wnt h<sup>c</sup>w nb hr nfrw=f*

Verily, my majesty knows that every ship is on an even keel.<sup>191</sup>

54 (Urk IV 364, 1-2) Thutmose III explains why he has favoured the temple of Amun:

*iw=i rh.kw ntt 3ht pw ipt-swt tp t3*

I know that Karnak is a horizon upon earth.

55 (Hermann 1940, 55\*, 1) Ptahmose says his conduct in life was flawless:

*iri.n=i m m3<sup>c</sup>t mr nsw rh.kw ntt <sup>c</sup>nh=f im=s*

I acted in righteousness as the king would desire because I knew that he lives of it.

<sup>188</sup> Not 'whether' as e.g. in GEG §504; the prerequisite for the seizure of lands by the vizierate is *that* the petitioner's claim is supported by official records which the local authorities have ignored.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. 1.1 above; this is particularly clear in instances such as 48 where the subject is generic.

<sup>190</sup> Further similar examples: Red Chapel 188a, 13 (*ntt mrt.n=f hpr*); Urk IV 835, 16 (*ntt htp=f*); 1074, 12 (*ntt wpwt <sup>c</sup>š3*). Urk IV 346, 3-4 is corrupt. See 195 below for *šdm* + *iwt*, the negative equivalent of *ntt/wnt*.

<sup>191</sup> Following Wente's (1990, 19) splendid rendering.

56 (Berlin 1204, 8-9) The king tells why he has chosen Iqernefret to carry out a mission on his behalf:

*iw is [h3]b tw hm=i r irt nn si3.n [hm]=i wnt nn ir.t(y)=f(y) st hr-hw=k*

Now, my majesty sends you to do this because my majesty has perceived that there is no-one who will (be able to) do it except you.

Although not in grammatical construal, these examples also differ from 48-52 in that here the main clauses ‘I know (etc.) X’ and their complements are equally salient pieces of information, whereas in the latter group the governing clauses again have a rather more ‘parenthetical’ character. Asserting *that* e.g. ‘everybody’, or particularly the person(s) actually addressed know or see something is hardly the primary purpose of the utterances, but rather it is to say what this is, and with firm commitment. The complement clauses in 48-52 are thus again as much expressions of the real speaker’s committed stance to the situation described in the complement clause- i.e. speaker assertions- as they are reports of what is known or seen by the matrix verb subjects. This is less apparent when introduced object complements of verbs of cognition and perception report the knowledge, sightings etc. of well-defined third parties. In such instances the ‘informative’ function of the governing clause is at least equal to first person examples:

57 (Nu pl. 61/BD 64) The postscript to BD Spell 64 tells of its discovery by prince Hardjedef:

*in.(n)=f sw mi bi3w n nsw hft m33=f ntt s3t3 pw 3*

He brought it (away) like a royal marvel when he saw that it was a great mystery.

58 (CT VI 312d-f) It is said of certain divine beings:

*iri.n=sn rn n N pn m bik ntr(y) sk sn rhy ntt w<sup>c</sup> im pw*

They have made the name of this N as a divine falcon because they know that he is the one therein.

59 (Buto stela of Thutmose III, 6-7) The king is the lord of Egypt, thus:

*nn t3 nb r ib=s n rdi.(n) n=s hr=sn rstw n d<sup>c</sup>r.n st mhtyw rh.ti ntt nhy=s wn mi min k3-  
<sup>c</sup> nsw-bity mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup>*



There is no land against her will: southerners do not aspire for such, northerners do not seek such, for they know that her protector exists like Min; one high of arm, the dual king Menkheperra.

60 (CT I 167a-b) In the debate between father and son, the son claims the primeval god having been informed of his acceptance to the hereafter:

*s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f m r irrw wnt t<sub>s</sub>.n wi it=i pf imy imnt*

He has heard from the mouth of the rite-performers that my yonder father who is in the West has elevated me.

Various modifications of the context that remove the main clause from being a report again show that the real speaker's knowledge, commitment and acceptance of the complement situation are the decisive factors in deciding its grammatical form. As with *dd*, the context in which the verbs of cognition and perception appear are often such that it is impossible for the main clause subject to have been aware of the situation described prior to the uttering of the sentence itself. Yet this in no way affects the employment of *ntt/wnt*, which instead signals that the real speaker is committed to the complement proposition:

61 (Sin B214-15) Sinuhe begs understanding for his long hiding from the king:

*nb si3 si3 rhyt si3=f m hm n stp-s3 <sup>c</sup>ws wnt b3k im snd dd st*

O lord of perception who has insight with plebs; may he perceive in the majesty of the palace l.h.p. that this servant was afraid to say it.

62 (CT II 359c-360a) Horus quotes what Ra told him to say concerning certain deities:

*iw=sn hn<sup>c</sup>=i k3=k dr.k3=sn hn<sup>c</sup>=k r rht sth wnt=sn hn<sup>c</sup>=k nh=f*

‘‘They are with me’- so you shall say. Then they will end up with you well before Seth knows that they are with you and complains.’

63 (Urk I 136, 9-11) Sabni relates what he did prior to his journey to the hostile hill-country:

*iri.n(=i) [ig]r md3wt r [r]di[t] rh.t(i) ntt w(i) pr.k(i) r int it(=i) pf*

I wrote some letters to let it be known that I had gone to bring back my deceased father.

64 (Balat-ʿAyn Asil 3686, 1-3) The writer informs his superior of a failure in work-assignments:  
*dd b3k-im di(=i) rh (i)r(y)-md3t nt(y) m d3d3t wnt ikdw n-sprt=f r rwdt r irt w3t hk3 n  
 dmi-iw*

Yours truly is writing to inform the courier of the council that, as for the potter, he has not yet arrived at Rewdet to prepare the journey of the chief of Demiy.

In the epistolary expressions akin to those in 63-64 the complement of *rh* is most commonly introduced by *ntt* or by *r ntt*, the latter of which is a particular idiom of these contexts.<sup>192</sup> In the following example the speaker and the subject are the same, but what is reported is that the speaker *now* (at the time of writing) knows the complement state of affairs to obtain; hence it can be asserted and the subordinate clause is introduced by *wnt*:<sup>193</sup>

65 (Urk I 61, 17-18)

*[iw m3.n hm(=i) md3t=k tn irt.n=k] r ist r rdit rh hm(=i) wnt in n=k wd n nsw*

[My majesty has seen this letter which you made] for the palace to inform my majesty that a royal decree has been brought to you.

In the next instance the very existence of the main clause subject is hypothetical, but the actuality and assertability of the complement situation remain the same for the speaker:

66 (Urk IV 1293, 1-3) The king smites his enemies ignorant of his might; however:

*mʿr sp r tnw rhw ntt s3=f pw m3ʿ*

Fate is lenient to multitudes who know that he is his (Amun's) true son.

<sup>192</sup> See 4.3 below for discussion of the expression *r ntt*. Further examples of this type with *ntt/wnt* are Urk I 126, 10 (broken); 128, 9 (*wnt=k h3.t(i)*); 137, 12 (broken); Heqanakhte pl.34, 4 (*ntt rd.n(=i)*); Meketra 21, 5-6 (*ntt N ty*); Sin B181 (*ntt dbn.n=k*); pBrooklyn 35.1446, 4 (*ntt spr.n N*); Urk IV 80, 8-9 (*ntt N hʿ*). Examples with *r ntt* are Michaelidis Lahun letter, 1 (N ʿd); pBerlin 10003, 1 (*hpr N*); 10016, 1 (N *r hpr*); 10022, 1 (*sdm.n=i*); 10023A, 1 (*spr.n N*); 10033, 1 (*sdm.n=i*); 10036, 1 (*sdm.n=i*); 10038, 1 (*rdi N*, a passive *sdm=f*); *Lesestücke* 98, 8-9 (N *spr*); Urk IV 181, 11 (N *r mnh*). For further examples, see 4.3 below. An example of *r ntt* after *siz* is Urk IV 1381, 4 (N *ph=f*).

<sup>193</sup> Cf. 1.1 above. The situation is rather complex: the king is writing back to his addressee to inform him that the latter's previous letter in which a reception of royal decree is confirmed has arrived at the palace. The king now knows that his addressee has received his orders and tells him that. The restoration of the beginning follows Urk I 60, 16-17, another letter from the same king to the same recipient.

Instances where the real speaker would be rendered not ‘entitled to assert’ are rare with verbs of cognition and perception. As for interrogatives, no examples of the type ‘Do you know whether Jill is there’ are forthcoming, i.e. where the complement situation would also be questioned and fell under the interrogative scope. In yes/no-questions involving these verbs, the interrogative scope is invariably only the main clause:<sup>194</sup>

67 (Meir I, pl. 5) An utterance of a workman to his fellow whilst manufacturing a vessel:

*in iw=k hr m33 ntt n ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n p3 mnw*

Do you see that the cup cannot stand up?

68 (Cairo Bowl 7-8) The author asks if his dead correspondent is ignoring something essential in his failure to protect a member of the household:

*(i)n wnn n rh.n=k ntt in t3 b3kt irr pr=k m rmt*

Could it really be that you do not know that it is this maidservant who runs your house among the people?

In both these examples, the first of which is a fine instance of *ntt n*, a later isomorphic version of *iwt*, the negative equivalent of *ntt/wnt*,<sup>195</sup> the matter inquired is whether the addressees see or know something, but the speakers are not at all unaware whether or not this something holds and are not asking anything about it. They themselves clearly *do* see and know that the situations in the complement clauses obtain, and assert them. Again Earlier Egyptian uses *ntt/wnt* to mark this. In case of negations, the status of the complement *vis-à-vis* speaker assertion remains similarly unscathed in most instances. What is being denied in the following examples is that the subjects knew or are allowed to know about the state of affairs described in the complements, whereas it is of course not the case that the real speakers are, or ever were, unaware of their ‘truth’:

69 (Urk IV 1291, 1-3) King’s superiority over foreigners on the battlefield is attributed to higher forces:

<sup>194</sup> Another example (with some Late Egyptian influence) is Nu pl. 58/BD 153: *in iw=tn rh.tiwny ntt tw=l rh.kw rn n N* ‘Do you know that I know the name of N?’ The same sentence is repeated 11 times (spelled *r ntt tw=l rh.kw*) in Nu pl. 59/BD 153B. For a detailed discussion of 68, see Uljas 2004.

<sup>195</sup> See 3.2 below.



*ii.n=sn m ḥḥw n rh=sn ntt imn-r<sup>c</sup> ḥr mw=f*

Although they (the foreigners) came in millions, they did not know that Amun-Ra is his ally.

70 (Peas B1, 114-15) The king instructs Rensi concerning the treatment of the peasant:

*wnn=k ḥr rdit di.tw n=f<sup>c</sup>kw nn rdit rh=f ntt ntk rdi n=f st*

You are to keep on making sure that he is given rations, but without letting him know that it is you who has given them to him.

However, in one unique example the real speaker states that at the time of speaking he does not know whether the complement situation holds or not, and, as expected, *ntt/wnt* is *not* employed (the version BH3C which provides the first person is badly damaged and presented here in conjunction with the better preserved T1L):<sup>196</sup>

71 (CT VI 260b-d) The deceased says:

T1L: *N pn ḥtm=f n rh N pn h3y N pn i(w)=f ḥ<sup>c</sup>*

BH3C: *ink ḥtm n rh=i [...] tw(=i) ḥ<sup>c</sup>.ki*

I am one who destroys, but I do not know whether I must descend, as I have appeared in glory.

Here the real speaker is not in a position to assert the complement- he in fact says this explicitly- and the subordinate clause is an un-introduced *indirect question* as is the *whether*-clause in the English translation. Again rather than the geminating *sdm=f*, use is made of a non-geminating form, which this time displays the distinctive writing *h3y*.<sup>197</sup> Somewhat similar are instances where some contextual factor hinders the

<sup>196</sup> In Urk IV 365, 10-11 the clause headed by *iri.n.tw* is not a complement of *n rh=i*, but an independent appositional second tense sentence. The whole passage runs: *s3w dd=tn m n rh=i sp-sn iri.n=tw nn ḥr m* Take care lest you say: 'I don't know, I don't know; why has this been done?'

<sup>197</sup> At this juncture a mention should be made of *non-verbal* indirect questions after *rh*. In these instances the complement consists of a bare noun + interrogative adverbial. Examples are of extreme rarity, but the following instances after interrogative and conditional *rh* may be quoted:

(Sin B126-27) Sinuhe expresses his belief in preordination with a rhetorical question:

*in tw ntr ḥm š<sup>c</sup>t.n=f rh nt-pw mi m*

Is god ignorant of what he has ordained or aware of what the facts are like?

(Admonitions 5, 3) The sage quotes the words of a hypocrite:

*ir [...] =i rh.n=i ntr tn k3 iry=i n=f*

'If I... knew where god is, I would serve him.'

(Note also the use of *sdm.n=f* in a counterfactual sense in the second example and see 5.1 below).

speaker's ability to assert. The following examples, which similarly represent indirect questions, are particularly instructive:

72 (Neferty XI d-e) Neferty describes Egypt in turmoil:

*iw r<sup>c</sup> iwd=f [sw] (r) rmt wbn=f wn wnw<sup>t</sup> nn rh.tw hpr mtrt*

Ra separates himself from mankind; he rises in due time, but one will not know whether noon has occurred.<sup>198</sup>

73 (UC 32036, 14) A veterinary instruction how to determine the effects of an ulcer on the health of a bull by examining the discharge:

*si3=k snb=f hr iw hs3*

You will be able to perceive whether he is healthy on the basis of how semi-solids emerge.

74 (Smith 2, 7-8) An instruction concerning the treatment of a certain type of skull-fractures:

*srwh=f pw hmst iri n=f mk3ty nty tbt r rh=k spr=f r ht*

His treatment is rest (lit. 'sitting'); provide two brick-supports for him so that you may establish whether he attains critical condition.<sup>199</sup>

Although the complements herein are not from verbs with mutable roots, it is nonetheless noteworthy that no *ntt/wnt* is employed, as is the clear relative past sense of *hpr* in 72. In this example the speaker's key idea is that in the circumstances described, nobody will know whether or not the time of noon has arrived. In 73-74 the texts describe conditions in which it can be ascertained whether some state of affairs is the case and procedures to be carried out to verify whether some situation results, but in both the latter are merely possible outcomes among various others. A somewhat later text provides an example of this with the distinctive form *msy*:

75 (Berlin medical papyrus r2, 2) Title of a birth-prognosis:

*ky m33 msy st nn msy=s*

Another (method) of ascertaining whether a woman will give birth or not.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>198</sup> Somewhat similarly Faulkner in Simpson 1972, 238 and Parkinson 1997, 138; Allen (2000, 376) has 'that noon has happened'.

<sup>199</sup> Following *Wb* IV, 102, 19-20 and Simpson 1965, 22; the same expression appears also in Smith 2, 10; 2, 23; 3, 8; 3, 15; 4, 9; 8, 9; 12, 18-19.

In none of the above instances does the 'speaker' indicate any commitment or certainty regarding the situation described in the subordinate clauses, which are consequently not introduced by *ntt* or *wnt* and *whether/if* is used in translation.

It thus appears that in object complement clauses of cognition and perception verbs, the employment of *ntt/wnt* follows the same modal parameters as after *ḡd*. These elements are used whenever the conditions for speaker assertion of the complement are fulfilled; primarily when the information therein is vouched for through knowledge, commitment and acceptance. When these prerequisites are not fulfilled for some reason, the complement is un-introduced and modally irrealis. In the latter case the morphological evidence is rather weaker with verbs of cognition and perception than with *ḡd*, but weak verbs use non-geminating *sḡm=f*, including forms in *-y*. Again these complement types do not stand in any mutual substitution-relationship, and the role of the speaker dominates the grammatical coding. Incorporating the data from examples with *ḡd*, the respective 'positions' of the real speaker and the subject of the governing clause are charted in the diagram below, from which it can be seen that the use of *ntt/wnt* or lack thereof reflects the knowledge, acceptance etc. of the first of these participants in every instance:

### ASSERTED / ASSERTABLE

Main clause	Complement		
	SPEAKER	SUBJECT	
+	+	+	→ <i>ntt/wnt</i> : 'You have said that X'
-	+	-	→ <i>ntt/wnt</i> : 'If only someone said that X'
-	+	-	→ <i>ntt/wnt</i> : 'Do you see that X?'
-	-	+(?)	→ no <i>ntt/wnt</i> : 'If you have said X'
-	-	-	→ no <i>ntt/wnt</i> : 'I don't know whether X'
+	-	+	→ no <i>ntt/wnt</i> : 'He said he would fight with me'

<sup>200</sup> As pointed out in Westendorf 1962, 142, (henceforth WGMT) the relation of the negation *nn msy=s* and the verb *m33* is unclear.



### 1.2.2.2 Irrealis as an ‘evaluative’

In the instances above the decision between assertion and non-assertion has been conditioned by the speaker’s possibilities and willingness to express *commitment* towards the complement proposition. However, languages use modality also as a *discourse-organising device* to indicate degrees of information *relevance*. As seen, negligible information-value is one of the basic motives for non-assertion. Also in Earlier Egyptian complement clauses, irrealis and realis are mobilised to signal differences in the relative salience of the information conveyed as *evaluated* by the speaker. The principles of this use of modality are most apparent in object-clauses after verbs of cognition and perception. Here both geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*s occur extensively in opposition to *ntt/wnt*, and indicate that the complement proposition consists of information which belongs more to the discourse *background*. To understand the motivations for assigning these values to complements it is necessary to take into consideration the wider context, both the immediate sentence frame and beyond.

Purely numerically, of all morphologically revealing object complement clauses after verbs of cognition and perception, those with the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* are most common, and this use of the form has prompted many a syntactic and semantic hypothesis. Of the former, one may mention e.g. the analysis by Loprieno according to which the form after the said verbs signals a particular syntactic conversion of ‘substantivization of a *iw*-sentence’, structured thus:<sup>201</sup>

76 (Urk I 180, 7) The king tells his henchman of the high regard in which the latter is held:

*rh.n(=i) hm mrr w(i) r<sup>c</sup> hr rdit=f n(=i) tw*

I most certainly know how Ra loves me because of his giving you to me.

→ *rh.n(=i) [\*iw mr wi r<sup>c</sup>]*

However, as with the ‘thetic’ hypothesis of *ntt*, there does not seem to be any principle restricting the use of ‘embedded *iw*-sentences’ to the ‘object-slot’ of verbs of perception/cognition only, or, conversely, prevent them from following other

<sup>201</sup> Adapted from Loprieno 1991a, 214n.55; similarly Urk I 62, 12.

predicates.<sup>202</sup> Also the derivative assumptions underlying the equation must be viewed with suspicion particularly as the geminating *sdm=f* after verbs of cognition and perception carries a specific meaning never associated with either *iw*-clauses or *ntt/wnt*-complements. As in examples 1 and 76 above, rather than describing *that* some situation is known or perceived- as is *always* the case in *ntt/wnt*-introduced object complements- after verbs of cognition and perception, the subordinate geminating *sdm=f* concentrates on the *character* (manner, degree etc) of the state of affairs cognised or perceived.<sup>203</sup> For example:

77 (Deir el-Gebrawi II, pl. 28) A caption of a scene depicting a man delivering a cow:

*m33 mss hmt*

Monitoring how a cow gives birth

78 (Westcar 5, 1-5) Djadjaemankh suggests a form of entertainment guaranteed to be of interest to the king:

*hwy 3 wd3 hm=k r š n pr-ʿ3 ʿws ʿpr.n=k b3w m nfrwt nbt nt hnw ʿh=k ib n hm=k r kbb  
n m33 hnn=sn hnt m hd m hnt*

I propose your majesty proceeded to the lake of the Great House l.h.p., having equipped a barque with all the pretty ladies of your palace; your majesty's heart will be refreshed through seeing how they row hither and thither.

79 (Urk IV 9, 14-16) Ahmose tells of his valour in battles against foreign foes:

*nn tnwt m skr-ʿnhw in.n hm=f m nhtw=f ist wi m tp n mšʿ=n m3.n hm=f knn=i*

Countless were the living captives whom his majesty brought from his victories; I was at the helm of our army, and his majesty saw how brave I was.

80 (Urk I 180, 1) The king tells his correspondent:

*iw hm hm(=i) rh mrr=k dd ht nb mrrt hm(=i)*

<sup>202</sup> See also Uljas 2000, 129. Loprieno analyses the use of the geminating *sdm=f* after verbs other than locution, cognition and perception to signal a different clausal conversion; see 1.3.2 below.

<sup>203</sup> *Contra* Allen 1984, §231. Further examples after *m33* are Urk I 39, 1 (*lrr.t(i)*); Urk IV 267, 17 (*mss N*). CT I 169e-f shows *tw=f*. There are no certain examples of the geminating *sdm=f* after *st3* or *sdm* in the corpus studied for the present work; a possible instance of the latter is CT VII 32a-c, but whether *pr=f* is a complement of *sdm* is unclear. However, examples occur in the Pyramid Texts; e.g. PT 1775b *sdm.n=sn dd N m3ʿt m st tsft* 'they have heard how king N places right in the place of injustice.' Further examples after *rh* not quoted below are Urk I 61, 14 (*mrr(=i)*); 63, 11 (*mrr(=i)*); Urk IV 1673, 9 (*wnn=sn*); 1676, 12 (*hʿʿ N*); 1830, 10 (*hʿʿ=f*); 1833, 9 (*wnn=f*).

My majesty most certainly knows just how you love to say everything my majesty desires.

81 (Louvre C14, 9-10) Irtysen describes his skills as a sculptor, including:

*iw(=i) rh.kw...dgg irt n sn-nwt=s*

I know... how an eye looks at its fellow.

82 (Sin B106-07) Sinuhe relates how he gained his host's respect through warlike exploits:

*3h.n(=i) m ib=f mr.n=f wi rh.n=f knn=i<sup>204</sup>*

He came to see me as useful and grew to love me, having learnt how brave I was.

83 (Ptahh 74-76) Ptahhotep advices on successful strategy in debate:

*ir gm=k d3isw m 3t=f m hwrw n-ls mitw=k m 3d ib=k r=f rh.ti hss=f*

If you come across a disputant making his case, but one who is a dilettante and no match to you; do not show hostility against him even when you know how feeble he is.<sup>205</sup>

84 (Smith 21, 17-18) Instruction concerning the use of certain ingredients in preparing a potion:

*pfs hr kd r mnḥ rh=k pfss=sn hr ḥḥ mw iry hr šww=sn*

Boil completely and thoroughly. You may tell how cooked they are on the basis of how water evaporates and how dry they are.<sup>206</sup>

85 (Smith 21, 19-22, 1) A further instruction following the previous one:

*ir isk st kb rdi.hr.tw r ḥndw r iḥt st hr itrw iḥ.hr.tw ø r mnḥ rh.tw iḥḥ=sn hr dp.tw dpt n3.n mw nty m p3 ḥndw nn dhr nb r=s*

Now, when they have cooled off, they are to be put into an ḥndw-jar so that they can be washed in the river. Then (they) have to be washed thoroughly; one may tell how clean they are by tasting the taste of the water in the said ḥndw-jar: there should be nothing bitter therein.

<sup>204</sup> So too the variants H and pHarageh I; B writes the second *n* after the determinative; AOS has *knn{n}*.

<sup>205</sup> So pBM 10509; pPrisse has *hft hss=k*.

<sup>206</sup> Rather similarly in Smith 22, 3, but the subject of *pfs* is omitted. Reintges (1997, 381) analyses the pattern in this and the next example as 'intensive stems'.



86 (Urk IV 363, 5-6) Queen Hatshepsut claims to have abided to Amun's will at all time:

*n mh=i hr sp n š<sup>c</sup>t.n=f iw hmt=i rh.ti ntrr=f*

I did not neglect a matter of his ordering; my majesty knows just how divine he is.

87 (Urk IV 1776, 14-16) Ramose extols his virtues before Osiris:

*iw iri.n=i m3<sup>c</sup>t tp t3 iw=i rh.kw hss=k m3<sup>c</sup>-ib tm irt spw n d<sup>c</sup>t*

I behaved justly upon earth, for I knew how you favour righteous-minded who do not commit acts of evil.

This sense of the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* which cannot be argued to arise simply from the 'simultaneity' of the governing verb and complement situations, seeing that *ntt/wnt*-clauses may also describe such instantiations and yet do not have the same meaning- has been often noted by students of Earlier Egyptian.<sup>207</sup> It formed the cornerstone of Callender's theory of *all* the 'nominal forms' as actual 'manner nominalisations' *specialised* to indicate 'the way an action is performed, or the circumstances under which it occurs', comprising not only the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* but also the 'prospective' and the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*.<sup>208</sup> Callender's theory has not received wide acceptance among Egyptologists and various problems have been pointed out by subsequent researchers.<sup>209</sup> Most acutely, it carries an unsupported claim of generality. The 'manner' sense does not characterise non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* complements and is neither a semantic constant of the geminating form: it is not present after governing predicates beyond those of cognition and perception.<sup>210</sup> Hence it is clearly not to be analysed derivatively as a syntactic or 'semantic' nominalisation of any kind, but as a particular semantic *function* of the geminating form, surfacing in certain *syntagmatic*

<sup>207</sup> Aside from works quoted below, see also Callender 1977, 306n.3; Depuydt 1983, 36-37. There is no doubt of the 'reality' of the sense in the examples above. For example, translating 78 as 'that they are rowing' would miss an instance of Ancient Egyptian humour: certainly the main attraction for the male king is watching *how* the semi-naked girls row, rather than 'that' they do it plain and simple!

<sup>208</sup> Callender 1975, 47-48; 72-77. This idea is anticipated in Assmann 1974, 63 and Schenkel 1975, 56. Cf. also De Cenival 1972, 45.

<sup>209</sup> Satzinger (1987, 620) dubs Callender's thesis 'unglückliches' but his later claim that the sense arises from the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* appearing as a 'subject' of an 'adverbial predicate' (1993, 205n.27) is wholly misguided. Junge (1978b, 32-33) argues similarly, but his statement that the concept 'manner nominalisation' alone does little to distinguish the patterns used after verbs if applied to all forms appearing therein without taking into consideration time-reference etc. is sound. Further, the concept 'manner nominalisation' suggests a curious hybrid between syntax and semantics whose precise nature is difficult to grasp. For example, Callender speaks of what he calls 'prospective' as a 'nominalisation of optative mood' (1986, 10). This begs the question is 'optative mood' a 'manner' and how can it, or any 'meaning', be 'nominalised'. Polotsky (1984, 119) notes the impossibility of 'manner' reading in second tenses where the *vedette* is not a manner adverbial.

<sup>210</sup> See Uljas 2003, 396n.52.

environments. Yet this does not imply that it cannot appear elsewhere, and Callender's idea that the sense is a manifestation of the more general profile of the geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$  is undoubtedly correct.<sup>211</sup> Indeed, there is one crucial facet here which reveals the sense in question to be a sub-type of a standard irrealis meaning and the geminating form as non-assertive.<sup>212</sup> A number of commentators have noted that the difference between the 'how'- and the *ntt/wnt*-introduced 'that'-sense is that in the former it is not the situation *per se* that is at stake, but merely its internal character.<sup>213</sup> This characterisation is well in accord with the cross-linguistic employment of irrealis modality to indicate that the information presented is considered as *background* and low in *relevance*, and this seems to lie behind the use of the geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$  in the examples above. From a *discourse*-perspective, nothing hinges on the reality of the complement situation in e.g. 'the king saw how brave I was' (79 above) which is uncontested information taken for granted: any subsequent discussion would centre on making judgements and assessments on the *degree* of 'how brave was he then', with he 'being brave' representing merely a necessary point of departure. This contrasts sharply with e.g. 'the king saw *that* I was brave' where the 'centre of interest' presented for attention and comment is precisely the reality of the bravery and 'is it true or not'. The bare non-geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$  complement propositions thus approach presupposed, concessive information which occasionally seems to be very nearly at issue:

88 (CT VII 228k-l) From a dialogue between the deceased and a god:

$w\bar{d}^c n(=i) sb\bar{3} pry(=i) im=f$

$di m\bar{3}=i prr=k di m\bar{3}=i ^c k[=k]$

D: A gate has been opened for me that I may exit through it.

G: Let me see you exit; let me see you enter.

Indeed, the 'how' and 'the manner which' are merely translational devices. More properly, the geminating  $s\bar{d}m=f$  signals that the 'predicative nexus' of the otherwise very real situation is presented as information with *less than optimal relevance*.<sup>214</sup> As

<sup>211</sup> Indeed, the sense is, as noted by Polotsky (1984, 119) and Borghouts, (1985, 35) often met after prepositions with 'correlative' sense- see 4.2 below.

<sup>212</sup> The hypothesis presented herein appears in an embryonic form in Uljas 2000 and 2003, 396-97.

<sup>213</sup> Borghouts 1985, 37, particularly n.34; similarly Reintges 1997, 107 and already EAG §494-95.

<sup>214</sup> Lunn 1989a, 251.

seen, ‘speakers do not HAVE TO assert assertable information’ if e.g. they disagree with it, but also if they assess it to be of limited usefulness to the hearer.<sup>215</sup> This sort of ‘evaluative’ use of irrealis/non-assertion is a wide phenomenon both typologically and cross-linguistically.<sup>216</sup> Just as in many languages irrealis can be used when there is nothing ‘objectively’ barring assertion and the ‘unwillingness’ to do so does not relate to ontological ‘unreality’ or rejection/non-acceptance of the situation but rather to speaker assessment of it as somehow lying ‘at the bottom of the scale of “relevance”,<sup>217</sup> also the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* after verbs of perception and cognition is a mode of *refraining* from asserting for this reason. The ‘reality’ of the situation in such instances is less relevant background, and for such information languages typically employ ‘forms associated with a *lower degree of assertiveness* and even forms *designated as irrealis*’.<sup>218</sup>

Non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*-forms may also be mobilised for this general function, most characteristically for the ‘future-in-past’-meaning after *rh*:<sup>219</sup>

89 (*Lesestücke* 72, 20-21) Wepwawetaa says he never failed to satisfy royal expectations:

*hd.n=i hnt.n=i m hnw rh.n=i iri=i h3w hr mdwwt*

Whenever I travelled north or south from the residence, I knew I would exceed what had been asked.

90 (White Chapel 170) Amun-Ra speaks to his son Senwosret I:

*s3(=i) hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> ink it=k mry=k iri.n(=i) s<sup>c</sup>h=k m nsw-bit rh.k(i) iri=k n(=i) ht nb nfrt*

My son Kheperkara; I am your beloved father. I made your dignity as the dual king, for I knew you would do everything good for me.

91 (Cairo Linen 10) Having laid out her woes, the author says to her dead addressee:

*i(w)=k rh.t(i) ii(=i) n=k 3y hr wd-mdw hn<sup>c</sup> bhsti*

You knew I would come to you here because of litigating against Behesti.

<sup>215</sup> Lunn 1989b, 695 (emphasis by the author); see 1.1 and Lunn 1995, *passim*.

<sup>216</sup> See Wallace 1982, 209; Lavandera 1983, 232-33; Lunn 1989a, *passim* and 0.1.2 above.

<sup>217</sup> Lavandera 1983, 231, referring to Spanish subjunctive.

<sup>218</sup> Hopper 1981, 216 (italics by SU).

<sup>219</sup> Further similar examples are Urk IV 1425, 13; 1468, 1; 1579, 13 (all *iri=f*).



Here the speakers report their personal or someone else's past commitment towards some then future situation. Owing to this time-reference, the non-geminating *sdm=f* is used instead of the geminating one. However, the motive for the absence of *ntt/wnt*, and thus for *non-assertion*, is the lack of *current* discourse relevance of the complement propositions. Due to the inherent 'factivity' of *know*, future-in-past complement situations of this verb must have occurred prior to the time of reporting, which is not the same as that of the main verb: e.g. 'I knew that I would do X' entails (or 'semantically presupposes') 'I did X'.<sup>220</sup> The issue is then whether or not this entailment is treated by the speaker as something of which he expects the audience to be already aware in the current discourse co(n)text.<sup>221</sup> Earlier Egyptian again uses irrealis modality in instances where this is the case. For example, in 91 above the complement is un-asserted because the information about the speaker's 'coming' is a non-issue; it is already familiar to all participants involved in the discourse context in which the report is made. Yet, this need not be universally the case. The speaker may also opt to present the 'semantic presupposition' as novel information and assert the complement; as might be expected, *ntt/wnt* is used in such instances:<sup>222</sup>

92 (Urk IV 593, 4-5) A legend under the cartouche of Thutmose III

*km3.n=sn m hwt- 3 m nfrw h3=sn rh ntt iri=f<sup>223</sup> nsyt w3ht hr nh3*

One whom they (the gods) created in the palace from the splendour of their own flesh, knowing that he would exercise kingship that lasts beyond eternity.

The same motive for the use of irrealis as in 89-91 above pertains also to the following examples after negated perception-verbs with immutable, but, notably, *ntt/wnt*-less complements:

<sup>220</sup> See n.37 and n.109 above for 'factivity'; this is clearly shown by the impossibility of cancelling this entailment: \*I knew that I would go but I didn't.

<sup>221</sup> Or more technically, whether the 'semantic presupposition' is also treated as 'pragmatic presupposition'.

<sup>222</sup> In English there is no clear demarcation between these alternatives, although the modal *would* is more associated with the presupposed reading than is the progressive *be going to*. 'I knew that I was going to go' is more likely to be intended to inform the audience about the issue of 'going' and present it as a novel piece of information than 'I knew that I would go' where this is usually not the case. However, these are no hard and fast rules.

<sup>223</sup> The use of *sdm=f* instead of *r* + infinitive is here presumably motivated by the strong sense of durability and the 'perpetual' character of the situation described. The king does not 'proceed into' exercising kingship but has this role over and 'beyond eternity'. See 1.2.4.1 below for further discussion of this example.

93 (Amenemhat VIIIa-b) Amenemhat I reflects posthumously on his assassination to his son:

*mk st3w hpr iw=i m-hmt=k n-sdmt šnyt swd(3)=i n=k*

See, the mishap took place when I was without you and when the entourage had not yet heard that I would hand over to you (the kingship).

94 (CT I 335a-c) The deceased says that aspects of his rebirth are a mystery even to the divine:<sup>224</sup>

*m3.n wi nw hpr.k(w) n rh=f bw hpr.n=i im n m3=f hpr=i m hr=f*

Nu has seen me after I came into existence, but he does not know where I came to be because he did not see with his own eyes that I had come into existence.

Again the speaker need not phrase the situation as optimally ‘informative’ to his audience if the latter can be and is assumed to be already quite familiar with it, as here. In 93, at the time of speaking it is of course well known to the addressee (Senwosret I) that the speaker intended the handover and, indeed, that the transition of government took place, seeing that he himself was the person upon whom it was bestowed.<sup>225</sup> In 94, the complement is *past* in relation to *m33*, with the speaker reporting that the matrix verb subject did not personally witness the ‘coming into existence’. Yet, that this took place is obvious to everyone involved; the speaker, the subject of *m33* and the audience. There is thus no need to assert and, consequently, no *ntt/wnt* introducing the complement. Notably, in all these instances, regardless whether the time reference of the complement is relative future or relative past, the situations described are currently *accepted* and *realised*. Here then, the function of the non-geminating *sdm=f* deviates somewhat from its typical irrealis profile, and this seems to have resulted in *Systemzwang* towards replacing it, when possible, in complements conveying similar information with another, entirely different form.<sup>226</sup>

Accordingly, all the *ntt/wnt*-less complements after verbs of cognition and perception represent information which ‘could easily be denied or affirmed, but is instead left unasserted’ due to lack of *need* for assertion.<sup>227</sup> They do not ‘substitute’

<sup>224</sup> So M5C, M18C and M.Ann, whereas G1T, A1C and BH2C have understood *hprw* ‘forms’; M4C has *hpr.n=i*. In the identical CT I 334c, S1C, M3C and M20c have *n m3=f*, M3C and B1B0 *n m3.n=f*. B1P has *hpr rn=i* and T3C *hprw*. See 5.1 below for further discussion of this example.

<sup>225</sup> An alternative translation could be ‘*whether* I would hand over’ which leaves these matters open, but can be used in similar circumstances when there is no need to assert.

<sup>226</sup> See 5.1 below.

<sup>227</sup> Lavandera 1983, 211.

for *ntt/wnt*, nor does e.g. the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* therein simply describe an ‘indicative’ or ‘objective fact.’<sup>228</sup> But typically the speakers’ decisions as to how much and what sort of information they think the audience requires are highly subjective,<sup>229</sup> and the marking of complement propositions as realis or irrealis provides merely a *general* sign ‘about the presence or absence of “assertiveness”...whereby the hearer is instructed on how to interpret the content expressed in a message’.<sup>230</sup> For this to succeed ‘it is necessary to know quite a lot about the discourse context’, as ‘the sentences themselves do not <always- SU> provide enough context to explain these choices.’<sup>231</sup> The following dialogue, which also furnishes a rare instance of *wnt* after a verb other than locution/cognition/perception, underscores this complexity:<sup>232</sup>

95 (CT II 215b-217g) Isis has claimed that her unborn child is ‘Osiris’ seed’ and divine; a dialogue ensues:

*ihi i.n r<sup>c</sup>-tm s3 ib=t hmt i.rh tn rf mi išt ntr is pw nb iw<sup>c</sup> psdt...*

*ink 3st 3ht špst r ntrw iw ntr m-hnw ht=i tn mtwt wsir pw*

*dd.in r<sup>c</sup>-tm iwr=t sdh=t hnwt pw mss=t iwr=t r ntrw wnt mtwt wsir is pw imi iw rkw  
pw sm3 it=f sd=f sw(h)t m-hnw nhn=s*

‘Well’, said Ra-Atum; ‘be prudent, woman! How do you know if he is a god, lord and heir of the Ennead..?’

‘I am Isis, more spiritual and noble than (other) gods; a god is inside this my womb and he is Osiris’ seed.’

Then said Ra-Atum: ‘Since you are pregnant, young lady, you should conceal from gods that you are pregnant and giving birth, and that he is Osiris’s seed, lest that enemy who would even slay his father come and break the egg in its early stage.’

Here the variation between the introduced and un-introduced complements is again based on information salience and commitment. Ra-Atum asks how Isis can know

<sup>228</sup> *Contra* Gilula 1971, 16; Allen 1984 §364; Doret 1986, 23, 39, 40, 41 and 49.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. e.g. 0.1.2 above for the Spanish subjunctive.

<sup>230</sup> Lavandera 1983, 232.

<sup>231</sup> Lunn 1989a, 250.

<sup>232</sup> See Faulkner 1968; Polotsky 1969, 481; Gilula 1971 and Allen 1986b, 25. The interpretation below is rather similar to that by Gilula and Polotsky. Faulkner (*ibid*, 42n.15) thinks *wnt* is here a ‘conjunction’ akin to *n ntt*.



that her unborn child is of divine offspring, and she answers this.<sup>233</sup> He then suggests that she conceal her pregnancy and delivery, and chooses this incontestable state of affairs as his starting-point ‘since you are pregnant’. When this presupposed situation, and Isis’ imminent delivery occur again in the complement, they appear un-introduced/as geminating *sdm=f* for the same reason.<sup>234</sup> But the child’s divinity is not similarly obvious and accepted by everyone involved; in fact, it was initially doubted by the first speaker (Ra-Atum). Notably, *wnt* does *not* appear in ‘how do you know if he is a god’ when the speaker was not yet committed to the complement proposition, but only when he has accepted it in ‘you should conceal... that he is Osiris’ seed’ (= god). *wnt* indicates that the speaker now believes the situation to hold. Both these complements also involve nominal predicates, which shows clearly that the use of *ntt/wnt* does not depend on the following construction, but on what is or is not acceptable as, and worthy of assertion.<sup>235</sup> The motives for the choices are most intricate and following the speaker’s intentions requires meticulous attention to the context from the audience. Yet, context-use is an inseparable part of interpreting modality; modal expressions are not self-contained ‘meaning-chunks’ to be studied in isolation. The ‘evaluative’ use of irrealis in Earlier Egyptian is the context-sensitive class of employment *par excellence* and ultimately serves the same *discourse-organising* and information-structuring function as in all other languages. There are other such strategies available in complementation. In the following example the geminating *sdm=f* appears in variance with ‘object-raising’, where the complement clause actor appears as the primary object and first-order focus of interest, followed by an oblique object describing the action in which it is engaged:<sup>236</sup>

96 (CT I 390c-91a) The deceased says of hostile serpents in the underworld:

<sup>233</sup> Gilula (1971, 17n.14) assumes the first utterance to be Ra-Atum questioning other gods ‘on Isis’ side’. This seems unlikely; more probably the question is put forward *to* Isis, although the pronoun *tn* is strange.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. 0.1.2. The presupposition does not arise from the predicate ‘conceal’; matters ‘concealed’ can be asserted.

<sup>235</sup> See 1.2.4.1 below for further discussion.

<sup>236</sup> See Givón 2001 vol.2, 272; Collier 1991a, 48-49; Uljas 2003, 395. ‘Object raising’ is in Earlier Egyptian restricted to verbs of perception involving visual contact between the governing clause subject and the complement object, namely *m33*, *si3* and *hp(i)* ‘encounter’. Other verbs of perception such as *sdm* do not allow this construal. Also *rh* and *gm(i)* ‘find’ belong to the ‘raising’ group, but with the latter the situation is rather more complex; see 1.2.4.2 below. The ‘direct manipulation’ verbs *rdi* and *lrl* may also be followed by object + predicative adjunct (GEG §85). In PT there are examples that look like ‘raising’ after *w3* ‘order’; cf. Allen 1986b, 15.

S1C<sup>237</sup>, B1B0, M23C, G1T: *iri=sn n=i w3t nfrt m33=sn*

*prr=i m k3r*

S2C:

*iri=sn n=i w3t m33=sn*

*wi pr=i m k3r*

They make (a good) way for me when they see

how I come out of  
the shrine.

me coming out of  
the shrine.

This does not indicate e.g. some mutual ‘equivalence’ [*prr=i* + adverbial] = [N + adverbial]. Instead, both irrealis and ‘object raising’ alter the shape of the information described in the complement and reflect speakers’ decisions what to highlight and what to leave to the background in the process of information-structuring.

### 1.2.3 Interim Summary

Evidence of *ntt/wnt* marking assertions after verbs other than locution, cognition and perception is sparse. Apart from *sdh* in example 95 above, there is only a singular instance of an *ntt*-complement after some other predicate in the corpus studied, namely *swd*, ‘inform’:

97 (Urk IV 1109, 5-7) After a directive outlining offences for which individuals are entered to the criminal dockets, it is decreed:

*[ir iw] sp=sn ky sp hr.t(w) smi.t(w) swd.t(w) ntt st hr šfd n hbnty šsr mdwt w3h st hr=s hr p3 šfd*

[Should] a case involving them [arise] again, then a report is to be made and it is to be informed that they are on the criminal docket, and the matters because of which they were entered on the said dockets disclosed.

However, this is presumably merely a matter of survival; there is one instance of *ib(i)* ‘think’ followed by *iwt*, the negative equivalent of *ntt/wnt*,<sup>238</sup> and in the PT there is an example of *ntt*-clause after the verb *sr* ‘advice’,<sup>239</sup> which further confirms that the use

<sup>237</sup> This is the variant followed.

<sup>238</sup> See 114 below.

<sup>239</sup> PT PII, 1055, 30 *sr n=k n r<sup>c</sup> ntt P [iw=f]* ‘Advice Ra that P comes’; Nt 40-41 has *dd n=k n r<sup>c</sup> ntt N iw=s*.

of these elements is not restricted to complements of *rh*, *m33*, *s $\underline{d}m$*  and *si3*.<sup>240</sup> Indeed, it would be strange if this was so, seeing that the pragmatic parameters determining the use of object complements introduced by *ntt/wnt* and of those without these elements are of very general character and may now be summarised. The basic division between *ntt/wnt*-introduced and *ntt/wnt*-less complements is organised as follows (S = Speaker, H = Hearer, *p* = Proposition and the information it conveys):<sup>241</sup>

	<b>It is <i>possible</i> for S to assert <i>p</i></b>	<b>S is <i>willing</i> to assert <i>p</i></b>
<i>ntt/wnt</i>	→ S knows <i>p</i>	→ S believes <i>p</i> → S accepts <i>p</i> → S thinks <i>p</i> is relevant to H
	<b>It is <i>impossible</i> for S to assert <i>p</i></b>	<b>S <i>refrains</i> from asserting <i>p</i></b>
gem. <i>s<math>\underline{d}m=f</math></i> non-gem. <i>s<math>\underline{d}m=f</math></i> no <i>ntt/wnt</i>	→ S does not know <i>p</i>	→ S does not believe <i>p</i> → S does not accept <i>p</i> → S does not think <i>p</i> is relevant to H

In complements with the geminating *s $\underline{d}m=f$* , the subordinate situation is both ‘objectively’ (in terms of ‘reality’ and spatio-temporal immediacy) and/or ‘subjectively’ (is accepted with commitment) ‘near’ to the speaker. However, asserting its reality and signalling acceptance and commitment is not the speaker’s illocutionary intention. This *proximal irrealis*, whose formal representative is the geminating *s $\underline{d}m=f$* , contrasts with the more *distal irrealis* expressed by non-geminating *s $\underline{d}m=f$* -forms, which tend to cluster to complements which are temporally separated from the speaker and whose assertion is most clearly blocked by the

<sup>240</sup> Note also the use of the same elements to mark assertions after prepositions (4.3).

<sup>241</sup> This basic system is sufficient for all Earlier Egyptian complementation. However, with verbs such as ‘order’ with which the modal status of the complement is primarily assigned on basis of the notional features of the former, one should perhaps recognise an additional parameter of ‘indication of speaker attitude towards the complement not grammaticalised’. See 1.1 and 1.3 below. ‘Belief’ is one of the ‘sincerity conditions’ of assertion (Searle 1969, 66).



'objective' factor of lack of knowledge.<sup>242</sup> But lack of acceptance, rejection and denial where *p* is most strongly 'subjectively' un-assertable to S and where there is the greatest motivation for S to *distance* himself from getting committed to *p*, seem also to be non-geminating 'high' irrealis domains. Both these hierarchically organised categories of irrealis contrast with clauses introduced by *ntt/wnt*, in which the status of *p* as asserted and realis is signalled and whose distribution is complementary to the former. It may be noted that the role of *ntt* and *wnt* as markers of assertion reflects in an ideal way the principled manner in which *grammaticalisation* of such function-elements is carried out. The etymology of *ntt/wnt* as expressions referring to *existence* and *reality* provides suitable input for semantic 'bleaching' and 'pragmatisation' whereby the original lexical items are made to serve a functional purpose of indicating realis modality.<sup>243</sup> However, the expression of realis is much more restricted in Earlier Egyptian object complementation after verbs than irrealis. The speaker's motives for non-assertion are extremely mixed and only one of them suffices to render the proposition unasserted. In contrast, assertion only takes place when all the relevant prerequisites are fulfilled and even then it is ultimately the choice of the speaker whether he wishes to profile the complement proposition thus or not. Much more common overall is distal or proximal non-assertion with the geminating and non-geminating *sḏm=f*'s (or, more generally, without *ntt/wnt*) which is ubiquitous after nearly all governing predicates. Hence assertion is not the 'default case' in the modal system of Earlier Egyptian object complement clauses after verbs, but non-assertion.<sup>244</sup> Atypically, asserted complements are also the more *marked* option, and non-asserted the less marked. This relationship between 'markedness' and assertion/non-assertion seems to hold universally for (at least) verbal propositions in Earlier Egyptian, particularly with the *sḏm=f*. It is noteworthy that *sḏm=f* main clauses with a seemingly 'indicative' profile are preceded by some introducing element such as *iw*, whereas clauses of most non-assertive sort (wishes, exhortations)

<sup>242</sup> The discussion of the more precise *temporal* characteristics of the forms will be postponed until 6 below, where they will be seen to be closely connected to their respective modal functions.

<sup>243</sup> See 1.2.1.1 above and cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993, *passim*. *ntt/wnt*-clauses may have originally consisted of a lexical expression of reality as an object plus paratactic/appositional (?) clause, but throughout the historical period *ntt/wnt* are clearly grammaticalised elements and are not to be treated lexically *pace* Goedicke, (1955) LGEC (§§701, 705) and Gunn (1924, 176-77). Yet, as is typical for such function-words, some remnants of the original lexical use of *ntt/wnt* persist; cf. e.g. the expressions *ntt-iwtt* 'what exists and what does not' (GEG §203.4) and *nt(t)-pw* 'fact' (GEG §§190.2, 494.3). *In ntt* is, unlike stated in GEG §494, merely initial *n ntt* (cf. Collier & Quirke 2002, 186).

<sup>244</sup> This state of affairs finds an exact parallel also in the sphere of subject- and preposition complements, and is thus a general principle of *all* complementation in this language

appear un-introduced and usually show no formal differences from those introduced by *iw*.<sup>245</sup>

#### 1.2.4 The Functional Foundations of the System

In addition to functioning as markers of realis modality, *ntt* and *wnt* also identify the clauses they introduce as complements and may be characterised as *complementisers*.<sup>246</sup> Traditionally the defining feature of elements included in this grammatical category has been taken to be the syntactic function of a *subordinator* of sentential objects (and subjects).<sup>247</sup> More recently, complementisers have been increasingly interpreted as one of the means in which languages encode modality.<sup>248</sup> Yet, in Egyptological grammatical studies particularly the *paradigm* of forms and constructions after *ntt/wnt* has perpetuated the view of these elements as serving a syntactic role. However, the paradigm, as well as certain elements of grammar *not* included therein supports the analysis of *ntt/wnt* as modal elements. The phenomena observed also allow the limits of the organisation outlined thus far to be defined and provide an initiative for study of the bare forms and constructions following *ntt/wnt* in the Earlier Egyptian organisation of modality.

##### 1.2.4.1 The paradigm: form and function revisited

There are clearly few restrictions on what forms and constructions can follow *ntt/wnt*: on basis of the examples above, at least the following patterns are combinable with these elements:<sup>249</sup>

- Nominal predicate
- Subject + adverbial predicate
- Subject + stative

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<sup>245</sup> See conclusion for further remarks on this issue.

<sup>246</sup> Barta (1986) argues that *ntt/wnt* and *lwt* introduce adjunct clauses in the grammatical idiom of New Kingdom *Unterweltsbücher*. No comparable uses are observable in earlier material.

<sup>247</sup> See Frajzyngier 1995, 474-75 for discussion and bibliography; Generative Grammar is an exception herein.

<sup>248</sup> See e.g. Bresnan 1979, 70-73; Ransom 1986, 87-91; Wierzbicka 1988, *passim*; Langacker 1991, 446-47; Frajzyngier 1995, *passim*; cf. also Givón 2001 vol.2, 72-74 and Ritter 1995, 97-98.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Collier 1991a, 29-30; Uljas 2000, 130; the adjectival predicate and *n sdm=f* are attested in *ntt*-introduced complement clauses of prepositions- see 4.3. For active *sdm=f*, see below.

- Subject + *hr* + infinitive
- Subject + *r* + infinitive
- Participial statement
- Existential sentence
- Extra-position with/without *ir* + sentence
- *n sdm.n=f*
- Past passive *sdm=f*
- *sdm.n=f*

*ntt* can also introduce second tenses, although in complements after verbs no geminating *sdm=f*-headed examples are attested, and the rare instances of *sdm.n=f* presumably in this function are late and/or open to other interpretations:

98 (Urk IV 1241, 5-6) It is said to Thutmose III that he is favoured by Amun:

*rdi.n=f n=k t3 nb hrp n=f sw rhw ntt pr.n=k hnt=f*

He gave to you all the land. Lead it for him, for he knows that you have come before him.<sup>250</sup>

However, unambiguous second tenses with the geminating form occur after *ntt* in complement clauses of prepositions.<sup>251</sup>

It is obvious from the paradigm above that, contrary to what has been claimed, the use of *ntt/wnt* does not depend on whether the construction subordinated is verbal or non-verbal,<sup>252</sup> ‘initial’ or ‘non-initial’,<sup>253</sup> nor in case of verbal clauses whether or not the verb stands first in the clause or, in case of *sdm=f*, whether or not there is an extra-posed subject.<sup>254</sup> Among the ST, attempts have been made to segment the paradigm internally on basis of assumed substitution-relations of the constituent forms and constructions, and even *ntt/wnt* themselves. Underlying these proposals has

<sup>250</sup> So also Polotsky 1944, 82. In Allen 1979, 8; Silverman 1985, 272; 1986b, 317 and Uljas 2000, 129 the element *ls* is argued to be required for second tenses to appear as object complements (see 5.2). In Uljas 2000 this example is read *pr n=f hnt=f*, i.e. as *sdm=f*. The correct reading is unclear, but the case for the *sdm.n=f* of an intransitive VOM is perhaps supported by Urk IV 1531 11/15, where the damaged A-version shows [*rh.kw*] *ntt wd.n.tw n=f s(y)* ‘knowing that it has been ordained to him’, (so also the late XVIII dynasty version D) i.e. a *sdm.n.tw=f* passive. Wente (1969, 3n.18) states categorically that the *sdm.n=f* of VOM is not used in Old Egyptian after *ntt/wnt*.

<sup>251</sup> See 4.3 below for examples.

<sup>252</sup> Frandsen 1975, 13; cf. also Allen 1979, 8-9; 1986b, 33; Janssen-Winkel 1996, 47.

<sup>253</sup> Silverman 1985, 272; 1986a, 38.

<sup>254</sup> EAG §1018.



been the assumption of *ntt/wnt* as *subordinate equivalents* of the initial elements *iw* and *mk*, and their paradigm as somehow *derivable* from those of the latter.<sup>255</sup> Sometimes these speculations have resulted in certain rather correct characterisations of the semantic-pragmatic properties of e.g. *wnt*-clauses, which have been dubbed 'indicative' due to their assumed derivation from *iw*-sentences.<sup>256</sup> In general, however, hypotheses of this sort have been plagued by anomalies arising from the impossibility of dividing the patterns following *ntt/wnt* as the respective paradigms of *iw* and *mk*.<sup>257</sup> Where no detailed divisions of the sort have been attempted, the idea of *ntt/wnt* as 'syntactic counterparts'<sup>258</sup> of *iw* and/or *mk* has nevertheless proved resilient. This is in spite of the fact that syntactically these pairs have nothing to do with each other: *iw* and *mk* introduce *independent initial*, *ntt/wnt* *dependent subordinate* clauses.

But ST and post-polotskian approaches alike, whether treating the paradigm of *ntt/wnt* *en block* or not or as derived or not, have embraced the assumption that it consists of patterns *nominalised* by *ntt/wnt*.<sup>259</sup> One of the more persuasive arguments seemingly favouring this interpretation is the conspicuous absence of the bare geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*, the archetypal 'nominal form', from the paradigm following these elements. However, there is no need to assume that this restriction is syntactically founded, as it finds its explanation straightforwardly from the respective modal profiles of this form and of *ntt/wnt*. Both indicate the modal status of the clause in which they appear, the geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* that it is unasserted and irrealis, *ntt/wnt* that it is a speaker assertion and realis. Although speakers may withhold from asserting

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<sup>255</sup> For Polotsky (1969, 480-81) *wnt* was originally (in Old Egyptian) a counterpart of *iw* and followed by adverbials whereas *ntt*, compatible with all construals, corresponded to *mk*, with the later appearance of e.g. *wnt*-introduced nominal predicates reflecting the merging of functions of *ntt/wnt*. Gilula (1971, 16) added *ntt* to be confined mainly to 'non-verbal sentences with *iw*', with *wnt* being used for this function in Old Egyptian where it could also occur in 'verbal constructions with *iw*', but not in sentences 'without *iw*'.

<sup>256</sup> E.g. Malaise & Winand 1999 §912; cf. also Satzinger 1968 §100.

<sup>257</sup> For instance, Polotsky's hypothesis raises the old problem of how can 'adverbials', nominal predicates etc. substitute for each other after elements such as *mk/ntt* (see Collier 1990a; 1991a). In Gilula's case, Middle Egyptian examples of *ntt* preceding 'verbal constructions with *iw*' (even excluding 'pseudo-verbals') are common, as are non-verbal sentences without *iw*. Second tenses also belong to this latter group in ST, but seem to follow *ntt* regardless. Johnson (1984, 81) argues that with 'circumstantial' patterns, *iw* is *deleted* after *ntt*, but still performs its function of assigning the forms/construals a 'predicative' value. It may be asked, *pace* Collier (1990b, 87) why should *iw* be deleted herein if its function is so decisive?

<sup>258</sup> Allen 1986a, 11; cf. also Satzinger 1986, 299, 307; 1989, 216.

<sup>259</sup> See 0.1.1.

almost at will, the reverse is not the case.<sup>260</sup> In Earlier Egyptian, the complementisers *ntt/wnt* are a device of modal *marking*, just as are particles and inflection in case of the geminating *sḏm=f*. Marking a bare [*mrr=f*] non-assertion as an assertion with *ntt/wnt* is ungrammatical inasmuch as the resulting complex would be modally contradictory and un-interpretable. The bare geminating *sḏm=f* does not *need*, nor *allow* the complementisers: on its own this form is capable, when required, of forming complement clauses whose character is exactly the opposite to those with *ntt/wnt*. This interpretation is corroborated by other absentees from the paradigm following *ntt/wnt*. There are no examples of these elements introducing complements containing particles such as *m(y)* ‘please’; *ms* ‘on the contrary’ and *tr* ‘with due respect’, the function of which is precisely to signal the proposition as less assertive or downright non-asserting.<sup>261</sup> In addition, the one main clause pattern that is totally incompatible with *ntt/wnt* is the thoroughly modal *imperative*. This constraint is unaccountable if the function of *ntt/wnt* is simply to ‘convert’ main clause construals into complements, particularly as there is hardly a pattern less inherently ‘subordinate’ than the imperative. Yet, it makes perfect sense from modal perspective: imperative does not assert but commands, and this sets it in line with the geminating *sḏm=f*, which as irrealis are incompatible with the realis-markers *ntt/wnt*.

The relationship between *ntt/wnt* and the other types of *sḏm=f* is also modally based. According to some commentators, the ‘prospective’ or ‘future *sḏm=f*’ can occur after these elements,<sup>262</sup> although there exists not a single example of a non-geminating *sḏm=f* showing the endings *-w/-y* after *ntt/wnt*. Others argue that the ‘circumstantial’ *sḏm=f* appears in the same position, with or without reference to ‘prospective’.<sup>263</sup> In support of this claim one may cite example 92 above showing *ntt iri=f*, example 26, where the complementiser is followed by an anticipatory subject, and the following instance in which *wnt* hosts a subject-anticipating suffix-pronoun in a fashion similar to *iw*:<sup>264</sup>

<sup>260</sup> This asymmetry follows from the most basic principles of modality. For example, Lyons notes that ‘it may very well be the case that in the vast majority of the world’s languages it is impossible for a speaker to assert the objective existence of either epistemic or deontic possibilities’ (1982, 112). The reason for this is obvious: a mere ‘possibility’ lacks precisely the properties which render propositions assertable.

<sup>261</sup> See Callender 1983, 91 and Ritter 1992b for these lexical markers of modality.

<sup>262</sup> Johnson (1984, 81); Collier (1991a, 29n.35) on basis of examples after *r ntt*; see 4.3 below.

<sup>263</sup> E.g. Doret 1986, 34n.264; cf. also the works cited in n.255 and n.257 above.

<sup>264</sup> One may also again cite Nt 40-41, *ntt N iw=s* and Urk IV 1381, 4 *r ntt N ph=f*.

99 (Urk I 42, 11) A damaged text narrates the courtiers' reaction to Wašptah's sudden seizure before the king:

[...] *dd=sn hr hm=f wnt=f db3h=f*

[...] with them saying to his majesty that he was unconscious.

However, *morphologically* the *iri* after *ntt* in 92 is not distinctive of any one of the alleged 'forms' of *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* and has exactly the same appearance as e.g. in 89-90.<sup>265</sup> It can just as well be interpreted as the 'circumstantial' or the 'prospective' and is useless as evidence if these terms are seen as referring to forms rather than functions. Far more decisive is that in 92, unlike in 89-90, *iri* is preceded by *ntt/wnt* which indicates that the clause has a particular modal function, and this function is ASSERTION. In complementation the opposition *ntt iri=f* versus bare *iri=f* is that of the non-geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* form of *iri* in an assertive versus non-assertive (distal irrealis) *function*; clearly it is not a matter of morphology since the verb itself is written as *iri=f* throughout. Similarly, the anticipated subjects in 99 and 26 do not indicate the presence of subordinated 'circumstantial' *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*-forms, but only immutable *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*'s of the verbs *db3h* and *3d* with similar subject-anticipation as after *iw* in initial environments and in a different, asserting function than without the elements *wnt/ntt*.<sup>266</sup> If anything, the similarity suggests that the *modal functions* of *ntt/wnt* and *iw* may be similar,<sup>267</sup> but function does not equal form and is not an acceptable definition for the latter.

#### 1.2.4.2. Beyond the system

In object complementation there is also one clear exception to the axiom that introduction by *ntt/wnt* is mandatory with 'non-nominal' or 'unspecialised' patterns, namely the verb *gm(i)*, 'find/discover.' Construals 'unsuitable' for object use

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<sup>265</sup> Cf. 0.2 above.

<sup>266</sup> Subject-anticipation cannot be used to signal the presence of some 'circumstantial' *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* after *iw* either. As is well known, state-verbs and *tw*-passives typically do not show this feature which then clearly depends on the semantic profile (*Aktionsart*, diathesis) of the situations described. If used as a means for form-recognition, after *iw* state-verbs and *tw*-passives would have to be analysed as construed with some other 'form' of the *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* than the 'circumstantial'.

<sup>267</sup> See conclusion.



nonetheless appear as complements of this verb *without ntt/wnt*, e.g. clauses with bare nominal predicate (100-01) and past passive *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* (102-03):<sup>268</sup>

100 (Sh.S. 60-62) The sailor encounters the magnificent serpent for the first time:

*kf.n=i hr=i gm.n=i hf3w pw iw=f m iit*

When I unveiled my face, I found that it was a snake coming.<sup>269</sup>

101 (Amenemhat VIIa-b) Amenemhat I tells from beyond the grave how he met his assassins:

*nhs.n=i n h3 iw=i h<sup>c</sup>w=i gm.n=i hw-ny-r-hr pw n mnfw*

When I woke up to the battle, I was alone, and discovered that it was an attack by the bodyguard.

102 (*Stèle Juridique* 15) An account of juridical proceedings notes concerning a certain document:

*gm.n.tw in snn m h3 n whmw n w<sup>c</sup>rt mh<sup>t</sup>t m h3 n t3ty*

It was found that a copy had been brought from the office of the herald of the northern district and from the bureau of the vizier.

103 (Urk IV 1280, 12-13) The preparations for a display of royal prowess in archery are narrated:

*k.n=f rfr š=f mh<sup>t</sup>y gm.n=f smn n=f stw 4 m hmt styt*

Having entered into his northern garden, he (the king) found that four shooting-targets of Asiatic copper had been prepared for him.

This is quite against the assumption that these ‘non-nominal’ patterns actually *require ntt/wnt* to function as complements.<sup>270</sup> Indeed, the combination \**gm(i) + ntt/wnt never*

<sup>268</sup> For examples of *gm(i) + s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*, see 5.1 below. For an indisputable example of an *adjectival* predicate after *gm(i)*, see 108 below. Urk IV 747, 9-10 *lst gm.n hm=l nfr wrt sk3 šrt m m3wt [d3hy]* ‘Now, my majesty found that the cultivation of barley on the new plots of Djahy was very good’ may also be an example if Allen (1986b, 11) is correct in arguing that when an adverb like *wrt* precedes the subject of the adjective, the construction is adjectival predicate rather than *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* of an adjective verb.

<sup>269</sup> Cf. GEG §186.3; Callender 1975, 74; Satzinger 2001, 241n.14. Junge (1978a, 42) analyses the object in this example to be *hf3w* only, which functions simultaneously as the subject of a following *pw*-sentence [*hf3w pw*]. This suggests similarity with ‘object raising’ and evokes the question if *hf3w pw* should then be seen as ‘substituting’ for ‘circumstantials’? The clause-linkage is clearly not a paratactic ‘direct quote’ ‘I found: ‘it is a snake coming’ as argued by Janssen-Winkeln (1996, 47).

<sup>270</sup> Following the attempts of Junge (2001, 218) and Satzinger (2001, 241-42) to explain away the use of ‘adverbial’ *tw*-clauses as complements of *gm(i)* in Late Egyptian, (see below) one could postulate a covert  $\emptyset$  as the ‘real’ object of *gm(i)* so as to demote the passive *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* into an adjunct-status. However, this is semantically unacceptable: it would be difficult to assign any content to an  $\emptyset$ -object that made sense in the overall situation. Clearly it is not the case in e.g. 103 that the king found ‘ $\emptyset$  after

appears in Earlier Egyptian.<sup>271</sup> The bare adverbial predicate and pseudo-verbal sentences probably do not occur as objects of *gm(i)* although certain semantic factors could be argued to favour a differentiation between 'object raising' [N object][adjunct] and [N subject + adverbial/pseudo-verbal predicate] complements. For example, in Earlier Egyptian 'object-raising' indicates visual contact between the main clause subject and the complement actor, but this is not always achieved after *gm(i)*:<sup>272</sup>

104 (Urk I 125, 15-16) Harkhuf tells of an abortive rendezvous with a foreign chief:

*gm.n(=i) ḥkꜣ imꜣm šm r=f r tꜣ tmḥ*

I found that the ruler of Yam had gone to the Tjemehi-land.

To quote Allen, 'the sense is clearly 'I found (that) the Ruler was gone' and not \*'I found the Ruler, he being gone'.<sup>273</sup> Interestingly, unlike after *gm(i)*, the oblique complements after 'raised' objects of *mꜣꜣ* describe only concomitant circumstances, or past situations that do not describe 'alienation' (physical separation) of the object from the main clause subject at the time of the governing verb, but there are no examples of the type \**mꜣ.n=i N šm* comparable to *gm.n=i N šm*. This is clearly due to the requirement that a 'raised' object be visually accessible to the main clause subject, which is always the case with *mꜣꜣ* but not *gm(i)*.<sup>274</sup> Further, *gm(i)* is never followed by clauses of the type *wn(n)=f m pr*, i.e. adverbial predicates transformed into verbal clauses by *wnn* as an alternative to *ntt/wnt*. In Late Egyptian *gm(i)* can be followed by bare *iw*-clause complements which are 'circumstantial' by form but not function, as well as complements consisting of a noun/pronoun + an *iw*-adjunct. This could reflect

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targets had been set up' or 'found [the targets] after targets had been set up', but simply that he found [targets had been set up].

<sup>271</sup> Cf. Allen 1986a, 20n.50. For this reason it is also unacceptable to assume a covert  $\emptyset$ -complementiser in the structure (as does Sweeney, 1986, 343-44, for Late Egyptian examples of *gm(i)*+ *iw*-clause); examples with an overt variant should exist for this to be a viable analysis.

<sup>272</sup> See n.236 above. Indeed, 'finding' something after being *told* of it, or in a pitch-dark room involves no vision.

<sup>273</sup> Allen 1986b, 15; cf. also UC 32201, r5 *gm.n=i nb ꜥws ḥnt* 'I found that the lord l.h.p. had sailed south.' One may also consider here examples from medical texts where body-parts which were certainly not 'lost' are 'found' with injuries etc., and where the discovery clearly consists of an object-in-situation.

<sup>274</sup> There is no such construal as \*'I saw him having left' in English either, but it is grammatical e.g. in Finnish.

a grammaticalisation-process whereby complements with and without ‘raising’ have been formally differentiated:<sup>275</sup>

<u>MEg.</u>	$gm.n=f [sw][hr sdm]$	$gm.n=f [sw hr sdm]$
<u>LEg.</u>	$gm=f [sw][iw=f hr sdm]$	$gm=f [iw=f hr sdm]$

However, in Late Egyptian  $gm(i)$  is not the sole verb compatible with  $iw$ -complements and the complement-taking properties of this verb therein are rather peculiar.<sup>276</sup> In Earlier Egyptian the complements of  $gm(i)$  such as those above may differ *semantically*, but there are no *formal* indicators of the presence of adverbial/pseudo-verbal predicates therein. In fact, syntactic evidence seems to speak against such an analysis: often what follows the first nominal element of the complement is a fully clausal and clearly adjunct  $sdm=f/sdm.n=f$  or the status of the former as an adjunct is betrayed by word-order.<sup>277</sup> Accordingly, rather than to conjure up ‘invisible’ adverbial/pseudo-verbal predicates after  $gm(i)$  in Earlier Egyptian, it is better to note simply that at this stage of the language the said constructions seem to be included in the paradigm of  $gm(i)$  merely as ‘meanings’ and as ‘forms’ only in Late Egyptian, if at all. Once again, form does not seem to correspond to semantic function in Earlier Egyptian.

In any case, the complement clauses in 100-03 undermine the argument that some patterns in Earlier Egyptian are unsuitable for ‘nominal’ use and require an extra element to appear as objects.<sup>278</sup> However, just as in Late Egyptian, the

<sup>275</sup> The rare Late Egyptian examples of  $gm(i)$  + noun/pronoun + ‘circumstantial’ *without*  $iw$  could then represent vestiges of the Earlier Egyptian system.

<sup>276</sup> According to Sweeney (1986, 343) and Groll, (1969, 190) also  $ptr(i)$  ‘see’ may be followed by  $iw$ -complements, but Sweeney’s example ODeM 133, v5 is broken and unreliable and, as noted by her, (*ibid.*, 362n.28) other possible instances such as pBM 10403 1, 4-5 and 3, 19-20 are more likely adjuncts. pMayer A v6, 16-17 is wrongly cited by Groll and reads  $bwpw=l ptr=w iw wn=w t3y htm$  ‘I did not see them after they had opened this seal.’ However,  $iw$ -complements are also attested at least after  $rh$ , (LEM 47, 12; possibly KRI III 145, 16- 146, 1)  $sm3^c$  ‘beg’ (ODeM 1406II, x+3) and  $mr(i)$  (KRI I 322, 9); see Kruchten 1997, 59.  $gm(i)$  also takes  $r-dd$ -complements in Late Egyptian and rarely even clauses of the form [object +  $r-dd$  + S]; cf. Sweeney, *ibid.*, 353-55. For an  $iw$ -complement of  $mr(i)$  from a text falling within the scope of the present work, see 323 below.

<sup>277</sup> E.g. when the object is a dependent pronoun preceding a noun governing-clause subject. For the complement to be an adverbial predicate in such instances, its subject should have had to abandon its clausal domain (M. Collier, PC; 1991a, 48n.101).

<sup>278</sup> In particular, as this does not hold with e.g. nominal and adjectival predicate sentences, there is no reason why it should do so more generally. Of course, there are no examples of e.g. bare participial statements after  $gm(i)$ , but this is hardly more than a matter of survival of an unusual expression in the textual corpus. Agatha Christie’s works aside, what is the likelihood of a sentence such as ‘He discovered that it was he who heard’ to appear even in written English? Moreover, there are no



complement-taking properties of *gm(i)* are clearly most exceptional also in Earlier Egyptian. In other languages the speaker's role *vis-à-vis* the propositions following 'find out/discover' and its grammatical coding parallels that of verbs of cognition and perception:<sup>279</sup>

- (35) 'I cannot find out \*that/whether it is here'  
 'He cannot find out that/whether it is there'  
 'I did not find out that/whether it was there'  
 'Did you find out that/whether it is raining?'

As before, the first sentence is fine with *whether* but contradictory with *that* because by framing the complement as assertion the speaker is saying that he knows something to be the case and simultaneously denies this. The second sentence is fine with *that* if the speaker knows that the complement holds, as is the third if he knows this *now*; *whether* signals the opposite, or omission to confirm the situation. In the final sentence the scope of interrogative is ambiguous with *that*; the speaker may be asking if the addressee found out something he himself already knows or both whether something was 'found out' and 'is it raining'. The latter is unambiguously signalled as intended by *whether*. But in spite of these similarities with verbs of cognition and perception, in Earlier Egyptian the normal system of complementation is not observed. In examples 100-03 there is no doubt that the speakers are in every instance aware of and/or committed to the complement situations, which in *notional* terms can be characterised as assertions, but there is no *grammatical* sign of this in the form of *ntt/wnt* here, or ever, after *gm(i)*. The active *sdm=f* is also found after *gm(i)* in semantically similar sentences: here mutable verbs show no gemination, but have a concomitant or generic sense and none of the properties of the distal irrealis function outlined above:<sup>280</sup>

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examples of *n sdm=f* after *ntt/wnt* following verbs either. Does this suggest that such a combination is 'ungrammatical' or that not all the possible permutations are present in the evidence?

<sup>279</sup> See Hooper 1975, 115-21. 'Find out/discover' have punctual Aktionsart incompatible with unmodalised present tense; hence no \*I find out/\*am finding out... The second sentence should be understood as non-epistemic.

<sup>280</sup> Callender (1975, 73) daringly suggests that the 'circumstantial' *sdm=f* may be employed after *gm(i)*. In view of the Late Egyptian *tw*-complements, this proposal is not without its appeal, but unfortunately not meaningful given the lack of adequate formal differentiation of the *sdm=f* in Earlier Egyptian.

105 (Westcar 12, 3-4) The servant-girl has heard a strange sound and goes to investigate:

*wn.in=s hr dbn t3 ʿt n gm.n=s bw irrw st im ʿh<sup>c</sup>.n rdi.n=s m3<sup>c</sup>=s r p3 h3r gm.n=s iri.tw  
ø m-hnw=f*

She kept going around the room but could not find the place where it was made. But then she pressed her temple against the said sack, and discovered that (it) was made inside of it.

106 (Urk IV 751, 2) Thutmose III says he set up offerings in the Mansion of Amun...

*m-ht gmt hm=i iri.tw ht im*

...after my majesty had found out that rituals were performed there.

107 (Smith 4, 21-5, 1) Instruction concerning the use of pulverised egg-shell in treating a wound:

*sswt wbnw pw rdi.hr=k n=f h3yt hr=f nt hn swnw kf.hr=k sw 3-nw hrw gmm=k ts=f  
pkt irtyw mi swht nt niw*

To desiccate a wound: you apply on it a *h3yt*-bandage of a surgeon's knife and cover it for three days. You find that it (the powder) reconstitutes the flesh, its appearance being exactly as (that of) an ostrich-egg.

Also when the complement is notionally *not* an assertion, nothing differs grammatically from the propositions above. The following conditional instance which is also a superb example of the bare adjectival predicate after *gm(i)* illustrates this:

108 (Merikara E25-26) An advice on how to deal with popular local potentates begins:

*ir grt gm=k n-sw niwtw*

Now, if you discover that he belongs to the townsfolk...

There is not a single example of the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* after *gm(i)*.<sup>281</sup> Instead, the non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* of mutable verbs again appears as its complement in circumstances when assertivity is clearly contextually cancelled, such as in negations of the following sort:<sup>282</sup>

<sup>281</sup> The *t.irr=sn* in CT V 119c is represented by a single variant and is curious anyway.

<sup>282</sup> See also Urk I 182, 15 (*šm=sn*); CT VII 202i (*iri=tn*); Smith 1, 25; 2, 4-5, 14; 3, 4-5 (*dg3=f*, possibly an idiosyncratic spelling of the non-geminating form of *dg(i)*, 'look', as opposed to geminating *dgg*).

109 (White Chapel 59) It is said that Senwosret I prepared a chapel in Karnak:

*st̄ n sp gm ḥm=f iri.t(w) mitt m r-pr pn dr-b3ḥ*

Never did his majesty discover alike having been done in this temple since time immemorial.

110 (Nu pl. 62/BD 99) The deceased describes the fate of fallen stars:

*n gm.n=sn ts=sn st*

They find no way to raise themselves.

*gm(i)* seems to stand completely outside the organisation of complementation discussed so far. The reason for this is unclear as no other lexical verb displays similar behaviour.<sup>283</sup> However, the situation is suggestive as of the pragmatic profile of the forms and constructions which follow *gm(i)* and their position in the Earlier Egyptian modal organisation, particularly as they are the same as those after *ntt/wnt*. *ntt/wnt*-clauses and those with the geminating/-w/-y-ending *sḏm=f* have a fixed *marked* modal function, and all are conspicuous of their absence after *gm(i)*. This, and the notional values of the forms and patterns after *gm(i)* as both assertions and non-assertions seems to indicate that its complement paradigm and, consequently, that after *ntt/wnt*, consist of forms and patterns *without* any particular modal profile.<sup>284</sup> Thus, excluding *gm(i)*, one may formulate the following rules for construing clausal complements in Earlier Egyptian:

- 1) Apart from two principled exceptions, no form or construction without a specific modal value/marking may appear alone as a complement.
- 2) In case of *assertion*, the operators *ntt/wnt* appear obligatorily. They serve to *assign* the following 'neutral' construal the modal value of +ASSERTED and allow it to function as a complement. This holds also for the active *sḏm=f* of all appearances, except, of course, the geminating *sḏm=f* and forms in -w and

<sup>283</sup> As noted above, the complement-selection of *gm(i)* shows unique characteristics also in Late Egyptian and this holds for Coptic as well. Ⲅⲏⲛⲉ is the only verb which (when negated) can be followed by second tense object complements; see Layton 2000, 363.

<sup>284</sup> Also in Uljas 2000, 131 the patterns following *ntt/wnt* are argued to be modally neutral. Collier (1994, 79) interprets the 'circumstantial' *sḏm=f/sḏm.n=f* as modally unmarked.



–y which are specific marked irrealis moods and thus capable of occurring alone as complements.

- 3) However, unlike the other ‘neutral’, or better, modally *unmarked* patterns, active *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms without gemination or the endings –w/-y can also occur alone as complements, (the other exception referred to in 1.) but when doing so, they function as modally *irrealis*, in opposition to being introduced by *ntt/wnt*.<sup>285</sup>
- 4) This flexibility of the ‘unmarked’ *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* is presumably based on language *economy*. As is well known, in complements without *ntt/wnt* the adverbial, adjectival, ‘pseudo-verbal’ etc. predicate construals are replaced by the *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* of adjective verbs or of the auxiliary *wnn*. Similarly, the past passive *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* is replaced by *s<sub>dm</sub>.tw* + noun. The *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* thus provides a functional *counterpart* for all these patterns in irrealis.<sup>286</sup>

Using diagnostic verb-roots as examples, the functional-typological system of Earlier Egyptian object complementation can thus be summarised as follows:

	IRREALIS	REALIS	
Form	<u>Distal</u> : <i>h3w=f, iry=f, m3=f</i> <u>Proximal</u> : <i>h33=f</i>	<i>ntt/wnt</i> -clauses	Modality Marked
Function	<u>Distal</u> : <i>h3=f, iri=f</i> <u>Proximal</u> : <i>m33=f</i> <u>Generic</u> : the invariable <i>s<sub>dm</sub>=f</i> of im- mutable roots		Modality Unmarked

<sup>285</sup> *ntt/wnt* thus function as ‘illocutionary force indicating devices’ (Searle 1969, 30; Junge 1989, 102).

<sup>286</sup> For why nothing seems to provide such a counterpart for participial statements, second tenses and sentences with extra-positing elements, see below.

The 'marked realis' is an *analytic* construal consisting of the marker *ntt/wnt* + unmarked form/construction. Irrealis is always morpho-syntactically 'synthetic'.

This analysis is true to morphological evidence: it assumes that a writing such as e.g. [*hpr=f*] does not hide anything that is not accessible to readers ancient or modern. Apart from the fact that in languages with a grammaticalised realis-irrealis distinction a third category of modally unmarked/neutral forms and constructions is anything but uncommon,<sup>287</sup> various other considerations support this interpretation. The above division based on evidence from object complements finds its exact parallel also in the sphere of subject- and preposition complementation.<sup>288</sup> Further, in case of *ntt/wnt*-complements it is of course the *entire complement clause* [*ntt/wnt + p*] that constitutes the assertion, but from this it does not follow that the pattern coding *p* must itself be 'assertive', although it must not be non-assertive (irrealis) either. Second tenses and clefts after *ntt/wnt* are no exception, even though the former may contain the geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* and in the latter the predicate (participle) is presupposed and most certainly non-asserted.<sup>289</sup> As *clauses* these construals are not simply non-assertions as the bare geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*; the minimal clause e.g. in a second tense is not just the verb, but includes also the *vedette*, and what matters is the modality and grammar of this *entire unit*, not just a part thereof.<sup>290</sup> Both second tenses and clefts are also 'emphatic' statements which, according to Hooper, are not non-asserted.<sup>291</sup> This explains why they, or sentences with extra-posed elements, do not have an irrealis counterpart in complementation like the other 'neutral' forms/constructions. Further, if the forms and construals constituting *p* in *ntt/wnt p* were realis-*marked*, there would be two markers of the *same* modal function in the clause. Such combinations are excluded in principle inasmuch as this leads to repetition and 'over-encoding' of that modality in one clause.<sup>292</sup> Encoding modality does not have to take place but once in a clause, (although it usually does) but neither must it result in pragmatic conflict or tautology. Notably, if the function of *iw* is the

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<sup>287</sup> Palmer 2000, 161-63.

<sup>288</sup> See 2 and 4 below; it is suggested in 4.3 that it also paralleled by the modal organisation of *adjunct* clauses.

<sup>289</sup> Levinson 1983, 182-83; Loprieno 1995, 115; Givón 2001 vol.2, 234.

<sup>290</sup> Cf. Collier 1994, 79n.61.

<sup>291</sup> Hooper 1975, 99; cf. also Givón 2001 vol.2, 222-23.

<sup>292</sup> Frajzyngier 1995, 477 and *passim*; for this reason e.g. English allows no accumulation of modal verbs in a clause: \*I think he may must be there. In addition, as here, the modality expressed would also mostly be repeated in different degrees, against the Gricean maxim of Quantity (see Levinson 1983, 106-07).

same as that of *ntt/wnt*, i.e. to mark the clause as asserted, the exclusion of \**ntt iw* follows directly from the ban on modality ‘double-marking.’<sup>293</sup> Further, *ntt/wnt* is regularly followed by *non-verbal* patterns such as nominal and adverbial predicates. It is quite legitimate to speak of assertion with these construals in *notional* terms, but they seem to stand outside the system of TAM-marking in Earlier Egyptian; when modal and temporal features are explicitly communicated, they are replaced by verbal ones with the auxiliary *wnn*.<sup>294</sup> Finally, in other environments the inherent ‘neutrality’ of the forms and constructions after *ntt/wnt* materialises occasionally as pragmatic instability, depending on *use*. With the ‘unmarked’ *sdm=f*-forms the final so-that use is of course their most notable irrealis application outside complementation. Most *sdm=f* ‘relative present’ adjuncts can be characterised as assertions in notional terms, but there are also other, notionally non-assertive/irrealis meanings in the same category, such as e.g. the ‘virtual clauses of condition’:<sup>295</sup>

111 (Ptahh. 613-14) Ptahhotep stresses that a successful speaker must also know how to listen:

*sdm rk mr=k smn.t(w)=k m r n sdmyw*

Listen- if you want yourself to be well-established in the mouth(s) of listeners.

However, many questions remain concerning the modal status of the constructions following *ntt/wnt*. For example, in second tenses aside from the ‘grammatical’ predication between the verb and its argument(s) there is also the ‘logical predication’ between the verb and the adjunct *vedette* at stake, but the relationship of this linkage to assertion and modality is unknown.<sup>296</sup> The status of the bare ‘circumstantial’ clauses and forms used as such in the modal system of Earlier Egyptian is also inherently linked to the issue of auxiliaries and other lexical elements with some sort of pragmatic role. Complementation provides crucial insights into the modal status of these and other construals and forms, but clarifying their exact pragmatic characters requires an extensive study of their main clause uses.

<sup>293</sup> See 7.2.

<sup>294</sup> Loprieno 1995, 122.

<sup>295</sup> GEG §216. However, in the *negative* the specific meaning of these clauses is formally indicated: ‘virtual conditionals’ are negated by *tm*; see 3.3 and 4.3 below.

<sup>296</sup> But see 7.2.



### 1.3 Affirmative object complementation after notionally non-assertive verbs

In addition to verbs attested with complement clauses introduced by the assertion-markers *ntt/wnt*, there are a number of transitive predicates in Earlier Egyptian which are never followed by these elements, but which only govern object complements with bare *sḏm=f*. In case of mutable verbs, which here is the sole type of roots warranting examination, this appears as the geminating or as a non-geminating form. However, the number of verbs constituting this group, and particularly the extent of the said form-variation, is difficult to determine, as evidence of object complementation after predicates other than locution/cognition/perception and *gm(i)* is very uneven and the full extent of clause-type variation of many is unknown. The number of attestations of many verbs with finite object clauses, let alone of mutable verbs, is minimal. For instance, the following example is the only occurrence of *snd*, *fear* with such a complement:

112 (Sin B17-18) Sinuhe tries to avoid being detected by frontier-guards:

*šsp.n=i ksw m b3t m snd m33 wršyw tp ḥwt imt-hrw=s*

I took a crouch in the bushes in fear that the guards on duty upon the ramparts may see.

As an attitude, fear is the opposite of wishing and hoping; it is directed towards situations suspected with apprehension, negative orientation and ‘epistemic anxiety’, but not known for certain.<sup>297</sup> For these reasons verbs of fearing are regularly followed by irrealis constructions and forms across languages, and Earlier Egyptian seems to behave similarly.<sup>298</sup> Yet whether the geminating and non-geminating forms alternate after *snd* and the conditions in which this occurs cannot be defined on basis of a

<sup>297</sup> Cf. Givón 1994, 280; Palmer 2000, 134-35; see also 4.2 below for the preposition *n-snd*.

<sup>298</sup> See Palmer 2000, 133-34 for examples from Spanish, Classical Greek and Latin; cf. also Lichtenberk 1995, *passim*.

single example.<sup>299</sup> Another poorly attested verb is *sh3* *remember*, of which the following is the sole attestation with a mutable complement:<sup>300</sup>

113 (Ebers 2, 3-4) A question in an incantation:

*in iw trw sh3.n=k it.tw hr hn<sup>c</sup> sth r ist ʿ3t nt iwnw*

Do you remember if/that Horus was taken with Seth to the great palace of Heliopolis?

Perhaps the most unfortunate is the situation with the verb *ib(i)*, ‘think’. This predicate is modally of great interest, as it describes a positive propositional attitude, but which is considerably more reserved and hesitant than ‘knowing’. There are tantalising indicators that gradations of this attitude (between almost full commitment and strong doubt) which are modally distinguished in the complement in many languages, also find expression therein in Earlier Egyptian, but here more than anywhere the evidence leaves much to be desired. There is one example of *ib(i)* followed by a clause introduced by *iwt*, the negative equivalent of *ntt/wnt*:<sup>301</sup>

113 (Urk I, 138 13-17) The king greets Sabni for his successful mission abroad:

*iw(=i) r irt n=k ht nb ikx m-isw sm pn ʿ3 [ir.n=k] n int [it]=k ib(=i) iwt sp hpr mitt dr b3h*

I will do all great things for you in reward of this mighty undertaking which you have carried out by bringing (back) your father, for I think nothing similar has ever happened before.

Beyond this instance, there is only the following example of *ib(i)* with an object complement clause, showing the geminating *sdm=f*:

115 (Peas B2 117-18) After his final scornful words, the peasant rushes out but is forcibly brought back:

*wn.in shty pn snd ib=f irr.t(w) r hsf n=f hr mdt tn ddt.n=f*

<sup>299</sup> E.g. in Russian the verb *fear* may be followed by indicative or subjunctive depending on the degree of certainty with which the situation feared is assumed to be the case or expected.

<sup>300</sup> The scope of the interrogative is unclear; the complement may or may not be questioned. Another, morphologically unrevealing example is Siut I 267: *tw=i sh3=i spr=i r ntr hrw pf n mny gm=f wl* ‘I kept in mind that if I approach the god on the very day of mooring, he will find me’.

<sup>301</sup> See 3 and 4.2 for negative complements. Edel (EAG §1018n.1) argues that Sethe’s copy of the original is incorrect.

Then this servant became afraid, thinking that (it) was done to punish him for these words which he had said.

Assuming that 114 is a genuine instance, it would seem that in Egyptian just as in modern languages ‘think’ can be followed by propositions that qualify as assertions also grammatically, but the evidence hardly allows firm conclusions to be drawn as to under what circumstances this is cancelled. Yet the two examples above differ in that in 114 the speaker reports his own belief whereas in 115 this is assigned to a third person. As seen, in many languages speakers use mood to indicate their own attitudes and opinions also when reporting someone else’s propositional attitude such as thoughts and beliefs, and what the subject may think and believe need not be believed by the reporter.<sup>302</sup> Interestingly, although the ‘thinker’ in 115 is committed to the complement situation, the speaker (narrator) need not be. As is clear from the tale from which the example derives, the subject’s belief was *incorrect*. The bare geminating form here could be the real speaker signalling this information and again indicating his ‘epistemic stance’ and (un-)commitment to the complement situation.<sup>303</sup> Although well in keeping with the conclusions above, this suggestion remains a conjecture due to lack of examples. Neither are there sufficient synonyms of *ib(i)* to aid in analysis: the verb *hmt*, ‘expect’, resembles it semantically, but of this predicate again only a single example with a mutable complement exists:<sup>304</sup>

116 (Red Chapel 166, 22-23) From a description of the divine birth of queen Hatshepsut:

*t3ri.n=f<sup>c</sup>wy=f(y) hr swht=f hmt.n=f<sup>305</sup> it=s idbwy*

He (Amun) clasped his hands upon his offspring, expecting that she would seize the Two Banks.

<sup>302</sup> See 1.1 and e.g. (35) above where the speaker attitude towards thoughts of a third party is indicated by changing the tense in English. In Kinyarwanda (Bantu; Noonan 1985, 115) the variant complementisers *ko* and *ngo* are used:

Yatekereže ko amazi yari mare-mare	Yatekereže ngo amazi yari mare-mare
‘He thought that the water was deep’ (no comment)	‘He (misguidedly) thought that the water was deep’.

<sup>303</sup> I.e. rather as in the second example of the previous note, the sense might be ‘thinking (misguidedly) that it was done to punish him for these words which he had said.’

<sup>304</sup> A further example with an immutable complement verb is Sin B7 *hmt.n=l hpr h3yt* ‘I thought that trouble might occur.’ Sin B111-12 appears corrupt.

<sup>305</sup> The Deir el-Bahri parallel-text reads *hm.n=f* ‘he was ignorant’, which is certainly wrong.



But although many verbs outside the group of locution/cognition/perception are badly represented in the textual corpus with finite/morphologically revealing complements, the following predicates are nevertheless either attested in sufficient numbers with such construals or else form classes of close synonyms:

- *wḏ* ‘order’
- *mr(i)* ‘want, wish, love, like’
- *nh(i)* ‘pray’
- *hw(i)* ‘prevent’
- *hsf* ‘prevent’
- *s3w* ‘take care that not’
- *dbh* ‘request, ask’
- *dr* ‘remove, prevent’

*nh(i)* and *dbh* both refer to requests. *hw(i)*, *hsf*, *dr* and the verb *s3w*, in spite of occurring only in the imperative, have very similar meaning. Taken individually, these verbs are relatively rare but augment each other as synonyms and their complement-taking properties can be studied as a group. In contrast, *wḏ* and *mr(i)* are very common and by far the most important verbs above. *wḏ* may be grouped with *nh(i)* and *dbh* seeing that all these verbs describe *attempted manipulation* through speech acts.<sup>306</sup> *mr(i)* has volitive, desiderative and ‘affectionate’ sense(s).

With these verbs, either individually or as a group of synonyms, there is reasonable certainty that all the possible complement permutations are present in the data and that this is not greatly distorted by accidents of preservation. In the entire corpus of Earlier Egyptian textual material, there is *not a single instance* of any of them with complements introduced by *ntt/wnt*, but only clauses with bare *sḏm=f*, which often show gemination and the endings *-w/-y*. This restriction is of central significance to the present argument and provides strong empirical support for the hypothesis of *ntt/wnt* as modal operators and their absence as a signal of irrealis modality. As in all other languages, the above verbs clearly *do not combine with asserted complements*, regardless of possible differences in identity between the subject and the real speaker. In other words, the absence of *ntt/wnt* herein is not an

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<sup>306</sup> Givón 1975a, 66 and *passim*; 1994, 272; 2001 vol.1, 152.

anomaly; it follows directly from the function of these elements to mark complements as assertions, which is *never* the case after verbs such as ‘prevent’, ‘want’ or ‘order’, *regardless of the particular language*. This notion thoroughly undermines the thesis of *ntt/wnt* as syntactic ‘nominalisers’ or ‘converters’ and of the bare complement *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms as some sort of ‘variants’ or ‘substitutes’ thereof. Whereas the ‘nominal hypothesis’ assumes Earlier Egyptian to *differ* from all other linguistic systems in its grammatical organisation herein, the present analysis views the latter as fundamentally *similar* to other languages and as based on the same underlying principles. The occurrence of the different forms and constructions is, once again, not driven by autonomous structural rules arising from their inherent syntactic profiles but by the nature of the information communicated by human language users.

As in other languages, the modality of the complement clauses of these inherently *non-assertive verbs* is determined as irrealis by the *notional* properties of the governing lexemes. That is, the primary vantage point from which the modal status of the subordinate clause is assigned is that of the *original* speaker and speech context, following the universal tendency to grammaticalise expression of speaker stances only towards other people’s propositional attitudes, knowledge and content of speech, but not their orders, requests and the like.<sup>307</sup> However, there are exceptions to this rather rigid principle. The alternating between the geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*’s after many of the verbs above represents a strategy by which the real speaker’s perspective, which maintains its grammatical relevance, is variously introduced to the complement situation-description and which finds parallels cross-linguistically. In addition, this variation is again a concrete manifestation of the basic cognitive abstract of ‘proximal’ and ‘distal’ irrealis.

### 1.3.1 Verbs of preventing

*hw(i)*, *hsf*, *s3w* and *dr* form a group of verbs with closely similar semantic-pragmatic profiles and, as a corollary, largely identical complement-taking properties. ‘Preventing’ is the opposite of causation and notionally refers to interference by a controlling agent so as to block something from taking place.<sup>308</sup> Thus, when asserted,

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<sup>307</sup> See 0.1.

<sup>308</sup> See Givón 1975a, 77-81 for discussion.

*prevent* functions as a (negatively) *implicative* verb which binds the speaker to accepting that the complement situation did not occur:<sup>309</sup>

(37) ‘Jack prevented Jill from leaving’ › Jill did not leave

Put another way, when something is said to have been prevented, that something is most definitely unrealis; the speaker cannot hold it as a fact that it occurred. In Earlier Egyptian there are no examples of verbs definitely with this meaning in a simple asserted form. Instead, they occur as imperatives and exhortations:

117 (CT VI 92p) The deceased says to a group of divine beings:

*hsf=tn pr sdb nb<sup>310</sup> dw m r n ntr nb ntrt nbt*

You should prevent any (?) evil impediment from issuing from the mouth of any god or any goddess.

118 (CT VII 62r-s) CT Spell 859 has excerpts from the PT offering ritual:

*wsir N pn mi n=k<sup>c</sup> n nbt-hwt hw di=s sw r=sn*

Osiris N, take the arm of Nephtys. Prevent her from using it against them.<sup>311</sup>

Although the implication does not survive here, there is now a clear attitudinal element associated with the complement, which lies behind the choice of complement form. In spite of various differences between ‘truly’ implicative verbs and *prevent* in interrogative and negative contexts,<sup>312</sup> with modal governing clauses the complements of all these verbs inherit the illocutionary force of the former. To take negatively implicative verbs as examples, by uttering ‘you should decline/avoid/refrain from seeing her’ the speaker signals that his attitude towards the

<sup>309</sup> For what follows, see Karttunen 1971, particularly 357; cf. also Levinson 1983, 181; Ransom 1986, 10-11; Givón 2001 vol.1, 153.

<sup>310</sup> The texts show *r* which is surely an error for *nb*.

<sup>311</sup> I.e. the Children of Horus; the sentence is repeated twice in CT VII. 61m-p, but spelled carelessly *rdi=s{n}*.

<sup>312</sup> Unlike e.g. ‘he did not avoid seeing her’, which implies ‘he saw her’ and ‘did he avoid seeing her?’ in which the interrogative must have scope over both the main and the complement verbs, ‘he did not prevent her from leaving’ does not necessarily imply ‘she left’ and it may be the case with ‘did he prevent her from leaving?’ that the speaker knows that ‘she’ did not leave and is merely inquiring whether this had to do with someone preventing it (cf. Karttunen 1971, 342-45, 357; Ransom 1986, 7). No negated or interrogative examples occur in the corpus studied for the present work; PT 1439d/P and 1440b/P have *hsf=k w h3w N pn* ‘do not prevent N from going down.’



complement situation is negative, i.e. as if the modal applied directly to the complement: ‘you should not see her’.<sup>313</sup> ‘You should prevent X’ of course involves also a request for the agency of the addressee, but the speaker’s negative attitude towards the complement situation remains unchanged. By this token, the non-geminating *sḏm=f* could be expected to be used after *prevent* in Earlier Egyptian, given that its function in complementation is that of a distal irrealis of modal remoteness and even disapproval and rejection. The evidence seems to bear this out: examples 117-18 above with *ḥw(i)* and *ḥsf* spell *pr* and *di* (variant *rdi*).<sup>314</sup> The form appears also after *s3w*:

119 (UC 32126ii, vertical 3) In a broken context:

[...s]3w mḥ ib=k m ḥt nbt

Take care that you are not over-confident with everything.

120 (Ptahh. 438-39) Ptahhotep stresses the importance of integrity aside the elite:

s3w šm<sup>315</sup> nm<sup>c</sup>=k im m sf rn=k ḥr srw

Take care that you do not pass on partiality therein; do not maim your name before the officials.

121 (Peas B1 268-69) The peasant reminds Rensi of his duties as an official:

rdi.n.t(w)=k r dnit n m3ir s3w mḥ=f

You were appointed as a dam for a pauper; take care that he does not drown.

*s3w* is somewhat different from the verbs meaning ‘prevent’ in that it is not fully inflected and carries no similar sense of ‘inverse causation’ but rather leaves this

<sup>313</sup> See Karttunen 1971, 345. This is because implicative verbs and their complements do not refer to strictly separate situations at all: ‘refraining’ on its own is meaningless. Note also that complements of such verbs are invariably non-finite and display subject-control; i.e. the conceptual ‘closeness’ of the two predications is reflected iconically in the morpho-syntax. However, ‘you should refrain (etc.) from seeing her’ has different presuppositions than ‘you should not see her’. With the former the speaker assumes that the addressee is inclined to ‘see her’ whereas the latter carries no such suggestion; cf. Levinson 1983, 181.

<sup>314</sup> PT evidence may be noted for comparison: PT 1534a reads *in twt is ḥw nnw=sn* ‘it is you who prevents them from becoming tired’ (also 1242a). Nt 323 has *ḥw rdi=s sw r=s* ‘prevent her from putting it against her’. PT 828a, 835a and 838c have *ḥw=s g3w=k* ‘she prevents you from lacking’ and Nt 293 *ḥw stmw=s* ‘prevent it from perishing’. The prolific use of forms with the ending *-w* is noteworthy.

<sup>315</sup> The received wisdom of *šm* as a biliteral root (Sethe 1899, §366; GEG §278) should be revised; in light of such geminating examples as Urk IV 480, 3 (*šmm=t šmm* N ‘you go, N goes’) it can hardly be anything but a weak verb.

to the addressee. In addition, there are signals of eroding of its lexical status in Earlier Egyptian: occasionally *s3w* seems to be used to introduce negative final clauses:<sup>316</sup>

122 (UC 32198, 13-17) The author reports to his superior:

*iri.n b3k im wdt nbt nb ʿws... s3w dd nb ʿws iw=f gr hr ddt.n=i n=f*

This servant has carried out everything which the lord l.h.p. ordered... lest the lord l.h.p. say: 'He is unresponsive concerning what I said to him.'

Nevertheless, in its lexical use *s3w* carries the same negative speaker attitude to the complement situation as verbs of preventing, which is reflected in the use of the distal irrealis. There is one exception to this, though, namely the sole certain instance of the verb *dr* with a finite complement:<sup>317</sup>

123 (CT III 206c-d) The deceased asserts his resurrection intact:

*in ʿndw dd n=i ʿ=f dr=f wnn=i m-m ʿndw wsir*

It is Dawn who gives me his arm and prevents me from being among the executioners of Osiris.

In view of rest of the evidence, this is slightly surprising. However, dictionaries do not recognise *dr* as a verb taking verbal, but only noun objects; the translation 'prevent' in 123 is also merely a deduction, as the established senses of *dr* vary between 'subduing' and 'removing'.<sup>318</sup> If 123 were to be translated along these lines, the meaning would be 'it is Dawn who gives me his arm and *removes* me from being...etc'. The sentence would then concern *interrupting* a situation *already realised* and tangible to the speaker. Although there are conflicting non-linguistic factors with this,<sup>319</sup> in any case (the certain) verbs of preventing display the expected

<sup>316</sup> As noted by Allen (2000, 253; 2002, 23). Further certain examples are Ptahh. 223 and Hardjedef I3.

<sup>317</sup> Ebers 73, 20-21 has 'various ingredients for treating a swelling... *wt hr=s r dr h3 mw lry* bandage it to prevent the water within from issuing out.' Yet given the overall sense and the fact that the variant Hearst 9, 8 has *r rdit h3 mw lry* 'to *cause* the water within to issue out', the correctness of *dr* is most doubtful (so also von Deines, Grapow & Westendorf 1958, 235 and their n.183).

<sup>318</sup> The translation follows Faulkner 1973-78 vol.1, 175; see *Wb* V, 473; Erman & Grapow 1995, 215; Faulkner 1996, 314; Hannig 2003, 1479.

<sup>319</sup> For 123 to have the meaning 'X removes me from being among the executioners of Osiris' it would have to be assumed that this situation was one in which the deceased had actually found himself and from which the divinity mentioned aided him away, but this fits ill with the general tone of the spells, which are intended to ensure that no mishaps arise in the first place.

complement-selection properties by being followed by the ‘high irrealis’ non-geminating *sḏm=f*, as befits their ‘implicative’ and modal properties.

### 1.3.2 Verbs of attempted manipulation: *nh(i)*, *dbh* and *wd*

Like the verbs of preventing, also the verbs of praying, requesting and ordering can be characterised as coercive-manipulative predicates whose complements are always future and unrealised relative to the time of the governing verb. However, notionally they involve no causative-implicative element, but describe deontic illocutionary acts aimed at affecting the addressee and ‘imposing the speaker’s will’ upon the latter. Requests and orders also equal *attempted* manipulation in that there is no guarantee that the action or state which the speaker is trying to get someone to perform or assume, will take place. In terms of ‘force dynamics’, the deontic *force* expressed by these verbs varies; ‘order’ is properly *directive* and implies considerably more coercion and control than ‘request’ or ‘pray’, which partly conditions the common variation between the geminating and non-geminating *sḏm=f* after them. Surprisingly, in this the *success* of the attempted manipulation is also of relevance in various instances.

Only a single example of the verb *nh(i)* *pray* with a finite complement is attested, but it shows the unambiguous distal irrealis form of *m33*:

124 (Peas B2 119-22) The peasant, believing he is doomed, utters in despair:

*ḥsḥw n ib n mw ḏ3t-r n ḥrd n sbnt m irtt ntf mwt nḥy m3=f n ty=f ll wdf mwt=f r=f*

The approach of a thirsty man for water, the reaching of the mouth of an infant for milk- death is their lot; but he who prays that he may see it coming, tardily comes his death.

If this is at all typical, it befits well the notional features of ‘praying’ which is extremely weak ‘manipulation’ indeed: a ‘prayer’ is not so much an attempt to ‘impose one’s will’ on others as it is an appeal to their goodwill when an addressee is indicated, or expression of lack of personal influence in cases such as 124. These force dynamics properties correlate with the ‘certainty-factor’ associated with praying, which is considerably low; a ‘prayer’ has no control over the realisation of the matter prayed for, which depends wholly on others and which cannot be held as



very certain. The use of distal irrealis complements is in harmony with these properties.

With the verb *dbḥ* there are more examples available and also variation between geminating and non-geminating *sḏm=f*, as in the following pair of instances:

125 (CT VI 3531-m) An unidentified deity is addressed:<sup>320</sup>

*n N tn is dbḥt m3=s tn m kd=t pw wn=t im=f in ḥr dbḥ m3=f tw m kd=k pw wn=k im*

It is not this N who asks that she may see you in this your form in which you are; it is Horus who asks that he may see you in this your form in which you are.

126 (CT II 221c-222a) Isis says to newborn Horus:

*bik s3=i ḥms rk m t3 pn n it=k wsir m rn=k pw n bik ḥr snbw ḥwt imn-rn=f dbḥ=i wnn=k m šmsw r<sup>c</sup>*

Oh falcon, my son; dwell in this land of your father Osiris, by this your name of ‘Falcon upon the ramparts of the mansion of He-whose-name-is-hidden’, and I shall ask that you may be in the following of Ra.

The deontic force and control associated with requesting varies and affects the degree of certainty with which the complement situation is expected to occur. This lies behind the complement variation of *ask/request* in English. The next two sentences do not mean exactly the same:

- (38)                    ‘I ask that he leave the room’  
                             ‘I ask whether/if he would leave the room’

In the first instance the request is made with a significantly greater assumption of compliance than in the second one, which implies that it is left to the addressee to be decided whether he will ‘leave the room’ or not. That the key herein is indeed the degree of expectancy can be demonstrated by replacing the verb *ask* with a ‘stronger’ lexeme *demand*, which results in ungrammaticality with *if/whether*:

<sup>320</sup> The PT original (1128a-29b) is rather more extended, but writes *m3=f* in all of the four instances of *dbḥ + m33*. A further PT instance is PT 149a-b: *dbḥ=k pr=k r pt prr=k... dbḥ=k h3=k (var. h3w=k) lr nwt h33=k* ‘Whenever you ask that you may go forth to heaven, you go... whenever you ask that you may descend to Nut, you descend’; cf. also PT 1275b, 1276b and Allen 1984 §236.

- (39) 'I demand that he leave the room'  
 \*I demand if/whether he would leave the room

Egyptian, unlike English, has no separate verb for 'demanding', but just as in English the grammatical form of the complement of requests follows from the degree of commitment to the realisation of the situation it describes, in Egyptian the complement form-variation seems to reflect this range of delicate differences in turn. There are some suggestive correlations between the use of geminating/non-geminating *sḏm=f* and speaker status and identity. When subordinates 'dbḥ' something from the king, non-geminating *sḏm=f* is typical:<sup>321</sup>

127 (Urk I 99, 10-11) Weni relates how he set about procuring material for his tomb:

*dbḥ.k(i) m-ᶜ nb(=i) in.t(i) n(=i) inr ḥd krs m r-3w*

I asked from my lord if there could be brought to me a white limestone sarcophagus from Tura.

128 (Urk I 146, 6-9) Djau tells how he acquired funerary equipment for his like-named father:

*iw dbḥ.n(=i) m s3r m-ᶜ ḥm n nb(=i) nsw-bit nfr-k3-rᶜ ᶜnh dt šd.t(i) krsw ḥbs st-ḥb n dᶜw pn*

I asked- as a requisition from the majesty of my lord king Neferkara, living forever, if a coffin, clothes and festive-oil could be arranged for this Djau.

The same seems to hold with individuals addressing gods:

129 (CT V 241a) It is said of the deceased:

*dbḥ=f šm=f iw=f*

He asks whether he may come and go.<sup>322</sup>

But in 126 where a god is *dbḥ*-ing, the geminating form occurs. As mere mortals are unlikely to present demands and 'presumptive' requests to kings and divine beings, a non-geminating complement of *dbḥ* perhaps corresponds to an expression of weaker

<sup>321</sup> Edel (EAG §711) considers these examples as infinitives, Doret (1986, 47) as 'subjunctives'. The finite interpretation is more probably correct.

<sup>322</sup> *šm=f iw=f* is a compound expression (*Wb* IV 462).

modal force/no assumptions concerning compliance than a geminating one, this division again following from the respective modal functions of these forms as distal and proximal irrealis. Yet example 125 above shows that if true, this is not invariable. However, there is another possible explanation for the geminating form:

130 (CT II 222b-c) After Isis' words in 126, narrative resumes:

*h3 3st r wh<sup>c</sup> in hr dbh.n 3st wnn=f m wh<sup>c</sup> m šsmw nhḥ*

Isis goes down to *wh<sup>c</sup>*<sup>323</sup> who has brought Horus, for Isis had asked that he may be with *wh<sup>c</sup>* as the leader of eternity.

Some languages are capable of indicating the *success of reported* attempted manipulation by alternate complement patterns. In Lango, (Nilo-Saharan) complements of verbs of attempted manipulation appear in the subjunctive if no comment is made concerning the realisation of the situations they describe, whereas the indicative occurs if it is specifically signalled that the target of the attempted manipulation was reached:<sup>324</sup>

(40) Dákó òdiò lóca ni 'tét (SUB) kwèri

'The woman pressed the man to forge the hoe'

Dákó òdiò lóca òtètò (IND) kwèri

'The woman pressed the man to forge the hoe (and he did).'

The verb remains the same and the only difference is the additional information provided by the *real speaker* concerning the outcome. The Egyptian example 130 with *dbh* could simply report a 'demand', but the context shows that the complement situation has been realised and the form is ominously the geminating *sḏm=f*, just as with *dr* in 123 above. In fact, it shall be seen that *both* these mechanisms determine the choice herein and form an interlocking system of expressing attitudinal and ontological information of the complement situation. That the 'closer irrealis' geminating *sḏm=f* is indeed used for conveying information about the success of

<sup>323</sup> Judging from the determinative, some divine being is meant.

<sup>324</sup> Noonan 1985, 126-27.



attempted manipulation is confirmed by the verb *wḏ* and its complement-taking properties.<sup>325</sup>

Complements of *wḏ*, *order*, show much variation between the geminating and non-geminating *sḏm=f*'s which at first sight appears to have a diachronic dimension to it. In the Old Egyptian data there is but one example of the latter, (132 below) whereas gemination dominates. In classical Middle Egyptian and the Coffin Texts the ratio is roughly even, but in the early XVIII dynasty material there are no geminating examples after *wḏ*. However, there are a formidable number of possible examples from weak verbs ending at *-t*, which can be read either as infinitives or as passives with the ending *t(i)/t(w)*.<sup>326</sup> Further, in the Pyramid Texts the ratio of gemination/no gemination is inverse to that of Old Egyptian generally and the number of post-classical examples of *wḏ* + mutable *sḏm=f*-complement relatively low. Taken together, the numbers are in favour of lack of gemination after *wḏ*, as noted by some authors and contrary to previous arguments by the present writer.<sup>327</sup> Yet, as elsewhere, it is perilous to assume that this variation is a matter of statistics and to treat the evidence as if the examples were similar without considering their overall semantic context. Such an approach has little hope for explaining the motive(s) for the variation between the forms which at first sight appears most puzzling:<sup>328</sup>

131 (Urk I 298, 8) An order by the king in a decree for one of his officials:

*iw wḏ.n ḥm(=i) dd=k iri.t(i) wi3 n i3gi n mḥ [...]*

My majesty has ordered that you cause a boat of X cubits to be made for Iagi.

132 (Hassan 1975 vol.1, pl.51A) In a broken context:

*wḏ ḥm=f pr sš-kdt*

His majesty ordered the painters to go.

133 (CT VI 393g-h) The deceased is told:

<sup>325</sup> Interestingly, Faulkner translates 126 'I ask that you shall always be in the suite of Ra' (1973-78 vol.1, 126), which might reflect an understanding of the passage as referring to perpetuating an already existing situation.

<sup>326</sup> In such instances it is, as a rule, impossible to decide what the correct interpretation is.

<sup>327</sup> Silverman 1985, 282; Loprieno 1995, 201; cf. Uljas 2000, 128; 2003, 392.

<sup>328</sup> Further examples not quoted below are: CT I 131b (*sipw* N); CT III 207d (*ssnw* N); CT VI 348p (*rdi* N, corrupt?); CT VI 371o (*wnn* N); Wadi el-Hudi 21, 8 (*pr=f*); UC 32157 h/v left, page 3, 2 (*irt=f*); Nu pl. 75/BD 144 (*wn* N). Urk I 19, 12 has *iw* N.

*snš n=k sb3w pt iw wd.n r<sup>c</sup> wnn=k im m hk3 n nswt=f*

The gates of heaven have been thrown open for you. Ra has ordered that you be there as a ruler of his thrones.

134 (Urk IV 1278, 5) It is said of Amun's ordinance of the kingship to the king.<sup>329</sup>

*wd.n=f it=f t3 nb dmd nn nhw=f*

He ordered that he seize all the land together, without exception.

A syntactic explanation for this variation has been proposed by Loprieno, who, *pace* Borghouts, interprets the appearance of the geminating *sdm=f* as an object of a verb of wish and command to signal direct embedding of entire second tense macro-sentences, and a non-geminating form to represent normal clausal subordination.<sup>330</sup> Thus, a complement such as that in 131 above would be structured as follows:<sup>331</sup>

*iw wd.n hm(=i) [dd=k iri.t(i) wi3 n t3gi]NP[n mh [...]]AdvP*

This analysis has been disputed by Satzinger and Silverman who incorrectly argue that second tenses can occur as objects only if accompanied with the particle *is*.<sup>332</sup> Junge appeals to his opinion that in Earlier Egyptian 'direct' subordination of *sentences* does not take place inasmuch as their predicates lose their predicative force in the process without a 'converter' such as *ntt/wnt*.<sup>333</sup> Thus also 'direct' complementation of second tenses is excluded because the adjunct following the form could no longer function as a predicate, following the ST model. Counterarguments against this analysis have already been presented, and to these may now be added the evidence of *gm(i)* and the role of *ntt/wnt* as modal rather than syntactic elements. Nevertheless, the embedded second tenses-hypothesis is not without problems.<sup>334</sup> Loprieno maintains that second tense objects are a prerogative of epistemic and deontic verbs, whereas elsewhere the geminating *sdm=f* signals nominalisation of *iw*-sentences; yet the basis of this division is unclear and the existence of the latter class of 'conversions' doubtful. There are also examples where the postulated second tense

<sup>329</sup> Similarly Urk IV 1286, 19.

<sup>330</sup> Loprieno 1988, 68; 1991a, 214; 1995, 201; Borghouts 1985, 37n.33.

<sup>331</sup> Adapted from Loprieno 1991a, 214n.54; alternatively, the AdvP might be taken to be *n t3gi*.

<sup>332</sup> Silverman 1986b, 318; Satzinger 1989, 217n.81; see also n.250 above and 5.2 below.

<sup>333</sup> Junge 1979, 83-84 and n.27 above.

<sup>334</sup> See Uljas 2000, 129.

seems to lack a 'predicate', particularly in numerous 'Appeals to the Living' where bare geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* objects occur commonly after the verb *mr(i)* without adjuncts of any kind.<sup>335</sup> Elsewhere, as after *w<sub>d</sub>*, there will inevitably be adjuncts which can be argued to represent the *vedette*, but e.g. in 131 this would have to be located within a complement clause of *dd=k*:

*w<sub>d</sub>.n hm(=i) [dd=k [iri.t(i) wi3 n i3gi [n mh X]]].*

The ST has made short work of the notion of constituency, and this objection would probably be deemed irrelevant by its advocates. However, for 'predication' to cut across and into the supposed 'subject's' own object complement clause is most improbable.<sup>336</sup> Far-ranging relational arguments of the sort should respect, or at least recognise clausal domains.

Thus the variation of the geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*'s herein more likely has a semantic-pragmatic rather than syntactic motivation. Doret's proposal of the former as signalling the situation being viewed as an 'objective fact' and the latter as 'possible action' with an 'element of unreality' may be mentioned again as a rare attempt to rationalise it on basis of modality.<sup>337</sup> Temporal differences of the forms clearly do not govern their distribution after *w<sub>d</sub>*,<sup>338</sup> but Doret's proposal is slightly suspect; it is not obvious who exactly treats the complement situation more or less 'objectively', although the reference seems to be to the original rather than the real speaker. Yet why would the king ordering in 132 have viewed the outcome less 'objectively' than the one in 131? Doret's suggestion has the right direction, but instead of obeying any simple rule of 'objectivity', the choice between the forms is determined by more intricate factors which reflect the way in which the *real* speaker views the subordinate state of affairs and communicates information of both attitude and ontology. Concerning the first of these, speaker attitude towards the complement situation after *w<sub>d</sub>* is expressed if and only if the speaker's intention in uttering the

<sup>335</sup> See 1.3.3 below.

<sup>336</sup> See also Uljas 2004 and Allen's (2000, 407) comment that in an instance such as Siut I, 301 *pr<sub>r</sub> n=f n3.n gmhwt* 'these candles go only to him', the 'predicate' *n=f* would occur *inside* the 'nominal subject' *pr<sub>r</sub> n3.n gmhwt*.

<sup>337</sup> Doret 1986, 23, 40-41, 49-50 and 0.1.3 above; cf. also Malaise & Winand 1999 §908.

<sup>338</sup> Doret's additional argument concerning the geminating form as marking the complement as 'simultaneous with the main verb' is clearly incorrect. As for aspect, the complement situation e.g. in 132 most certainly does not have 'perfective' composition as opposed to e.g. the very similar 144 below. But see 6 below.



sentence is manipulation. More specifically, in Earlier Egyptian a clear grammatical difference is made between *use* and *mention* of verbal manipulation. Only in the first instance is there any real attempt to affect events and an addressee. This is the case in 131 above as well as in the following sentences, whose grammatical form is that of simple statements, but which serve a rather different function:

135 (Urk I 301, 3-5) A royal decree to an official concerning the latter's son:

*iw wd.n hm(=i) srr=f irr=f kd m sp3wt ptn hft wd=k irr=f m whm=k*

My majesty has ordered that he be an official and gain reputation in these nomes in accordance with your order, and that he act as your herald.

136 (Urk I 298, 16) A further order to the same official:

*[iw wd.n]<sup>339</sup> hm(=i) dd=k i3wt nhm=k [...]*

My majesty has [ordered] that you award an office and take away [...]

All these utterances originate in royal decrees whose purpose as documents is to pass orders. They represent *indirect speech acts*. The speaker's *secondary* illocutionary intention is the one suggested by the outward form of the sentences, which is that of assertion and reporting, but his *primary* illocutionary intention is directive, manipulation and imposing his will upon the addressee(s) or someone else- and the audience is expected to recognise and infer this from the context.<sup>340</sup> This requires no major effort, provided the complement situation is as yet *unrealised* and the circumstances and the co(n)text generally such that the utterance can be recognised to be intended as an order.<sup>341</sup> Both these conditions are fulfilled with the examples in question. The speaker's expectation of compliance, assumption of personal control and desire for the manipulation to bear fruit is, by default, strong when performing an act of ordering, and his orientation towards the irrealis situation ordered is positive.

<sup>339</sup> The restoration is certain; see Goedicke 1967, plate 24.

<sup>340</sup> Searle 1975; Bach & Harnish 1979, 70-76; Levinson 1983, 263-76; Allan 1986, 204-38; Saeed 1997, 214-20. One may compare this with e.g. many 'Appeals to the Living' where the standard *dd=tn* 'may you say' is replaced by *iw=tn r dd* which in other contexts would hardly be understood as a request.

<sup>341</sup> What this latter condition may involve of course varies enormously. Palmer (1986, 30) quotes a most interesting and directly comparable example of the sentence 'Private Jones will report at 18.00 hrs' used as a directive in a military context. That it is understood as an order is a sum of many things, including the rank of the people issuing and receiving the 'order', the overall context (army) where orders are routinely given and received, and so forth. For details, see Searle 1975.

Abstractly then, the situations are ‘close’ to the speaker and correspondingly the proximal irrealis geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* is used. The same underlying factors are manifest also in the following example with this mood:

137 (CT I 27c-28b) The deceased addresses Thoth:

*i.nd hr=k dhwty imy htp ntrw hn<sup>c</sup> d3d3t nb(t) ntt hn<sup>c</sup>=k wd=k prr=sn<sup>342</sup> m hsfw wsir N*  
Hail to you Thoth, in whom resides the peace of the gods, and the entire Ennead with him! Command that they come forth at the approach of Osiris N.

Here the speaker of course does not pass the order himself but asks for this to be done by an intermediary. All the same, there is present the same willingness to see the complement situation carried out and attempt to manipulate events so as to bring this into effect. But crucially, this is *not* the case when orders are not passed but merely *reported* by the speaker, as in the following examples where no element of will is expressed but only related or ‘talked about’- there is no attempt to manipulate anyone and nothing beyond a reference to an act of ordering; the speakers express no subjective stance towards the complement, but are attitudinally *disassociated* from it, and use the distal irrealis non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*:

138 (Louvre C14, 13-14) Irtysen says his son has the power to make manifest the secrets of artisanship:

*wd.n ntr iri=f pr n=f st*

God has ordered that he act as a revealer of it for him.

139 (Urk IV 1326, 13) Amenhotep II says the subjugation of Mitanni (sic) was destined upon him:

*in it=i wd iri=i st imn km3 nfrw*

It was my father who ordered me to do it- Amun, the creator of splendour.

140 (Urk IV 1298B, 9-14) The king is characterised:

*iri=f t3š=f r mrr=f nn hsf<sup>c</sup>=f mi wd.t.n it=f imn nb nswt t3wy iri n=f s3 n ht=f mr=f*  
*imn-htp hk3-iwnw-ntry*

<sup>342</sup> So B3B0, B2B0, B4B0, B1P, B6C, B4C and S10C; M.C.105 and TqC have *pr=sn*.

He sets his boundary as he pleases without opposition, in accordance with what his father Amun, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, ordered his beloved bodily son Amenhotep Heka-Yunu-Netjeru to do for him.

This is of course most common with third person subjects when speakers relate orders passed by others as here or in 132 and 134, but the same perspective to orders is possible in all persons:

141 (Urk IV 1257, 3) Thutmosis III describes his pious donations to Amun:

[*iw grt*] *wḏ.n ḥm=i di.tw iry[.tw n=f twt]*<sup>343</sup>

My majesty further ordered there to be caused to be made a statue for him.

142 (CT VII 463f-464b) The creator says about the mankind:

*iw iri.n=i s nb mi sn-nw=f n wḏ=i iri=sn isft in ibw=sn ḥḏ ḏdt.n=i*

I made every man equal to his brother and I did not order them to do evil. But it was their minds which distorted what I had said.

143 (Urk IV 1349, 17-18) Horus the Behdite declares to the king:

*ḏi(.n)=i n=k nḥḥ m nsw t3wy 3wt-ib ḥnt ḥnw mi wḏ.n(=i) iri st ḥm=k*

I have given you eternity as the king of the two lands and joy before the living, according as I ordered your majesty to do it.

All these sentences are patently mere recollections or ‘mentions’ of orders, sometimes even ones that were *not* passed, from a retrospective vantage point. They derive from texts whose purpose is not to address anyone in particular or impose the will of the speaker on others but to record and to ‘look upon’ orders, actual or non-actual. In this capacity their pragmatic function is nothing like that of examples 131 and 135-37, and for this reason a non-geminating *sḏm=f* is used.

Yet, as in 133, also the geminating form may occur in reports of orders devoid of the real speaker’s attitude. There are many examples like this, most famously the following:

144 (Hammamat 113, 10) Amenemhat tells of his expedition to the quarries:

<sup>343</sup> Rather similarly in Urk IV 1255, 13, but with the spelling *rdi.tw*.



*iw grt wd.n hm=f prr(=i) r h3s[t tn]*

His majesty ordered that I go to this hill-country.

The variation here signals an altogether different contrast than in the instances above, but there is no danger of confusion. The context shows that the issue obviously cannot be that of imposing an order and the hearers are thus invited to search for another explanation for the use of the geminating form herein. The answer is not far away. As seen, some languages such as Lango can indicate that the reported attempted manipulation was successful by selecting a different complement; Noonan translates the second of the sentences cited in (40) above alternatively as ‘the woman *forced* the man to forge the hoe’.<sup>344</sup> The manipulation, in other words, equals *causation* in such instances. Exactly the same distinction is grammaticalised in Bemba (Bantu):<sup>345</sup>

a-à-boombele (FIN) ‘Jack forced Jill to work’

(41) Jack a-à-koonkomeshya Jill a-boombe (SUB) ‘Jack ordered Jill to work’

The different complement patterns after the same main verb indicate respectively that the manipulation was successful or that it was not necessarily so. Similarly in Earlier Egyptian, when there is no question that the utterance could have a manipulative intent, geminating *sdm=f* complements after *wd* turn out to refer to accomplished orders/successful causation and situations that are *real at the time of speaking*; and the non-geminating form to attempted manipulation/no comment regarding success. This can often be verified from the context: success is obviously the case in 144 and in the following example:

145 (CT VI 210h-i) It is said of an act of adornment:

*‘pr.n hr it=f wsir m nbyt skr ds=f wd.n r<sup>c</sup> irr=f sw*

Horus adorned his father Osiris with a collar of Sokar himself because Ra ordered him to do so.

<sup>344</sup> Noonan 1985, 127.

<sup>345</sup> Adapted from Givón 1972, 150-51; FIN stands for a finite neutral pattern. The distinction also occurs in reverse in Bemba: the verb *kaanya* means ‘prevent’ with a finite complement, but only ‘forbid’ with the subjunctive.

The same seems also to hold with e.g. the following instance:

146 (BM 101, 4 horizontal) Nebipusenwosret assures prospective visitors to his stela:

*iw wd.n ntr ʿ3 wnn=tn tp t3 ht hswt=f*

The great god has ordered you to be upon earth under his favour.

That is, the speaker is not promising that his audience *will come to be* favoured by the god upon earth, but that this *existing state* is going to *continue*. That this distinction actually is the one grammaticalised herein may be tested, *pace* Noonan and Givón, by replacing ‘order’ with ‘force’ or ‘cause’ as a translation for *wd*. This fits every case of the geminating *sdm=f* in reported manipulation, but *not* many non-geminating instances; e.g.:

147 (MMA 57.95, 8-9) Intef relates his outstanding performance in royal service:

*ir grt ht nb wd.n hm=f iri(=i) n=f st iw iri.n(=i) st ml wdt.n hm=f irt*

Now, as for anything his majesty *ordered/\*caused*<sup>346</sup> me to do for him, I did it according to what his majesty had ordered to be done.

In the first instance, with *wd* referring to attempted manipulation, the second clause *iw iri.n(=i)*... is interpreted as adding that this was successful and the sentence is fine. But if the first clause already carries an indication that the manipulation was successful, there is no point in further reporting that this was so. The second reading is infelicitous because saying that one was caused to do something and adding that one did it is tautological and uninformative. In the next example it is clear from the context that the order which is reported, not passed, cannot have been realised:

148 (Nu pl.82/BD149) The deceased says to the keepers of the mounds of the Field of Reeds:

*sw<sup>c</sup>b i3t=tn wddt iri=tn n=i pw in wsir n dt*

‘Purify your mounds!’ That is what you have been ordered to do for me by Osiris forever.

<sup>346</sup> The sentence would be more acceptable if the adjunct *ml wdt.n hm=f irt* was assigned the status of ‘logical predicate’ and (badly) translated as ‘As for anything his majesty caused me to do for him, it was exactly according to what his majesty had ordered to be done that I did it.’ However, this is disallowed by the Egyptian original *iw iri.n(=i)* which is not a second tense but clearly an assertion with the primary message ‘I did it’.

This shows that the geminating *s $\underline{d}m=f$*  is specifically associated with the notion of successful causation in sentences with *w $\underline{d}$*  which are not manipulative, whereas the non-geminating form is not. In fact, the former sense is not far from *presupposed*; the complement situations are presented as considerably more obvious than those described by non-geminating forms and the ‘focus of interest’ in the sentences lies elsewhere.<sup>347</sup> The form-variation is quite ‘meaningful’;<sup>348</sup> it distinguishes between actual manipulative intentions and mere references to such speech acts (‘use’ versus ‘mention’) and within the second category between reference to attempted and successful manipulation. This principle can be expressed schematically as follows:

Utterance with <i>w<math>\underline{d}</math></i> + <i>s<math>\underline{d}m=f</math></i> - complement	→ is the speaker’s intent manipulation?	→ Yes	→ geminating <i>s<math>\underline{d}m=f</math></i>
		→ No	gemination → the complement describes a result of successful manipulation no gemination → no information about success is indicated.

There is one example of *w $\underline{d}$*  not consistent with this analysis, namely:

149 (Urk I 305, 8-306, 1) An admonition in a royal decree:

*ir rmt nb nw t3 pn mi- $\underline{k}d=f$   $\underline{h}nn.t(y)=sn$   $\underline{h}b.t(y)=sn$   $\underline{h}t$   $\underline{h}nt$   $w^f bwt=k...$   $n$   $gr$   $w\dot{d}.n$   $\underline{h}m(=i)$   
 $wnn=sn$   $tp$   $3\dot{h}w$   $m$   $\underline{h}rt-n\dot{r}$   $wp-r$   $wnn=sn$   $snhy$   $n\dot{t}y$   $m$   $\underline{h}rw-mdw$   $nw$   $nsw$   $wsir$   $nw$   $n\dot{r}=sn$   
 $niwtyw$*

As for any people of this entire land who will interfere with or jeopardise matters relating to your offering-arrangements... my majesty does not order them to be

<sup>347</sup> I.e. for example in 146 it is taken for granted that the audience knows they are ‘under the favours’ of the god; the pivot of the utterance is to say that the god has ordained this state of affairs.

<sup>348</sup> *Contra* e.g. Allen 1984 §228.



among the blessed dead in the necropolis, but rather they will be fettered and bound as ones under accusation of the king, Osiris, and their local gods.

No explanation for the use of the geminating *sḏm=f* here seems readily available.<sup>349</sup> Nevertheless, the hypothesis accounts for the form-variation in all other instances above, and, crucially, its explanatory force is by no means restricted to the verb *wḏ* alone. The same two-tier organisation of conveying information about ontology and attitude can be seen to determine the choice of irrealis after *all* verbs only combinable with non-asserted object complement clauses- provided it is recognised that the system functions according to limits set by the semantic-pragmatic profile of the governing verb. With *wḏ* the options of what the form-variation may express are limited, as there cannot be a question of any ‘weaker’ degree of modal force expressed and hence the non-geminating *sḏm=f* can never express anything of the sort.<sup>350</sup> Yet e.g. with *dbḥ*, there is such an option; one may express requests of varying degrees of directness and assumptions concerning compliance (e.g. ‘asking for’ vs. ‘demanding’). There are too few examples of *dbḥ* to verify whether or how this factor affects the choice of complement form, but there is one further verb which shows the full extent to which the form-variation can be used to convey information of actuality and speaker attitude, namely *mr(i)*. After this predicate all the manifestations of the distal/proximal abstraction possible after non-assertive verbs can be identified at work simultaneously in a superficially complex, but ultimately highly economical and simple system based on the hearers’ ability to use context for interpreting the exact meaning that the form employed is intended to communicate.

### 1.3.3 The verb *mr(i)*

The Earlier Egyptian verb *mr(i)* is a highly polysemic lexeme used to describe a variety of ‘desiderative’ and ‘volitive’ notions, including at least ‘wanting’,

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<sup>349</sup> One could here appeal to Allen’s opinion that in the PT the ‘prospective’ is used after *wḏ* instead of the ‘subjunctive’ (1984 §228) and argue that *wnn* is the former. PT 1480a shows *ḥmsw* N and 1596b *nnw=f*, but Nt 490 and Nt 781 *ḥms=k*, PT 467a has *ḥ<sup>c</sup>* N, 967c *i.iry=f* and 1295a *h3y=k*. If the ‘prospective’ analysis is to be insisted upon, resorting to defective writings etc. is unavoidable and even this is inadequate for spellings such as *i.iry*.

<sup>350</sup> I.e. ‘orders are orders’; they do not offer any real ‘choice’ for the addressee. After *wḏ*, therefore, only the geminating *sḏm=f* has a specialised ‘sense’, whereas the non-geminating forms merely indicate ‘no comment as to attitude or ontology’.

'wishing', (probably) 'hoping', 'loving' and 'preferring'.<sup>351</sup> English possesses a separate verb for all these attitudes whereas many languages do not, and instead often indicate the exact sense by variant complement types. However, the grammar of clausal complements of verbs describing these attitudes is affected by the notable differences of the latter in *all* languages.<sup>352</sup> Typologically 'wanting' is the prototypical deontic volitive attitude whereas 'wishing' and especially 'hoping' verge upon epistemic; 'loving/liking' are emotions rather than attitudes. There are also clear differences in the modal force dynamics of all these stances. For example, matters 'hoped' are expected with greater certainty than those 'wished'. Thus in English, only 'wish' combines with the modally more unreal past complements:<sup>353</sup>

(42) 'I wish Jack would/\*will leave'                      'I hope Jack will/\*would leave'

Yet both 'wishing' and 'wanting' may be directed towards 'impossible' situations, whereas 'hoping' cannot, (43) but unlike 'wanting', wishes and hopes may be expressed towards real/past situations of which the speaker is merely unaware (44):

(43) 'I wish I was sixteen again'  
       'I want to be sixteen again'  
       \*I hope to be sixteen again.

(44) 'I hope/wish that Jill came'                      \*I want Jill to have come

Also 'loving' and 'liking' are emotions on notionally real states of affairs, and in one language these senses of a unitary 'desiderative-volitive' verb are differentiated from 'wanting' by modally unmarked and irrealis complements respectively.<sup>354</sup> Similarly in Earlier Egyptian, with its single verb *mr(i)* and tendency to indicate semantic-pragmatic differences in the complement, the common variation between the geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*-forms after this predicate is again a medium for expressing gradations in force dynamics and information about the actuality of the complement situation. As before, the former correlates with strong modal force and,

<sup>351</sup> Otto 1969; Uljas 2003, 392.

<sup>352</sup> For what follows, see Noonan 1985, 121-23; Palmer 2000, 132-35.

<sup>353</sup> See 6 below for discussion of the linkage between past and irrealis.

<sup>354</sup> Mojave; see Palmer 2000, 157.

its corollary, strong expectancy, and the latter with weaker force/no particular expectations. On the other hand, the geminating form may also have the function of marking the complement situation as actual, contrasting with non-geminating ones which provide no information about ontological status. All these options are open for the forms to denote after *mr(i)*, which as a polysemic predicate may express meanings associated with stronger or weaker modal force/expectation of realisation in case of unreal situations, but it may also refer to situations realised at the time of speaking. Complex as this may seem, the exact sense intended is established with surprising ease on basis of co(n)textual clues.

After *mr(i)* the non-geminating/geminating ratio is approximately 3:1. This difference in frequency, which mirrors that after *wḏ*, suggests that the geminating *sḏm=f* again represents a somehow more ‘special’ option. And indeed, as after *wḏ*, this form appears to be used in association with strong modal attitude towards the complement situation; for example:<sup>355</sup>

150 (Cairo Linen 8-9) The author tells her dead addressee that she would rather welcome death for his son than subordination to an adversary:

*mr(=i) in=k n=k wn ʿ3y r-gs=k r m33 s3=k ḥr s3 issy*

I would rather that you took for you the one who was here by your side than saw your son subordinated to Isesi’s son.

151 (Kumma n.400, 1-2) A rock-carving near the Nubian fortress of Kumma:

*i ʿnhw tp t3 sš ḥry-ḥbt wḑb nb wnn.ty=sn m mnw pn m mr=tn ḥdd=tn mi dd=tn ḥtp-di-nsw...*

O the living upon earth, any scribe, lector- or *wḑb*-priest who will be in this fort; as you will desire to sail north, say accordingly: ‘*ḥtp-di-nsw...*’

No examples exist in Earlier Egyptian of speakers denying (or asserting) their current desires or volition with *mr(i)* + finite complement, and example 150 does neither express what the speaker actually wants but what she would rather if an even worse situation arose; i.e. the complement event is in reality not willed at all but constitutes something which the speaker would *not* normally hope to occur.<sup>356</sup> The use of the

<sup>355</sup> See also CCG 20712, 10 (*wn=i*); Urk IV 341, 8 (*wn=s*); 1729, 6 (*wn=f*).

<sup>356</sup> For the interpretation, see Willems 1991; Wente’s (1990, 211) rendering is grammatically dubious.



form *in=k* is notable, as is the apparently contrastive employment of the geminating *hdd=tn* in 151. What seems to differentiate this example from 150- except that the attitude is not attributed to the real speaker but the main verb subject- is that the reference is most certainly to a strong volition and desire.<sup>357</sup> The variation again appears to be used as a device for expressing degrees of force dynamics in accordance to the distal/proximal irrealis profiles of the bare *sdm=f*-form. However, after *mr(i)* as after *wḏ*, gemination also marks the complement situation as being or having been *real at the time of speaking* (again *not*-that of the governing verb)- when this is *contextually possible*. This is of course not an option in 151: the speaker cannot envisage his audience to be ‘sailing north’ whilst reading his words. Indeed, from the context it is straightforward to determine if the complement situation of *mr(i)* *cannot* represent an actual state of affairs, but it is impossible, even in past instances, to know for certain if this *is* the case- all that can be said is that it *may* be.<sup>358</sup> After *mr(i)* the geminating *sdm=f* *confirms* this possibility in environments where actuality is an option and indicates that the complement situation is ‘real’, whereas non-geminating forms again leave the possibility unconfirmed and without comment. For example:

152 (Urk I 79, 26a-28a) Henqu maintains his worth:

*ink ḥm w<sup>c</sup>bw.n ntr r=f rdiw snd r [gs]w=f i.mr wn i[m3h=f] hr=sn m bw [ntf im]*

I was truly one whose mouth the god purified, who inspired fear in his peers and who desired to have reverence before them wherever he was.

153 (Urk I 204, 9-10) Idu claims to have lived according to superb standards:

*n-sp dd(=i) ht nb ḏw iw h3b r rmt nbw n mrr(=i) hrt b3k.t(i=i) wnn im3h(=i) hr ntr hr rmt dt*

I never said anything evil, unjust or crooked against anyone, because I desired happiness, vindication and to have reverence before god and men forever.

These well-nigh identical reports of the speakers’ past desires differ in one decisive respect. In 152 all that is said is that in the past the speaker desired something but it is

<sup>357</sup> One may expect strong desire to sail north (home) to have been an attitude shared by all Egyptians stationed in the Nubian fortresses during the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>358</sup> For example, from ‘I want him to go’ it can immediately be seen that the complement is not an actual state of affairs in the current reality, but an utterance such as ‘I wanted him to go’ may well refer to something which ‘I’ wanted to occur and which then *did* occur, but this is in no way apparent.

not indicated whether or not this desire bore fruit. In 153 the speaker reports the same attitude, but by employing the geminating form also indicates that *now*, at the time of speaking, he has ‘reverence before god and men’, i.e. that the complement situation is part of his *current reality*. This division lies behind much of the enigmatic form-variation in the so-called ‘Appeal to the Living’. A recurrent feature of this funerary formula carved upon innumerable mortuary stelae and intended to persuade its readers to make an actual or invocation-offering on behalf of the deceased, is a premise for the subsequent plea for offerings. In the most widely attested form the former constitutes of an oath; the actual request is typically made by the readers’ desire to be favoured by the gods and king, to be upon earth etc.<sup>359</sup>

154 (BM 471, 1-3)

*i ʿnhw tpw t3 sš nb w<sup>c</sup>b nb hry-ḥbt nb ḥm-k3 nb rmt nbt sw3.t(y)=sn ḥr špss pn mrr=tn ḥs tn ntrw=tn niwty mi dd=tn ḥtp-di-nsw...*

O the living upon earth- any scribe, *w<sup>c</sup>b*-, lector- or *k3*-priest and all people who will pass by this memorial; as you desire your local god to favour you, say accordingly: ‘*ḥtp-di-nsw...*’

155 (BM 579, 3-5)

*i ʿnhw tpw t3 sw3.t(y)=sn ḥr m<sup>c</sup>ḥ<sup>c</sup>t tn m mrr=tn ḥss tn ntrw=tn dd=tn ḥ3 t ḥnkt...*

O the living upon earth who may pass by this cenotaph; as you desire your gods to favour you, may you say: ‘a thousand bread and beer...’

156 (BM 152, 2-4)

*i ʿnhw tpw t3 ḥmw-ntr nw ntr ʿ3 m mrr=tn wnn im3ḥ=tn ḥr ntr ʿ3 prt-ḥrw st=tn n(=i) mw*

<sup>359</sup> See Lichtheim 1992, chapter 4 for a convenient summary of the structure and history of the Appeal. The objects of the attitude vary, but mostly involve immutable verbs. The most important mutable complement verbs used are *ḥs(i)* ‘favour’, and *wnn*. Further examples of *mr(i)* + non-geminating *sdm=f* not quoted below are Urk I 252, 3; Berlin 7311B, 2; BM 239, bottom 6; 504, bottom 2; CCG 20164, 2; 20335, 2; 20540, 2; Florence 7599, x+2; *Naga-ed-Der* pl. XV.2, middle 1-2; Oxford Queen’s College n.1113, bottom 4-5; Turin 1546, 5; Tübingen University 458, 8-9; 479, vertical 9; Wien ÄS 156, 29; 166, 16; 186, 4; Vernus 1990, 31 (*ḥ3w N*). Further examples of *mr(i)* + geminating form not quoted below are Urk I 268, 13; Bologna 2, 6; Sinai 519, 4-5; BM 462, 6; 1678, 5; Turin 1447, 12; 1903, 5; *Denderah* pl.2a, left 3. There are also unclear examples with *ḥs(i)* written without phonetic complements (e.g. Berlin 7732B, 2; CCG 20043, 2; 20100, 4; 20396C, 3; Florence 2500, vs6; Leiden F95/83, 2; Kumma n.429, 7; Sinai 118, 3-4; Wien ÄS 168, 6).



O the living upon earth- priests of the temple of the great god; as you desire to have reverence before the great god and invocation-offerings, pour water for me.

157 (MMA 65.120.2)

*mrr=tn wn=tn tp t3 hr ssnt t3w*

As you desire to be on earth breathing wind...

The difference herein is that whereas the speaker e.g. in 154 simply appeals to his addressees' desire to be favoured by their local god, the author of 155 has included in his version the rather courteous additional indication that he views his addressees to be 'favoured' by their gods. The audience is guided to this interpretation by the context; since nothing excludes the situation from referring to an actual state of affairs, the geminating form is the confirmation of this. Its use in the Appeal is clearly conditioned by personal taste and pragmatic considerations of what is worth signalling as being viewed as actual.<sup>360</sup> There is also a diachronically earlier version of the Appeal which makes no direct request for offerings but instead declares those desirous of royal or divine favours to be ones who shall recite the invocation, and which shows notable correlation between the choice of complement form and phrasing. The overall construction is that of a nominal predicate sentence with a participial subject plus *sdm.ty=fy* predicate, and the element *pw* omitted as a rule; the complement of *mr(i)* in this variant is always the geminating *sdm=f*:<sup>361</sup>

158 (CCG 20567, horizontal 1-2)

*mrr hss sw hnty-imntyw dd.t(y)=f(y) h3 m ht nb n im3hy k3y m3c-hrw*

He who desires Khentyamenty to favour him is one who will say: 'a thousand of everything for the revered Qay, justified'.

<sup>360</sup> Hence the difference in 156 and 157: in 157 there is no need to signal that the speaker assumes his audience to be 'on earth breathing wind' at the time of speaking (= reading the appeal) which of course is indisputably the case and in no need of confirmation. Occasionally sources from the same locality make curiously similar choices as regards the form after *mr(i)*, perhaps indicating local conventions in the grammatical decorum of the Appeal. For example, examples from the shrine of Heqaib on Elephantine which refer to desiring 'favours' from the deified noble (20, 2; 52e, 3; 88, 2-3) are consistently cast in the form *m mr(r)=tn hss tn N*.

<sup>361</sup> Further examples are CCG 20046, 1; 20523, 1-2; Berlin 1183, 2-3. In two cases (Sinai 502, 1; 510, 1) *hs(i)* is written without phonetic complements.



In this version the function of the premise is to *flatter* the audience to carrying out the plea: *mrr ḥss sw* varies commonly with *mrrw nsw (pw) ḏd.ty=sn* ‘beloved of the king (etc.) are those who shall say’ where the tense of the participle shows that the idea is that persons so addressed *are* beloved of the king, and to appeal to their desire to remain so. In *mrr ḥss sw*, by analogy, the actual sense intended would seem to be ‘he who desires to remain favoured by X is one who will say’, with *ḥss* referring to an actual state of affairs, not a mere prospect.

In support of this analysis it should be noted that also the variation in the Appeal between gemination and non-gemination in the main verb *mr(i)* is determined by exactly the same parameter,<sup>362</sup> whereas there is no correspondence between the complement type and the persons addressed,<sup>363</sup> or the presence or absence of the prepositions *m/mi* before *mr(i)*, and also the ‘embedded second tenses’ hypothesis founders in many instances due to lack of adjuncts following the form. Also, crucially, it would appear that the form-variation herein does *not* express differences in the strength of attitude. Regardless of which form is interpreted as associated with which degree of modal force-dynamics, assuming their use to be *universally* conditioned by this contrast would mean that some Appeals to the Living spoke of their audience as ‘strongly desiring’ favours from deities etc., whereas most referred to more tentative and weaker willingness. This is certainly not the case. There is also morpho-syntactic evidence against this argument. In the Appeal the premise is often expanded with additional clauses, and the usual practise is to treat these as further complements of *mr(i)*; e.g.:

159 (Florence 2561, 1-7)

*i ḥnw tpw t3...sw3.t(y)=sn m ḥd m ḥsfyt ḥr špss pn mrr=tn ḥs tn ntrw=tn w3ḥ (n)=tn ḥr ḥnh mn=tn ḥr nswt=tn ḏd=tn ḥ3 m t ḥnkt...*

O the living upon earth...who will pass by this memorial going north or south; as you desire your gods to favour you, that the Living Horus endures for you and that you be firm on your seats, say: ‘a thousand bread and beer...’

<sup>362</sup> See 4.2 below.

<sup>363</sup> Lichtheim (1992, 163-64) argues for some degree of person/composition correspondence.

However, there is no guarantee that this interpretation of the additional clauses' syntactic status is correct in every instance.<sup>364</sup> When there is slight variation in the phraseology and sequencing of the clauses, sometimes those following the first after *mr(i)* must be understood as wishes or promises *if* the recitation is carried out:<sup>365</sup>

160 (Leiden AP 72&73, middle 1-3)

*i 'nhw tp(w) t3 mrrw 'nh msw=sn hss tn ntr=tn niwty dd=tn t hnkt h3...*

O the living upon earth, who desire their children to live; your local god favours you if you say: 'a thousand bread and beer...'

161 (CCG 20530, 1-3)

*i 'nhw tpw t3 w' b nb sš nb rmt nbt hry-hbt nb 'k.t(y)=sn r is pn mr=tn 'nh msd=tn hpyt swd3=tn i3wt=tn n hrdw=tn mi dd=tn htp-di-nsw...*

O the living upon earth- any *w' b*-priest, scribe, all people and any lector-priest who may enter this tomb; as you love life and hate death, you will pass your offices to your children if you say accordingly: '*htp-di-nsw...*'<sup>366</sup>

But, where the additional clauses certainly represent further complements of *mr(i)* and employ verbs from mutable classes, *a priori* one would expect *either* a geminating *or* a non-geminating form. If the purpose of the variation was always to indicate modal force, the complements should be of the same type lest one and the same governing predicate be interpreted as the source of two different modal forces and senses simultaneously. Yet, the opposite is actually the case:<sup>367</sup>

162 (Urk I 218, 8-10)

*ir wn mry=tn hs tn nsw wnn im3h=tn hr ntr '3 'k=tn -w r is pn sbt. tiw[ny]*

<sup>364</sup> Cf. Lichtheim 1992, 168-71 who favours the universal interpretation as complements with Sethe (1927, 88n.23) who suspects amalgamation with another version of the Appeal consisting of wishes.

<sup>365</sup> *Contra* Lichtheim 1992, 173 who argues that this version appears only after the XVIII dynasty. There is a multitude of Appeals before this date where there is no premise (*m*) *mr(r)=tn*, but which are of the type *hs tn N (mi) dd=tn* and which are undoubtedly to be translated 'X will favour you if you say...'; in the XVIII dynasty this is almost the sole form encountered. Some Appeals repeat the phrase (*m*) *mr(r)=tn*, (e.g. BM 805, 4-7; 1213, 5-7; CCG 20119, c2-5; 20536, 4-6; 20538Id, 3-5; 20683, 2-4; Pushkin Museum I.1.b32/UCL 14326, x+6) but only with noun/infinitival objects. The presence or absence of the preposition *mi* before *dd=tn* (see e.g. 151 & 154 above) provides no guide to the organisation of the preceding clauses.

<sup>366</sup> Cf. also e.g. Turin 1628, bottom 1-4.

<sup>367</sup> In 162 both *hs* and *wnn* must belong to the protasis and the same holds also for the interrogative 163 (similarly Urk I 205, 12-14; 217, 16-17; 218, 16-17 (all *hs* + *wnn*)).



If you desire your king to favour you and to have reverence before the great god, do not enter this tomb in an impure state.

163 (Urk I 205, 2-6)

(i)n iw mry=tn hsy tn nsw prt-hrw (n)=tn m hrt-ntr wnn im3h=tn nfr hr ntr ʿ3 dd=tn  
n(=i) ʿ3 pn n krs(=i) pn hr mwt=f m bw mnh n rht=tn

Do you desire that the king favour you, that there be voice-offerings for you in the necropolis and that your reverence be good before the great god? Then put for me this lid of this my coffin upon its 'mother' as carefully as you can.

This variation is unproblematic if it equals indication versus no indication of actuality, but not if it signals gradations of modal force. However, if the geminating form may variously express actuality and stronger force dynamics, without any mechanism to aid in interpretation it would be mostly impossible to decide what the speaker means by employing it; for example:

164 (Urk I 52, 2-3) Ptahshepses explains in third person how he came to marry a princess:

rdi n=f hm=f s3t nsw wrt h<sup>c</sup>-m3<sup>c</sup>t m hmt=f mr.n hm=f wnn=s hn<sup>c</sup>=f r [s nb]

His majesty gave him the great royal daughter Khamaat as wife, because his majesty desired that she be with him rather than some/any other man.

Here the speaker could either be reporting strong desire by the main clause subject or else signal that at the time of speaking the complement situation holds, but hearers could hardly establish which interpretation is correct. However, if the first alternative is assumed to be a valid option only when actuality is definitely excluded by the context, the same holds also for the possibility that the form could be signalling this. Since actuality is *not* ruled out in 164, the audience can conclude that the speaker indicates eventual realisation of the complement situation and that at the time of speaking it constitutes an actual state of affairs.

The system behind the form-variation after *mr(i)* is hence essentially that seen after *wḏ* plus the further extension of expressing variation in force dynamics, an option not open with *wḏ*. It serves to convey information of the degree of desiderative/volitive attitude 'targeting' the complement situation and of its ontology.



The correct interpretation is established on basis of a simple contextual check of whether it is possible for the situation to hold at the time of speaking. If this is not the case, obviously the contrast cannot relate to this and must consequently be an issue of attitude, either of the speaker himself or someone else. In such instances the geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* indicates that the attitude expressed by *mr(i)* is relatively stronger than with a non-geminating form, which may even be negative. If the complement can potentially describe a currently actual state of affairs, gemination is interpreted as confirming this, whereas a non-geminating form makes no comment as to actuality. The principle can be expressed schematically thus:

Utterance with <i>mr(i)</i> + <i>s<math>\underline{d}</math>m=f</i> - complement	→ Can the situation be	No	→ Gemination
	actual at the time of speaking?		signals stronger, lack of gemination weaker desiderative attitude
		Yes	→ Geminating <i>s<math>\underline{d}</math>m=f</i> refers to an actual situation, non- geminating makes no reference to actuality.

The same organisation can be argued to determine complement-selection also after *dbh*, as the examples above fit this framework with ease.

This system is neither complex nor prone to ambiguity. It involves but one context-based deduction for the hearer to establish the intended sense. This is considerably less than what is usual in Earlier Egyptian: one need only think of circumstantial clauses with the *s $\underline{d}$ m=f/s $\underline{d}$ m.n=f* with which the ambiguity between causal ‘because’, result ‘and so’, temporal, ‘while/as/when/after’, conditional ‘if’, continuative ‘and’; final ‘so that’ and even relative ‘which’-readings can never be wholly removed and whose translation will always be based on the most likely interpretation in the context.<sup>368</sup> In stark contrast to this vacuity, interpretation of the complement clauses of *mr(i)*, as of those of *w $\underline{d}$*  and *dbh*, depends on a single variable.

<sup>368</sup> GEG §211 is a pertinent monument to this difficulty.

The system is a fine illustration of *economy* in language in general and Earlier Egyptian in particular, where forms are hardly ever associated with a single self-sufficient semantic-pragmatic value and function, but where 'meaning' of linguistic items is dependent of use and inseparable from the more general environment in which they appear.

#### 1.3.4 Interim Summary

Discussing the organisation of object complements after predicates combinable only with irrealis complements separately from those followed by assertions, as well as verb by verb, has methodological advantages but should not be taken to imply that these groups and the verbs themselves are wholly separable in terms of modality of their object clauses. Of course, the notionally non-assertive verbs do form their own category by never combining with realis complements. In addition, they obey a number of specific rules dictating the choice of the particular irrealis type, emphasising the fact that complement-selection of verbs differs depending on their semantics and does not succumb to any one-size-fits-all system such as 'nominality'. However, these rules can be unified into one generalisation of the use of the geminating and non-geminating *sḏm=f*-forms after all notionally non-assertive verbs. As complements, these forms express information of attitude or reality-status and the exact sense both possible and intended is a sum of the limitations that the governing verb may impose plus contextual factors. In abstract terms, if the complement is close to the speaker attitudinally (i.e. is strongly expected, desired and subject to positive orientation) or ontologically, (is an actual situation) the geminating form is used. If the complement situation is remote attitudinally (subject to negative or indifferent speaker attitude) or again in ontological terms, (is non-actual or not indicated as actual) a non-geminating *sḏm=f* appears. In other words, the bare forms again behave as expressions of proximal and distal irrealis and the parameters conditioning their use are of course the same after notionally non-assertive verbs as after verbs of locution, cognition and perception. In both categories their variation serves to express further information (attitudinal and otherwise) about the speaker's perspective to the complement situation-descriptions. Thus, ultimately, all the verbs discussed thus far (apart from *gm(i)*) are members of the same overall *continuum* of modality in object complement clauses, whose 'upper' end is occupied by firm assertions and the

'lower' by propositions such as the complements of verbs of preventing, in which unreality, negative speaker commitment and all irrealis-inducing factors are present simultaneously. In addition, establishing the sense which a given form expresses after the notionally non-assertive predicates is based on context, and in this they are *a par* with modal expressions in languages generally. Contextual deductions are decisive in interpreting the meaning of *all* modality. For example, without context it is impossible to decide whether the utterance 'Jack must be at home' is an expression of deontic or epistemic attitude. Only by adding some further context such as 'at six o'clock sharp' (deontic obligation) or 'because the lights in his room are on' (epistemic deduction) can an interpretation be assigned. Context is an *essential component of meaning* of modals, and this general principle applies to Earlier Egyptian as much as to all human languages.



## 2. MODALITY IN AFFIRMATIVE SUBJECT COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

### 2.1 Introduction

If object complementation can justly be said to represent a little-explored area of Earlier Egyptian grammar, this characterisation has the flavour of an understatement when *subject* complements are considered. Although complement clauses of this type are far less common than object complements in all languages and have not attracted nearly as much attention in general linguistics either, in Egyptology there has been an almost total neglect thereof, save for the regular inclusion of subject complements with *sdm=f*-forms in general descriptions of ‘noun clauses’ and in illustrations of the functions of the ‘nominal forms’<sup>369</sup> However, subject complements are most interesting from the perspective of semantic-pragmatics and realis/irrealis modality inasmuch as their grammar in Egyptian and elsewhere is, like that of object complements, determined by subjective speaker ‘attitudes and opinions’ and the status of the subordinate clause as asserted or non-asserted.

Whereas in object complements, factors relating to the identity and perspective of various participants in the sentence and beyond bear heavily on the selection of the complement type and mode, in subject complementation the picture is considerably simpler. Here the sole individual whose subjective stances regarding the subordinate proposition need to be taken into account is the *speaker* who either asserts the complement clause or has some reason to frame it as a non-assertion/irrealis. The prerequisites for assertion are the same as elsewhere. As a preparatory condition, the speaker has to be capable and willing to express commitment towards the complement proposition:<sup>370</sup>

- (45) Italian: Si capisce che sono (IND) arrabiati  
‘It’s clear that they are cross.’

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<sup>369</sup> See 0.1.1.

<sup>370</sup> Examples from Palmer 2000, 123 and Butt & Benjamin 2000, 253, 257.

- Spanish:                   Lo increíble era que Pedro no lo sabía (IND)  
                                   ‘It was incredible that Pedro didn’t know it’
- Es imposible que lo dijera (SUB)  
                                   ‘It’s impossible that he said it’

In the first two sentences above the complement clause situations stated as being or having been ‘clear’ and ‘incredible’ are presented as information towards which epistemic and emotional value judgements are expressed.<sup>371</sup> In both instances the speakers are committed to the complement state of affairs, whereas this is not the case in the third sentence. Non-commitment may be overtly expressed by governing predicates and expressions such as ‘to be unlikely, improbable, not the case that’ or, as above, ‘be impossible’,<sup>372</sup> but this may, as in object complementation, also result from some quite unpredictable ‘situational’ factor; for example:<sup>373</sup>

- (46) Spanish:           Parece que lo hace (IND)/haga (SUB) a propósito  
                                   ‘It seems like he’s doing/might be doing it on purpose.’

Here the variation between assertion and non-assertion again expresses greater and lesser speaker confidence respectively, but it is not apparent from the sentence *per se* what might have motivated the speaker to adopt one or the other of these attitudes. Rather, this depends once again on the (linguistic and extra-linguistic) context in which the utterance is made. Non-commitment is particularly common when reference is to situations purely hypothetical, as in the following examples where the subjunctive/past tense/*if* in the complement indicate the same lack of certainty; often the governing verb is also a non-assertion.<sup>374</sup>

<sup>371</sup> The use of expletives such as *si/lo/it* here, as non-thematic ‘dummy’ subjects semantically co-indexed with the complement is typical for many modern languages. However, this is a cross-linguistic variant; in Earlier Egyptian the use of co-indexed pre-verbal expletives with finite complements does not seem to be licensed; see 2.3 below.

<sup>372</sup> Cf. Hooper 1975, 92, 112-14; as expected, there is some variation herein in how ‘borderline’ expressions are treated in different languages. For example, in French the indicative is used in the complement of ‘be probable’, but the subjunctive after the less certain ‘be possible’ (Ferrar 1967, 94-95). Yet in Spanish and Italian no similar gradation is expressed and both these verbs take the subjunctive (Wierzbicka 1988, 148).

<sup>373</sup> Lunn 1989b, 689; see also Wierzbicka 1988, 143-44 for an identical situation in French.

<sup>374</sup> Butt & Benjamin 2000, 251; Ferrar 1967, 95. The second English sentence may alternatively be understood as presupposing the complement, although in such a case *that* would be more appropriate. For the use of past tense as irrealis, see 6 below.



(47) Spanish: Lo peor será que non venga (SUB) nadie  
 ‘The worst thing will be if no-one comes’

French: Il est important que tu le fasses (SUB) tout de suite  
 ‘It is important that you do it at once’

‘It would be unfortunate if he came’ ‘It’s good for him if he does it’

However, in subject complementation the information-value of the complement clause is at least equally, or even more important as commitment in the selection of an appropriate modality. In the examples (45) above the indicative also serves to signal that the speaker considers the content of the complements to represent information new and relevant to the speaker in the current context of communication. Yet, as in object complementation, this need not be the case everywhere; in fact, more often than not the situations described in subject complement clauses are *presupposed*, i.e. accepted and assumed to be known by the hearer(s), and, because of this presumption of mutual consensus, treated as indisputable background information in no need of asserting.<sup>375</sup> As might be expected, many languages employ non-indicative forms and mood in such instances:<sup>376</sup>

(48) Italian: È normale che i ragazzi facciano (SUB) baldoria dopo gli  
 esami  
 ‘It’s normal for kids to live it up after the exams’

Spanish: Es natural que esté (SUB) alterada  
 ‘It’s natural for her to be upset.’

French: Il est logique qu’il faille (SUB) utiliser le subjonctif dans le cas  
 ‘It is logical that one should use the subjunctive in this case.’

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<sup>375</sup> See 0.1.2 above.

<sup>376</sup> Examples from Maiden & Robustelli 2000, 323; Butt & Benjamin 2000, 251 and L’Huillier 1999, 164. However, as everything in modality, also this varies from language to language. In these sentences the indicative would be used in e.g. Bulgarian, Polish, Russian, Swedish and Finnish.



Note also the English use of the modal *should* (e.g. in the translation of the last sentence above) which similarly signals the concessive status of the complement. The function of the sentences in (48) is to comment on various ‘facts’- that they are ‘normal’, ‘natural’ or ‘logical’- whose status as actual is completely taken for granted by the speaker. The speaker also assumes the hearers to be aware of them and consequently, the complement propositions remain unasserted. By changing the mood in the complement, speakers may, within limits, indicate whether or not they consider the information presented in the complement to be part of the discourse background assumptions.<sup>377</sup> For example, the subjunctive may be used instead of the indicative in (45) if the speaker believes the complement to be information already known to the audience:<sup>378</sup>

(49) Si capisce che siano (SUB) arrabiati  
‘It’s understandable that they should be cross.’

Lo increíble era que Pedro no lo supiera(SUB)  
‘It was incredible that Pedro should not know it’

These sentences are intended to be understood as expressions of attitude towards supposedly shared information. The speakers’ illocutionary intention is not to present the complement propositions as new and relevant, and they are framed as non-assertions as a signal of this.

In many modern languages the choice of irrealis for subject complements is thus based on the by now familiar motives for non-assertion: lack of speaker commitment and redundancy of the information in the current discourse context. In these languages, one of the most common employments of sentences with subject complement is in expression of epistemic judgements with expressions such as ‘be (im-)possible/(im-)probable/(un-)feasible/obvious/(un-)true/(in-)disputable that’ etc, or ‘seem’ as in many of the examples above. In Earlier Egyptian no comparable use

<sup>377</sup> Many governing verbs describing value judgements (e.g. ‘be odd/strange/interesting/relevant’ etc.) function mostly as presupposition-triggers when themselves asserted. An assertive interpretation of their complements in such circumstances is somewhat difficult, although not excluded; cf. e.g. ‘it is strange if he really is there’ (the speaker is not wholly convinced).

<sup>378</sup> See n.370 above; notice also the change of sense in the Italian example.

exists.<sup>379</sup> Instead, in this language finite clauses are found occupying the subject position in the following sentence types, which also include non-verbal constructions:

- Adjectival predicate sentences and after governing adjective verbs
- Sentences with passive main clause predicates<sup>380</sup>
- Tripartite nominal predicate sentences.

Subject clauses of adjectival predicates and adjective verbs are considerably more common than the other types. The grammatical organisation of the subject complement clauses embedded in these constructions involves the same forms and elements with the same functions as in object complementation and parallels exactly the assertion/non-assertion system of Romance languages illustrated above. Asserted subject complements are introduced by the realis-operators *ntt/wnt* whereas non-assertion is signalled by the bare *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*, which in case of weak verbs appears either as the geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* irrealis form or as a non-geminating form in an irrealis function.<sup>381</sup> The irrealis category is again divided up in the expected manner: by and large, situations presupposed as actual appear in the geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* and the non-geminating form is reserved for hypothetical, potential and denied states of affairs. Thus again the grammar reflects the functional divide of irrealis in Earlier Egyptian into distal (unreal, unknown, negative attitude) and proximal (actual, known, accepted, lacking in relevance).

The three sentence-patterns above constitute the core of the Earlier Egyptian system of subject complementation; in particular, it should be noted most steadfastly that the negations *nn* and *n-sp*, often analysed as somehow 'predicative' in character,

<sup>379</sup> In contrast, Coptic is extremely rich in expressions of this sort; see Layton 2000, 391-96.

<sup>380</sup> There is some question whether complements of verbs passivised by means of the elements *.tw/t(w)/t(i)* should also be subsumed under this heading (cf. the apparent hesitation in GEG §§39, 410). In Old Egyptian, *.t(i)* seems to have functioned as a passive ending, (EAG §177) but was gradually reanalysed as an impersonal subject pronoun *.tw/t(w)* and the possible complements of verbs with this element as syntactic objects (Westendorf, 1953, 79-83; Loprieno 1984, 92-94; 1986a, 47). Yet since it is impossible to divide the evidence into 'before' and 'after' this 'Aktivierungsprozeß', (Westendorf, *ibid*) in the present work all complement clauses after verbs with *.tw/t(w)/t(i)* are analysed as objects regardless of their synchronic status. Even if this may at times be not strictly correct, the difference is immaterial to the modal analysis of object and subject complements generally.

<sup>381</sup> Inasmuch as *ntt/wnt* has already been demonstrated to function as assertion-markers, the examples of irrealis below will be of mutable roots only. There are no examples of the specific distal irrealis moods with the endings *-y/-w* as subject complements. The same seems to hold also for the bare *s $\underline{d}$ m.n=f* (see 5.1 below).



have no place in this syntactic category.<sup>382</sup> The same holds also for such thoroughly grammaticalised initial auxiliaries as *ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n*. However, as in object complementation, there would seem to be also at least one subject clause -taking predicate whose complements consist of bare forms and patterns without a specific modal function on their own, namely the verb *ḥpr*, whose pragmatic and grammatical status is, however, of a quite different order from other verbs with clausal subjects. Besides the modal-typological division into realis and distal and proximal irrealis, Earlier Egyptian subject complements also display the same formal division into marked realis and irrealis (*ntt/wnt*- and geminating *sdm=f*-clauses respectively) versus unmarked irrealis (the 'unmarked' *sdm=f* forms) as object complementation. Finally, in addition to these parallels, the opportunities for greater communicative effect provided by the internal division of irrealis are exploited in subject complementation with the same degree of sophistication and ingenuity as in object clauses. This imaginative use of modality appears characteristic to Earlier Egyptian and speaks eloquently against the intuitive view of it as somehow primitive, inflexible and lacking in expressive nuance.

## 2.2 Asserted versus non-asserted subject complements

If complements of verbs passivised by means of *.t(w)/tw* and particularly the Old Egyptian *.t(i)* were to be analysed as syntactic subjects, all the examples introduced by *ntt/wnt* quoted earlier on could have been cited here as instances of realis in subject clauses. However, if these are interpreted as objects instead, there remain but two such (identical) instances in this class of complementation.<sup>383</sup> Yet, as seen, non-assertion is also the norm in object complementation, instances of subject complementation as a whole are much less frequent than object clauses, and the example(s) mentioned, with the past passive *sdm=f*, still present a paradigm case of assertion:<sup>384</sup>

<sup>382</sup> See Gunn 1924, 95, 141; GEG §§452.3, 456-57; Satzinger 1968, §§22, 50; Gilula 1970, 211; Malaise & Winand 1999 §611 and numerous others. For a convincing case against analysing *nn* as an adjectival predicate, see Collier 1991c, 17-19.

<sup>383</sup> A further possible example is the erased pPurchases palimpsest 3-4, which Allen (2002, 73, pl. 54) reads *dd n=l wnn=k ḥr spr*, but which may also read *wnt=k ḥr spr* 'I have been told that you are about to arrive'.

<sup>384</sup> Similarly Urk I 286, 7. See also 3.3 below for further discussion of this example.



165 (Urk I 282, 15-283, 3) The king overrules previous decrees:

*ir nf ddw hr hm(=i) wnt htm wdw nw nsw r šm<sup>c</sup> r irt h3 n k3t nt nsw m f3w šdt k3t nb  
wdt irt m šm<sup>c</sup> pn... n rdi.n hm(=i) iri rmt n nw ntrwy gbtyw pr-min f3w šdt h3 nb n k3t  
nb irrt m šm<sup>c</sup> pw*

As for it being said to my majesty that royal decrees have been issued concerning Upper Egypt, namely about performing tasks of royal work, carrying and digging and whatever work ordered to be done in this Upper Egypt... my majesty (regardless) does not allow any people of the temple of Min, Koptos, V Upper Egyptian nome, to do digging, carrying, or any task of royal work done in this Upper Egypt.

Again, the principal information herein is the content of the reported saying which is presented as the pivot of the sentence and as something to which the speaker is committed. Consequently, the complement clause is introduced by the element *wnt*. As seen, there are also clauses serving as subjects of passive *sdm=f* where the latter in particular is not the case; abundant examples of this sort with *dd* as the governing predicate were quoted above in connection with the discussion of CT spells 38-40.<sup>385</sup> However, as in other languages, in Earlier Egyptian subject complements non-assertion is most often not strictly a result of attitude and commitment but of the status of the information which the clauses convey as background and presupposed. This is the case in the majority of instances after adjectival predicates and adjective verbs; for example:<sup>386</sup>

166 (Urk I 221, 4) Ankhpepy-meriptah tells of his success in royal service:

*wn ʿ3 hss w(i) hm=f hr h3bt w(i) hm=f hr=s*

His majesty's praise of me was always great on account of what his majesty used to send me for.<sup>387</sup>

167 (CCG 20543, 18-19) REDIU-KHNUM says referring to his performance in the service of the queen:

<sup>385</sup> See 1.2.1.2 above.

<sup>386</sup> A further possible, but badly broken example after *wr* is Urk I 195, 1(*mrr* [*hm=f*]). The hopelessly obscure CT VI 194c has *št3 w(y) dgg=k* where *dgg=k* may be a subject geminating *sdm=f* 'that you look' or a relative form 'whom you see'. For further notes on the examples 167-68, see n.415 below.

<sup>387</sup> *wn* is probably the same 'perfective' auxiliary as e.g. in the Old Egyptian past perfect *wn(=f) sdm=f*, used before a *sdm=f* of an adjective verb instead of *tw*; cf. EAG §949ββ; Polotsky 1969, 470; Doret 1986, 112; Allen 1986b, 18.

*iw 3h wrt irr s 3ht n ib=f n nbt=f hntt mnw=f*

It is very beneficial for a man to do what seems useful in his mind, for his mistress who advances his monuments (in turn).

168 (Kemit 9) An appeal to the addressee:

*m3n=k hmt=k iw mr rmm=s tw*

You should see your wife. Her weeping for you is terrible.

169 (4 above) (Westcar 9, 21-22) Redjedet's travails are described:

*w<sup>c</sup> m nn hrw hpr wn.in rd-ddt hr šnt=s ksn mss=s*

One of these days, Redjedet was suffering, for her labour was difficult.

170 (Smith 7, 24) A medical text describes the symptoms of a fractured temporal bone:

*di=f snf m msdty=fy šr h33 ir(y)<sup>388</sup>*

He (the patient) has nosebleed, but its issuing is meagre.

171 (Ebers 109, 14-15) From a surgical instruction on operating on a swelling:

*iri.hr=k n=s dw m swt nt irt dw=<sup>c</sup> ir wr dd=f snf š<sup>c</sup>w.hr=k sw hr sdt*

Then you make a rapid incision into it with a knife. If its bleeding is excessive, you burn it with fire.

In all these examples the complement situations are presupposed as actual and do not convey new information. For example, in 166 the sentence serves to comment on the character of 'praising' whose actuality is a point of departure for the entire utterance and not an issue requiring assertion. Similarly e.g. in 168, the speaker expresses his attitude towards information assumed to be common ground with the addressee and informing the latter of it is not the 'point' of the utterance. In 171 the governing verb and its complement are part of a conditional protasis, but unlike in object complements, this does not affect the status of the subject clause as information or, consequently, its modality. It is not 'that it bleeds' which is presented as potential- this remains as a matter of fact- but the excessiveness of this; i.e. the bleeding may be greater or lesser, but its reality in the circumstances described is not in doubt. It is

<sup>388</sup> In WGMT §225 *h33* is interpreted as having an omitted subject 'etwas', but it is also possible that the subject is *ir(y)* which has wholly coalesced with the initial *ir* of the following conditional clause *ir di=k db<sup>c</sup>w=k* 'if you put your fingers...'



notable that the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* is regularly used in all these presupposed instances, and in view of its role as expressive of proximal irrealis background information elsewhere, this is not surprising. The same holds also for the ease in which the words ‘how’ and ‘the manner which’ are inserted in many of the translations above. Governing adjective verbs in particular describe the manner, quality and degree of their subject states of affairs rather than predicate their ‘reality’ or occurrence. Once again, these properties reflect the more general modal profile of the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* and its association with actual but ‘low relevance’ complement situations.<sup>389</sup>

Geminating subject complements expressing presupposed information are also found in tripartite nominal predicate sentences. In the first of the following pair of examples the predicate is an interrogative pronoun, in the second a proper noun:

172 (*Reden und Rufe* 58) A sarcastic remark by a man to his adversary amidst a boat-fight:

*išst pw h33=k hr 3ht*

Why are you going down onto the field?<sup>390</sup>

173 (*Admonitions* 5, 9) The sage laments that offerings of men are not accepted by the divine:

*dd=tn n=f hr m n ph ø sw indw is pw dd=tn n=f*<sup>391</sup>

Why do you offer to him when (things) do not reach him? Your offering to him is just misery.

Again, the complement situation in 172 is quite obvious to both the speaker and, the speaker assumes, to the hearer. This is particularly pronounced, seeing that the utterance is a WH-question, in which the situation whose motive is questioned is presupposed as a rule.<sup>392</sup> Another such question, this time in the guise of a second tense with a geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* and an interrogative pronoun/adverbial *vedette*, appears in 173. There the mutually shared status of the complement situation *dd=tn* in the sentence that follows is most apparent, as the issue of ‘that you offer’ was mentioned just before in the question and is most certainly established as shared. The

<sup>389</sup> See 1.2.2.2.

<sup>390</sup> The sense is: ‘I’ve just given you such a blow that you fly off the water altogether’.

<sup>391</sup> The *lsft pw irr=sn* in 5, 4 is probably an error for *irr(t)=sn* (so also Faulkner in Simpson 1973, 216 and Parkinson 1997, 176).

<sup>392</sup> See conclusion.



communicative function of the sentences in 172-73 is hence again to question or express attitude towards non-asserted known 'facts' for which Earlier Egyptian uses the geminating *sḏm=f* proximal irrealis. Given the apparent regularity of this, one may also quote some comparable examples of the anomalous verbs *iw(i)* and *ii*, which here perhaps more than elsewhere can be assumed to occur in their 'geminating' form- or better, in the form which for these verbs functions as the geminating *sḏm=f* of final weak radical roots:<sup>393</sup>

174 (UC 32204, 2) A piece of hate-mail (?) makes mockery of standard epistolary clichés:

*bin wy iy=k ḥd.ti wd3.ti*

How very unfortunate that you should have come safe and sound.

175 (Deir el-Gebrawi II, pl.5, right) A caption in a fish-spearing scene:

*[nf]r wy iw nbt sḥt... hr rmw*

How good that the lady of the marshland comes... carrying fish.

176 (Admonitions 3, 9) The sage says that in the current dire situation foreign goods are scarce; thus:

*wr wy iw wh3wt hr ḥbyl=sn*

How important it is (now) when the oasis-dwellers come carrying their festive-offerings.

In 176 the situation described is not strictly 'actual' here and now; rather the attitude is expressed towards a generally occurring state of affairs which is still subjectively more 'real' than not. Earlier Egyptian uses the proximal irrealis herein; in Spanish there is a choice between indicative and subjunctive in certain clauses of comparable sort.<sup>394</sup> Also in Spanish, situations towards which emotional reactions are expressed or which are subject to value judgements are usually treated as background, and indicative use akin to (45) above is notably rare.<sup>395</sup> In Egyptian no comparable asserted examples with *ntt/wnt* are found at all, and it would seem that in these instances the complement situation is always treated as presupposed (or is not

<sup>393</sup> One may compare here the spelling *iy* in 174 with *ii* in 91 above where the semantic environment is suggestive of distal irrealis; it would seem that these two modal functions are formally distinct in case of the verb *ii*.

<sup>394</sup> Butt & Benjamin 2000, 253.

<sup>395</sup> Butt & Benjamin 2000, 250-51.

asserted/assertable for some other reason<sup>396</sup>) by speakers. There is one example where the context may suggest otherwise, but there is no *ntt/wnt*:

177 (Westcar 10, 4) The goddesses come to Redjedet's husband who tells them the reason of his despair:

*hnwt=i mtn st pw ntt hr mn=s ksn ms=s*

My ladies; look, there is a woman suffering because her labour is difficult.

The complement situation may be intended as presented to an unassuming group of addressees. However, this cannot be verified beyond doubt, and it seems more likely that *ms=s* is merely an error for *mss=s* (cf. 169 above). Alternatively, *ms=s* might not be a complement at all: *ksn* might be an adverb qualifying *mn=s* and *ms=s* a circumstantial explanatory clause: 'look, there is a woman suffering badly because she is giving birth.'

Whatever the correct analysis of this unique example, in 166-76 above the complement clauses describe presupposed actual situations and employ the geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* consequently. But in contrast, the non-geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* of weak roots is used instead if the situation described in the subordinate clause is for one reason or other less obviously 'real', for example, and most prototypically, if it is a mere prospect. In these instances the form again functions as a more distal irrealis:

178 (Berlin leather roll 2, 4) The courtiers express their opinion on the king's grandiose building-plan:

*twt wrt iri=k mnw=k*

It would be most fitting if you were to make your monuments

179 (Haskell Museum 13945, 3-4) The writer asks for help also from her dead addressee's mother:

*mk grt in.t(w) t3 mnt3t irt mwt=k wd<sup>f</sup>-mdw r=s ndm wy f3=k s(y)*

Now look, this vessel over which your mother should make litigation is brought to you. It would be most agreeable if you supported her.<sup>397</sup>

<sup>396</sup> See below for non-geminating examples.

<sup>397</sup> Or does the last sentence refer to the vessel: 'it would be most agreeable if you lifted it up'?



In 178 the subject complement situation is potential, just as in the examples (47) above: the speakers comment on and express attitude towards a hypothetical state of affairs whose ultimate realisation depends on the addressee. Similarly in 179, the speaker says that a certain response from the addressee's part would be met with favour- should the latter choose to take the proposed course of action. In neither case can the speakers express commitment towards the complement propositions and the more distal irrealis non-geminating *sdm=f* appears instead of the geminating form. The following construction should probably also be understood similarly and parallel to the second English example in (47):<sup>398</sup>

180 (Urk IV 123, 4) Paheri finishes his plea for offerings to the visitors to his tomb:

*nfr n=tn iri=tn st*

It is good for you if you do it.

Quite interesting is also the sole unambiguous example of complementation of a finite clause as the subject in the negative pattern *nfr pw X*, 'X is one finished/non-existent'= there is no X:<sup>399</sup>

181 (pBerlin 10016, 4-6) The writer reports a failure in a delivery:

*swd3-ib pw n nb ʿws [r ntt dd.n] b3k im n mr šnʿ wsr mk di=i n=k p3 diw t3 bnrt nt imnyt ʿhʿ.n dd.n=f nfr pw iri=l st [swd3=ib] pw hr=s*

This is to inform the lord l.h.p. that yours truly had said to the overseer of the storehouse User: 'Look, I will give you the grain-rations and the confections for (lit. of) the daily offerings'. But then he said: 'I will not handle them'. This is to inform that.<sup>400</sup>

<sup>398</sup> Most instances of adjective + dative are impersonal (GEG §141), but here the clause *iri=tn* could function as an overt subject of *nfr* rather than as an adjunct (see also Urk IV 511, 2 (broken). Sometimes this interpretation is clearly excluded but occasionally it is less so; (cf. Schenkel 1963, 119) here an analogy could be made with examples such as Urk IV 368, 5 *twt wy n=s st* 'How typical to her it is'.

<sup>399</sup> I.e. the predicative nexus is affirmative. See Gardiner 1923; GEG §§351.2, 456.2; Loprieno 1995, 90; Allen 2000, 190. Satzinger (1968, §108) analyses this construction as a bipartite nominal predicate sentence with the following noun or verb in apposition (so also Gaskins 1978, 123). There are no grounds whatsoever for this interpretation. In addition to the examples above, pBerlin 10016, 3, 10023B, 3 and the palimpsest of the latter have *int* (infinitive or *in.t(w)*?). The alleged *inn.t(w)* in 10016, 4 is uncertain.

<sup>400</sup> Wente (1990, 75) treats *nfr pw iri=l* as indirect speech 'He said that I didn't do this' (i.e. say something).



Also here the complement situation is a prospective action, but also one towards which the speaker expresses negative attitude by refusing to carry it out.<sup>401</sup> It would again seem that also this latter sort of factors affect the choice of the complement type. The evidence is much sparser in subject- than in object clauses, but there are some suggestive examples which appear to show that also in the former category of complementation, speakers could manipulate the system of distal versus proximal irrealis for expression of subtle nuances of meaning in a fashion not dissimilar to many uses of mood-distinctions in modern languages. For instance, in the following example after a passive verb, the choice of the geminating *s $\underline{d}m=f$*  for a prospective complement situation over the non-geminating form appears to have a rather interesting motivation:

182 (CT II 106b-c) The deceased says to a divinity that he expects the latter to bring his peer to him; but:

*ir ini inn=k n=i sw irt hr r=k mi*

If your bringing him to me be delayed, the eye of Horus is against you accordingly.<sup>402</sup>

Although the complement situation is unrealised, the speaker does not seem to view it as a mere prospect whose realisation depends on the addressee, but treats it as if its eventual realisation was presupposed or, rather more appropriately, *prescribed*. The issue is the delay of 'bringing', but there is no suggestion that it would not occur; instead, this is clearly taken for granted by the speaker, and the geminating form appears instead. The same effect can be seen also in the following example, where the complement situation is similarly a prospect, but again clearly viewed by the speaker as prescribed and unquestioned:

183 (Urk IV 273, 14-274, 3) Thutmose I purportedly asks Amun for Hatshepsut to be his successor:

*[s $\underline{d}m$ ]=k n=i nis n sp tp sprt=i hr mryt=i [...] hr h $\underline{k}3$ .n=f kmt d $\underline{s}r$ [t s $\underline{s}$ ]m.n=f idbwy m m $\underline{3}^c$ -hrw ist wr wy irr=k hr h $\underline{m}t=s$*

<sup>401</sup> As the sentence is a direct quote, the relevant speaker is the subject of *irt=l*. *Apropos*, *nfr pw* is an interesting negation in that it always seems to express an element of 'disappointment'; in every instance of its use there appears to be a background assumption that something *should* be/have been the case, but is/was not.

<sup>402</sup> The last clause is slightly corrupt in both surviving variants. PT 1223a has *ir wdfi d $\underline{3}3$ =tn mhnt n N pn* 'if your bringing the ferry to this N be delayed...'

Hear me, the call of the first occasion and my petition on behalf of my beloved one. [Give her (or the like) the throne] of Horus after he has ruled the Black and the Red Land and led the Two Banks in vindication. How great it is that you should act for her majesty!

But the reverse seems to hold in the next example where the non-geminating *sḏm=f* occurs in a description of a situation which is treated as actual in the context, but which is also associated with much difficulty and danger of failure; the form seems to be chosen to indicate that the action referred to occurs ‘only just’:

184 (Smith 16, 19-20) In a description of a certain kind of injury, it is noted of the patient:

*iw ksn f3=f' =f hr=s*

He has difficulties with lifting up his arm because of it.

This differs fundamentally from 169 above, which, although displaying the same governing verb *ksn*, carries no similar sense: in 169 a very ‘real’ situation (state) is difficult for the subject to *bear* whereas in 184 *performing* (and hence realisation) of an action is difficult and near-impossible for the same participant. The non-geminating *sḏm=f* distal irrealis in the latter has an iconic and almost ‘figurative’ function; the use of modality mimics the physical obstacles and the very concrete ‘force dynamics barriers’ associated with realising the complement situation. The same nuance is discernible also in the next example -assuming that *dg3* is an idiosyncratic writing of the non-geminating *sḏm=f* of *dg(i)*, ‘glance’ as opposed to *dgg-* where performing the action described is associated with much difficulty and discomfort:

185 (Smith 1, 26) A paraphrase for expression ‘he finds no way to look at his breast’ in a medical text:

*n ndm.n n=f dg3=f n k3bt=f*

It is not pleasant for him to look at his breast.

Comparable exploiting of the basic meaning of mood for ‘expressive’ purposes is not uncommon in modern languages and there is no reason to assume that the ancient Egyptians were any less capable of comparable and equally sophisticated language



use. It again illustrates well how abstractions such as ‘distal’ find concrete manifestations in actual communication.

### 2.3 The verb *hpr*

Accordingly, Earlier Egyptian subject complement clauses display the same general split into non-asserted/irrealis and (rather rarer) asserted/realis modality as object complements, as well as the division of non-assertions into distal non-geminating- and proximal geminating *sdm=f*- clauses according to their informational and ontological status and speaker attitude. However, although the grammar of subject complement clauses is almost universally based on these principles, the verb *hpr* would seem to form a partial exception to this organisation.<sup>403</sup> The grammatical status of this verb is rather exceptional. It is used as a lexical predicate ‘come into being’, ‘develop’ with (pro-)nominal and sometimes also clausal subjects:

186 (Leb 9-10) The man insists his soul must remain with him:

*nn hpr m-<sup>c</sup>=f rwi=f hr[w ksn]*

It must not succeed in fleeing on a difficult day.<sup>404</sup>

But *hpr* appears also in the initial expression *hpr.n* used to introduce forms and constructions coined ‘adverbial’ by Polotsky. Middle Egyptian examples of this construal are seldom without ambiguities and archaising texts must be consulted for less dubious instances:<sup>405</sup>

187 (Sh.S. 130) The snake maintains his avoidance of the fate of his siblings was due to fortune:

*hpr.n rs nn wi hn<sup>c</sup>*

<sup>403</sup> Some rare early examples of *wnn* are difficult to analyse as auxiliary uses. For example, in Urk I 59, 16 one reads *wn irr(=i) ml st-ib hm=f*. Auxiliary *wn* before a geminating *sdm=f* would be most exceptional, but the interpretation of *irr=i* as a complement of lexical *wn* ‘exist’ would yield a strange meaning ‘[[that I acted] existed]’. See Uljas 2004, 99 for arguments against Reintges’ (1997, 129) analysis of this sentence as a bi-clausal complex *wn=ø; irr(=i)<sub>i</sub>*.

<sup>404</sup> Literally ‘that it flees must not come to be with it’; the form is, as could be expected from the negative attitude expressed, non-geminating (cf. Malaise & Winand 1999 §897).

<sup>405</sup> Sh.S. 166-67 has *hpr.n rdit wi hr ht=l r dw? n=f* ‘It happened that I put myself on my belly to thank him’, but the analysis of *rdit* is uncertain. Sh.S. 153 is a setting second tense subordinated by *ls*: [*hpr ls twd=k tw r st tn*][*n sp m?k tw pn*] ‘...because whenever your departure from here takes place, you will never see this island again’ (not ‘it shall happen that when you depart...’). In Old Egyptian bare *hpr* ‘indicative *sdm=f*’ occurs instead (e.g. Urk I 182, 11; 14). Edel (EAG §901) seeks to separate this use from the later *hpr.n*.



It happened that I was not with (them).

188 (Neferty Ia-b) The background-narrative of the prophecy begins:

*hpr.n swt wnn*<sup>406</sup> *hm n nsw-bit snfrw m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw m nsw mnḥ m t3 pn r-dr=f*

It happened that the majesty of the dual king Sneferu justified was the potent king in this entire land.

189 (pDram 83) A new development in a mystery-play:

*hpr.n inw ʿb3wy*

It happened that two ʿb3-sceptres were brought.<sup>407</sup>

190 (pDram 117) As above:

*[hpr].n iri shn-w3ḥ m<sup>c</sup>m<sup>c</sup>3wy*

It happened that the *shn-w3ḥ* were making two handrails.

Polotsky analysed *hpr.n* as an impersonal second tense ‘subject’ to a following ‘adverbial predicate’, i.e. [*hpr.n=ø*] + [adv. S(entence)].<sup>408</sup> However, there are objections to this hypothesis: it might be that *wnn* in 188 itself initiates a second tense, which can hardly function ‘adverbially’ as a ‘predicate’ within another, syntactically higher second tense headed by *hpr.n*.<sup>409</sup> Further, *hpr.n* followed by a clause can also occur after the auxiliary *iw* (although this is rare) whereas second tenses cannot:

191 (Krakow MNK-XI-999, 12) Merer tells of his famine-relief activities:

*iw hpr.n di(=i) di.t(w) šm<sup>c</sup>w n niwt(=i) iw d3.n=l s(y) ʿš3w spw*

It happened that I used to secure that Upper Egyptian barley was given to my town. I crossed it numerous times.<sup>410</sup>

<sup>406</sup> So pPetersburg 1116B; other variants have *wn*.

<sup>407</sup> Similarly pDram 64, 72, 76, 87, 89 (*in*), 101, 104, 107; pDram 97 and 126 have *hpr.n diw* N; 89 has also *dd.t(i)*.

<sup>408</sup> Polotsky 1976, 22-23.

<sup>409</sup> pDram 53 (*hpr.n + h33* N) and 114 (*hpr.n + β33* N) seem to be second tenses as well.

<sup>410</sup> The reading *di(=i) di.t(w)* suggested by M. Collier; (PC) the traditional *dd.t(w)* creates a sense where the speaker is absent from the process of ‘giving’ which fits poorly the general context. The reading proposed here assumes *di* to function as a past habitual, (or iterative) a subset of the ‘circumstantial’ function of the non-geminating *sdm=f*.

Before Polotsky, Gardiner had interpreted the sentences following *hpr.n* as subject 'virtual noun clauses'.<sup>411</sup> More recently, Collier has analysed these constructions to contain a covert impersonal expletive as the grammatical subject of *hpr.n*, semantically co-indexed with the following sentence: *hpr.n=∅<sub>i</sub> S<sub>i</sub>*.<sup>412</sup> In principle, both these approaches view the sentence following *hpr.n* as the latter's subject either 'directly' or 'indirectly' via a referential link with an expletive. This seems a viable analysis seeing that the combinability of *hpr.n* with following negations, second tenses and preceding auxiliaries indicates that it is not simply an auxiliary. Also in the English translation of *hpr.n* S, 'it happened that S', S is analysable as the 'actual' or 'deep' subject of *happen*: [[S]happened].<sup>413</sup> But in English the expletive *it* functions as the *grammatical* subject of *happen* and Collier's analysis assumes the same for *hpr.n*. However, this is questionable for various reasons.<sup>414</sup> Since sentences of the above type clearly *can* serve as syntactic complements without being 'nominalised', there is no need to postulate a zero subject for *hpr* on these grounds. In addition, expletives are used to provide an overt grammatical subject when required, and it would be surprising if an element with such a function was then consistently omitted after *hpr*.<sup>415</sup> One would expect to find instances of overt expletives therein if they existed, but there are no Earlier Egyptian examples of e.g. \**hpr.n=s<sub>i</sub> S<sub>i</sub>*. In Late Egyptian overt impersonal pronouns do occur after *hpr* in constructions with comparable semantics,<sup>416</sup> but this need not indicate that a phonetically zero element is gradually becoming 'visible'. More likely the expletive is an innovation of Late Egyptian, where its use is still optional, but

<sup>411</sup> GEG §486 Obs. 1; cf. also Gunn 1924, 138n.2; Sethe 1928, 90; LGEC §688.

<sup>412</sup> Collier 1991b, 38; cf. Erman 1928 §309 Anm; EAG §901, Anm; Reintges 1997, 369; Malaise & Winand 1999 §897.

<sup>413</sup> See Haegeman & Guéron 1999, 41-42 and *passim*.

<sup>414</sup> Cf. Uljas 2004, 96-99. The following remarks are not intended as arguments against the general phenomenon of pronoun omission in Earlier Egyptian, which certainly occurs after *hpr* as well as elsewhere (cf. e.g. the first two examples of *hpr.n* + S cited in Polotsky 1976, 22, which involve subject-omission under relevance). Nor is the existence of covert expletives akin to English 'it' in 'it happened that' in Earlier Egyptian doubted generally; examples seem to exist where covert pre-verbal expletives are co-indexed with *non-finite* subjects (e.g. *Reden und Rufe* 18 *tw ∅ ksn r(=l) lrt nn* 'it is difficult for me to do this') although it must be noted that no overt variants to this construal are forthcoming.

<sup>415</sup> Postulating a covert  $\emptyset$  also after *tw* in examples 167-68 is questionable; there are no overt examples of the type \**tw=s<sub>i</sub> mr [rmm=s<sub>i</sub>]<sub>i</sub>* and both examples involve state-verbs which after *tw* do not normally occur with anticipated overt subjects either (see n.266 above). Rather than statives, (as in the expletive analysis) 167 and 168 can be analysed simply as regular *tw sdm=f* of adjective verbs.

<sup>416</sup> Collier (1987, 16 and 20n.8) cites pSalt 124 v1, 5 *mtw=f hpr l.lrt=f šm hr-d3d3 n n3 inb* 'and it happened that he went on the top of the walls' and LEM 73, 11-12 *tw=f hr hprw l.lrt=f snh3 n=l (r)* 'wt<sub>y</sub> m hwt-ntr R 'and it happened that he registered me in this document to the very temple of R.' See below for a possible reason for this.



obligatory in the comparable Coptic expression  $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon + S$ , which never occurs as  $*\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon + S$ .<sup>417</sup> Hence, Gardiner's analysis of S functioning 'directly' as a subject complement of *hpr* seems most cogent in view of what can be empirically verified.

Yet if this analysis is adopted, the question arises how can S, which seems to involve just those bare forms and constructions proposed to be modally 'neutral', function as a complement of *hpr.n*. The key lies in the semantic-pragmatic relationship between *hpr* and its complement. In 186 the subject-clause functions as a semantic argument of *hpr*, ('that it flees must not happen') but in the idiom *hpr.n* this is less obviously so. In e.g. 187 the primary message and, indeed, assertion, is surely not [that I was not with them happened]; i.e. the sentence-subject is not a transparent argument of *hpr.n*. As noted by various authors, the function of the latter is exposition and announcing of the following event-description.<sup>418</sup> *hpr.n* is very auxiliary-like in that it is semantically inseparable from its complement situation and has no independent content; yet it does not introduce any tense- or aspect-modification to the latter's profile.<sup>419</sup> Instead, the contribution of *hpr.n* therein can be characterised as modal. It is not a far cry to equate the role of *hpr.n* to 'mark... the occurrence of something fresh and notable'<sup>420</sup> with indication of assertive status. *hpr.n* would seem to be a quasi-auxiliary whose sole function is to signal that its complement situation most certainly took place, that the description thereof carries a high degree of novelty and salience in the current frame of discourse, and that it thus has the illocutionary force and grammatical status of an assertion.<sup>421</sup> *hpr.n* is never followed by *ntt/wnt* or, indeed, the bare geminating *sdm=f* because both are incompatible with its functional

<sup>417</sup> Coptic  $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$  could be seen simply as a fixed narrative-introducing 'particle' with no effect on the grammar of the following S. This is probably true in most cases, but  $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$  is occasionally followed by the inflected infinitive; (e.g. Acts 9:37  $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \text{ } \zeta\eta\bar{\nu} \text{ } \eta\epsilon\zeta\omicron\omicron\upsilon \text{ } \epsilon\tau\eta\mu\alpha\upsilon \text{ } \epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\psi\omega\eta\epsilon \text{ } \lambda\gamma\omega \text{ } \bar{\eta}\bar{\sigma}\mu\omicron\upsilon$  'It happened in those days that she fell ill and died'; see also Acts 4: 5; Luke 6:1; 6:12; 16:22; *Sinuthii Vita* 89; 102; 117; 128) cf. Stern 1880, 295. Also the conjunctive occurs (Layton 2000, 150, 282; cf. also e.g. Acts 2:17 and Stern 1880, 406:  $\sigma\eta\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \text{ } \eta\kappa\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon$  'It shall happen that he cultivates them'). This shows that sometimes there is still a grammatical linkage between  $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$  and S, and that  $\epsilon$  remains co-indexed with the latter. Perhaps one is to distinguish between 'lexical' and 'particle' uses of  $\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$ .

<sup>418</sup> Collier 1987, 20n.2; Malaise & Winand 1999 §897.

<sup>419</sup> Contra Reintges 1997, 370; however, this situation changes in Late Egyptian; see below.

<sup>420</sup> Capart *et al* 1936, 175; the Late Egyptian 'auxiliary' *hpr* (see below) is referred to, but this is also an apt description of the earlier 'announcing' *hpr.n*. Less appropriate is the characterisation 'marks the emergence of a new event' which suits well the Late Egyptian use but not *hpr.n*.

<sup>421</sup> Ransom (1986, 8) labels *happen* 'implicative', i.e. as signalling that the speaker most definitely indicates its complement to be the case. Cf. also 'it seems that John left' and 'it happened that John left'; both *seem* and *happen* add modal qualification to the complement situation but have little semantic function beyond this. Both describe speaker judgement; the first that the complement is considered likely, the second that it most certainly occurred.



profile: *hpr.n* already does the work of *ntt/wnt* (and has no other role) and the geminating *s $\overline{d}m=f$*  is modally irrealis and cannot function as an assertion. Also the non-geminating *s $\overline{d}m=f$*  does not have an irrealis function after *hpr.n*, as can be seen from examples 190-91. In a sense then, *hpr.n* is a modal operator akin to *ntt/wnt* which assigns the following 'neutral' construal a modal profile and allows it to function as a complement.<sup>422</sup>

The subsequent diachronic history of *hpr* and *hpr.n* is of some interest. *hpr* survives as a lexical verb until Coptic, but its grammaticalisation as an auxiliary proceeds and sees expansion of function. In Late Egyptian one finds uses such as the following:

192 (pBM 10403, 3.5-6) A testimony of a woman accused of possessing stolen goods begins:

*hr hpr=i hms.k(w) hkr.tw hr n3 nh(t)*

Now, I happened to be sitting hungry under the trees...

Like *happen*, *hpr* is not used here to introduce a situation, but a participant *into* a situation.<sup>423</sup> The apparent 'raising' of the (controlling) subject of *hms* to the subject position of *hpr* is interesting when compared to the other functions of *hpr* in Late Egyptian. It is still used in its 'announcing' role (once again spelled *hpr*<sup>424</sup>) but has lost any main-subordinate relation with the following S, i.e. it has become a proper auxiliary- hence the change, in this function, from the Earlier Egyptian 'adverbial' to the Late Egyptian 'independent main clause' paradigm of S noted by Collier.<sup>425</sup> The subject-position of *hpr* has been 'freed' to host impersonal expletives co-indexed with the following S or the controlling subject of the following predication as in 192. This 'loosening' of their interrelation is paralleled by a subtle change in meaning; the semantic-pragmatic colouring of the 'sentence-announcing' function of *hpr* does not seem to be modal any longer. Its exact character is difficult to define, but it might

<sup>422</sup> See 1.2.4.2 above.

<sup>423</sup> See Collier 1987, 19.

<sup>424</sup> Some examples appear in the corpus studied for the present work (e.g. Urk IV 26, 12 *hpr swt sn $\overline{d}m$  hm=f m d3dw*).

<sup>425</sup> Collier 1987, 17. In this respect, the examples of  $\lambda\sigma\omega\pi\tau\epsilon$  + clause conjugation are puzzling; are they echoes from time when *hpr* still maintained remnants of its main-verb status or a new development with the same result?

have acquired some temporal nuance; at least the second new development of *hpr*, called somewhat confusingly the 'auxiliary' use, is clearly aspectual.<sup>426</sup>

If the development sketched herein is correct, *hpr.n* might shed light on the development and pragmatic function of initial auxiliaries in Egyptian. Formally, *hpr.n* resembles *ḥḥ.n* to no small extent. Polotsky analysed *ḥḥ.n* as having developed out of an impersonal second tense *sdm.n=f* of *ḥḥ*, with the following 'adverbial' S as *vedette*.<sup>427</sup> However, alternatively, and by analogy with *hpr.n*, *ḥḥ.n* + S might have originally been just a normal case of main verb and a subject complement, with the meaning '(the situation) S arose' but later S acquired independence in lieu with the grammaticalisation of *ḥḥ.n* as an initial auxiliary. The capability of *ḥḥ.n* to host anticipatory subjects of the following S would thus be a secondary development arising from its new role as a functional element with no predicative relation to the following S and an 'empty' subject position. Further, *hpr.n* is typically used without any preceding auxiliary. This seems to be motivated not because it functions as a second tense but instead like an auxiliary itself. But since the function of *hpr.n* is to signal assertion, it may well be that this is shared by other initial auxiliaries as well, most notably *iw*. As is the case with *ntt/wnt*, it could be argued that *hpr.n* is (largely) incompatible also with *iw* due to their common function of assertion-marking; of course, *ntt/wnt*-clauses which are certainly assertion-marked do not allow the use of *iw* either. Again, verifying this beyond doubt presupposes a detailed study of auxiliaries from a modal perspective, but the behaviour of *hpr.n* is suggestive of this semantic-pragmatically most complex category of Earlier Egyptian grammar.<sup>428</sup>

<sup>426</sup> As noted by Gardiner in Capart *et al* 1936, 175. This use is seen e.g. in pLeopold-Amherst II 1, 16 *iw=l (hr) hpr it3 m n3 mḥḥt m dwn-dwn* 'and I fell into robbing in the tombs on a regular basis'.

<sup>427</sup> Polotsky 1976, 23.

<sup>428</sup> *iw* is, of course, not used before second tenses and negated adverbial predicates like *hpr.n*. Yet, each auxiliary has its particular 'specific' function which bears heavily on its paradigmatic properties. For example, the 'circumstantial' *sdm=f* is nearly non-attested after *ḥḥ.n* due to the sequential past narrative function of this element.

### 3. MODALITY IN NEGATIVE COMPLEMENT CLAUSES AFTER GOVERNING PREDICATES

#### 3.1. Introduction

Among the operations carried out on transitive predicates which may determine or affect the modal profile of their complement clauses, *negation* is one of the most important. As seen, negation of the matrix verb (as well as inherent negative-like semantic properties such as ‘implicativity’<sup>429</sup>) may render the complement non-assertable to the speaker or variously delimit its assertability in Earlier Egyptian and in other languages. However, unlike in most other languages, in Egyptian modality and negation interact extensively also in instances where the governing predicate remains affirmative but the *complement* is negated. The following types of negated complement clauses are attested in Earlier Egyptian:<sup>430</sup>

- *iwt/ntt n* -clauses
- *tm*-clauses
- *nfr.n*-clauses

As noted, the employment and mutual distribution of also these negative clause-types has been uniformly interpreted to be based on syntax: particularly the early identification of *tm* as the ‘nominal’ negation *par excellence* has served as the cornerstone for nearly all subsequent discussion, whether following the doctrines of the ST or not.<sup>431</sup> The assumption is that *iwt*, which functions as *ntt* + [NEG], similarly introduces forms that alone do not occur as complements- be they ‘adverbial’, ‘non-nominal’ or whatever, whereas *tm* and *nfr.n* are specialised for nominal use.<sup>432</sup>

<sup>429</sup> See 1.4.1 above.

<sup>430</sup> The present chapter discusses negated complements of governing verbs only. For negated preposition complements, see 4.2 and 4.3 below. Edel (EAG §§1107, 1109) quotes two PT passages where the negative verb *im* allegedly functions as an object complement. The first of these is somewhat doubtful, and also in the second, PT 16d *s3 (i)m=k sfhhw im=f*, *(i)m=k* may not be a complement (Nt. 67 has only *m sfhhw*). No trace of this use survives in later material.

<sup>431</sup> See 0.1.1. For Callender (1975, 107) *tm* is ‘used to negate all forms of the verb transformed into other parts of speech’ more generally which at least avoids the ST ‘nominal hypothesis’ difficulties with *tm* in final clauses, but still cannot explain its use to negate e.g. *k3/hr/ih*-constructions.

<sup>432</sup> See Satzinger 1968, §§66, 100; Gilula 1971, 17; Collier 1999, 57; cf. also EAG §1074; Gilula 1970, 213.



However, the clear use of the ‘non-nominals’ in complementation and of *tm* and *nfr.n* for patently ‘non-nominal’ functions are not the only problems marring this hypothesis. As in the affirmative, the distribution of the said negations simply is not explicable on purely syntactic grounds even in complementation. The argument that *iwt* is used when the subordinated construction cannot be ‘nominalised’ by *tm/nfr.n*<sup>433</sup> loses much of its appeal as this is not uniformly the case and ‘certain verbs’ are more associated with *iwt* or *tm/nfr.n* than others.<sup>434</sup> Clearly it is once again ‘meaning’ which must account for such distribution, but with negations the preoccupation with syntax has served as a particularly impenetrable barrier against making full use of the (admittedly infrequent) semantic-pragmatic observations on the negated complement patterns. For example, Satzinger speaks of *tm* as the negation of all ‘non-indicative’ or ‘subjunktivische’ forms of the suffix-conjugation and of *iwt* as an element introducing ‘indikativische Zustand-konstruktionen’,<sup>435</sup> but treats ‘subjunktivische’ and ‘indikativische’ as syntactic concepts equivalent to ‘nominal’ and ‘circumstantial’ respectively.<sup>436</sup> Yet in principle this characterisation captures much of the essence of negative complement clauses in Earlier Egyptian. The modal division of complements into realis and irrealis found in the affirmative governs the grammar of these subordinate clauses also in the negative. Whenever the complement clause constitutes a speaker assertion, it is introduced by the element *iwt*, or, alternatively, the affirmative *ntt* followed by a clause negated by *n*. If the complement is not asserted, *iwt/ntt n* are not used. Instead, and quite unlike in most languages where subjunctive/irrealis form(s) are simply negated, Earlier Egyptian replaces the geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*-forms with the negations *tm* and *nfr.n*. This organisation holds for both object- and subject complements of verbs, although, as in the affirmative, there is an overwhelming quantitative bias in favour of object clauses. The negations *tm* and *nfr.n* do not differentiate between distal and proximal functions of the affirmative forms. These are, instead, abstracted away following a prevalent cross-linguistic trend of concentrating the highest degree of grammaticalisation of fine-grained TAM-oppositions to ‘prototypical’ active affirmative expressions.<sup>437</sup> The

<sup>433</sup> Satzinger 1968, §101.

<sup>434</sup> Gilula 1970, 213; Frandsen 1975, 70; Vernus 1990, 119; Doret 1986, 34n.263.

<sup>435</sup> Satzinger 1968, §§62, 65; 45n.149; §100.

<sup>436</sup> Satzinger 1968, §66; 42n.138; this is particularly clear from the term ‘Zustand-konstruktion’.

<sup>437</sup> See Collier 1994, 76; Uljas 2000, 132. One may here compare the loss of aspectual and modal differences between the bare *sdm=f* and *tw=fr sdm* futures in their shared negation *nn sdm=f*, between

parameters for the choice of negative construal show once more that the grammatical organisation of complementation in Earlier Egyptian is based on the speaker's subjective vantage point towards the proposition communicated and the information which it conveys.

### 3.2. Assertion: complement clauses with *iwt* and *ntt n*

Like their affirmative counterparts, asserted negative complement clauses after verbs are in Earlier Egyptian introduced by a specific element which functions as a *marker of modal realis*. The original morpheme for this purpose is *iwt*, a particle of obscure etymological origin and a rather brief lifespan.<sup>438</sup> As noted by various authors, diachronically *iwt* is superseded early on by the analytic pattern *ntt + n*-negation.<sup>439</sup> This latter is particularly common in preposition complements, but one example is also found after a governing verb.<sup>440</sup> As a complementiser 'that not', *iwt* has the same syntactic role as *ntt/wnt* and as an assertion marker it is also their semantic-pragmatic equivalent. The characteristic features of and conditions for assertion are, unsurprisingly, the same in negative as in affirmative complements; for example:<sup>441</sup>

193 (11 above) (Urk I 129, 2-3) The king notes to his envoy concerning a dwarf which the latter is bringing:

*dd.n=k hr hm(=i) iwt sp in.t(i) mit(y)=f in ky nb*

You have said to my majesty that never has the like of him been brought by anyone else.

194 (pBerlin 9010, 3-4) In a dispute over property-rights, one of the participants is reported as denying the authenticity of a document purportedly drawn up by his father:

*dd.n p3w pn iwt sp iri sw it=f m bw nb*

*iw(=f) sdm=f* and *tw=f hr sdm* 'present' tenses in the negation *n sdm.n=f*, and between *lrl.n=l* and *tw=l šm.kw* past in the negation *n lrl/šm=l*.

<sup>438</sup> See Sethe 1912, 112; GEG §202; Satzinger 1968, §102; Gilula 1970, 213; 1971, 17 for views on the origin of *iwt*.

<sup>439</sup> EAG §1043; Satzinger 1968, §101; Gilula 1970, 213; Gilula 1971, 17

<sup>440</sup> Gilula (1971, 17) mentions also a construction *ntt nn sdm=f* of which no examples are found after verbs but which does occur after prepositions (but see n.443 below). For *ntt n/nn* after prepositions, see 4.3.

<sup>441</sup> Syntactically all the examples below are objects; there are no instances of asserted negative subject complements.

But this Paw said that his father had never done anything of the sort.

The first of these examples resembles closely the affirmative 16 above, and both are instances of reported indirect speech after a verb of locution. In 194 one observes again the altering of the pronoun =*f* in *it=f* from the presumed 'original' *it=i* to correspond to the perspective of the real speaker. The subordinate reported 'indirect' assertion is assigned to the subject of the main clause, and the main clause utterance 'X said Y' to the real speaker. But again the grammatical marking of the complement does not derive from its relation to the subject but from its content being accepted and communicated as optimally relevant by the real speaker who expresses commitment towards its veracity. As before, this becomes apparent when the information-value of the main clause is considered and when the effects that variations in its illocutionary force have on the complement are examined. Particularly in 193, the main communicative function of the utterance, or its discourse 'purpose', is not to inform the addressee of his own words, but to express the speaker's own confidence in them, in this case undoubtedly in view of holding the latter accountable thereof. Similarly, in 194, recalling *what* the litigant said is certainly the pivot of the sentence rather than *that* he said something. Thus the parts carrying the highest degree of speaker commitment and informational relevance in the sentences as a whole are the complements which thus constitute assertions by the *real* speaker, and because of this, are introduced by *iwt*.<sup>442</sup> The same can be seen also in the following examples, both of which have the flavour of speakers being anxious to 'prove' the point they are making in the complement after verbs of perception and cognition, whose function verges upon *evidential*:

195 (CT I 170g-i) In the debate between father and son, the son says he is destined to survive as an heir:

*iw grt sdm.[n=i] mdw i.mr=f m-hnw iw n 'nhw [m hr-]ib db3t nt w'bw iwt mt=i n=sn  
n mt sin*

Moreover, I have heard the word of *i.mr=f* on the island of the living and amidst the robe-room of the pure-ones, that I will/have not die(d) a sudden death for them.

<sup>442</sup> Once again, this does not necessarily mean that the main clauses are *non-assertions*, although the absence of *iw* or some other auxiliary is suggestive (see conclusion). However, the sentence may also be interpreted as continuative.



196 (CT II 125f) The deceased says Anubis that his death is only apparent:

*iw=k rh.t(i) iwt wnt=i m-m i3tyw*

You know that I am not among the mound-dwellers.

In the first of these examples the real speaker reports his own perception, in 196 the addressee is the subject to whom the knowledge is assigned. In the latter it is again rather counterintuitive to speak of the subject ‘asserting’ anything, seeing that the reference is to a mental process, not a speech act. Yet the complement bears the hallmark of a proposition to which the real speaker is strongly committed and announces as a relevant and reliable piece of information, i.e. asserts it.

As in the affirmative, there are also negated examples where assertion by the main clause subject is excluded because of the unrealised status of the situation which the governing predicate describes:

197 (CT VI 318j-k) The deceased says to a messenger of an unfriendly deity:

*dd m n h3b tw iwt gm=k N pn*

Pray tell the one who sent you that you did not find this N (=me).

Here the addressee is again told to say something he has not yet said and cannot have asserted. The assertion is due to the real speaker, but it is interesting to note that the complement situation is not actually ‘true’ in any real sense; the addressee of course *did* find the speaker. Rather, it is what the speaker *wishes to present* as true, and this alone suffices to determine its modal status and grammatical form. Finally, the modal equivalence of *ntt/wnt* and *iwt* as markers of assertion is most obviously shown by the diachronic disappearance of the latter and its subsequent replacement by *ntt + n* of which there is, however, only one example after a governing predicate, already quoted as 67 and repeated here for convenience:

198 (67) (Meir I, pl. 5) An utterance of a workman to his fellow whilst manufacturing a vessel:

*in iw=k hr m33 ntt n ‘h’.n p3 mnw*

Do you see that the cup cannot stand up?

Regarding the forms and patterns following *iwt*, the evidence is sparse. Examples 193 and 194 stand for the theoretical analytic *\*ntt + n sp sdm=f* as does the

somewhat uncertain example of an *iwt*-clause after *ib(i)* quoted as 114 above. Examples 195 and 197 correspond to *\*ntt n sdm=f*.<sup>443</sup> By analogy with the affirmatives and the *n sdm.n=f* of example 198/67, this seems to indicate that the said negations also belong to the modally neutral/unmarked grammatical group.<sup>444</sup> Example 196 appears to be an instance of a negated existential *n wnt*, although the suffix after *wnt* is most exceptional.<sup>445</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that the use of *iwt* parallels that of affirmative or *n*-negated complements with *ntt/wnt* and that this element similarly has the function of marking the clause which it introduces as modally realis. Conversely, also the reasons for its absence turn out to be of familiar sort and reflect a grammatical strategy of expressing non-assertion with negations specialised for this purpose.

### 3.3 Non-assertion: *tm* and *nfr.n*

There are no negative examples after verbs where the real speaker would be *incapable* of asserting a potentially assertable complement due to ignorance of its veracity status. In the sole instance of a negation after an interrogative main clause, 198/67 above, the scope of the interrogative does not extend over the complement and the speaker is in no way unaware of the situation described therein. However, non-assertion in negated complement clauses of verbs is not uncommon but actually rather more frequent than assertion, exactly as in the affirmative. Instead of *iwt*, in such instances Earlier Egyptian employs the specific *irrealis negations* *tm* and *nfr.n* which, due to this their status and unlike *n*-negations, are never introduced by *ntt*. The etymology and grammatical construal of both *tm* and *nfr.n* has been much discussed but remains somewhat unclear. The use of *tm* as a negative function-word seems to result from grammaticalisation via metaphoric extension of sense of the lexical verb

<sup>443</sup> In 195 there is some question concerning the intended time-reference; both past and future, which in the Coffin Texts is typically *n sdm=f*, are possible. If the latter is assumed, the example would then constitute a functional equivalent to *ntt nn sdm=f* after a governing verb (see n.440 above).

<sup>444</sup> Once again, there is no need to assume that e.g. *n sp sdm=f* cannot be used as a complement for syntactic reasons. The exclusion of 'non-nominal' forms and constructions from this use has to do with the principles of marking assertions in Egyptian and the lack of assigned modal profile of the patterns in question. As for Satzinger's analysis of *iwt* and *tm* noted above, it is not what follows *iwt* that is 'indicative' but the entire clause *iwt + S*.

<sup>445</sup> Compare Satzinger (1968, §§48, 100) who analyses the construction similarly as a negated existential, with Edel's (EAG §836) interpretation of *wnt* as a 'particle.' Suffixes after *n wnt* are not otherwise attested; an example of *nn wn=i* is quoted by Gilula (1970, 211).

*tm* meaning 'finish' or the like.<sup>446</sup> As a negation, *tm* is followed by the so-called negational complement as the immediately following prosodic unit (before the latter's replacement by the infinitive) and the carrier of lexical content in the complex.<sup>447</sup> With *nfr.n*, when negating finite clauses, the latter role is assigned to an affirmative *sdm=f* which follows the element *n* and for which mutable roots always shows gemination in preposition complements but no gemination after verbs.<sup>448</sup> The syntactic build-up of this negation is similarly obscure, although the most commonly accepted view is that originally it consisted of a predicative adjective 'be at end' followed by dative.<sup>449</sup> Yet, whatever the origin and internal composition of these construals, both *tm* and *nfr.n* are employed in complementation to negate irrealis clauses. Although all the uses of *nfr.n* may not be present in the surviving corpus, its functional overlap with *tm* appears complete also beyond complementation.<sup>450</sup> Perhaps it is because of this that *nfr.n* was gradually replaced by *tm* in all but consciously archaising texts and in certain set-phrases of elevated style.<sup>451</sup>

In complementation after verbs, the principal domain of employment of the irrealis negations *tm* and *nfr.n* is as objects of verbs which in the affirmative are never followed by *ntt/wnt* or, in other languages, by indicative/realis forms. This is, of course, not a coincidence; the predicates in question are notionally non-assertive and

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<sup>446</sup> See GEG §342, end; WGMT §360; Satzinger 1968, §63, among others. Lexical *tm* is polysemic and translates variously, and in a rather contradictory manner, as 'complete' or 'fail'. It may be that both are actually extensions of a basic sense of 'finish' which can refer both to completion/success and failure/premature cessation.

<sup>447</sup> For the syntactic relation between *tm* and the negational complement/infinitive, see GEG §341, end; Schenkel 2000a, *passim*.

<sup>448</sup> See 4.2 below for examples after prepositions. Given the relatively small number of mutable examples after verbs it is impossible to say whether this split is merely an accident of preservation. See also n.449 below.

<sup>449</sup> See Gardiner 1923, 81; GEG §351.1; EAG §1130; Satzinger 1968, §109n.246. Ogdon's (1996) suggestion of *nfr.n* as functionally equivalent to *nfr iw* (sic!) is clearly unfounded. Gaskins (1978, 121) and Reintges (1997, 349n.62) interpret *n* as a Perfect marker. However, *nfr.n* is clearly a fixed negation and its internal components may not retain their etymological function. The common writing of *n* as 'negative arms' and the version *nfr 3* found in the Heqanakhte papers (T.G.H. James 1962, 104-05; Allen 2002, 100) shows that *nfr.n* quickly became subject to phonological reduction and was seen as a non-isomorphic functional unit. This being so, the relationship between *n* and the following *sdm=f* may no longer be e.g. that between a governing dative and a subordinate clause (M. Collier, PC) which poses further difficulties to assessing the motives for the geminating/non-geminating variation of the *sdm=f* following *nfr.n* between verb- and preposition-complements.

<sup>450</sup> *tm* and *nfr.n* both also negate the infinitive as well as conditional and final clauses. Urk I 85, 5-6 *sk nfr.n irt mitt n wr hrpw hmwt nb hr h3w nsw nb* would seem to be a concessive 'setting' second tense 'Now, although nothing of the kind had been done to any overseer of craftsmen before...' Edel's reluctance to accept the capability of *nfr.n* to negate participles seems strange in view of the clear examples he cites (EAG §1137).

<sup>451</sup> Cf. Doret 1986, 44.



cannot be followed by assertions.<sup>452</sup> The most common combination is *wḏ* + *nfr.n*, although the examples derive from Old Egyptian and often involve weak final radical verbs with the ending *-t* with which it is impossible to decide whether *nfr.n* negates a *.t(i)*-passive or the infinitive.<sup>453</sup> Unambiguous finite instances are e.g.:

199 (Urk I 212, 7-8) A royal decree prohibits the seizure of resources from funerary foundations by other branches of the administration:

*iw wḏ.n ḥm(=i) nfr.n pr nḥs-ḥtpw nb r irt ʿw3 m niwty ptn*

My majesty has ordered that no 'pacified Nubian' may go to make requisitions in these two pyramid-towns.

200 (Urk I 212, 9-11) A further order:

*iw wḏ.n ḥm(=i) nfr.n ʿk rmt nb ntw ḥr nḥs-ḥtpw pn r wʿb... m ḥwt nt niwty ptn*

My majesty has ordered that no people associated with these 'pacified Nubians' may enter priestly service... in the temple(s) of these two pyramid-towns.

Also *tm* is found after the same verb:

201 (CT III 171j-1) The deceased says that he will not consume faeces:

*iw wḏ.n gb it wsir tm=i wnm ḥs tm=i swr wsšt*

Geb the father of Osiris has ordered that I do not need to eat excrement and drink urine.<sup>454</sup>

202 (Hassan, Giza IV, fig. 118, 5) It is said of the workers who constructed the tomb for Debehni:

*wḏ ḥm=f tm=sn it r wnwt nb ḥ3w irt k3t im=f r ḥtp=f*

His majesty ordered that they are not to be taken to any labour-service in excess of carrying out the work therein to his satisfaction.<sup>455</sup>

<sup>452</sup> See 1.1 and 1.3 above.

<sup>453</sup> Cf. EAG §1131.

<sup>454</sup> The sense herein is, in addition, clearly that of negated deontic necessity.

<sup>455</sup> The passive sense herein has attracted some scholarly interest (see e.g. EAG §1138; Doret 1986, 46). It seems that the voice of the negational complement had not been fixed as active by the time of the V dynasty rather than that *tm* itself is passive (cf. EAG §743).

Of the other ‘non-assertive’ verbs, one may only quote the following example of *tm* after *s3w*:

203 (CT I 71b-d) The deceased is warned against bad preparation on his journey:

*s3w wdn rk n rdi.tw hsf hr=k s3w tm=k pr*

Take care, be careful, and no-one will obstruct you. Take care that you do not fail to go forth.<sup>456</sup>

Both *tm* and *nfr.n* are *generalised* irrealis negations: the fine-grained distal-proximal distinction expressed in the affirmative by variation of the geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f* are suppressed in the negative, and *tm* in particular certainly does not ‘assume the morphological features’ of any of the ‘nominal’ *sdm=f*-forms.<sup>457</sup> The modal ‘non-indicativity’ of these negations in complementation after verbs seems to have passed unnoticed, but this is presumably not only because of the focus on syntax, but also because in many cases their irrealis character is not necessarily so immediately apparent. For instance, deducing the reasons for the use of *nfr.n* in the following example requires once again meticulous attention to the co(n)text:<sup>458</sup>

204 (Urk I 282, 15-283, 3) The king cancels previous obligations imposed upon certain establishments:

*ir nf ddw hr hm(=i) wnt htm wdw nw nsw r sm<sup>c</sup> r irt h3 n k3t nt nsw m f3w šdt k3t nb wdt irt m sm<sup>c</sup> pn sk dd r wdw pf nfr.n iri.t(i) hwt nb m niwtw nt(t) hw.t(i) ntt m sm<sup>c</sup> pw n rdi.n hm(=i) iri rmt nb nw ntrwy gbtyw pr-min f3w šdt h3 nb n k3t nb irrt m sm<sup>c</sup> pw*

As for it being said to my majesty that royal decrees have been issued concerning Upper Egypt, namely about performing tasks of royal work, carrying and digging and whatever work ordered to be done in this Upper Egypt. Although it is said according to those decrees that no exemptions are to be made in towns already exempted in this Upper Egypt, my majesty (regardless) does not allow any people of the temple of Min, Koptos, V Upper Egyptian nome, to do digging, carrying, or any task of royal work done in this Upper Egypt.

<sup>456</sup> Not ‘take care that you do not go forth’ which would be *s3w pr=k*; the sentence is a double negation and an exhortation against failure: ‘take care that you do not not go forth’. Similarly Merikara E17 (broken).

<sup>457</sup> Depuydt 1993, 27.

<sup>458</sup> Repeated verbatim in Urk I 286, 16-17.

This passage, part of which was quoted as example 165 above, is not only the sole instance of *nfr.n* in a *subject* complement clause (after passive *dd*), but also a superb example of *lack of speaker commitment* as a motive for the use of irrealis and non-assertion. The king declares of previous decrees affecting the staff of the temple of Min that although these forbid further exemptions on establishments, this is hereby ignored. To paraphrase, his message is ‘although those decrees say that X is not to be done, I care little of this and do it regardless’. The king does not commit himself to the validity of the content of the previous decrees which he cites but then dismisses, and for this reason uses *nfr.n*. This can be contrasted with the beginning of the passage where a *wnt*-clause appears similarly as a subject of the very same verb *dd*. There the degree of speaker commitment is strong: the king has indeed been told that there are decrees to the effect noted; there is no reason for non-commitment, and *wnt* appears. This variation is hence not random and has nothing to do with syntax but is based purely on the subjective degree of speaker acceptance of the complement. Yet negative examples of this sort are lamentably rare, and against the practise adopted in the present work, the following similar example with *tm* from the Pyramid Texts may exceptionally be quoted:

205 (PT 998) The resurrection of the king is celebrated with the following remark to gods:

*mꜥn nw dd.n=ꜥn nꜥrw tm N wnn m ꜥnt=ꜥn mꜥn N mn m ꜥnt=ꜥn m imnw n smꜥ*

See what you said, gods- that the king is not before you; look, the king is firmly before you as a victorious bull.

The sense is clearly: ‘although you said this, the contrary is the case’ and the speaker’s attitude towards the subordinate proposition is near-sarcastic. Loprieno terms the use of *tm* here ‘assertive’, which is precisely what it is not;<sup>459</sup> the negation signals that the speaker entertains no commitment towards the complement proposition whose veracity has been proved completely void and which is hence coded as a non-assertion. Loprieno also suggests that *tm* is ‘originally’ a modal negation, for which reason it is used as a negation of e.g. final ‘so that’-clauses, but is more at home in the mature syntactic system of Egyptian as a ‘dependent’ negation.<sup>460</sup> Yet the syntactic dependency of the negated clause is clearly secondary

<sup>459</sup> Loprieno 1991a, 217.

<sup>460</sup> Loprieno 1991a, 218, 223; see also n.63 above.



in importance to its pragmatic profile overall. This is best shown by un-introduced, or bare, ‘circumstantial’ adjunct clauses. Here *tm* is indeed the negation of the strongly irrealis final ‘so that’-clauses, but it is not used to negate equally ‘dependent’ relative present adjuncts- *unless* they describe irrealis situations. The ‘virtual clauses of condition’ are a *prima facie* instance of the latter and alone among non-final ‘circumstantials’, *tm*-negated:<sup>461</sup>

206 (pRamesseum III, B10-11) A title of a prescription:

*rdit šsp hrd tm=f snkw*

To cause a child to accept (breastfeeding) if he does not suckle

207 (Ebers 49, 8) As above:

*kt sm3<sup>c</sup> mwyt tm=s m3<sup>c</sup>*

Another (method) of setting urination in order if it is not in order

However, Loprieno has argued elsewhere that *tm* behaves as a ‘meta-linguistic’ ‘mention-negation’ which expresses *negative presupposition*.<sup>462</sup> This means that *tm* actually does not ‘perform’ negation *per se* but instead refers to situations whose negativity has already been co(n)textually established.<sup>463</sup> Although co(n)textually assigned negativity clearly is not present in the examples after *wđ* above nor, arguably, in e.g. negative final clauses,<sup>464</sup> this analysis seems quite to the point e.g. in case of WH-questions. In addition, when it is pointed out that negative-presupposed states of affairs are in no way different from positive ones in terms of their *pragmatic* character as fundamentally *non-asserted information*, Loprieno’s proposal may well be accepted as a characterisation of *tm* in its role to negate presupposed irrealis. In complementation after verbs, moreover, there are instances where the ‘mention’-

<sup>461</sup> See 1.2.4.2 above and GEG §347.3; a further example is Merikara E87 (*nn mn n=k h<sup>c</sup>py tm=f lw* ‘The inundation will not trouble you even if it does not come’; PT 499c has *n ld=f tm=f sdm hrw=k* ‘He is not deaf even if he does not hear your voice’).

<sup>462</sup> Loprieno 1986b, 280-81; 1991b, 233-35.

<sup>463</sup> For example, in case of a *tm*-negation such as e.g. Peas B1, 211 *sdmw n 3 sdm.n=k tm=k tr sdm hr m* ‘Hearer, you really do not hear; why do you not hear?’ the WH-question negative state of affairs [you do not hear] is clearly presupposed. To borrow Loprieno’s terminology, the negation is indeed not actually ‘used’ but only ‘mentioned’; cf. Loprieno 1991b, 234. For remarks on WH-questions and assertion, see 7.2.

<sup>464</sup> A final negation such as Ptahh 374 *m k3 lb=k tm=f dh1* ‘Do not be arrogant of heart lest it be humiliated’ can hardly be paraphrased as *if [m k3 lb=k] then [nn dh lb=k]* (Loprieno 1991b, 235) nor carries an ‘entailment of modal denial’. Instead, the complex consists of two hypothetical situations, the latter of which is contingent upon the first and certainly does not constitute a ‘negative assertion’.

hypothesis aptly characterises the use of *tm*, such as the following celebrated example:

208 (Merikara E53-54) The king reminds that men are held accountable of their actions:

*d3d3t wd<sup>c</sup> s3ryw rh.n=k tm=sn sfn hrw pf n wd<sup>c</sup> m3ir*

The tribunal which judges the miserable- you know how merciless they are on the day of condemning the wretched.

Here *tm* appears to carry a similar ‘manner-sense’ as the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* after verbs of cognition and perception.<sup>465</sup> It was argued above that in the affirmative this semantic nuance is an outcome of a low information-value of the complement situation nexus; the actuality of the latter is part of the discourse-pragmatic background assumptions and what is the centre of interest is merely the character (degree, manner of unfolding) of the situation.<sup>466</sup> The same holds also in the negative but here it is, of course, the *falsity* of the situation that is taken for granted. In 208 the assumption [they are not merciful] is already assumed in the context, exactly as formulated by Loprieno, and stands at the background in the discussion centring instead on the inherent properties of this state of affairs. In other words, the use of the irrealis herein has an *evaluative* motive. As seen, coding propositions as non-assertions is often used by speakers to signal that the information they contain is viewed as *less than optimally relevant*, not necessarily only because it is believed to be known by the audience already, but also because in the current discourse it constitutes something which the speaker does not assume to more generally enhance the hearers’ ‘representation of the world.’<sup>467</sup> It is the task of the audience then to deduce the reasons *why* exactly did the speaker deem something un-informative enough to warrant its non-assertion, and, as seen, this requires rather extensive study of the co(n)text in which the proposition occurs. Yet, for communication to succeed at all, this is normally not overly complicated: for example, in the following passage the reason for the use of *nfr.n* is recoverable from the preceding text:

<sup>465</sup> This example is almost always rendered with ‘that’ by translators (the most obvious exception being Borghouts 1985, 37n.33) which again entails the assumption that the presence and absence of *twi/ntt n* after *rh* is irrelevant.

<sup>466</sup> 1.2.2.2 above.

<sup>467</sup> Lunn 1989b, 691.

209 (Urk I 286, 1-6) Having outlined the exemptions granted to the temple of Min, the king says:  
*iw wd.n nsw-bit nfr-k3r<sup>c</sup> <sup>c</sup>nh dt r nhh shp.t(i) <sup>c</sup> m wd pn dy r wd n inr r <sup>c</sup>rrwt nt pr-min  
 gbtw r m33 imyw-st nw sp3t nfr.n ts=sn hmw-ntr nw r-pr pn r k3t nb nt nsw m 3wt dt*  
 The majesty of the dual king Neferkara, living eternally and forever, has ordered a copy of this decree to be brought and put on a stela of limestone at the gateway of the temple of Min at Koptos so that the functionaries of the nome may see that they may not recruit the priests of this temple for any royal work for all eternity.

Here the clause with *nfr.n* in fact does not convey any new information. Earlier in the decree (and its twin) it was already said that the king does not allow the temple-staff to be put to royal corvée-work and that any functionary of such-and-such rank who will recruit (*ts.t(y)=f(y)*) them into various tasks faces extreme royal disapproval (*msdd nsw pw m3<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>*). In other words, the information that the functionaries ‘may not recruit’ the priests has already been passed in the preceding discourse and here the issue is merely that a public record is to be made of this as a permanent reminder. The complement clause is not intended to present the information [functionaries may not recruit priests] as ‘news’- it is indeed only ‘mentioned’ anew, and for this reason *nfr.n* is used in the complement instead of *iwt/ntt n*.<sup>468</sup> The same motive for the use of *irrealis* appears to be in question also in the next example:

210 (pBerlin 8869, 12-13) The author says his acting according to his addressee’s expectations has been witnessed by a third party:

*iw gr m3.n smr w<sup>c</sup>t(y) mr pr htp nfr.n <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup> sn=k im n tst nt md3 w3[w3]t n-mrwt [nfr.n]  
 irr sn=k im msdd[t sš]=k*

Now, the unique friend and steward Hetep has seen that yours truly does not oppose (?) the troops of Medja and Wawat lest yours truly do what your excellence disapproves of.

The topic of ‘opposing troops’, if this is the sense of *h<sup>c</sup> n*, is not explicitly mentioned in the letter previous to the present complement, but is still treated as ‘old news’. In the opening of his letter, the author says that he has ‘given his utmost attention to the business’ about which his correspondent had written earlier and sent the official Hetep mentioned in the example above. He claims to have done this ‘lest yours truly

<sup>468</sup> In addition, there is a clear sense of denied permission herein.



do anything what your excellence disapproves of'. Given the repetition of this phrase here and in the example above, as well as the talk about the messenger, the 'business' in question can hardly be anything else but the 'opposing of the troops'. When it is mentioned again, by then the speaker has already said that he has given it his full attention which must mean that he is 'not opposing the troops' and which thus, in the latter instance, is no longer 'news'. Rather, the new and asserted information is that the addressee's messenger has verified the author's claim, i.e. the governing clause. Again the use of irrealis fits the context of discourse and signals low information value of the complement proposition.<sup>469</sup>

It is clear that in complementation after verbs, *iwt* is no more a 'nominaliser' than *tm* and *nfr.n* are 'nominal negations'. The use of these opposing strategies of creating negative complement clauses after verbs displays a definable and coherent set of parameters based on the realis or irrealis status of the complement proposition. The existence in Earlier Egyptian of grammaticalised verbs for negation is an unusual feature cross-linguistically, and their employment for a special modal purpose is highly original. Nevertheless, in general terms Egyptian is in the mainstream of languages with respect of its treatment of negativity *vis-à-vis* modality. As is usual elsewhere, the marking of a complement as asserted or non-asserted does not follow from it simply being negative, but from the subjective assessment of the speaker as to the reliability, acceptability and 'news value' of the information it conveys, exactly as in the affirmative. Put another way, although negative situations are non-actualised, this does not determine their classification as realis or irrealis; in Earlier Egyptian complementation negation has no 'semantic scope' over modality and is not part of the modal system.<sup>470</sup> Although the grammaticalisation of modal nuances is less fine-grained in negative than in affirmative complements, the former align themselves in the same continuum of speaker 'attitudes and opinions' which forms the foundation of Earlier Egyptian complementation.

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<sup>469</sup> It goes without saying that with letters, interpretation is riddled with difficulties precisely because the correspondents rely heavily on mutual background knowledge which is mostly unmentioned and, in the absence of previous correspondence, sometimes quite unrecoverable to outsiders.

<sup>470</sup> Cf. the discussion in Mithun 1995, 380-84.

## 4. MODALITY IN EARLIER EGYPTIAN COMPLEMENT CLAUSES AFTER PREPOSITIONS

### 4.1. Introduction

In contradistinction to most modern and ancient languages, and except for the elements *(i)st/(i)sk*, Earlier Egyptian did not possess specialised (grammaticalised) conjuncts for introducing adverbial clauses.<sup>471</sup> Instead, and in keeping with the general functional flexibility and tendency of this language to form clausal adjuncts without specialised means, ordinary prepositions were employed for this task. The number of elements thus used and, consequently, the range of possible adjunct meanings is relatively high. A semantic classification of the latter, disputable in its details, but providing a summary of the prepositions employed for the purpose, is due to Gardiner who distinguishes between<sup>472</sup>

- clauses of *time*. With *m* ‘when’; *r* ‘until’; *hft* ‘when’; *dr* ‘since’; *m-ht* ‘after’; *r-s3* ‘after’; *tp-ꜥ* ‘before’; *r-tnw-sp* ‘every time that’.
- clauses of *condition*. With *ir* ‘if’. Cf. too with *m* or *mi* ‘according as’.
- clauses of *asseveration*. With *m* or *mi* ‘according as’.
- clauses of *concession*. With *m* ‘though’.

<sup>471</sup> For ‘preposition-*ntt*’-clauses, see 4.3 below. Prepositions form a relatively closed class throughout Earlier Egyptian, but indicators of elements moving in and out thereof are occasionally discernible. An example of an expression being grammaticalised as a preposition is *n-ꜥ3t-n*. In early examples (Urk I 139, 10; 216, 5; BM 1164, 3) the second *n* is often still a genitive *nt* agreeing with the ‘relational noun’ *ꜥ3t* (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993, 107). Later this feature and even the entire *n* disappear, (see e.g. Urk IV 1671, 1 for *n-ꜥ3t mrr=f*) showing, along with such late writings as *n-ꜥ3w-n*, (see *Wb Belegstellen* I, 30) phonetic contraction of the expression having set in. For an apparent example of a preposition undergoing grammaticalisation *away* from this functional category, see 4.4 below.

<sup>472</sup> GEG §222, quoted verbatim. To this list may be added the rare elements *m-šw* ‘on account of’, (once with *irr(=i)*, see EAG §804) *n-mnh-n* ‘through efficiency of’ (Anthes 1930, 111n.d; 231 below) and the negative elements *n-msdt* and *n-snd* (4.2 below). A unique example of *m-lsw-n* ‘in exchange of’ + *rdi=f* is Tarkhan I 79, 38. An example of a non-geminating *sdm=f* after *hr* is Ptahh. 246 (*hr trl N*) followed immediately (247) by geminating *hr dd N*. However, the conjunct meaning(s?) of this preposition is unclear. Conditionals, despite of presumably employing a specialised use of the preposition *r*, should not be confused with complement clauses. For *m-ht*, see 4.4 below. Gardiner omits the causal sense of *dr*. There does not seem to be grounds for delimiting *n-mrwt* to purpose-clauses and *r* only to clauses of result. In Egyptian as in many languages, the demarcation between these types is at best precarious. In case of bare *sdm=f*, the present discussion concentrates mainly on complements from mutable roots. However, some of these elements, namely *tp-ꜥ*, *n-ikr-n* and *n-wr-n*, are attested only with immutable verbs; an example of *wpw-r* ‘except’ + *wnn=sn* is Urk I 305, 18 (cited as part of 149 above).

- clauses of purpose. With *n-mrwt* (rarely *n-ib-n*) ‘in order that’.
- clauses of result. With *r* ‘so that’
- clauses of cause. With *n* ‘because’; *hr* ‘because’; *n-ikr-(n)* ‘by virtue of the fact that’; *n-* (or *m-*)<sup>c</sup>*3t-n(t)* ‘inasmuch as’; *n-wr-n* ‘inasmuch as’.
- clauses of comparison. With *r* ‘than’; *r* ‘according as’; *hft* ‘according as’; *mi* ‘as when’; *mi* ‘according as’.
- clauses of co-ordination. With *hn<sup>c</sup>* ‘and’
- clauses of exception. With *wpw-hr* ‘but’.

However, as can be seen from the multiple occurrences of various elements in the above list, the range of adjunct meanings thus formed is further expanded by the extensive *polysemy* displayed by many Early Egyptian prepositions, some of which can express a bewildering array of senses.<sup>473</sup> For example, when serving as a conjunct, the preposition *m* is, depending on context, translatable (at least) as ‘during’, ‘when’, ‘while’ ‘as’, (in a temporal, comparative and concessive sense) ‘though’ and ‘whether’.<sup>474</sup>

In Earlier Egyptian, the morpho-syntactic organisation of clausal preposition complements parallels exactly that found after verbs.<sup>475</sup> The clauses are governed by the prepositions, are syntactically subordinate to the latter and the forms and constructions used are identical. Besides *ntt*-introduced clauses, bare geminating and non-geminating *sḏm=f*-forms occur, and the latter occasionally show writings with the endings *-w* and *-y*. *tm/nfr.n* and *iwt/ntt n(n)* vary in the negative. However, in spite of this parallelism, the very heterogeneous and apparently ill-definable semantic-pragmatic character of clausal complements of prepositions would seem to have contributed to the perception among Egyptologists of their construal and use as determined almost solely by syntactic ‘nominality’ and ‘nominalisation’ of the verb-forms and constructions used. Many treatises, including the few that have tackled

<sup>473</sup> As amply demonstrated by a glance through any standard grammar listing meanings of prepositions; e.g. Erman 1928, §§444-56; GEG §§162-81; EAG §§756-817; LGEC §§489-534; Callender 1975, 19; Englund 1988, 13-14; Loprieno 1995, 100; Malaise & Winand 1999, §§227-90; Allen 2000, 83-88 among others; cf. also WGMT §§335-36. For discussion on the semantics of individual prepositions or generally, see e.g. Smither 1939; Anthes 1969; Junge 1973; Perdu 1978; Collier 1994, 60-67; Zonhoven 1996; 1997a; 1997b.

<sup>474</sup> The last sense is attested only once (pBerlin 8869, 7, with *mrr* N). This semantic diversity may occasionally only reflect defects in the translation-language. For example, English captures precisely the interplay of temporal and causal meanings of *dr* ‘since’ whereas this is not the case e.g. in German.

<sup>475</sup> See 0.1.1 above.



preposition complements from a more semantic perspective, have been characterised by scepticism about the role of 'meaning' in their grammar.<sup>476</sup> However, the similarity between preposition- and verb complements is not coincidental or restricted to identical morpho-syntax, but the grammar of both these categories is based on the same modal system of expressing realis and irrealis modality. Also here, the un-introduced bare *s $\overline{d}m=f$* -clauses are non-assertive and contrast with clauses introduced by the elements *ntt/wnt*. Unlike after many verbs, assessing the modal status of preposition complements is (largely) free from the complications effected by differences in identity, deictic locus and mental orientation between the original and the real speaker. However, as after verbs, this is partially determined by the semantics of the governing expression. Like various verbs, certain prepositions systematically disallow *ntt*-introduced asserted complements and only occur with bare *s $\overline{d}m=f$* -forms. Yet, and again as after verbs, more commonly there is choice between these alternatives depending on the more general semantic environment. This holds also for the two irrealis modes: even prepositions with a singular sense usually accept both the geminating and non-geminating *s $\overline{d}m=f$*  as their complements. In terms of modal typology, many complement clauses of governing verbs find their parallels in the preposition complements. Rather curiously, in many instances the un-introduced complements of prepositions seem to be bereft of the key semantic and pragmatic properties which motivate the coding of propositions as irrealis: often the demarcation does not seem to pertain to modality but to mere temporal differences. However, the nature of preposition complement modality can only be understood by extending the focus of investigation beyond the semantics of the constituent expressions of the phrasal complex [preposition + clause] and, as with verb complements, into the wider discourse context. Once again, this move is, in fact, a necessary one given that modality, which concerns the speaker's attitudinal and evaluative perspective to propositions, has more to do with discourse as a whole, and receives most of its 'meaning' thence.<sup>477</sup> Finally, and almost as a by-product, the organisation revealed also provides the basis for modal analysis of a domain of grammar syntactically quite different from complementation and one that has hitherto been viewed as its diagonal opposite in Egyptological linguistics, but whose

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<sup>476</sup> See 4.3 below.

<sup>477</sup> Cf. Givón 2001 vol.1, 300; Hopper & Traugott 1993, 141-45 and 1.3.4 above.

semantic-pragmatic and grammatical organisation in Earlier Egyptian appears the share notable similarities with complement clauses.

## 4.2 The typology of irrealis in complement clauses of prepositions

In the Earlier Egyptian textual corpus there are copious examples of complement clauses after prepositions with the bare geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*-forms which can readily be described as irrealis and unasserted. The most obvious case is final ‘so that/in order to’- clauses for which languages characteristically use irrealis and subjunctive forms, either on their own or ushered in by subordinating elements.<sup>478</sup> In Egyptian, the latter category comprises complements introduced mostly by the prepositions *n-mrwt* and *r* after which both the geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*'s are common:<sup>479</sup>

211 (Peas B1, 110-11) The king instructs the high steward concerning the treatment of the peasant:

*in-mrwt wn=f hr dd gr ih in.t(w) n=n Ø m šs*

In order that he might get into talking, be quiet. Then let (it) be brought to us in writing.

212 (Peas B1, 134-35) The high steward retorts angrily to the peasant's pledges:

*dd.in mr-pr wr mrw s3 rnsy in ʿ3t pw n=k-imy hr ib=k r it.tw šmsw=i*

<sup>478</sup> See Palmer 2000, 128-31 and *passim*.

<sup>479</sup> Further examples of *n-mrwt* + non-geminating/doubling *sdm=f*: Hatnub 22, 19 (*iri(=i)*); Peas R 17.7 (*in.t(w)*); Berlin 1199, 8-9 (*wn(=i)*); Urk IV 366, 15 (*wn N*); 868, 8 (restored: [*n-mr*]wt *iri=f*). After *r*: Urk I 126, 4 (*wn=f*); CT IV 178h (*k3=i*); BM 614, 10 (*iri(=i)*); Berlin leather roll 2. 13 (*iri.t(w)*); UC 32199, 12 (*wn N*); Ebers 8, 16 (*pr N*); Urk IV 1216, 6 (*m3 N*); 1798, 16-17 (*gm=tn*). Louvre C14, 9 has a clear *-w*-form of the stem *il* ‘go’. The expression *rdl s r wn=f m3c* ‘who treated a man so that he would be soothed’ (see Vernus 1999) seems to belong here as well. Examples of *n-mrwt* + the geminating/doubling *sdm=f*: Fischer 1994, fig. 1, 3; (*wnn N*); CT I 78a (*wnn N*); CT VII 541 (*m33 N*); CCG 1641, 5; Turin 1447, 9 (*wnn N*); 1534, 7 (*wnn=i*); Siut VI, 16 (*wnn=i*); *Lesestücke* 96, 9 (*wnn N*); Lintel in Luxor Museum 2 (*wnn N*); Urk IV 606, 7 (*wnn N*); 853, 13 (*wnn=f*); White Chapel 67 (*wnn N*). The occasional writings *m mryt* (e.g. Urk IV 1260, 11, *iri N*) are perhaps variant spellings of *n-mrt*. Examples after *r*: Urk I 202, 7; 282, 12; 286, 4; 306, 12 (all *m33 N*); Kom el-Koffar A,4 (*wnn N*); Hassan 1975, vol.2, pl. 4A, 3-4 (*m33 N*); Hassan, Giza II, fig. 208A (*wnn N*); CT I 391a (*pr=ri*); CT III 328a (*irr=i*); CT IV 75f (*wnn=sn*); CT V 241c (*m33 N*); CT VI 73a (*pr=f*); 328b (*h33=f*); 336l (*dd N*); Admonitions 13, 4 (*m33=f*); UC 32036, 12 (*šdd=k*); Nu pl. 86/BD 149 (*m33=f*); pRamesseum III A 19 (*pr N*); Ebers 40, 14 (*ngg=k*); 41, 2 (*h33=f*); Smith 4, 9 (*ncc=f*); 8, 12 (*m33=k*); 16, 6-7 (*h33 N*). Hearst 9, 12 has *tw N*. There are also examples of *r m3n=f/N* which are certainly final clauses rather than the *sdm.n=f* (e.g. Urk IV 367, 17; 1294, 11/12).

Then the high steward Meru's son Rensi said: 'Is what belongs to you in your opinion so important that my retainer should be arrested?'<sup>480</sup>

213 (Sin B280-83) The king confirms Sinuhe's status as a royal favourite:

*iw=f r smr m-m srw rdit=f m-k3b šnyt wd3w tn r 'hnwti dw3t r irr.t(w) 'h'w=f*

He shall become a royal friend among officials and installed amongst the entourage. Proceed now to the audience-hall so that his ordinance might be carried out.

214 (Meir III, pl.11) Ukhhotep explains his reasons for depicting previous nomarchs in his tomb:

*iri.n=i nw n-mrwt wnn rnw=sn mn n dt n-mrwt prt-hrw n=sn m hrt-hrw nt r' nb*

I have done this in order that their names might be firm for eternity and that they might have invocation-offerings on a daily basis.

Here again the forms are used to articulate degrees of non-assertion in accordance with their distal and proximal irrealis profiles. In 211 the realisation of the complement situation is less certain and in control of the speaker and obtaining the desired outcome involves a complicated scheme of 'tricking' the peasant into petitioning against his will. In 212 there is a clear attitudinal element involved: the non-geminating *sdm=f* complement describes a situation rejected and viewed as unworthy of consideration by the speaker. Conversely, in 213-14 various factors conspire to render the complement situation subjectively 'closer' to the speakers. Some relate to social hierarchy, the king's role as the supreme authority issuing orders and the expectations arising from this as regards compliance, (213) others to the speaker's direct culpability in bringing about the expected situation, temporal proximity and even ontological reality. In 214 the author clearly is *not* saying that his actions were motivated by a desire literally to 'make' the names eternal, but to perpetuate the existing fame of the forefathers, whose names 'have been', 'are' and now 'will' be renown.<sup>481</sup> One may contrast this with the following example:

215 (Siut I, 271) Hapdjefa sums up his motives for transferring property to his funerary-priest:

<sup>480</sup> The traditional reading of *tw* as a dependent pronoun ('that my retainer arrest you'- so Faulkner in Simpson *et al* 1973, 37; cf. Parkinson 1997, 63) is certainly wrong.

<sup>481</sup> Note also the adverbial *m hrt-hrw nt r' nb*; see 6 for a full discussion of the temporal differences herein.



*mk smnh.n=i tw m 3hwt m rmt m mnmnt m šw m ht nb(t) mi sr nb n s3wt n-mrwt iri=k  
n=i ht*

See, I have provided you with fields, people, cattle, orchards and all things like every official of Assiut, in order that you may perform rituals for me.

Here an undefined stretch of time is expected to pass before the performing of the rituals takes place: the contract comes into force and the funerary priest is due to begin his service only after the death of the speaker, who is donating the wherewithal he then wants to be used for the purpose specified. It is unclear if this sort of variation is possible also after the other final clause -introducing prepositions *n-ib-n* and the extremely rare negative elements *n-snd* and *n-msdt*, 'lest' (literally 'through fear/hate of').<sup>482</sup>

216 (Ebers 91, 15-16) A medical instruction for treating a wounded (and infected?) earlobe:

*sf.in=k gs=f w<sup>c</sup> n-ib-n h3w snf=f*

Then you cut its one side so that its blood may flow down.

217 (CT VI 3681-m) In a broken context:

[...] *igrw n-snd prr rhyt*

[...] the silent ones lest the plebs go forth.

In general, there are relatively few examples of preposition complements where the clause itself is negative. Most examples derive from final clauses after *r* and *n-mrwt* and make use of the negations *nfr.n* and *tm*.<sup>483</sup>

218 (Urk I 102, 9-16) Weni boasts of his skills as a military leader:

*ink wn iri n=sn shr st i3t(=i) m mr hnty-š pr 3 n mt n st(=i) r nfr.n dd w<sup>c</sup> im m sn-  
sw=f r nfr.n nhm w<sup>c</sup> im h3d tbtty m-<sup>c</sup> hr(y) w3t r nfr.n itt w<sup>c</sup> im d3iw m niwt nb r nfr.n  
itt w<sup>c</sup> im w<sup>c</sup>t nb m-<sup>c</sup> rmt nb*

It was me who used to take care of their organisation- even though my office was only that of an overseer of royal tenants- due to the exactitude of my disposition, so

<sup>482</sup> Gilula 1969; further examples are CT I 174f (*n-snd m33=f*); VI 143i; (*n-msdyt wnn=f*) VII 171g (*n-msdwt m33 N*).

<sup>483</sup> Also Urk I 106, 5 (*r nfr.n dd N*); 278, 9 (*r nfr.n lt[...]*); pBerlin 8869, 4 & 13 (*n-mrwt nfr.n irr N*). For *r tm=fmdw*, see example 7 above.

that not one of them would harm his fellow, so that not one of them would seize a loaf or sandals from a traveller, so that not one of them would steal a cloth from any town and so that not one of them would seize even a goat from any man.

219 (Nu pl. 84/BD 149) It is said of a gate to the underworld:

*iri.n=f st r imw-ht=f n-mrwt tm=sn ssnt t3w wpw-hr ntr pwy špsy*

He (god) made it against his followers so that they could not breathe air- except for this noble god (the deceased).

Besides final clauses, the bare *sdm=f*-forms are found after prepositions with various other irrealis meanings, such as *deontic* injunctions:

220 (Urk I 162, 11) Nika-ankh establishes rules for his heirs concerning the running of his cult:

*irr=sn hr c s3(=i) šmsw mi irr=sn n ht(=i) ds(=i)*

They are to act under the authority of my eldest son just as they are to act with respect my own religious service.<sup>484</sup>

221 (Siut 1, 316-17) Hapdjefa explains to officials what duties he expects from them and their successors:

*ntsn iri=sn n=i p3 t hnkt hn c wnn=tn m-s3 hnt(=i) nty m š=i hr šms=f h[ft wd3=f r pr  
inpw]*

It is them who will provide for me the said bread and beer, and you are to be after my statue, which is in my tomb-garden whenever it proceeds to the temple of Anubis.

Here the speakers distribute orders and lay directives on the conduct of their addressees. Rather less 'assertive' and forceful 'obligative' nuances are also found, but, as might be expected, the form used is non-geminating:<sup>485</sup>

<sup>484</sup> A similar example is Urk I 31, 3.

<sup>485</sup> Further examples with the spelling *m/ml iri* and where a similar semantic reading seems suitable are Leb 16; UC 14430, x+10; perhaps also Urk IV 752, 14 (*hr m3n N*). That the examples are not stereotyped 'frozen' expressions for 'as X does' is proved by the variant Urk IV 736, 4-5 'I built it for him as a temple *ml irr [s3 3h]* like a prudent son does.' A past reading in these instances is excluded. 'Obligatives' involve the crucial 'element of will' and are traditionally understood as deontic, but they also express value-judgements and could be characterised as a hybrid between deontic and epistemic, as well as having characteristics not associated with either of these modal categories; see Sweetser 1990, 56, 61, 63; Palmer 2000, 73-74 and *passim*; cf. also Myhill & Smith 1995, 255-57.



222 (Krakow MNK-XI-999, 10-11) Merer describes his care of the people of his district during a food-shortage:

*iw ḥtm.n(=i) 3ḥwt=sn i3wt=sn nbt m niwt m sḥt n rdi(=i) mḥ=sn n ky m iri nds ikr*

I sealed off all their fields and their mounds in town and in the countryside, and I did not allow their waters to inundate for someone else, as an astute individual should do.

The geminating *sḏm=f* is particularly common in preposition complements which describe background information assumed to be known and accepted by the audience. Once again, there are various degrees to which this may be the case. For example, in many ‘Appeals to the Living’ the oath which serves as a premise for the request for offerings begins with a geminating *sḏm=f* introduced by the preposition *m*, less often *mi*.<sup>486</sup>

223 (Turin 1534, 10)

*i ḥnw tp t3... m mrr=tn w3ḥ tp t3 ḏd=tn ḥ3 t ḥnkt*

O the living upon earth... as you desire to endure upon earth, say: ‘a thousand bread and beer...’

224 (UCLA n.3709, 3-5)

*i ḥnw tpw t3 sw3.t(y)=sn ḥr is pn mi mrr=tn dw3 ntr=tn ib=tn ndm ḏd=tn sw3=tn ḥ3 t ḥnkt*

O the living upon earth, who will pass by this tomb; even as you desire to praise your god with your heart(s) joyful, may you say when passing by: ‘a thousand bread and beer...’

The complement situations here are clearly *presupposed*: the speakers take it for granted that their audience is willing to ‘remain upon earth’, ‘praise their gods’ etc, and this state of affairs has no information value. The proposition is presented as unasserted by the speaker who assumes his audience to agree upon its content. A

<sup>486</sup> See 1.3.3 above. Alternatively, one may employ the geminating *sḏm=f* without a preposition and sometimes the two appear as variants in the same inscription (e.g. BM 1213, vertical 6). Whatever meaning-differences (if any) there might have been between these alternatives, they do not affect the non-asserted status of the proposition. Further examples of *m* + geminating *sḏm=f* are e.g. BM 152, 4; 579, 4; 584, 4; CCG 20040, 17; 20536, 4-5; 20538Id, 2; 20538IIc, 24; 20683, 2-3; Heqaib 52e, 3; 67, 6; 88, 2; Leiden L.XI.8, 7; *Lesestücke* 69, 8; 70, 6-7; Turin 1447, 12; Tübingen University 458, 8-9; UCLA n.97, 1; further examples of *mi* + geminating *sḏm=f* are Urk I 268, 13 and *Denderah* pl. 2a, left, 3.



plausible alternative translation for examples of this sort would be a concessive ‘given that you want...’<sup>487</sup> The sense is perhaps best discernible in the following famous passage:

225 (Peas B1 109-10) The king tells the high steward what to do with the peasant:

*dd.in hm=f m mrr=k<sup>488</sup> m3=i snb.kw swdf=k sw ʿ3 nn wšb r ddt=f nbt*

Then his majesty said: ‘as you desire to see me healthy, retain him here, without answering to whatever he might say.’

The king promptly assumes his henchman’s utmost desire to be the well-being of his lord, and rather than informing him of this self-evident matter with zero ‘news value’, he treats it as a mere starting-point for his actual message.

Here should be mentioned the variants of ‘Appeal to the Living’ where instead of the geminating form, a non-geminating *sdm=f* appears after *m/mi*; e.g.:<sup>489</sup>

226 (Heqaib 61f, 3-5)

*i ʿnhw imw 3bw m mr=tn m33 r-pʿ hk3-ib dw3t nt hb skr dd=tn h3 t hnkt*

O the living who are on Elephantine; as you will desire to see the noble Hekaib the morning of the festival of Sokar, may you say: ‘a thousand bread and beer...’

227 (Florence 2571, 3-6)

*i ʿnhw tp t3 sw3.t(y)=sn hr mʿhʿt tn m mr=tn grg hwt-ntr tn n wsir hnty-imntw nb 3bdw dd=tn h3 m t hnkt*

O the living upon earth who may pass by this cenotaph; as you will desire this temple of Osiris Khentyamenty, Lord of Abydos, to be well-founded, may you say: ‘a thousand bread and beer...’

<sup>487</sup> Cf. GEG §444.2.

<sup>488</sup> In the R variant a bare *mrr=k* appears instead.

<sup>489</sup> Further examples with *m* are CCG 20119, c3-4; 20341, 9; 20458, right vert. 2; 20516, 6; 20540, 2; 20606, 3; 20609, 2; 20748, bottom 5; Koptos pl.2, 2, x+6; Heqaib 20, 2; 48f; 49d; 61f, 4; Berlin 1188A, 3; Kumma 400, 1; 484, 3; Urk VII 1, 13; BM 805, 4-5; Pushkin Mus. I1b32/UC 14326, x+6; Louvre C181, 1; Oxford Queen’s College 1113, bottom 4; Turin 1541, 3-4. The variant with *mi* is rare, but e.g. *ASAE* 55, 240 may be cited. The geminating and non-geminating versions alternate occasionally after *m* in the same inscription (e.g. CCG 20683, 2-4; Louvre 196, 2-3). Like the geminating *sdm=f*, bare non-geminating forms appear commonly, sometimes in the same text with *m* (e.g. *Lesestücke* 80, 4-5).

There has been uncertainty of how variants of this sort should be analysed and translated.<sup>490</sup> They appear to be instances where the speaker, rather than expressing himself generally, opts to maintain his own current 'deictic centre' and position in time. This is different from that of his audience which from the speaker's perspective will at some future point come to recite the inscription, and whom he addresses in a way appropriate with this respect- i.e. future 'as you will desire' in 'your' present.<sup>491</sup> The proposition still only provides the background for the subsequent primary contribution, but does not presuppose the situation as actual. Instead, in these examples the latter is signalled as only epistemically probable- somewhat akin to English 'assuming you will desire...' which has a semi-conditional overtone- and refers to a 'possibly true' rather than a 'true' situation.<sup>492</sup> Examples of the above kind represent the most apparent class of presupposed preposition complements, although concessive or contextually presupposed preposition complements occur also elsewhere:

228 (Admonitions 12, 12) Having described the prevailing chaos, the sage questions his addressee:

*ir m irr=f st m phti=n n-m [ʔ]k=f r=s m msdd=k*

But as he does it by attacking us, who will stand against it if/since you refuse?<sup>493</sup>

229 (Mo<sup>c</sup>alla Ia2) Ankhtify reflects upon his mission to Edfu:

*tw in.n w(i) hr r wtst-hr n ʔws r grg=s iri.n(=i) hr wn hr hr mrt grg=s hr in=f w(i)  
r=s r grg=s*

Horus brought me to Edfu through l.h.p. to establish it, which I did. Horus must have wanted to establish it because he brought me there to establish it.

<sup>490</sup> The latest hypothesis is by Allen (2000, 364) whose semantic (if not syntactic) analysis of these construals is essentially that presented here.

<sup>491</sup> I.e. 'as you will desire to see N' addresses people 'who will desire' something in the speaker's future, not their own. This sort of a phrasing makes sense only from the speaker's standpoint.

<sup>492</sup> Cf. this use of the non-geminating *sdm=f* with its employment in subject complement clauses with the sense 'it is good if you should...' and in certain examples after *mr(i)* (2.2 and 1.3.3 above). The difference between (m) *mrr=tn* and *mr=tn* is thus not merely that of time- futurity is already 'included', as it were, in the former: the general 'in that you desire' pertains to all thinkable situations.

<sup>493</sup> The reference is to 'The Universal Lord' and that he 'does' something is quite obvious, seeing that what this denotes was just described in detail. Parkinson's (1997, 186) translation with 'if' does not capture the sense.



In 229 the use of a non-geminating form for a *past* situation lacking discourse-relevance is particularly noteworthy and might be compared with its employment for similar *future* situations.<sup>494</sup> To the same ‘background’-class one may also count instances where, exactly as after verbs of cognition and perception and in subject clauses of adjective verbs, the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* refers to the degree, quality and character of the situation described rather than its occurrence and ‘reality’ *an sich*.<sup>495</sup> As has been noted by various authors,<sup>496</sup> this distinctive nuance of the form is particularly commonplace after ‘correlative’ prepositions such as *n-ʕ3t-n(t)* ‘through the extent of/how much’,<sup>497</sup> and *n-mnh-n* ‘through the efficiency of’, both of which refer directly to the quality and degree of the complement situation and whose complements are invariably the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*:<sup>498</sup>

230 (El-Bersheh II pl. 7) One of the laudatory epithets of Djehutinakht:

*nḥn n=f niwt=f w3ḥ n-ʕ3t-n mrr=s sw*

One to whom his city prays long life, through how much it loves him

231 (Berlin 22820, 6-8) Kay says his skills in police-work were rewarded:

*rdl.n wi nb=i m s3=sn m rwd=f n ʕk-ib n-mnh-n irr=i wpt n nb=i*

My lord appointed me as their protection and his trusted administrator through the efficiency of how I carried out business for my lord.

The same sense is also found after other prepositions and is particularly obvious with state- and adjective verbs:

232 (Urk IV 943, 4-5) Yamu-Nedjeh sings praise to the sun-god:

*i.nd ḥr=k nn gnn ḥḥ n sp n wnw twt n=k i3w mi wrr=k*

<sup>494</sup> Cf. 1.2.2.2 above and 4.3 below for further discussion of this example.

<sup>495</sup> See 1.2.2.2 and 2.2 above for discussion.

<sup>496</sup> Polotsky 1984, 119; Borghouts 1985, 35; cf. also De Cenival 1972, 45.

<sup>497</sup> I.e. not simply ‘inasmuch as’; cf. EAG §777; Reintges 1997, 377-78.

<sup>498</sup> The rare counterexamples after *n-ʕ3t-n* (e.g. Sinai 196, 14; 200, x+9; Urk IV 1686, 19, all *mr=f*) are late and apparently erroneous; e.g. Sinai 200 has correctly *mrr=f* immediately before (x+1). Further examples of *n-ʕ3t-n mrr=f* (all with this verb) Pushkin Museum I.1a1137, 5-6; BM 614, 12; 1164, 3; 1367, 12-13; Hatnub 11, 4; Hammamat 113, 15; 114, 16; Neferhetep Stela, 40; White Chapel 64; RB 68, 12; 69, 6; El-Bersheh II, pl. 21; MMA 35.7.55, 14-15; Red Chapel 460, 5; Urk IV 28, 14; 43, 15; 100, 3; 141, 7; 170, 14; 312, 15; 322, 12; 554, 5; 590, 16; 843, 14; 849, 14; 852, 16; 859, 4; 868, 4; 889, 5; 1708, 10. Also with the verb *ḥss=f*: Urk I 139, 10; 216, 5; UC 14333, 6; *Lesestücke* 74, 20-21 (spelled *m-ʕ3t-n*); Hatnub 28, 5. There are no further examples of mutable verbs after *n-mnh-n*.



Hail to you, one with no weakness for millions of hours. Adoration befits you according to how great you are.

233 (CT II 156b) The deceased addresses a divinity:

*i šp tp=f imy 6 k3=k hft k33=i ts=phr*

O Blind-of-Face among the six; be exalted as (i.e. in proportion to how) I am exalted- and *vice versa*.<sup>499</sup>

234 (pBerlin 9010, 3) A note concerning the legal treatment of two children:

*iri ʿ3 r ʿ33=f šr r šrr=f*

The older was treated according to how old, and the younger according to how young he was.<sup>500</sup>

235 (84 above) (Smith 21, 17-18) Instruction concerning the use of certain ingredients in preparing a potion:

*pfs hr kd r mnḥ rh=k pfss=sn hr ʿhh mw iry hr šww=sn*

Boil completely and thoroughly. You can tell how cooked they are on the basis of how water evaporates and how dry they are.<sup>501</sup>

The geminating *sdm=f* is also used after the preposition *m* to describe states of affairs which are viewed as hypothetical, but with a hefty dose of ‘probability’ in the circumstances described, as in the following example where the situation is likely to have held, although this is not explicitly said.<sup>502</sup>

236 (Urk IV 969, 2-3) Intef characterises himself:

*rdi iri hnn-ib tp-rd hpw mtw m msdd ib=f*

<sup>499</sup> With *hft*, see also Ptahh 76 (*hss=f*, pPrisse); Rifeh VII, 31 (*mrr=f*); Urk IV 272, 10 (*irr=i*).

<sup>500</sup> Also the expressions *r mrr=f* ‘just as he pleases’ (e.g. CT I 265g; CT II 29b; 47f; 254v; CT III 263e; CT V 123b; 349b; CT VI 73a; 290f; 334o; 344d; CT VII 3p; Hammamat 114, 8; Peas B1 157-58; Tomb of Amenemhat pl. 30C; Urk IV 65, 3, 8; 520 1 (erroneously l. 10, *r mr=k*); 617, 9; 1064, 6; 1236, 1; 1298, 9/10; 1517, 5/6; 1662, 11; 1744, 5; 1849, 13; 1889, 4; Amrah pl.33, 4-5; Nu pl. 8/BD 17; pl. 48/BD 134; pl. 70/BD 126. In Sin B236 *m mrr=f* has the same sense) is most ubiquitous; its contrary *r msdd=f* (Urk IV 758, 9) is much less so. Frequent is also the synonymous expressions *r dd ib=k* (e.g. Five Th. T. pl. 19, 4; Tomb of Amenemhat pl. 30F; Urk IV 1014, 16) and *hft dd ib=k* (e.g. Urk IV 116, 17; 499, 6; 1221, 7) ‘according as your heart directs’.

<sup>501</sup> See further the very similar Smith 22, 4 (*pr N*) and UC 32036, 14 (*tw N*). The expression *hr knn=i* ‘because I was so brave’ = ‘because of how brave I was’ (e.g. Urk IV 3, 4; 892, 12; 1371, 16; Berlin 19286, left 11) is a set phrase in the bellicose ‘autobiographies’ of the early New Kingdom.

<sup>502</sup> So also Berlin Bowl 2; Admonitions 12, 12 (ex. 228); Ebers 70, 24 and possibly UC 32213, vs. 17.

One who made the troublemaker obey the injunctions of laws and regulations even in case/also if he was unwilling.

In contrast, gemination is absent when the hypothetical situation is of speculative character:

237 (Sh.S. 47-50) The sailor describes what he found on the island:

*gm.n=i db3w i3rrt im i3kt nbt špst k3w im hn<sup>c</sup> nkwt šspt mi iri.t(w)=s*

I found figs and grapes there, and all fine vegetables; there were sycamore figs-ripened ones as well- and cucumbers like it had been (ready-) made.<sup>503</sup>

Here the complement state of affairs is presented as completely un-verifiable and -knowable to the speaker, and only as a 'distant possibility' (note the idiom). However, it is not imaginary or counterfactual, but the non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* may also describe counterfactual situations after prepositions. This usage has gone unnoticed in spite of counterfactual being the only semantic area to which the term *irrealis* has been applied in Egyptology.<sup>504</sup> The reason for this lies presumably the restricted nature of the example basis. In preposition complements, counterfactual sense is attested for certain only after *mi* in 'simulative' contexts:<sup>505</sup>

238 (Urk IV 372, 13-14) Queen Hatshepsut says of the tribute destined for her:

*inn.tw n=i <sup>c</sup>ntyw nw pwnt mi hn šsw*

The incense of Punt is brought to me as if grain was flowing.

239 (Carnavon tablet, right, 14-15) King Kamose narrates the overthrow of a traitor:

*h<sub>d</sub>.n t3 tw=i hr=f mi wn bik h<sub>pr</sub>.n nw n sty-r s3s3=i sw hb.n=i sbty=f sm3=i rmt=f di=i h3 hmt=f r mryt mš<sup>c</sup>=i mi wn m3iw hr h3kt=sn*

When morning broke, I set upon him as if it were a falcon. When supper-time came, I was already overthrowing him: I demolished his wall; slaying his people and making

<sup>503</sup> So also Simpson in Simpson *et al* 1973, 52 ('as if they were cultivated'); Junge 1978, 90; Parkinson 1997, 93.

<sup>504</sup> See 0.1.2 above.

<sup>505</sup> See Chafe 1995, 357 who discusses the use of *irrealis* for 'simulative' counterfactuals in Caddo; further (relatively) certain examples are Urk IV 340, 1; 809, 10 (both *iri* N).



his wife go down to the riverbank- and my army (acted) as if lions were carrying their prey.<sup>506</sup>

Cross-linguistically, counterfactual is the meaning most widely associated with the formal categories of subjunctive and irrealis.<sup>507</sup> Yet, the term *counterfactual* is, in fact, an unfortunate one, seeing that 'factuality' in an ontological sense is not the primary issue with such propositions, but the lowest degree of speaker commitment and 'greatest degree of *remoteness* from reality' as this is understood by the speaker.<sup>508</sup> Against this, the use of the distal irrealis non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* in counterfactual preposition complements is quite expected. Counterfactual situations are *known* not to obtain, and this total non-commitment is obvious from the fact that ultimately such instantiations are not envisaged to be located anywhere in time. Counterfactuals represent states of affairs conjured up as an 'antithesis' to 'reality' and represent the apogee of irrealis and non-commitment on the scale between assertion and non-assertion.

#### 4.3 'Indicative non-indicatives?' The overall system of preposition complement modality

Irrealis sense preposition complement clauses with the bare geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* are common in Earlier Egyptian, and the examples above display the same division between subjectively more distal and proximal irrealis as found after verbs. They are also negated by *nfr.n* and *tm*, which in complement clauses after verbs is a sign of irrealis and non-assertion. However, the rest of the data of the bare *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*-forms as complements of prepositions at first sight seems to contradict the hypothesis of such clauses as non-assertive and modally irrealis. In numerous instances they appear to express no attitudinal nuance or mitigated communicative value of the proposition. The geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* often describes situations apparently with a simple generic or habitual time-reference:<sup>509</sup>

<sup>506</sup> Gardiner 1916, 107 and Smith & Smith 1976, 60 have 'as it/if I were a hawk' but 'like/as lions'. Kamose Stela, x+6 & x+7 have a very similar expression, but the spelling is, inexplicably, *wnn*.

<sup>507</sup> See 0.1.2 above.

<sup>508</sup> D. James 1982, 376, italics by SU; cf. also Givón 1982, 160n.24; Roberts 1990, 393-95.

<sup>509</sup> The same holds also for the long form of doubling roots such as *m33*. As for prepositions other than those exemplified below, for *n* see Urk I 84, 1 (*mrr* N, followed by *n wn* N in 3); 204, 10; CT VII 177e (*wpp=f*); Roumiantsev Museum 18 17/III 78, 6 (*mrr=f*); Urk IV 1673, 14 (*h<sup>cc</sup>=k*). For *r-s3*, see CT IV



240 (CT V 174c-d) The deceased says to the yon ferryman:

*in n=i mhnt tw m iww=i*

Bring me this ferry-boat when(ever) I call.<sup>510</sup>

241 (CT V 11d) The deceased is served as a god:

*s<sup>c</sup>r.t(w) n=f r-tnw ibb=f*

(Something) is lifted up for him every time he thirsts.<sup>511</sup>

242 (CT V 322i-j) The deceased defies a malicious spirit:

*n htm=k r=i hr hk 3w imy ht=i mi irr=k r 3hw hr hk3w imy ht=sn*

You will not shut up my mouth for the sake of the magic in my belly as you are wont to do to spirits for the sake of the magic in their bellies.<sup>512</sup>

243 (Urk I 26, 14-15) In the statutes of his funerary cult, Nika-anekh says:

*in igr msw(=i) ipn w<sup>c</sup>b n hwt-hr nbt r-int mi irr(=i) ds(=i)*

It is these my children who perform priestly service for Hathor, mistress of Ra-inet, like I used to do myself.

244 (Meketra 12, r4-5) The writer salutes his addressee in the name of all divinities:

*iri=sn n=k rnpt hh m <sup>c</sup>ws mi mrr b3k im*

May they provide you with a million years in l.h.p., according as this servant wishes.<sup>513</sup>

245 (Siut I, 297) Hapdjefa instructs priests on how to deal with certain tapers:

326j (*prf=f*) and Urk IV 1112, 4 (*irr=f*, variant *irt=f*). For *hr*, see pBerlin 8869, 6 (*m33 N*); Hatnub 22, 15 (*prf=l*). A possible instance of *hn<sup>c</sup> 333=sn* is Urk I 19, 3.

<sup>510</sup> Further examples after *m*: Berlin 9571C, 2 (*h<sup>c</sup>=k*); CCG 20057d, 2 (*tw=f*); MMA 57.95, 5 (*dd N*, *h33 N*); Urk IV 702, 1 (*tw=f*); 1159, 10-11 (*tw=f*, followed by *m 3m=f*); also after 'm of predication': Semnah desp. 2, 8; 3, 7; 4, 6 (all *m dd N*); Urk IV 363, 10; 389, 3; 439, 1 (all *irr=l=f*); 1807, 21 (*dd=k*); Nu pl. 36 & 60/BD 64 (*dd N*).

<sup>511</sup> A further example after *r-tnw(-sp)* is UC 32213, vs.1-2 (*gmm N*). Urk I 215, 14 has *tw(=i)* and Urk IV 1805, 8 *tnwt h<sup>c</sup>=k*.

<sup>512</sup> Similar examples after *mt*: CT IV 398b (*sbb N*); UC 32157 h/v right 7 (*irr N*); Sin R65 (*m33 N*); Sin B225 (*m33 N*); Leb 137 (*tw N*); Leb 141 (*3bb S*); Peas B1 273 (*tw N*); Admonitions 2, 8 (*irr N*); Urk IV 362, 16 (*h<sup>c</sup>=f*); 437, 17 (*wnn N*); 687, 13 (*hdd N*); 736, 5 (*irr N*); 1653, 14 (*h<sup>c</sup> N*); 1673, 6 (*wnn=sn*); 1919, 12 (*wnn=f*, followed by *ml wn=f* on line 13); Nu pl. 12/BD 1 (*m33=tn*); pl. 20/BD 72 (*wnn=f*); pl. 33/BD 57 (*sbb=sn*); pl. 38/BD 3 (*h<sup>c</sup>=sn*). See also n.524 below.

<sup>513</sup> Examples of the phrase *mi mrr b3k im* abound in Middle Kingdom letters.

*dd.t(w) w<sup>c</sup>t im n hm=k3=i hft prr.t(w) hr stt tk3 im=s n ntr m hrw 5 hr rnpt grh n wpt-rnpt*

One is to be given to my ka-priest when one goes lighting the lamp for the god with it on the five epagomenal days and the night of the New Year's Eve.<sup>514</sup>

246 (*Lesestücke* 99, 1-2) An inundation-record:

*r n h<sup>c</sup>p(y) n rnpt 3 hr hm n nsw-bity shm-t3wy-r<sup>c</sup> di <sup>c</sup>nh hft wnn sd3wty-bity mr-mš<sup>c</sup> rn=i-snb hr ts mnw hrp-h<sup>c</sup>-k3w-r<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

The extent of the inundation of year 3 under the majesty of the 'dual king Sekhemtawya, given life, when the royal seal-bearer and general Reniseneb was commanding the fortress (named) 'Khakaura-True-of-Voice-is-the-Leader'

247 (MMA 13.182.3, vertical 4-5) King Intef II sings praise to Hathor:

*ht(=i) dd=s spty(=i) whm=sny ihy w<sup>c</sup>b n hwt-hr ihy hhw ir(y) dr mrr=t ihy*

My body says, my lips repeat: priestly music for Hathor; music a million times, since you love music!<sup>515</sup>

Of the non-geminating/-doubling *sdm=f*-forms, examples with *past* reference are widely attested:<sup>516</sup>

248 (Kom el-Koffar A, 9) Idi says he took revenge against his dead father's enemies:

*m3.n(=i) nb sf3 sw srh n=f nb im=sn m wn=f<sup>517</sup> m pr=f iw shr.n(=i) sn mi-kd=sn*

<sup>514</sup> See also CT VI 269k (*irr=i*); UC 32197, 2.2 (*tw=k*); Nu pl. 61/BD 64 (*m33=f*); Urk IV 1412, 7 (*irr=i*); 1919, 9 (*h<sup>c</sup>=f*); 1947, 2 (*h<sup>c</sup>=f*); Urk IV 1023, 5 and 1158, 17 have *ty=f*, 1597, 17 has *tw=sn*.

<sup>515</sup> Further similar examples after *dr*: Urk I 119, 11 (*m33=tn*); 218, 2 (*wnn S*); 233, 17 (*wnn=sn*); CT III 158a (*m33=sn/m dr m33=sn*); Smith 2, 22-23 (*ngg N*); 2, 6; 3, 7; 4, 10 (all *tr dr gmm=k*; see Anthes 1969, 12-13). CT VII 429d has *tw=k*.

<sup>516</sup> Besides prepositions exemplified below, for *n*, see Urk I 84, 3 (*wn N*); 272, 12 (*mr N*); Kamose stela x+15 (*šw=s*); Urk IV 1592, 7 (*h<sup>c</sup>=f*); for *hr*, see Urk IV 1754, 8 (*iri=k*). The preposition *r* with a comparative sense 'more (etc) than... is/was' may also be followed by the geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*; see 319-20 and n.614 & 615 below for examples; also in the sense 'until', instead of the *sdmt=f*-form, Florence 6365, 7 and Turin 1774, 6-7 have *r tw N*.

<sup>517</sup> The transcript of the publication omits the *n* in *wn*, clearly visible in the photograph of the original. Further similar examples after *m* are CCG 20539, 2. side, 9 (*h<sup>c</sup>=f*); Cairo Linen, 2 (*wn(=i)*); Kaw Bowl inside 2 (*tn=k*); outside 2 (*tn N*); CT II 39e (*wn=f*); 344/45b (*m wn=f/wnn=f*); CT IV 236/37b (*lt N*, variants either *ltt N*, *m-ht ltt N*, *m-ht lt N* or *m-ht lt.n N*); 242/43a (*nšn=s*; variants *m-ht nšn=s* or *m-ht h3=f*); CT VII 382c (*tn=sn*; variants *int=sn* or bare *tn*); 487c (*nšn N*); Louvre C14, 9 (*pr=f*); Berlin 1204, 5 (*iri=k*); Tomb of Amenemhat pl. 39, middle band (*wn=f*); Urk IV 432, 16 (*pr=f*); 897, 13 (*wn=k*); 1281, 8 (*wn=f*); 1409, 3 (*wn=f*); Hermann 1940, 31\* 14 (*pr=f*); 47\*, 10 (*h<sup>c</sup>=f*); Nu pl. 4/BD 17 (*wd=f, wn=s*); pl. 39/BD 78 (*wn=sn*). The dedication formula *m iri N* also appears to contain a past non-geminating *sdm=f* after 'm of predication'. See GEG §§162n.10; 454, 4 for examples.



Anyone I saw who had hated him or laid accusations against him among them when he was in his house- I overthrew them all.

249 (Sin B 68-69) Sinuhe extols the virtues of Senwosret I:

*iw=f m nsw it.n=f m swht iw hr=f r=s dr ms.tw=f*

He is a king who seized already in the egg. He has been intent on it ever since he was born.<sup>518</sup>

250 (Sh.S. 179-81) The sailor tells the captain to take heed of his words:

*m3 wi r-s3 s3h=i t3 r-s3 m3=i dpt.n=i*

See me now after I reached land, after I reflected upon what I experienced.<sup>519</sup>

251 (Edfu stela of Khonsuemwase, 3-4) Khonsuemwase pays homage to the king:

*dw3=i n hm=f(n) ntt [hm]=f mn h<sup>c</sup>w mi k3-mwt=f mi hs=f wi m t3t[=i] [ntt w]i im=s*

Thus I thank his majesty, because his majesty is enduring and appeared in glory like Kamutef, as he favoured me with my office in which I am.<sup>520</sup>

252 (UC 32055, x+14) The writer seeks support to his appeal for the office of his dead father by citing the latter:

*iw grt dd.n n=i p3[y]=i it hft wn=f mr*

Moreover, my father said to me when he was ill... (a quote follows).<sup>521</sup>

It is to be noted that also these examples differ in whether or not the clauses describe well-delineated situations envisaged as occurring at some particular time or place, i.e. whether they occupy a definite locus in 'reality'. Some languages mark such distinctions modally; for example, in Spanish the opposing ends of this 'definiteness'-spectrum are differentiated in temporal 'when'-clauses:<sup>522</sup>

<sup>518</sup> Further examples after *dr*: Hassan: Giza II, fig. 219 (*wd(=i)*); CT II, 2c (*β=i*); CT VI 347f (*wd=tn*); Louvre C202 (*pr=f*); Urk IV 157, 7 (*wn N*); 390, 7 (*wn N*); Nu pl. 16/BD 93 (*trl.tw*). See also Anthes 1969, 11 and Zonhoven 1996, 620n.25.

<sup>519</sup> Further examples after *r-s3*: Hatnub 8, 3 (*pr(=i)*); Siut I, 298 (*iri=f*); Merikara C IV, 5 (*trl.tw=∅*).

<sup>520</sup> Further examples: Ptahh 593 (*iri=f*); Kamose Stela x+34 (*di=f*; the sign D36 serves as a 'determinative' to D37 and the word is not *dd*, but simply *di*); BM 65340, 7 (*di=k*); Urk IV 547, 10 (*wn=i*); 1073, 8 (*wn N*); 1246, 12 (*wn N*); 1495, 1 (*trl N*); 1675, 18 (*wn=i*); 1676, 15 (*pr=n*); 1729, 13 (*mr=f*); 1814, 16 (*wn=k*); 1919, 13 (*wn=f*); 1926, 15 (*hs=sn*); Helck 1975, no. 130 (*trl N*); Nu pl. 12/BD 1 (*hms=tn*).

<sup>521</sup> A further example is Urk IV 1216, 6 (*h<sup>c</sup>=f*).

<sup>522</sup> Givón 2001 vol.1, 324.



- (50) Me saludará cuando llega (IND)/llegue (SUB)  
 ‘She’ll greet me when/whenever she arrives’

For example, the bare geminating *sḏm=f* complements in examples 240-41 are semantically very similar to the subjunctive instance in (50) by not referring to any particular occurrence or even series of occurrences located in linear time. However, unlike Spanish, Earlier Egyptian does not indicate such fine-grained distinctions formally; e.g. in 245 the speaker clearly has very definite occasions in his mind, but the grammar remains the same as in 240-41. The same holds also for the past 246 which describes one continuous stretch of time in verifiable ‘history’. As for the past uses of the non-geminating *sḏm=f*, unlike other such examples of this form encountered thus far, in 248-52 the past situations described do not seem to display the hallmark properties of irrealis but viewed simply in retrospect and portrayed as unambiguously completed, both of which are properties most commonly associated with modal *realis*.<sup>523</sup> Also regarding discourse-pragmatic relevance, e.g. the situation *wrr=k* after *mi* in 232 appears to carry a lower information- and assertion value in the particular context than *mrr b3k im* in 244, but the degree to which individual instances differ in this respect is difficult to assess,<sup>524</sup> and, in any case, grammatically they are treated uniformly. Also the few negative examples after prepositions outside final clause-introducing *r* or *n-mrwt* seem lacking in discernible traits of non-assertion:<sup>525</sup>

253 (CT VII 438c-d) It is said of the yon gatekeeper ‘He-who-lives-on-maggots’ and the unfortunate dead:

*ir ḥpr m fntw wnm. ḥr=f st ḏr tm=f rḥ r n sw3 ḥr=f*

As for him who ends up amidst maggots, he has to eat them since he does not know the spell for passing over him (i.e. the gatekeeper).

Such suspiciously ‘indicative’ preposition complements could be argued to involve different forms from the clearly non-indicative ones. This *ad hoc* solution is obviously excluded in case of the geminating *sḏm=f* and the negation *tm*, but has

<sup>523</sup> Givón 1994, 270. For the issue of ‘completion’, see 6 below.

<sup>524</sup> As can be verified by comparing e.g. the expression *mi mrr b3k im* against other instances of *mi + mrr=f/N* (e.g. Hassan Giza II, fig 219; Urk VII 4, 8; White Chapel 182; Urk IV 253, 9; 278, 10; 280, 1; 290, 13; 304, 4; 377, 9; 561, 17; 567, 17; 571, 8, 12; 579, 1; 1560, 2; 1861, 13; 1909, 13; Red Chapel 81 south; 92; 301; 327; 349; 352; 355; 448; 490; 493; 601; 715).

<sup>525</sup> The only other example is Urk IV 150, 2 (*n tm=f msbb*).



actually been applied to the past non-geminating *sdm=f*-complements- although not owing to their modal, but temporal characteristics. As seen, the *opinio communis* is that the non-geminating *sdm=f* in complementation represents one or several 'prospective' forms,<sup>526</sup> but the past examples after prepositions naturally posit a problem for this analysis. Consequently, mention of the latter has either been omitted altogether,<sup>527</sup> or they have been argued to involve some other form. For Vernus this is the 'not necessarily' future 'prospective (*sic!*) *sdmw=f*', instead of the 'prospective *sdm=f*,<sup>528</sup> for Schenkel the Old Egyptian 'past indicative *sdm=f*'.<sup>529</sup> However, these assumptions are not supported by diachronic or morpho-syntactic evidence.<sup>530</sup> Loprieno's proposal that in the past the 'gewöhnliche' *sdm=f* is used as a counterpart to the 'prospective *sdmw=f* fares rather better and correctly predicts the virtual non-appearance of past examples with forms showing the ending *-w*, but still entails the assumption that in past preposition complements the form employed is different from the one(s) used for future.<sup>531</sup> However, inasmuch as the writing of the *sdm=f* in the past examples such as 248-52 above is the same as in all other *-w*- and *y*-less non-geminating examples after prepositions, it seems clear that one is dealing with a single form in all these instances. This apparent semantic diversity of preposition complements has led to doubts as to whether the organisation of these constructions is based on any 'meaningful' principle. For example, in his study of Middle Egyptian

<sup>526</sup> See 0.2.

<sup>527</sup> E.g. Doret (1986, 41) subsumes the use of his 'subjunctive' after prepositions under the generalisation of it as 'used for actions in the future relative to the time of the main clause' (39). But when discussing the geminating *sdm=f* in the same syntactic position, the author labels *wn* in Urk I, 84, 3 a 'subjunctive' and translates it past 'with apparently no difference in meaning' to the geminating *sdm=f* (51). This contradiction is nowhere explained.

<sup>528</sup> Vernus 1990, 30-31.

<sup>529</sup> Schenkel 1987, 161; cf. also 1980, 90.

<sup>530</sup> There are hardly any past preposition complements with the ending *-w* to support Vernus's claim, (see n.531) whereas examples displaying the morphology of his 'prospective *sdm=f*' (Allen's 'subjunctive') such as *wn* and *m3* for *wnn* and *m33* are rife. Allen states the PT evidence for the *sdmw=f* after prepositions to be inconclusive (1984, §251). Moreover, for Vernus the use of '*sdmw=f*' for 'less subjective' preposition complements, including past, echoes its alleged role as an 'indicative future' in PT Old Egyptian (cf. Allen 1982, 22; 1984, §325) which begs the question how the 'less subjective' past meaning could be derived from an earlier *future* value of the form. As for Schenkel's 'indicative *sdm=f*', this form disappeared after the Old Kingdom (save for the bound negative *n sdm=f*) and was even then used only of transitive verbs in initial main clauses and with nominal subjects, (Doret 1986, 24-27) none of which holds for preposition complements. The use of the 'indicative *sdm=f*' in Classical Egyptian in general and/or preposition complements in particular is explicitly denied by Kammerzell (1988). Schenkel argues that the '*sdmw=f*' is used after prepositions when an 'eventuality' is referred to, whereas when a 'fact' is in question, the complement pattern is 'perfective' (= 'indicative'? cf. Satzinger 1989, 212n.52) *sdm=f* (1992, 379). However, he also assumes the presence of Allen's 'subjunctive' herein, without indicating what exactly the distribution of all these forms is.

<sup>531</sup> Loprieno 1986a, 53, 53n.86; see also 6 below. Only CT VII 308c (*dr trw=k*) can be quoted; in post-classical sources, Urk IV 1279, 18 has *hft t3y=f* in possibly past context; Urk IV 1675, 8 has *m pry=l* with a clearly past sense.



modality Vernus speaks of the ‘objective dependency’ of syntactic subordination as the most salient facet in the grammar of preposition complements in general and has nothing to say about modality and the geminating *sḏm=f* in this syntactic position.<sup>532</sup> Kammerzell suggests that there may be no particular ‘system’ behind the use of the different *sḏm=f*-forms after prepositions at all, and Junge dismisses this possibility altogether.<sup>533</sup>

However, rather than representing a chaotic non-system in which forms are cast higgledy-piggledy into a ‘nominal’ slot in the structure, the grammar of preposition complement clauses is indeed organised in a principled manner and, furthermore, is based on the differentiation between realis and irrealis modality. The most obvious feature suggesting this is the identical *formal* organisation of preposition- and verb-complements. As seen, instead of the bare geminating or non-geminating *sḏm=f*, the complementisers *ntt/wnt* may be used to introduce the complement clause after a definable class of verbs. The same elements appear also after certain prepositions; the attested combinations are illustrated below:<sup>534</sup>

254 (Siut I 288-89) Hapdjefa instructs those in charge of carrying out his will:

*mṯn pḥr n3 n hrw n ḵnbt nbt nt ḥwt-nṯr ḥpr.t(y)=s(y) m-ᶜ ntt ntsn iri=sn n=i p3 t ḥnḵt*

Pass on these (temple-) days to every temple-council that there shall be, because it is them who shall provide me this bread and beer.

255 (Siut I 301) As above:

*pḥr grt n3 n hrw 3 nw ḥwt-nṯr n šndty nb ḥpr.t(y)=f(y) ḥr ntt prr n=f n3 n gmḥwt rdi.n=k n=i ḥr nn n hrw n ḥwt-nṯr rdi.n(=i) n=k*

Pass on these three temple-days to any future wardrobe-keeper, because these tapers which you have given to me for these temple-days I gave to you revert to him.

<sup>532</sup> Vernus 1990, 19 and the diagram therein, column 1; yet, e.g. the deontic nuances of the geminating form in initial environments are duly noted (*ibid* 42-43).

<sup>533</sup> Kammerzell 1988, 51; Junge 1978a, 102-04, 109; see 0.1.1 above.

<sup>534</sup> *wnt* is attested only once after a preposition (CT I 141e). *n ntt* occurs initially as *in ntt* (e.g. UC 32203, 6; 32205, 11). Examples of most of the combinations abound in all texts, but *m-ᶜ ntt* is rarely attested (e.g. Meir I pl.5; UC 32197, 2.9; Ebers 100, 21; Smith 5, 22-6, 1) and of *ml ntt* there is only one further example besides 256 (pBerlin 9010, 5, with the particle *is*; see 5.2 below).



256 (pBerlin 8869, 9-11) The author tries to manoeuvre his addressee into supporting his case against an adversary:

*sb3kk.n swt sš=k n sn=k im m wsht nt hr mi ntt wnn is sš=k sn=k im m ht w<sup>c</sup>t nfr.n w3h h3ty-<sup>c</sup> pn <sup>c</sup>w3 iri.n=f r t3*

But your excellence's having cleared yours truly in the Court of Horus is like our being (now) in total agreement, lest this town-governor brush aside the crime he has committed.

257 (Sin B75-76) Having endured Sinuhe's eulogies of Senwosret I, Ammunenshi says:

*hr hm kmt nfr.t(i) (n) ntt s(y) rh.t(i) rwd=f*

Then Egypt must be happy, because it knows how flourishing he is.

258 (UC 32037, r3-5) Mery bequeaths his office in his will:

*iw=i hr rdit p3y=i mty-n-s3 n s3=i mry s3 intf ddw n=f iw-snb r mdw-i3w hft ntt wi tn.kw*

I am (hereby) giving my (office of) controller of the watch to my son Mery's son Intef called Iw-seneb as a 'staff of old age', in view that I have become old.

259 (UC 32199, 1-2) Neni begins his letter with the standard formula:

*swd3-ib pw n nb <sup>c</sup>ws r ntt h3w nb n nb <sup>c</sup>ws <sup>c</sup>d wd3*

This is to inform the lord l.h.p. that all the affairs of the lord l.h.p. are safe and sound.

260 (BM 574, 18-20) Semti appeals to visitors to his cenotaph:

*rm<sub>t</sub> im3-ib n m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>t=i d3t n srh=i dr ntt n iri=i d3t hnm.n=i ntr m m3<sup>c</sup>t*

People, be kind to my monument and light-handed with my memorial, since I did no wrong, but gladdened the god through righteousness.

In one instance *hr iwt* appears (spelled with an extra *t*):

261 (Siut III, 11) Tefibi protests his incorruptibility:

*n shm(=i) r nds hr iwtt hpr=f r(=i) m sprti in inw*

I was not deaf towards a commoner because he did not appear before me as a petitioner who has brought gifts.

The combinations preposition + *ntt* have been analysed as consisting of governing prepositions followed by complement clauses,<sup>535</sup> but also as fixed (non-isomorphic) ‘true’ conjuncts of the type ‘preposition-*ntt* connectors’.<sup>536</sup> However, various indicators show that the correct syntactic division of these complexes is [prep[*ntt* P]] rather than [prep-*ntt*[P]] and that they involve complement clauses of prepositions introduced by *ntt* which, as after verbs, are marked as modally realis and asserted. The *ntt* (and *wnt* and *twt*) following prepositions is clearly the same element as that found after verbs and the paradigm following it is the same in both instances. Thus, alongside the Gunn’s construction, second tenses, statives and *n*-negations exemplified above, also the *sḏm.n=f* and the passive *sḏm=f*, *nn sḏm=f*, conditional sentences, participial statements, nominal, adjectival and adverbial predicates, (both affirmative and *nn*-negated) existential sentences, (negative only) *n-sp-* and *nfr pw-* negations, and sentences with elements extra-posed with *ir* are attested after *ntt* following prepositions.<sup>537</sup> Yet, as after verbs, the bare geminating *sḏm=f* does not appear; in instances in which this form follows *ntt* it is consistently part of a larger second tense complex. None of the examples argued to represent a ‘prospective *sḏm=f*’ after *ntt*<sup>538</sup> show the endings *-w* and *-y*, exactly as after verbs. Neither do they display any of the characteristics of distal irrealis; instead, the non-geminating *sḏm=f* seems to have a ‘distributive’ rather than future sense.<sup>539</sup>

262 (UC 32210, 17-18) The author informs his superior:

*swḏ3-ib (pw) r ntt rdi b3k im iwt n3.n pr-ḥḏ m-ᶜ ḥprt[...] ḥft tw=f m ḥnty(t)*

This is to inform that yours truly sends those of the treasury with Khepert[...] when(ever) he comes southwards.

Rather, *r* + infinitive appears after *ntt* following prepositions in expressions of futurity:<sup>540</sup>

<sup>535</sup> Erman 1928, §532b; GEG §223; Gilula 1971, 16; Allen 2000, 137; cf. also Allen 1986b, 25.

<sup>536</sup> Collier 1991a, 29-30; 1999, 54; Loprieno 1995, 100.

<sup>537</sup> Examples of most of these construals are too numerous to be noted here, but mention should be made of the more rare passive *sḏm=f* (e.g. pBerlin 10025, 2; UC 32202, 6; 32294, 1), adjectival predicate (UC 32158, 2.5), *nn sḏm=f* (CT III 47k; Moʿalla IIa1) and conditional sentences (UC 32291; Moʿalla IIβ2, (with *ts*) as well as the negations *n-sp*, (Rifeh V, 13) *nfr pw*, (pBerlin 10016, 5; 10023B, 3) and *nn N r sḏm* (Moʿalla IIβ1).

<sup>538</sup> Johnson 1984, 81; Collier 1991a, 29.

<sup>539</sup> Further examples (after *ḥr ntt*) are Siut I 296-97 (*pr N*); 311 (*rdi=sn*). As always, there is at least one clear counterexample: pBerlin 10066, 1 reads *r ntt iri.tw N* with a future reference.

<sup>540</sup> Urk IV 656, 3 *r ntt tw.tw r thn* shows extensive Late Egyptian influence.



263 (CT III 355a-b) In an obscure context:

*in 3 s3=i irr r rht-hw n ntt=f r mt*

It is hardly my son who can fight against the *rht-hw*, because he is going to die.

In addition, the negations *tm* and *nfr.n* are neither ever found following *ntt* after prepositions. The syntagmatic restrictions of this element are, in other words, exactly the same here as after verbs and suggest strongly that they have the same modal origin. The bare geminating *sdm=f* and forms with the endings *-w/-y* are employed to create irrealis complements, whereas clauses ushered in by *ntt* are realis. In the conjunct-hypothesis the paradigm of the ‘preposition-*ntt* connectors’ is seen to consist of syntactically ‘non-specialised’ or ‘unconverted’ forms and constructions which do not substitute for nominal parts of speech and/or cannot be otherwise subordinated as adjuncts.<sup>541</sup> The ‘connectors’ do not govern the ‘unconverted’ construals, for which reason the bare geminating *sdm=f*- analysed as a ‘specialised’ nominal conversion of the verb- is not found after them and instead appears in adjuncts where it occupies a ‘nominal’ position- i.e. after prepositions. Yet, this organisation can hardly be syntactically motivated seeing that just as *ntt* cannot appear after all verbs, also the ‘connectors’ are formed only of some prepositions or correspond only to some senses of more polysemic elements, and these restrictions clearly stem from modality. For example, combinations such as *\*n-mrwt ntt* or *\*n-ʕ3t-n ntt* do not occur because clauses with *n-mrwt* ‘in order that’ and *n-ʕ3t-n*, which refers to the character of the complement situation, are always irrealis and non-asserted. Similarly *r ntt* never means ‘so that’ although bare *r* can express this sense. Notably, *r ntt* is neither used to create adjuncts, although this function forms the semantic basis of the conjunct-hypothesis. Instead, in the epistolary formula exemplified in 259 above, it is used precisely to introduce the main communicative content of the correspondence- i.e. assertion, (although this often consists merely of stereotyped clichés) just as in the alternative phrase *dd=i di(=i) rh=k r ntt*, where it introduces an asserted complement of *rh*.<sup>542</sup> The writing *r ntt* instead of the bare *ntt/wnt* in the latter environment appears subsequent to the establishment of the *swd3-ib pw* -formula. This shift seems to be a direct analogy motivated by the use of these expressions in similar contexts and the

<sup>541</sup> Collier 1991a, 29-30; 1999, 54.

<sup>542</sup> See 1.2.2.1 above and cf. GEG §225; Collier 1991a, 29n.36.



role of *r ntt* in the *swd3-ib pw* –preamble.<sup>543</sup> Also in 258 with *hft ntt*, the issue of the speaker's senility is presented as an asserted piece of information and is not profiled as background as e.g. is the speaker's exalted status in 233, where *ntt* is lacking. In 256 the speaker's intent appears to be to equate a past favour by the addressee with a current situation of being 'in mutual agreement', which, to be sure, need not actually be reality at all: it is merely presented as an asserted 'fact' by the author as a clever rhetoric ploy to get his addressee to agree.

Clauses with *ntt* following prepositions also occur alone in various specific contexts such as the 'question-answer'-sequences found in mortuary texts:

264 (CT III 48e-49a) The gods try to force the deceased to eat faeces; a dialogue ensues:

<i>wnm irk in=sn r=i</i>	'Eat', they say to me;
<i>n wnm=i n=tn</i>	'I will not eat for you.'
<i>hr isšt in=sn r=i</i>	'Why', they say to me;
<i>hr ntt wi tb.kw m tbtty nty skr</i>	'Because I am shod with the sandals of Sokar'.

265 (CT III 202i-j) As above:

*hr isšt ir(f) tm=k wnm hs swri wsšt n šwt hr wd<sup>c</sup>*  
*n ntt w(i) iri.kw r htw hr wh3t tw wrt nt wsir hr gs imnty n pt*  
 'Why do you not eat excrement and drink urine for the emptiness (?) of Horus and Seth?'  
 'Because I was made for the offerings on that great altar of Osiris at the western side of heaven'.

Bare *hr-/n-* etc. –clauses do not occur in similar instances. However, preposition + *ntt* clauses are in turn rarely found 'emphasised' in second tenses, a property that has hitherto gone unnoticed and is rather surprising if the function of these constructions is to create syntactically 'specialised' adjuncts. All these phenomena seem to have a common semantic-pragmatic basis.<sup>544</sup> In examples 264-65 and their like, the main clause proposition [I will not X] is presupposed to the extent that it is omitted

<sup>543</sup> Thus *r ntt* is not merely a 'Doppelpunkt' (Scharff 1924, 38) but partakes in the modal organisation of the clause by marking it 'indicative'; cf. Luft 1984, 107 and already Griffith 1898, 68. See also 1.2.2.1 above.

<sup>544</sup> For what follows, see Lambrecht 1994, 58-59, 69. The discussion bears relevance also to the issue of assertion/non-assertion and second tenses; see 7.2.

altogether and only the proposition which explains it, the *hr/n ntt*-clause, is present. But the absence of the main clause also correlates with what is *asserted* here. In 264-65 this includes both the *causal relation* between the two states of affairs *and* the proposition presented as the cause. This can be tested by a simple probe: if the dialogue in 264 was to continue by the gods answering ‘that is not true’, this would be taken to mean ‘you are not shod with the sandals of Sokar’ rather than ‘that is not the reason’, which presupposes not only the main clause situation, but potentially also the proposition [you are shod with the sandals of Sokar]. On the other hand, if the bare *hr ntt*-clause were to be replaced by a hypothetical second tense reply *\*tm=i wnm hr wnn=i tb.kw m tbt ty nty skr* ‘The reason I will not eat is because I am shod with the sandals of Sokar’, an answer ‘that is not true’ would most naturally be understood as a denial ‘that is not the reason’ which treats both the main and the complement propositions as presupposed. Thus, *ntt*-introduction of complements seems to mark them as included in the assertion *scope*. Prepositional adjuncts containing this element are statistically less frequent as *vedettes* because they never contain presupposed, i.e. non-asserted, information- unlike many bare prepositional ‘circumstantials’ in ‘explanatory’ second tenses:

266 (pTurin 54003, v10-11) Words addressed to Min in a magical incantation:

*imi n(=i) irty=i m3=i im=sny dd=k n=i irty=i n m33=i im=sny*

Give me my eyes that I may see through them. The reason you should give me my eyes is because I see through them.

Another notable property of causal adjuncts with prepositions followed by *ntt* is that they often do not express ‘real-world’ causality but rather explain a *speech act* performed, or an epistemic *conclusion* expressed in the main clause.<sup>545</sup> For example, in 254-55 above the explanatory clauses clearly give reasons for the speaker’s orders and in 260 for his requesting something. The speech acts thus explicated are most commonly deontic *orders* and *requests* as well as *promises*, but e.g. in the clearly performative 258 the making of a *declaration* is explained. On the other hand, in 257 the *n ntt*-clause furnishes an explanation to the speaker’s *conclusion* ‘Egypt must be

<sup>545</sup> See the illuminating discussion in Sweetser 1990, 76-86 and Rutherford 1970; cf. also Kac 1972 and Thompson & Longacre 1985, 203-04.



happy' rather than simply states that the happiness is caused by something. Further clear examples of such 'speech act'- and epistemic causals with preposition + *ntt* are:

267 (Berlin 14753, 8-9) Senwosret III sums up the basic qualities required when dealing with the Nubians:

*ḳnt pw 3d ḥst pw ḥm-ḥt ḥm pw m3<sup>c</sup> 3rw ḥr t3š=f dr ntt sdm nḥs r ḥr n r*

Aggression is bravery; retreat is timidity, and the real coward is one who is driven away from his border, since the Nubian listens only to hard talk.

268 (Peas B1 92-93) The peasant flatters the high steward:

*ph=k m 3p(d)w dd3 ḥr ntt ntk it n nmḥ*

You will end up with fattened fowl, because you are a father to an orphan.

269 (UC 32124, fragment 2, 4-8) The writer expresses his opinion why he should be rewarded:

*k3 ḥsw b3k im... ḥft ntt ir p3 bit ḥnw 1 rdy n b3k im gm.n b3k im swri.n sw p3 3m*

Thus yours truly should be rewarded... seeing that, as for the 1 *hin* of honey given to yours truly, yours truly found that the Asiatic had drunk it.

In 267 a reading in which the situation after *dr ntt* 'causes' someone's being a 'real coward' is impossible; the cause must refer to the king's saying what he says. Similarly in 268 the peasant explains his promising something, whereas in 269 the speaker employs the causal clause to substantiate an opinion expressed in the main clause. There is a strong correlation between this sort of linkage and *ntt*-introduced causals, the reason for which seems again to be pragmatic.<sup>546</sup> Explaining one's speech acts, promises and epistemic reasoning aims at increasing the likelihood of positive response from hearers: believing in case of declarations, promises and conclusions, obedience in case of deontic acts. The possibility for success in this is highest if the explanatory material is presented in *committed* terms. For example, the order 'don't play it so loud, because it may damage your hearing' where the reason given for the act of ordering is presented as a mere possibility runs a greater risk of being disobeyed than 'don't play it so loud, because it damages your hearing' with more uncompromising 'back-up' thereof. Similarly, the speaker of a sentence such as

<sup>546</sup> French employs different conjunctions to differentiate between 'real' and 'speech act/epistemic causals' as a rule: the former are introduced by *parce que*, the latter by *puisque* (Sweetser 1990, 82).



‘Polotsky must have been right, because *iw* is followed by adverbials only’ can be more certain that his reasoning will be accepted than someone uttering ‘Polotsky must have been right, because *iw* may be followed by adverbials only’ where the ‘evidence’ is presented in weaker terms than in the first instance.<sup>547</sup> None of these alternatives is excluded as such, but given the pragmatic function which the explanations are intended to serve, the stronger asserted options for the latter are clearly preferable and can be expected to be more common. Hence the correlation between ‘speech act’ and epistemic causality and preposition + *ntt*-clauses: the latter involve asserted propositions and communicate strongest speaker commitment. The information presented is also *new*, although it is of course possible to give a reason to e.g. an epistemic conclusion which consists of pragmatically *old* information. Yet, *ntt* is not found in such instances, and contrasts such as the following occur:

270 (Leiden V3, 5-6) After an Appeal to the Living, Intefiqer says he deserves immortality:

*ih m3=i wp-w3wt m hbw=f nbw m ntwf=f nbt hr ntt ink mry n nb=f*

Then I shall see Wepwawet at all his festivals and processions, because I was one beloved of his lord.

271/229 (Mo<sup>c</sup>alla Ia2) Ankhtify reflects upon his mission to Edfu:

*iw in.n w(i) hr r wtst-hr n cws r grg=s iri.n(=i) hr wn hr hr mrt grg=s hr ln=f w(i)  
r=s r grg=s*

Horus brought me to Edfu through l.h.p. to establish it, which I did. Horus must have wanted to establish it because he brought me there to establish it.

In sum, the same formal distinction between bare geminating/non-geminating *sdm=f* complements and *ntt*-introduced clauses is made in preposition complements as after verbs, and the forms and constructions ushered in by *ntt* are the same in both instances. From whichever perspective the *ntt*-clauses are examined, they consistently represent propositions which are subject to highest speaker commitment and discourse relevance, i.e. they represent assertions. Equally, in every turn they can be contrasted with clauses which display exactly the same typological division of irrealis

<sup>547</sup> Indeed, in the first case a possible challenge from hearers would most naturally target the acceptability of the claim presented in the subordinate clause rather than the conclusion drawn from it, whereas in the second instance the reasoning would be the most obvious first line of attack.

into distal and proximal as is found after verbs, i.e. which either lack positive speaker commitment regarding the veracity of the situations described or are low in information value, and where *ntt* is absent as a rule. It is suggested here that the 'indicative' uses of the bare *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms after prepositions do not represent an anomaly in this organisation, but that all un-introduced preposition complements are irrealis and non-asserted without exception. However, the grammatical status of such clauses does not always stem directly from the nature of the situations which the complement verbs describe, but from the character of the entire complex [preposition + clause]. Adjuncts thus formed are, to borrow the terminology coined by Collier, 'specialised' because their semantic-pragmatic function is explicitly *marked* by the preposition as causal, temporal etc. The same holds also for their syntactic status, which is similarly indicated by the preposition. Adjuncts of this sort contrast grammatically with 'unspecialised' directly embedded 'circumstantial' clauses whose syntactic and semantic-pragmatic (including modal) status is, courtesy of the 'unmarked' character of the forms and constructions thus used, not specifically indicated.<sup>548</sup> 'Specialised' or marked adjuncts, on the other hand, are also marked for modality, and in most cases this is *irrealis* simply because the clauses represent *adjuncts*. The linkage between main- and subordinate-, and particularly adjunct clauses, *vis-à-vis* the gestalt-psychological notions of *figure* and *ground* (often termed foreground and background) has for some time been recognised among (particularly cognitive-) linguists. Adjuncts serve one global role which sets them as a category 'close' to modal irrealis: regardless of their more precise semantic value, in terms of discourse-pragmatics they all present exactly the sort of supporting or amplifying 'commentary' to the main clause which is frequently characterised as 'less important', 'background setting' and even 'presupposed' and which e.g. in narration 'does not constitute the assertion of events in the story line but makes statements which are CONTINGENT and dependent of the story-line events.'<sup>549</sup> Experimental evidence, all of which concerns adjuncts, shows that these clauses are systematically comprehended as secondary information against which the main clause figure is projected and which is, akin to visual background, processed and interpreted less

<sup>548</sup> However, as seen, modally an exception to this are *negated* 'circumstantials' where *tm* appears in irrealis 'virtual conditional' and un-introduced final clauses (see 3.3 above).

<sup>549</sup> Hopper 1981, 215-16 emphasis by the author; see also Wallace 1982, 209, 215 and particularly Talmy 1978a. Cf. also Grimes 1975, 55-60; Talmy 1978b, 489n.1; Lambrecht 1997, 67-69, 125-26.



immediately.<sup>550</sup> In Earlier Egyptian, whenever an adjunct is of a 'specialised' type, i.e. is introduced by a preposition whose function is to define its specific syntactic and semantic-pragmatic character and relation to the co-text, the proposition itself, i.e. the complement clause of the preposition, receives modal marking as irrealis or realis. Irrealis is, once again, signalled by the use of bare *sdm=f*-forms and is the 'default case' due to the generally 'circumstantial', i.e. less-than-optimally relevant background character of the information provided and its status as something less worthy of full attention and concern of the speech participants. However, the information can be also presented as belonging to the discourse-pragmatic foreground and asserted, in which case it is marked as modally realis by *ntt* (or, marginally, *wnt* and *iwt*). The use of this strategy is, as after verbs, a subjective speaker choice, but, as in the latter category, not a universally available option. For example, final clauses after *n-mrwt* and *r* cannot be realis-marked inasmuch as they are irrealis also by virtue of their more specific semantic value as descriptions of speaker assumptions and expectations. Similarly, the sole function of temporal adjuncts is to provide 'out of sequence', 'circumstantial' information about the prior or simultaneous conditions which furnish the 'frame', 'setting' or background of the main clause situation.<sup>551</sup> Consequently, there is e.g. no *\*m ntt*, and *hft ntt* never has a temporal reading. The Earlier Egyptian typological *cum* modal organisation of adjunct clauses may thus be summarised as follows:<sup>552</sup>

Specialised/Introduced	Non-specialised/un-introduced
Realis Preposition + <i>ntt</i>	Bare verb-forms used 'circumstantially'
Irrealis Preposition + bare <i>sdm=f</i>	
Modality Marked	Modality Unmarked
Syntactic status Marked	Syntactic status Unmarked

<sup>550</sup> Townsend & Bever 1977, 7-15.

<sup>551</sup> See Hopper 1981, 239; in Egyptology this point is most explicitly made by Ritter (1995, 69-70, 82).

<sup>552</sup> What conditions the choice between 'specialised' (i.e. preposition-introduced) and 'unspecialised' adjuncts is another issue and falls beyond the scope of the present work. However, the choices seem to correlate with particular textual genres and registers. For example, 'unspecialised' adjuncts predominate in literary works whereas e.g. the contracts of Hapdjefa, a 'legalistic' text, are notable of their extensive use of preposition-introduced 'circumstantials'.



In this system ‘markedness’ and ‘unmarkedness’ pertain simultaneously to syntactic and semantic-pragmatic function. Marked (introduced) adjuncts are marked for their modality and structural as well as semantic-pragmatic link with the discourse; unmarked (un-introduced) adjuncts are unmarked modally and regarding their exact discourse- and syntactic status.

This analysis, which shares similarities with that proposed for complementation, is less audacious than would appear at first sight. Although very little research has been conducted on this matter, many languages display what can only be described as a ‘tendency’ towards similar generalisation of irrealis into adjunction, which results e.g. in various ‘inexplicable’ uses of this modality in ‘circumstantial’ clauses seemingly ill-qualified as non-assertions. For example, in Latin one occasionally encounters the subjunctive in adjuncts which describe realised situations not subject to speaker doubts:<sup>553</sup>

- (51) Pugnatum... incerto Marte, donec proelium nox dirimeret (SUB)  
 ‘The fight went on indecisively until night broke it off.’

In Fula, (W Africa) subjunctive is systematically used in temporal adjuncts introduced by conjuncts ‘before’ and ‘until’, again regardless whether the situation described is realised or not:<sup>554</sup>

- (52) be-ŋgaɗay ka remuki haa be-timmina (SUB)  
 ‘They continue farming until they finish’  
 dooko be-njottoo, (SUB) ’o-’yami gorko ’on, ’o-wi’i...  
 ‘Before they arrived, he asked the man, and said...’

In Mangarayi, (Australian) irrealis appears to be almost a general marker of subordinate status:<sup>555</sup>

- (53) gawa-j muyg jaŋ? ya-ma-gn (IRR)

<sup>553</sup> Palmer 2000, 142.

<sup>554</sup> Arnott 1970, 310-11.

<sup>555</sup> Palmer 2000, 143.

'He buried the dog when it died/ that died.'

There seems to be no apparent reason for irrealis here, save for the general background-status of the information which the clauses convey. In Bemba verbs receive explicit marking if they are asserted. This marking is absent from such clearly presuppositional environments as e.g. cleft sentences and WH-questions, but it is neither found in adverbial clauses.<sup>556</sup> Also in Biblical Hebrew explanatory and temporal adjuncts display increasing diachronic tendency of being introduced by the element *asher* which is otherwise used for concessive and final adverbials.<sup>557</sup> This development appears to reflect a new organisation of all these clauses within the same category of irrealis due to their background- or attitudinal character. In view of these phenomena, it is not overly bold to suggest that Earlier Egyptian might simply have been more systematic in its grammatical recognition of the overall 'backgroundedness' and less-than-optimal relevance of adjunct-information, although not all adjuncts are treated as irrealis in this language either: some are specifically indicated as realis and there is also a parallel method of creating them which stands wholly outside the system of marking for modality, namely the unmarked 'circumstantial' clauses without introducing prepositions. Furthermore, organising grammar on basis of discourse-pragmatic relevance is, after all, *information-structuring*, and, as seen, *all* languages employ modality for this purpose. Its extension also to adjunct-clauses in Earlier Egyptian is in keeping with its general tendency to grammaticalise information-structuring to a considerable greater extent than is usual in languages overall. As another example of this, one may consider negative scope. Here most languages tolerate a notably high degree of ambiguity, whereas Earlier Egyptian employs a set of specific negations *n/nn*, *tm* and *n...is* which mark the scope explicitly.<sup>558</sup> Such thoroughness in signalling the exact informative 'contour' is 'curious' and 'unusual' cross-linguistically, but it is one of the many *systemic* features that set Earlier Egyptian into a class of its own. Along with the division of irrealis into two typological classes, also the modal organisation

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<sup>556</sup> See Givón 1982, 139. Interestingly, the marker is neither used in negative or relative constructions, and, most decisively, in environments where, according to Givón, the 'scope of assertion' does not include the verb. See 7.2.

<sup>557</sup> Givón 1991, 281-86; 296-97.

<sup>558</sup> See Loprieno 1991b.



of adjuncts- in which complement clauses play an integral part- represents one of the truly unique characteristics of this language.

#### 4.4 Clauses with *m-ht*

Before moving on to consider Earlier Egyptian verb- and preposition complement patterns which supplement the system outlined thus far or which are wholly independent of it, some remarks must be made of the element *m-ht*. *m-ht* is traditionally classified as a compound preposition which in conjunct-use carries the temporal meaning ‘after’ (although ‘when’ is sometimes just as feasible, or even better, rendering<sup>559</sup>). However, it has various syntactic and syntagmatic properties which differ markedly from those of other prepositions and suggest that it has been, or is being developed, into a ‘true’ conjunct.

*m-ht* is commonly found followed by geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*'s, the latter in at least one instance showing the ending *-w*:<sup>560</sup>

272 (Ebers 56, 20-21) From an instruction on preparing an eye-ointment:

*iri m iwšš rdi šw=f h3w im=f m-ht šww=f*

Make into a mixture, allow to dry, and separate part of it after it has dried up.

273 (Siut I 308-09) A contract by Hapdjefa obliges a *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest to offer oblations:

*... m-ht pr=f hr irt ht m hwt-ntr r<sup>c</sup> nb*

...after he has set forth from performing the daily ritual in the temple.

274 (Westcar 3, 2-4) The magician instructs his butler what to do with a magical wax-crocodile and an adulterer:

*i[r m]-ht h3w nds r p[3] š mi nt<sup>c</sup>=f nt r<sup>c</sup> nb k3=k h3<sup>c</sup>=k [p3 m]sh [hr mw] r-s3=f*

<sup>559</sup> Cf. GEG §178

<sup>560</sup> In CT VII 31k a strange spelling *m-ht hnmw=f* occurs. For examples with the *sdm.n=f*, see 5.1 below. Further examples with the geminating *sdm=f*: CT V 333p (*prr=f*); Ebers 68, 3 (*kbb=s*); 78, 4 (*irr=k*); 91, 7 (*irr=k*, corrected from *iri.hr=k*); pRamesseum IV G16 (*h33=f*); Hearst 11, 2-3 (*mrr=k*, variant Ebers 88, 14 *mr=k*); Nu pl. 53/BD 112 (*wnn N*). Further examples with the non-geminating *sdm=f*: CT IV 242/43a (*nšn=f/h3=f*); Hekaib 9, 5 (*wn=f*); Pushkin Museum 1695, vs.2 (*wn=f*); Ebers 78, 14/ Hearst 12, 4 (*irt=k*); 97, 3 (*bš=s*); Nu pl. 51/BD 154 (*sy=f*); pl. 76/BD 144 (*irt.tw*). Westcar 11, 26 has *tw=f*, MMA 35.7.55, 10 *rdi=l* and Urk IV 220, 2 *tw=f* (variant Urk IV 1714, 13 *ty=f*). Siut I 298 has *rdi N*; CT IV 236/37b varies between *itt=f* and *it=f*. Like many prepositions, *m-ht* appears also to be followed by the *sdmt=f*-form (GEG §407.2). In WGMT 158n.3 the geminating examples are argued to represent second tenses. This is possible in many instances, but often there are no suitable *vedette*-candidates.



After the ‘little man’ has gone down to the pool according to his daily habit, then you throw this crocodile after him into the water.

However, most surprisingly, *m-ht* is also frequently found before stative and passive *sdm=f* clauses:<sup>561</sup>

275 (CT II 350a) Isis says to the hands of Horus, equating them with his eyes:

*iw=tny r wd<sup>c</sup>ty hr m-ht=tny gm.tiwny*

You will be the two severed parts of Horus after you have been found.<sup>562</sup>

276 (Urk IV 1795, 18-19) Amenhotep describes the conclusion of a royal construction-work:

*hr m-ht snfrw k3t tn h<sup>c</sup>.n w3h.n hm=f htp-ntr m m3 m hrt-hrw nt r<sup>c</sup> nb*

After these works had been perfected, then his majesty re-dedicated daily offerings.<sup>563</sup>

In this *m-ht* differs from all other prepositions. These unusual combinatory properties seem to reflect a gradual change in the grammatical profile of this element. Very few examples of *m-ht* as a conjunct introducing finite clauses are forthcoming from Old Egyptian, and none at all are followed by the stative or the passive *sdm=f*;<sup>564</sup> examples of the former appear during the First Intermediate Period and the latter is found only in post-classical sources. *m-ht* seems to have been in a slow cline of being developed from a preposition into a ‘real’ conjunct or a ‘connector’ with ever-loosening grammatical relationship with the following expression and, in particular, loss of its *governing* force. Its ‘mixed’ paradigm appears to bear testimony of the incompleteness of this grammaticalisation-process. In other words, *m-ht* seems to represent a ‘semi-conjunct’ which occupies a position mid-way between the functional categories of prepositions and true ‘adverbialising’ clausal/sentential connectors. It appears to have undertaken a further step away from the category of prepositions in one particular syntagmatic environment. *m-ht*-clauses are often extra-

<sup>561</sup> Edel (EAG §906cc) analyses *m-ht* as originally a final adverb of the main clause rather than a subordinating preposition, or, alternatively when followed by stative, as governing only the head noun of the latter.

<sup>562</sup> Further examples are CCG 20001, 6; BM 1671, 6-7; Mo<sup>c</sup>alla IV24-25; Westcar 3, 10; 3, 17; 7, 11; 12, 8-9; Urk IV 1308, 2; Ebers 53, 10-11.

<sup>563</sup> Similarly Tarkhan I 79, 18. Further examples are Urk IV 978, 15 (*iri N*) and 1282, 13 (*hr m-ht rdi m hr*).

<sup>564</sup> EAG §§ 906cc, 1032b.

posed as sentence-initial by the particles *ir/hr*, as in 274 and 276 above.<sup>565</sup> Mostly these uses differ little from ‘ordinary’ *m-ht*-clauses after the main clause, and other prepositions can also be similarly extra-posed.<sup>566</sup> However, these latter show no differences to their usual paradigms whereas in later texts the set of construals following *ir/hr m-ht* becomes even more unlike that of prepositions; for instance, in medical papyri there are examples of even the ‘contingent’ patterns *sdm.hr/in=f* and *hr=f sdm=f*.<sup>567</sup>

277 (Ebers 56, 2-3) A prescription on treating a swelling with various ingredients concludes:

*ir m-ht iri.in=k n=f mrht 1*

Afterwards, you then prepare for it 1 (measure of) oil.

278 (Ebers 70, 16-17) A prescription on treating a burn with various sort of bandaging concludes:

*ir m-ht hr=k wt=k sw m ftt n dbyt*

Afterwards, you then bandage it with reeds of the *dbyt*-plant.

Here *m-ht*, together with *ir*, apparently functions as a semi-lexicalised expression ‘afterwards’.<sup>568</sup> It most certainly does not govern the following clause/sentence and can even be preceded by initial particles such as *k3* ‘then’.<sup>569</sup> Nevertheless, the ‘deategorisation’ of *m-ht* clearly never reached its conclusion. With or without *ir/hr*, *m-ht* is found before both the geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f* until the onset of Late Egyptian after which it all but disappeared.<sup>570</sup> Its demise coincides with the complete overhaul of the Earlier Egyptian system of forming adjunct clauses.<sup>571</sup>

<sup>565</sup> However, sometimes *ir/hr* is absent; see e.g. Urk IV 836, 6.

<sup>566</sup> With *m*, see Hatnub 22, 1; 22, 6; CTII 344/45b (see examples 317-18 below); Urk IV 1281, 8. Ebers 41, 16 has *ir r-s3 tw=f* and pBerlin 10025, 9 *ir rf r-s3 htp.n=i*.

<sup>567</sup> Instances of *ir m-ht sdm.hr=f* are found throughout pEbers, pHearst and pEdwin Smith, whereas the other two construals above seem to be limited to the quoted examples.

<sup>568</sup> Cf. WGMT 244n.3.

<sup>569</sup> See the badly damaged UC 32215, 4.

<sup>570</sup> Černý & Groll (1993 chapter 35) analyse ‘*m-ht-stp.f*’ as a single fossilised unit.

<sup>571</sup> See 7.1.



## 5. EARLIER EGYPTIAN SUPPLEMENTARY PATTERNS OF COMPLEMENTATION AFTER VERBS AND PREPOSITIONS

The system of expressing realis and irrealis modality in Earlier Egyptian complement clauses after governing verbs and prepositions is founded on the variation between clauses introduced by the operators *ntt/wnt* and bare *sḏm=f*-forms. Yet, there are also various further forms and constructions that occur in the same syntactic positions but whose status *vis-à-vis* the organisation outlined thus far is either complementary or quite extraneous. The former class comprises clauses with one particular verb-form employed in certain semantic-pragmatic environments as an *ersatz* to the non-geminating *sḏm=f*, the latter of constructions which make no part of the modal system of complementation, but shed light on its diachronic position in Ancient Egyptian more generally.

### 5.1 The *sḏm.n=f*

The *sḏm.n=f*, one of the few suffix-conjugation forms demonstrably formed of almost every verb in the Earlier Egyptian lexicon, is relatively common in complement clauses after verbs and prepositions both with and without introducing *ntt* and *wnt*. When these elements are absent, there are differences in frequency of the use of *sḏm.n=f* between verb- and preposition complements. After verbs, there do not seem to be any examples of subject clauses with this form (unless passives in *.tw* be considered as such<sup>572</sup>). Also as an object, the *sḏm.n=f* most frequently appears after the exceptional verb *gm(i)*:<sup>573</sup>

279 (CT VII 232m) The deceased says to gods:

*ir.n=i gmt.n=i iri.n=tn*

I have done what I found that you had done.

280 (UC 32124, fragment 2, 7-8) A letter describes the fate of some honey entrusted to the writer:

<sup>572</sup> See n.380 above.

<sup>573</sup> Further examples: Ebers 39, 13 (*ḏb3.n=f ḏ3.n=f*); 40, 19 (*ts.n=f*); Smith 15, 10 (*skd.n=sn*).



*gm.n b3k im swri.n sw p3 3m*

Yours truly discovered that the Asiatic had drunk it.

281 (*Stèle Juridique* 24) A report of a dispute concerning an official appointment notes:

*whm rw hn<sup>c</sup> dd-hnw r=s m h3 t3ty gm.n.tw iri.n mr niwt t3ty iy imt-pr m p3 h3ty-<sup>c</sup> n  
nhbw n s3=f*

The statements and complaints concerning it were revised in the vizier's office, and it was found that the town-governor and vizier Iy had indeed made a will concerning the (office of) town-governorship of El-Kab in benefit of his son.

Otherwise, examples of un-introduced *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* object complements after verbs are rare:<sup>574</sup>

282 (CT III, 332e-g) The deceased proclaims his semi-divine position:

*nw3w irw pt s<sub>d</sub>m.n irw t3 iw<sup>c</sup>.n=i w3wt=s*

The keepers of the sky shall see, as the keepers of the earth have heard, that I have inherited its (heaven's) roads.

283 (Louvre Bowl 17-18) The author reminds her addressee of a past threat by a third party:

*i(w)=k rh.t(i) dd.n=f n(=i) ink smy=i im=t hn<sup>c</sup> hrdw=t*

You know that he said to me: 'I am personally going to report against you and your children.'

In contrast, bare *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f*-complements of prepositions occur in abundance. They are most frequent after *mi*, but are also found (at least) after *m*, *wpw-hr*, *hft*, *r*, *r-s3*, *hr* and *dr*:<sup>575</sup>

284 (CT II 40g-h) The deceased says he is alive:

<sup>574</sup> See also Urk IV 1925, 19 (*iri.n=k*).

<sup>575</sup> Excluding the uncertain spellings [*m3n*] (*m3.n* or *m3n?*), further examples after *m* are CT VI 173r (*sr.n=i*); Nu pl. 25/BD 98 (*sw3.n=i*). After *mi*: CT I, 267b (*iri.n=k*); Amrah pl. 29, 2 (*iri.n N*); Hearst 11, 13 (*šnt.n N*); Sinai 244, 6 (*rdi.n=s*); Urk IV 224, 1 (*w<sub>d</sub>.n N*); 624, 5 (read *mi rdi.n=i n=k*); 781, 4 (*w<sub>d</sub>.n N*); 795, 14 (*w<sub>d</sub>.n N*); 1008, 6 (*w<sub>d</sub>.n N*); 1349, 17 (*w<sub>d</sub>.n(=i)*); 1529, 10 (*s<sub>d</sub>m.n=i*); 1652, 8 (*rdi.n=f*); 1656, 4 (*rdi.n=i*); 1689, 9 (read *rdi.n=f*). After *hft*: Berlin Leather Roll 2, 13; (*š3.n=k*); Urk IV 1675, 10 (*w<sub>d</sub>.n N*). After *dr*: CT VII 353a/B4B0 (*hr.n=s*); MFA 04.2059, r.3 (*mr.n=k*); Urk IV 1543, 15 (*rh.n=f*). An example after *r-s3* is pBerlin 10025, 9 (*ir rfr-s3 htp.n=i*). Of *wpw-hr* there are no further examples.

... *m ḥpr.n=i m wsir s3 gb*

...when I have become Osiris, son of Geb.

285 (Hatnub 22, 12-14) Sebekemhat says he made his career entirely in the service of his nomarch:

*iri.n=i sšm(=i) m-<sup>c</sup>=f m-ḥnw pr=f n rdi.t(w) m3=i šw n st nbt wpw-ḥr h3b.n=f wi r ḥwt-nbw*

I carried out my business beside him in his house and was not made to see the shadow of another place, except when he sent me to Hatnub.

286 (Berlin Leather roll 1, 15) The king reveals his building-plan:

*iry=i k3t m ḥwt-<sup>c</sup>3 n it(=i) tmw di=f wsh=f mi rdi.n=f it=i*

I will undertake work in the great temple for my father Atum; he will cause himself to be rich, even as he allowed me to conquer.

287 (Urk IV 593, 10-11) Thutmosis III is characterised:

*ḥr nbw hr-ḥr ḥw ḥk3w-ḥ3swt phw sw ḥft wd.n n=f it=f r<sup>c</sup> nḥtw r t3 nb dmd*

The Golden Horus 'Lenient-of-Face' who smites foreign chieftains who attacked him, when his father had decreed for him victories over all lands in one.

288 (Siut V, 29) It is said that the mother of the nomarch acted as a vice-regent:

...*r ḥpr.n s3=s m nḥt-<sup>c</sup>*

...until her son had grown up.

289 (CT III 316h-i) The deceased says to gods:

*ink rh r=f ii.n=i m [...] ḥr rh.n=i*

I am one who knows his spell; I have come from [...] because I have gained knowledge.

290 (Nu pl. 64/BD 99) The ground at the gates of the underworld addresses the deceased:

*dd n=i rn=i in s3tw dr ḥnd.n=k ḥr=i*

'Tell me my name', says the ground, 'since you have trodden on me'.

Examples after the ‘semi-conjunct’ *m-ht* are also common:<sup>576</sup>

291 (Sin B134-36) The duel between Sinuhe and the ‘Goliath of Retenu’ approaches its climax:

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>.n ikm=f minb=f hpt=f n nsyt hr m-ht spr.n=i ḥ<sup>c</sup>w=f rdi.n=i sw3 hr=i*

Then his shield, axe and his armful of spears fell down, after I had made his weapons pass me and caused them to miss me.

In initial environments the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* is often employed as a second tense, and in complement clauses where this form appears introduced by the elements *ntt/wnt* there is often some question whether or not it carries this function there as well. Morpho-syntactic evidence is of little aid here inasmuch as none of the examples of *ntt/wnt* + *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* are from intransitive verbs of motion or *s<sub>dm</sub>.n.tw=f*-passives.<sup>577</sup> Consequently, one must rely primarily on interpretation of function herein. As seen, after verbs there are no unambiguous second tense examples of the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* following *ntt/wnt*, where the form mostly seems to function as a simple proposition without a focalising or setting role.<sup>578</sup> Conversely, instances of preposition complements similarly introduced but where the form certainly does *not* function as a second tense are less abundant, although sometimes the semantics of the situation described and/or the absence of adjuncts clearly subject to ‘emphasis’ exclude such an interpretation:<sup>579</sup>

292 (UC 32212, 1-3) Merishenet writes to his superior:

*swd3-ib pw n nb ḥws r ntt s<sub>dm</sub>.n b3k im mdt nt sšw pn iny n b3k im r-dd...*

This is to inform the lord l.h.p. that yours truly has taken note of the matter of this document brought to yours truly, quote: ‘...’ (a quote follows)

The ST postulate of two different ‘circumstantial’ and ‘nominal’ *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*s, apparently never wholeheartedly embraced by even the staunchest advocates of the

<sup>576</sup> Further examples (with and without *ir/hr*): Qurna pl.3, 2, 3 (*ḥ3.n(=i)*); UC 32158, 2.4 (*dd.n[...]*); 32158, 2.6 (*rdi.n=f*); pBerlin 10066, 4 (*gm.n=f*); CCG 20541, 10 (*s3k.n=f*); Ebers 91, 16-17 (*rh.n=k*); 96, 21 (*rdi.n=f*); Urk IV 3, 2 (*grg.n=i*); 5, 4 (*sm3.n N*); 1842, 5 (*dd.n N*).

<sup>577</sup> However, *ntt*-introduced examples of *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* intransitive VOM with the element *is* are common; see 5.2 below.

<sup>578</sup> 1.2.4.1 above.

<sup>579</sup> See also Collier 1991a, 30.



polotskyan system, can nowadays safely be pronounced erroneous.<sup>580</sup> Apart from dubious claims concerning the verb *rdi*, there is no morphological evidence whatsoever to support the assumption that the *sḏm.n=f* is divisible into more than one form. Regarding the ‘nominal’ and ‘non-nominal’ uses of the *sḏm.n=f* as ‘generally understood to involve two different grammatical forms, indistinguishable in writing’,<sup>581</sup> insofar as the issue is indeed only writing, as it must be in case of Ancient Egyptian, if some two writings are indistinguishable, they once again represent the same form and *vice versa*. The *sḏm.n=f* of intransitive verbs, particular of motion, is similarly hardly a separate *form* but simply a different *use* of one and the same morphological entity. This applies also to the *sḏm.n.tw=f*, of which there are some examples after prepositions:

293 (Hatnub 16, 9-10) The author says he provided shelter for refugees in times of trouble:

*iw iri.n=i pr=i m rwt n ii nb sḏ hrw n ḥ3<sup>c</sup>yt wn=i m mn<sup>t</sup> hr 3ty n ii nb indw r  
ssnb.n.t(w)=f*

I made my house a door for everyone who came frightened on the day of the strife and acted as a nurse and caretaker for everyone who came afflicted, until he was healed.

294 (Urk IV 1861, 20- 1862, 2) Singers describe Amenhotep III with solar imagery at his *Sed*-festival:

*mḥ.n=k t3w m nfrw=k mi pt stt.ti m thnt mi ms.n.tw=k m itn m pt*

You have filled the lands with your beauty, like heaven when it glitters as fayence, even as you have been born as the sun-disc in the heaven.

<sup>580</sup> This theorem has always represented something of an embarrassment to the ST (cf. Polotsky’s comments in 1944, §§28-29; 1957, 109 and Gardiner’s severe criticism in 1947, 100). Polotsky himself usually remained vague concerning the question of whether the ‘nominal’ *sḏm.n=f* actually represented a separate form, contenting himself with the often-made case that at least the initial passive *sḏm.n.tw=f* and the *sḏm.n=f* of the intransitive VOM were ‘emphatic’ or ‘nominal’ and that syntax (paradigmatic similarity with nouns, complementary distribution with the past passive *sḏm=f* and the stative, lack of *tw* in initial environments) was here more important than morphology (Polotsky 1957, 110; 1965, 17; 1969, 475; 1976, 2.6; 1984, 116-18); yet the conspicuous term *form* occurs in his every treatise. Although the assumption of two separate forms for the *sḏm.n=f* has been the point of departure of even certain rather recent approaches influenced by Polotsky, (e.g. Allen 1991, 6-7; Zonhoven 1993-94) the earlier more evasive mode of discussion characterises most studies among this school of thought (see e.g. Frandsen 1975, 35-43; Junge 1978a, 17-18; Silverman 1985, 270n.7; Satzinger 1993, 198). Explicit denials of the ‘emphatic’ *sḏm.n=f*-form-hypothesis within ST are rare (Schenkel 1975, 55-56) as are statements to the effect that the *sḏm.n=f* is one form with more than one function (Doret 1986, 67-68; cf. also Vernus 1981, *passim*).

<sup>581</sup> Allen 1991, 6.

Rather than any 'nominal *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*', this is clearly just a *.tw*-passivised *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*, whatever its *uses* and *function(s)* may be- after all, the same construal is also used after the negative *n* where it most certainly does not function 'nominally'.<sup>582</sup>

Inasmuch as the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* must thus be considered a unity, this has various repercussions to the analysis of complement clauses with this form. *ntt/wnt* certainly do not behave as 'nominalisers' before the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* any more than they do elsewhere; their function must consequently be semantic-pragmatic. In fact, on basis of the numerous examples quoted so far, there is little question of what this function might be and of the nature of *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f*-complements introduced by these elements. Unless part of a larger second tense complex, after *ntt/wnt* the form clearly corresponds to a *past assertion* both in complements of verbs, and, insofar as examples exist, of prepositions. But in un-introduced clauses of both sorts, the semantic-pragmatic function of the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* is less apparent. However, it is argued herein that these examples are expressive of irrealis-profiled background-information which typologically overlaps with the non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* in the same function. As seen, the non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* can be used to express past and future situations viewed as irrealis for various reasons ranging from non-acceptance and hypothetical or counterfactual status to lack of discourse relevance. Yet, just as the overall categories of irrealis and realis are 'radial' in the sense that some meanings treated grammatically as belonging to one or the other are nevertheless viewed as 'borderline' examples,<sup>583</sup> also the semantic-pragmatic 'field' covered by the non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* encompasses meanings some of which are 'better' representatives of its 'distal' irrealis function than others. For instance, counterfactual and negatively perceived situations are more obviously subjectively remote from the speaker than those which are irrealis merely by virtue of their assessed defectiveness as information in the flow of discourse. This holds, in particular, for *past* situations of the latter sort, which, although viewed as lacking discourse relevance, are *realised*, *known* and *accepted* by the speaker. The resulting clash with the more prototypical distal characteristics of non-realisation, ignorance, non-acceptance etc. is clear and seems to have motivated the (somewhat unsystematic<sup>584</sup>) use of the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* as a substitute or a *functional counterpart* to the non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* in just such

<sup>582</sup> See already Polotsky 1957, 116 and most recently Zonhoven 1993-94, 49-53.

<sup>583</sup> See 0.1.2 above.

<sup>584</sup> It is noteworthy that the *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* is more common after certain prepositions than others; cf. n.575 above. The reason for this is unclear.



semantic-pragmatic environments where the issue is of definitely ascertained ‘history’ whose profiling as irrealis rests solely on a speaker evaluation of ‘informativity’.<sup>585</sup> After verbs such past background complement situations are rare, and the *sdm.n=f* dominates: it is used in 282-83 above and appears as a variant to an immutable *sdm=f* in the following example:

295 (94 above) (CT I 335a-c) The deceased says that aspects of his rebirth are a mystery even to the divine.<sup>586</sup>

M5C, M18C, M. Ann: *hpr=l m hr=f*

*m3.n wi nw hpr.k(w) n rh=f bw hpr.n=l im n m3=f*

M4C: *hpr.n=l m hr=f*

Nu has seen me after I came into existence, but he does not know where I came to be because he did not see with his own eyes that I had come into existence.

After prepositions, the use of the non-geminating *sdm=f* for such past irrealis situations is more common, but the *sdm.n=f* is not rare either and seems to compete with the former in this position.

Accordingly, the bare *sdm.n=f* enters the modal system at the typological ‘bridgehead’ of past less-than-optimally relevant irrealis, otherwise occupied by the non-geminating *sdm=f* (in case of weak verbs). The *sdm.n=f* is used also for one other irrealis function shared with the latter form, namely *counterfactual*. Notably, it does not carry this meaning in complement clauses except when appearing as an object of the verb *gm(i)*. As seen, the non-geminating *sdm=f* does not function as an irrealis in the same position, and thus the *sdm.n=f* again clearly supplies a functional substitute for the latter:

296 (Urk I 125, 10-11) Harkhuf maintains the uniqueness of his achievements abroad:

*n-sp gmy(=i) iri.n s(y) smr mr ʿw nb pr r i3m tp-ʿw*

I never found that any royal friend or overseer of barbarians who had previously gone to Yam would have done such.

<sup>585</sup> Vernus (1987, 168-74) and Allen (2000, 312) postulate an analogous process of *sdm.n=f* replacing the infinitive (or the *sdmt=f*) after the preposition *ml* or in general, motivated by strive towards more precise expression of *tempus*. In later texts there is also a tendency to replace the non-geminating *sdm=f* by the *sdm.n=f* after the genitival *n* (e.g. Urk IV 807, 8, 12; 812, 9, 13) which might relate to the same phenomenon.

<sup>586</sup> The same variation occurs in the identically phrased 334c, where B1C and B2C write *hpr.n=l*.



297 (Nu pl. 17/BD 42) The deceased refers to his survival of death:

*n gm tr pn iri.n=f r=i*

That time did not accomplish its work against me.<sup>587</sup>

Outside complementation, the *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* is used for the same function in conditionals and unfulfilled wishes after *h3*.<sup>588</sup>

298 (Amenemhat VIIc-d) Amenemhat I says he could have defended himself in right circumstances:

*ir sšp.n=i 3s<sup>589</sup> h<sup>c</sup>w m drt=i iw di.n=i ht hmw*

Had I taken haste with weapons in my hand, I could have driven back the cowards.

299 (Admonitions 6, 5) The sage laments his own inaction at the time of crisis:

*h3 rf iri.n=i hrw=i m t3y 3t*

Would that I had made my voice (heard) at that moment.

But in contrast, e.g. after *iw* the *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* is used for straightforward descriptions of past instantiations which can hardly be anything but assertions. All these disparate uses would seem to indicate that the *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* itself is undefined as to its pragmatic function and on its own merely represents a neutral reference to past states of affairs. In complementation, then, it constitutes the second exception to the rule posited above that no form or construction without a specific modal profile may be used as a complement without being preceded by *ntt/wnt*.<sup>590</sup> In other words, functional-typologically, in complementation the *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* resembles the unmarked non-geminating (or immutable) *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* which it tends to replace in expressions of past background information. Excluding complements of *gm(i)*, assertive meaning of the form is in complement environments similarly brought out by the specific indicators *ntt/wnt* and non-assertive value is signalled by the absence of these markers of realis. The *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* forms an ancillary construal in the overall system of realis and irrealis in Earlier Egyptian complement clauses. However, there is one clear property that sets it

<sup>587</sup> Literally '...did not find that it could have acted against me.'

<sup>588</sup> However, not *all* conditionals with the *s<sub>d</sub>m.n=f* carry this meaning; cf. WGMT §242.

<sup>589</sup> So pSallier II and B3019; according to Lopez, (1963, 32n.II3a) pMillingen has *ir sšp=i 3 st*, which either involves *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* + the particle 3 (so Allen 2000, 230) or is corrupt.

<sup>590</sup> See 1.2.4.2 above.

apart from other modally neutral forms and constructions: unlike the latter and, indeed, also the geminating *sḏm=f*, the *sḏm.n=f* is specifically marked for past *tense*. Yet, it is this property which actually explains its modal parallelism with the non-geminating *sḏm=f*, reflected in the functional and modal-typological overlap of these forms as irrealis expressions in complementation and elsewhere.<sup>591</sup>

## 5.2 The particle *is*

This ‘second position clitic’ particle occasionally introduces complement clauses in Earlier Egyptian, but its distribution and functional profile is simultaneously more restricted and more general than that of *ntt/wnt*. In the Coffin Texts and particularly in the Pyramid Texts, *is* is relatively common in complements, but elsewhere its use in these constructions is marginal. Similarly, *is* is hardly ever found in complements of verbs other than objects of *know*, rarely after *say*, and even there it mostly combines only with nominal and adjectival predicate, as well as cleft sentences:<sup>592</sup>

300 (CT I 104/05d-e) Osiris is asked to announce the divine status of the deceased:

*di=k rh imnt nfrt s3=k is pw*

Let the Beautiful West know that he is your son.

301 (CT VI 348d-e) The deceased asserts that gods know his status:

*is(t) rh.n=sn nnk is tm sp-sn*

They know that All Entirety belongs to me.

302 (CT VII 492h) The deceased says to a group of gods concerning one of their kind:

*di=i rh=f ink is ms tn*

I will let him know that it was me who fashioned you.

In the following unique example, the subordinated construction is a conditional sentence:

<sup>591</sup> This topic is discussed in 6 below.

<sup>592</sup> Gilula 1971, 16; 1972, 59; Allen 1986b, 17; further examples after *rh*: Urk I 222, 12 (*mrrt ntr is*); CT II 24c (*in is N pn iri tn*); 214b (*nb=tn is pw*); 219a (*iw<sup>c</sup> wsir is pw*); IV 84i (*wr is nrw=f spd is hnw=f*); after *dd*: CT I 155g (*mr is mrt*) III 181c (*s3=f is pw N*).



303 (Urk I 39, 12-14) Niankhsekhmet explains the significance of the king's blessing of him:

*sk sw rh hn<sup>c</sup> šmsw=f r-dr=f ir is pry ht nb m r n hm=f hpr ø hr-<sup>c</sup>w*

He and his entire entourage knew that should something issue from the mouth of his majesty, it would be realised at once.

After prepositions *is* is very rare (on its own- see below). The most frequent, and also the most interesting use of *is* both after verbs and prepositions is to introduce complements consisting of entire second tenses:<sup>593</sup>

304 (CT I 278c-f) It is said of the couriers and messengers of the deceased:

*dd=sn n r<sup>c</sup> dsr rmn m i3bt pr.n=k is m ntr sb.n=k is m ntr h3.n=k is m ntr*

They tell Ra, who holds arm aloft in the east that you have gone, passed, and descended as a god.

305 (Urk I 223, 12-16) Pepiankh says he overcame his accusers:

*ir ht nb dddt r(=i) m-b3h srw pr.n(=i) hr=s m htp sk hr hr ddw dr b3k(=i) im m-b3h srw dr dd=sn is r(=i) m sdw*

As for anything said against me before officials, I came forth cleared and it fell upon those who had brought the charges- since I was innocent before the officials and since they spoke against me only through ill-will.

In the following example the apparent second tense seems to be treated as a grammatical subject of *wnn*:<sup>594</sup>

306 (pBerlin 8869, 5-6) The author speculates on his addressee's motives for contacting him:

*ir swt wnn irr is sš=k nn r sd<sup>c</sup>h3...*

But if it is the case that you are doing this only to break up the fighting...

By this token *is* could be characterised as a complementiser, were it not that the same element is also found as an indicator of pragmatic focus in the restricted-scope

<sup>593</sup> See n.250 above; cf. also Allen 1979, 8; 1984 §238; Silverman 1985, 272-74; 1986b, 316-17, 326. Silverman's claim that *is* allows the embedded second tense to maintain its 'initial' status is most incongruous; how can a patently subordinate complement proposition be 'initial'?

<sup>594</sup> The only other possible example of a subject clause with *is*, after passive *ddw* 'say', is the badly damaged UC 32212, 9-10.



negation *n...is/n-is* and in affirmative sentences,<sup>595</sup> and it is presumably also used to introduce nominal predicate- and second tense adjuncts.<sup>596</sup>

307 (Urk IV 363, 6-8) Queen Hatshepsut claims to have abided to Amun's will at all time:

*iw ḥmt=i rh.ti ntrr=f iri.n=i is (s)t hr wd=f ntf sšm wi*

My majesty knows how divine is, because I did it under *his* command; it was he who guided me.

In addition, rather than alone, in complement clauses *is* occurs often in connection with the elements *ntt/wnt*, which is almost a rule with prepositions.<sup>597</sup>

308 (CT VI 348f) The passage quoted in 301 continues:

*ist rh.n=sn ntt N tn is ḥk3 i'hw*

They know that I am the ruler of the farm-lands.

309 (Haskell Museum 13945, 6-7) The writer asks his dead addressee for help:<sup>598</sup>

*idr n(=i) grt nkmt nbt ntt r ḥmt(=i) i(w)=k rh.t(i) ntt irr(=i) is d3rw im*

Destroy for me every ill directed against my wife; you know that it is this where I have a need.

310 (CT VI 283e-g) An 'ascension-text' says to opposing spirits:

*imi sn tswy bksw b3w ḥnt pt n ntt p3.n=sn is r pt m bikw iw N pn hr dnḥw=sn*

Do not kiss the vertebra of souls who are foremost to heaven, because when they flew to heaven as vultures, this N was on their feathers.

The last two examples above are also fine instances of subordinated second tenses.

Syntagmatically and syntactically, *is* has thus a character markedly different from *ntt/wnt*, and the same seems to hold also for its pragmatic profile. In

<sup>595</sup> Loprieno 1991b, 216-19; 1995, 154-55.

<sup>596</sup> Allen 1979, 9; Junge 1979, 80-81, but see Allen 1986b, 17. In the PT *is* appears also as a post-positive element expressing similes (EAG §828). In these texts *is* appears to have been a wholly general marker of dependency, marking adjunction and complementation of all kinds of construals (Loprieno 1995, 154-55).

<sup>597</sup> With *ntt/wnt*, there is also at least one example of an object clause with *is* after *sdm* (CT I 29a).

<sup>598</sup> Wente (1990, 213) translates 'my wife, whom you know I have need of', but there is no resumptive *im=s*, and 'my wife' is not an antecedent sufficiently indefinite for *i(w)=k rh.t(i)* to function as a 'virtual relative' clause.

complementation, Loprieno has termed *is* a ‘theticity-actualiser’, which in view of it being often followed by cleft sentences and focalising second tenses, is hardly correct.<sup>599</sup> But it seems that *is* has little to do also with the modal organisation of assertion/non-assertion outlined. In example 95 above, *is* occurs in a complement which is subject to speaker doubt and under an interrogative scope, whereas *ntt/wnt* are conspicuous of their absence. This, the restrictions of distribution, and the fact that *is* was apparently eclipsed by *ntt/wnt* in complements where the latter can be used, suggest that this element represents an echo from a diachronically earlier grammatical system of complementation which was not organised around modality.<sup>600</sup> The redundant appearance of *is* with *ntt* is a tell-tale sign of this, as is the occurrence of these elements after verbs in different variants of the same passage, examples of which abound in the Coffin Texts:<sup>601</sup>

311 (CT VI) It is said of the deified deceased and gods:

348r-s            *ist rh.n=sn N tn is h̄d-t3*

348l              *ist rh.n=sn ntt N tn h̄d-t3*

349m            *rh r<sup>c</sup> ntt N tn is h̄d-t3*

They/Ra knows that this N is the dawn-god.

312 (CT V 49b-c) A messenger of a demon is told:

B6C, B2B0, B1Y, S2C *3h is r n N pn r ds=f*

*i shm is dd=k n h3b tw*

B4C                            *ntt 3h is r n wsr N r ds=f*

O mighty one, go and tell the one who sent you that the spell of this N is more powerful than his (the sender’s) knife.

After the stage of Earlier Egyptian represented by the Coffin Texts, *is* all but disappeared from complementation, but experienced a brief revival in this role in the royal inscriptions of the XVIII dynasty, where it appears to have been employed as a

<sup>599</sup> Loprieno 1991a, 214; 1995, 153-54; cf. the discussion in 1.2.1.1 above.

<sup>600</sup> Gilula (1972, 59; 1986, 161) similarly argues *is* to belong to an older language-stratum.

<sup>601</sup> Cf. Gilula 1971, 17.

conscious archaism with a particularly elevated flavour, and, it seems, not always correctly:<sup>602</sup>

313 (Urk IV 164, 5-6) Thutmose III explains his motives for increasing the daily offerings in Karnak:

*rh.n=i is nhḥ pw w3st dt pw imn*

I know that Thebes is an eternal place and Amun is for ever.

This development coincided with another apparent diachronic shift in the fortunes of the Earlier Egyptian system of complementation to be considered next.

### 5.3 The element *r-dd*

In contradistinction to *is*, the element *r-dd* is a latecomer in Egyptian. Its roots lie in an Earlier Egyptian expression employed to introduce direct quotes which was later grammaticalised as a complementiser following a widespread cross-linguistic tendency.<sup>603</sup> Sporadic examples of its use to introduce complements of governing verbs occur in the material studied for the present work, mostly in XVIII dynasty sources:<sup>604</sup>

314 (Urk IV 736, 16) Thutmose III explains why he has embellished the temple of Amun:

*[iw]=i rh.kw r-dd hnw[=f] pw*

I know that it is his resting-place.

315 (Urk IV 1543, 9-10) The sphinx of Giza says to Thutmose IV:

*sin.n=i r rdit iri=k ntt wn m ib=i rh.kw r-dd ntk s3=i ndty=i*

I have been waiting to let you do what has been in my mind, for I know that you are my son and my protector.

<sup>602</sup> One would have expected *nhḥ is pw w3st*. A further XVIII dynasty example is Urk IV 260, 6 (*s3t ntr is pw*). There are also contemporary examples of *is* as a post-position in similes, (e.g. Urk IV 367, 7) a use long since obsolete.

<sup>603</sup> Hopper & Traugott 1993, 14-16, 180-81.

<sup>604</sup> GEG §224; see also e.g. pRhind notes II, 3-4. (*sḏm.tw r-dd ḥk t3rw*); Urk IV 1312, 7-8 (*sḏm.n ḥm=f r-dd N ḥr ngmgm*).



*r-dd* is the precursor of Coptic *xε* and used in Late Egyptian as a generalised complementiser very much akin to English *that*, but quite differently from the earlier *ntt/wnt*. In Late Egyptian *r-dd* combines freely with *gm(i)*, is employed to introduce *sdm=f* functioning as a final (i.e. irrealis) clause in second tenses,<sup>605</sup> and, as Coptic *xε*, occurs in complements most certainly unasserted by the speaker.<sup>606</sup> This latter property already characterises the earliest attestation of *r-dd* as a complementiser ‘that’:

316 (pBM 10549, vs. 1-2) The author voices his exasperation with the complaints of his household:

*in wnn ib=i mḥ r-dd rdi.n=i ḳw n pr=i iw h3b.t(w) n=i r-dd nn wn ḳw*

How could I be confident that I have given rations to my household when people write to me saying: ‘there are no rations’?

The idea of this rhetorical question is that, in the circumstances described, the speaker feels anything but confident about the complement.<sup>607</sup> However, this has no effect on the use of *r-dd*.<sup>608</sup> *r-dd* has its own peculiarities and clearly is not a mere syntactic ‘converter’,<sup>609</sup> but functionally, syntactically and syntagmatically it is a harbinger of a new linguistic system which gradually replaced Earlier Egyptian, including its modally based organisation of object complement clauses.<sup>610</sup>

<sup>605</sup> Černý-Groll 1993, 384.

<sup>606</sup> For Late Egyptian examples, see Erman 1933 §729; Sweeney 1990, 944n.5. A fine Coptic example is BM Oriental MS 7027, fol.1a: ‘I decided once to go to the inner desert *ετραναγ xε οῡν̄ con ḿ̄ monoxoc ḿ̄ παζουγ* so that I might see whether there were brother monk(s) back there.’

<sup>607</sup> Cf. Uljas 2004, 101.

<sup>608</sup> Luft (1984, 107) similarly maintains that *r-dd* leaves open the modality of the following proposition.

<sup>609</sup> For instance, *r-dd* is not attested after the verb *ptr(i)*, ‘see’ in Late Egyptian.

<sup>610</sup> For further remarks to this effect, see 7.1.

## 6. THE CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND OF IRREALIS IN EARLIER EGYPTIAN COMPLEMENTATION

The bare geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*-forms used in Earlier Egyptian complementation have been seen to function as expressions of different types of irrealis modality. For the purposes of grammatical *description*, this characterisation might be deemed sufficient, but the said use of these forms is only truly *explained* through a more holistic inspection of their semantic-pragmatics in complementation. It would appear that the modal characteristics of the bare complement *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*-forms of mutable verbs and their so far largely overlooked *temporal* profiles therein, are connected and can be comprehended as reflective of underlying *conceptual* representations which the meanings expressed by the forms share. These essentially metaphorical schemata are not mere abstractions, but actually lay bare the more general or 'basic' meaning of the bare geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* in complementation. They are also recognisable in almost all other languages and represent some of the most important mental imagery with which language users structure their experience for the purpose of linguistic communication.

Besides modality, in complement clauses after verbs and prepositions, the bare geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*-forms display distinct temporal characteristics. From the examples quoted thus far it can be seen that after governing predicates the geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* mostly has a relative present or future time-reference, although the latter often involves realisation by (i.e. temporal simultaneity with) the actual time of speaking. Similarly after prepositions, the form mostly expresses 'general present', but the situation may also equally well be located in the past or future. A past geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f* preposition complement profiles the situation as durative, ongoing or habitual, and in the future, depending on the inherent *Aktionsart* of the situation, as continuing unbroken from the 'present' or as more or less immediately adjacent to the latter. In contrast, the non-geminating *s<sub>d</sub>m=f*, except for the seemingly truly prospective forms with the endings *-w/-y*, is consistently future or past in relation to the governing verb and after prepositions. When referring to past, the form describes the situation as completed; in the future, there is always a notion of temporal separation and lack of immediacy involved between the 'present'



and the state of affairs referred to.<sup>611</sup> Many of these differences are clearest in preposition complements: the variations in the future final clauses after *n-mrwt* and *r* were noted above,<sup>612</sup> but the same temporal juxtaposition is apparent also in non-future contexts as in 240-52 above or in the following contrasting instances with *wnn*:

317 (Hatnub 22, 2-3) Sebekemhat begins his self-presentation:

*ir m wn=i m hrd wn=i m smr s n hnwty n sn-nw=f*

When I was a child, I was already a royal friend; a man of the audience-chamber without equal.

318 (CT II 344/45b) The myth describes why Seth's transformation into a pig made it detestable to gods:

*hr m wnn<sup>613</sup> hr m hrdt=f hpr hrwt=f m š3 iw ø n mrt irt=f*

When Horus was (still) in his youth, his sacrificial animal came to be the pig. But that was when his eye had not yet suffered injury.

319 (Urk IV 150, 14-15) Nebamun tells of a royal act of favour:

*whm.n n=i hm=f hswt nsw-bit(y) mn-hpr-r<sup>c</sup> di nh s<sup>c</sup>3.n=f wi r wn=i r-h3t*

My lord, the dual king Menkheperra, given life, repeated favours for me and made me greater than I was before.<sup>614</sup>

320 (Deir el-Gebrawi II, pl. 8) A song of palanquin-bearers:

*hr hrw hdwt nfr s(y) m mh r wnn=s šw.t(i)*

Happy are the ones carrying the chair! It is better full than when it is empty.<sup>615</sup>

This can be quite subtle: in the following instance, aside from signalling completion versus continuity, the variation appears to be motivated also by the singularity/plurality of the subject and the resulting coherence versus 'distributiveness' of the situation:

<sup>611</sup> *Contra* Vernus (1990, 27), for whom the 'frequent side effect' of the 'subjective future' 'prospective *sdm=f*' is 'immediate future'; cf. also Reintges 1997, 122.

<sup>612</sup> See 4.2.

<sup>613</sup> So B2B0, B4B0, BqC, B2P, B4L<sup>a</sup>, B4L<sup>b</sup>, B1L, B17C and B1C; the variants S2P, S3P and S1C have *wn=f*.

<sup>614</sup> So also Urk IV 879, 4.

<sup>615</sup> Further identical examples are CCG 1419; 1536; Meir V pl.31.



321 (CT III 382e-83e) The deceased says:

*ink iri.n nb w<sup>c</sup> ... m h3b=f w<sup>c</sup>t=f m wn=f w<sup>c</sup>y m prt m r=f m wnn hḥ=f n k3 m s3ḥ  
wndwt=f*

I am one whom the Sole lord created... when he sent forth his only eye, when he was alone with what was to issue from his mouth, and when his million ka's were the protection of his companions.

Thus, rather than conveying distinctions of *tense*, what is at stake is less the locus of the situation in linear time than its *internal* temporal composition. Thus, temporally the forms clearly function as expressions of *aspect*; more particularly, the geminating *sḏm=f* can be said to profile the situation described as *imperfective* and its non-geminating counterpart as *perfective* in character.

This state of affairs opens up a particularly untidy can of worms, seeing that aspect in general and the categories perfective and imperfective in particular have historically been among the most disputed issues in Egyptological language studies.<sup>616</sup> Prior to the advent of the ST, the general theory of the suffix-conjugation forms was firmly based, in a Semitist tradition, on the assumption of the aspectual character of the various forms, culminating in the idea of the geminating *sḏm=f* as expressive of imperfective and the non-geminating form of perfective aspect.<sup>617</sup> Polotsky's discontent with the earlier views of Gardiner *et al* on the nature of the *sḏm=f*-forms and especially of their 'nominal' use was partly a reaction against the obvious shortcomings of this 'aspectual hypothesis' as a 'programmatically' all-embracing explanatory model. For example, it is inexplicable why third weak radical roots should show gemination in complement environments but not e.g. after auxiliaries if both these uses simply express imperfective aspect.<sup>618</sup> The solution of the ST was to draw a clear morpho-syntactic line between these forms and to introduce the concept of 'nominal forms'.<sup>619</sup> However, particularly in view of

<sup>616</sup> Comrie 1976 remains the most accessible general work on aspect; Binnick 1991 is more thorough and up-to-date. For historical and theoretical summaries of the research on aspect in Earlier Egyptian, see Depuydt 1983, *passim*; 1993, *passim*; Hannig 1987; Junge 1989, 30-34; Polotsky 1990; Ritter 1995, 45-60.

<sup>617</sup> See *locus classicus* GEG §§295, 438 (regarding complementation, §§442, 452); Polotsky 1990.

<sup>618</sup> See e.g. GEG §§462-63 where these roots are said to employ the 'perfective *sḏm=f*' after *tw*, but where the meaning is nonetheless defined as imperfective. This sense is, however, argued to result from the presence of *tw* (cf. §450. 5f, Obs) rather than from the form itself. This nullifies the semantic basis of the 'perfective *sḏm=f*' quite fundamentally.

<sup>619</sup> See 0.1.1 above.



accounting for the mutual distribution of the latter, the geminating-imperfective/non-geminating-perfective dichotomy maintained its status in discussions even after the 'polotskyan revolution'. There has been no shortage of revisions of its terminological and definitional basis or internal hierarchy,<sup>620</sup> regardless of the overhaul in the understanding of how many *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms there exist.<sup>621</sup> However, other things being equal, there is some consensus among scholars over what imperfective and perfective 'internal temporal constituency' denote *conceptually*. When describing the phenomenon of aspect, all linguistic analyses refer to a 'point of perspective' from which the situation aspectual profile is assessed. This 'viewpoint', or 'aspect locus',<sup>622</sup> is best understood as the 'location' where the speaker is metaphorically 'situated' in relation to the instantiation and from which the latter is viewed. Perfective aspect is said to imply that this viewpoint is somehow *external* to the duration of the event described which thus appears *complete* and in its totality.<sup>623</sup> In contrast, the characteristically ongoing and continuous profile of imperfective states of affairs involves an *internal* perspective from which the situation seems *incomplete* and in progress. This definition for imperfective and perfective is accepted by many Egyptologists.<sup>624</sup> Another metaphor for the same opposition is that externally-viewed perfective situations seem bounded or *closed* in character whereas the internal vantage point to imperfective states of affairs gives them an *open* appearance. In Egyptology, this characterisation has been masterly adapted by Loprieno, who views perfective and imperfective aspect in general as presence or absence of an abstract

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<sup>620</sup> Gardiner in particular has received much scorn for his famous characterisation of imperfectivity as 'repetition and continuity' (GEG §295). Various authors (Assmann 1974, 63; Loprieno 1984, 88n.5; Satzinger 1986, 300) have seen in this a confusion between aspect and *Aktionsart*, others (Vernus 1986, 378-79) between iterative (several repeated actions) and durative (continuous, unbroken). For a summary of attempts to realign the imperfective/perfective opposition with tense and *Aktionsart* or to replace it by new terminology, see Ritter 1995, 45-60. Also the usefulness of linguistic analogues, particularly Slavic aspect, has been variously asserted (Hannig 1984, 65; Loprieno 1984, 90; 1986b, 263; Eyre 1985, 58-61; Reintges 1997, 104) and denied (Satzinger 1986, 300-04).

<sup>621</sup> The imperfective profile of the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* has seldom been denied (but see Polotsky 1944, §§30-31; 1957, 115; 1964, 275-84; 1969, 470; 1987, 19 versus 1965, §49; 1976, 2.3.1; 1990, 770); the assumed 'prospective' form(s) have been characterised as perfective e.g. by Eyre, (1985, 60-01; 1987, 40) Loprieno (see below) and Satzinger (1989, 220) but see Roccati 1979, 46 for a contrary view regarding the '*s<sub>dmw</sub>=f*'. For Hannig (1982, 47) the 'prospective' occupies a position between imperfective and perfective; Vernus (1986, 376) argues that such 'mere modal forms' are aspectually neutral.

<sup>622</sup> Timberlake 1982, 310.

<sup>623</sup> This characterisation of perfective, and that of imperfective below, derives from the writings of early Latin grammarians and was adopted in 19<sup>th</sup> century studies on Slavonic aspect; see Binnick 1991 135-36, 157; its most succinct formulation in recent general linguistics is Comrie 1976, 4.

<sup>624</sup> See e.g. Assmann 1974, 62; Hannig 1982, 44, 52; Borghouts 1985, 30; Ritter 1995, 66, and already Gunn 1924, 110; but e.g. Satzinger (1986, 304-05) elevates progressivity as decisive to whether a situation is perfective or imperfective.



property of 'closure' of the event described.<sup>625</sup> Perfective situations are indicated as 'closed' whereas the 'openness' of imperfective aspect is tantamount to lack of such a feature. Yet, the 'location' of the 'closure-mark' (Grenzsymbol) is not predetermined and may lie at the 'end' [\_\_\_#] or at the 'beginning' [#\_\_\_] of the situation duration; in the first instance the result is a past completed, in the latter a prospective complete event.<sup>626</sup> However, regardless of this difference, in both the situation is 'closed off' from the speaker's 'point of perspective'. Loprieno's hypothesis has elements which are open to doubt and in contradiction with the views of the present work,<sup>627</sup> but somewhat adapted, it accounts admirably for the perceived temporal characteristics of the geminating and non-geminating  $s\dot{d}m=f$  in complementation. The 'lack of closure' of the latter allows it to describe situations located throughout linear time, whence their 'eternal', habitual, continuous and 'plural' profile.<sup>628</sup> In contrast, the idea of a situation-initial or -final 'closure-mark' is not only in keeping with the well-known cross-linguistic restrictions of perfective aspect and the time of speaking/present tense, but accounts for the variously past and future reference of complements with the (-w/-y-less) non-geminating  $s\dot{d}m=f$  and removes the last semantic motivation for postulates of these construals as concealing various indistinguishable 'not necessarily future' 'prospective' etc.  $s\dot{d}m=f/s\dot{d}mw=f$ s.<sup>629</sup>

<sup>625</sup> Loprieno 1984, 88-89; 1986a, 19, 22; 1986b, 263. For counter-arguments, see Satzinger 1987, 619; 1989, 207.

<sup>626</sup> In addition to the references in n.625, cf. also Loprieno 1991a, 210n.41. As stressed by Comrie, (1976, 18-21) these concepts are not synonymous.

<sup>627</sup> The 'closure' is, according to Loprieno, an inherent marking-property of certain mutations of the verbal root, including the 'prospektiv  $s\dot{d}mw=f$ ' not found in all verb-classes, which instead use other forms, e.g. the 'prospective  $s\dot{d}m=f$ ' (=Allen's 'subjunctive') and the 'gewöhnliche'  $s\dot{d}m=f$  as its functional counterparts (Loprieno 1984, 95, 97; 1986a, 33; 33n.20-22; 38n.39). Except for the 'subjunctive', this theorem resembles the view adopted in the present work, but Loprieno introduces another semantic level [+/-REALISATION] and labels the 'prospective' -REALISED. The geminating form is seen only as 'continuative' (a subcategory of imperfective) and hence also 'unrealised' (1986a, 23) whereas the 'gewöhnliche'  $s\dot{d}m=f$  is 'neutral' in this respect. The definitional basis of these purely ontological labels is questionable (in what sense is a continuative situation 'unrealised'?) and they are not justified by the evidence: e.g. habitual sense of the geminating  $s\dot{d}m=f$  is commonplace. Loprieno also suggests that his system pertains only to the earliest stratum of the language, giving way subsequently to the 'transposition'-system of the ST (1984, 95; 1986a, 83-87, *passim*; cf. also n.63 above).

<sup>628</sup> For the last-mentioned property, see the insightful discussion in Schenkel 1965; cf. also Allen 1984, §§608-09; Meltzer 1991, 232-33; Janssen-Winkeln 1997.

<sup>629</sup> See 4.2 above; the correct sense is retrieved with ease from the co(n)text. Here a special mention should be made of the form  $wn$  of the auxiliary  $wnn$  (cf. n.84 above). This writing has been argued to represent separate future and past 'converters' (Vernus 1990, 49-51; Ritter 1995, 189) or an idiosyncratic spelling for ' $wn.n=f$ ' (EAG §533, 2; Doret 1980, 40-41; (in Doret 1979  $n wnn=f$  is analysed as ' $n s\dot{d}m.n=f$ !); cf. already GEG §414.1 & Add. to §413). If the separate 'converters' existed, then either  $wnn$  would have to be the *only* verb in the entire lexicon exhibiting such a split, or all other past and future non-geminating  $s\dot{d}m=f$ s would also have to represent different forms. Vernus chose the latter alternative with his 'not necessarily future prospective  $s\dot{d}mw=f$ ' (see n.530). The





The variation of tense herein has nothing to do with time-location, but indicates hierarchies of tentativeness, hypotheticality and doubt as well as deontic force and speaker commitment/acceptance- i.e. degrees of assertivity and irrealis.<sup>630</sup> These phenomena are based on a *metaphorical link* drawn by language users between temporal and modal 'distance', which allows the former to be used to indicate degrees of the latter.<sup>631</sup> This is not a prerogative of tense, however; the following remarks apply quite generally:<sup>632</sup>

'Whatever is happening 'now' (and 'here'), i.e. whatever is proximate to the time and place of the speech event, can normally be vouched for by the speaker, who experiences it as actual and real. However, a situation which takes place 'not-now' and 'not-here', i.e. one which is distant from the time and place of utterance, cannot be vouched for by the speaker in the same way: it is not experienced as actuality and reality... It is thus reasonable to see the move from spatial and temporal proximity to a broader and more abstract conceptual and cognitive proximity (actuality/reality), and similarly, from spatial and temporal distance to a more abstract conceptual and cognitive distance (non-actuality/non-reality).'

The metaphor of 'distance' is a cognitive 'primitive' associated with, and used to express irrealis modality in great many languages.<sup>633</sup> The reason for this is intuitively clear: matters further a field are generally less controllable, verifiable and foreseeable than those closer at hand.<sup>634</sup> The same principle underlies also the use of the bare *sdm=f*-forms for irrealis function in Earlier Egyptian. Keeping in mind the issue of use, the peculiar 'distance' of the non-geminating forms in complementation is a result of an explicitly and *generally* 'external' and detached viewpoint to the situation. This is manifest as perfective aspect in the domain of temporal reference,

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<sup>630</sup> D. James 1982; Wallace 1982, 202-03; Fleischman 1989, 4-18; Bybee 1995; Palmer 2000, 203-21. Similarly, in 'I can/could lift 100 kg' past implies conditional/lesser commitment to success. Cf. also 1.3.3 above for the variation of past and present after the verbs *wish* and *hope*.

<sup>631</sup> Fleischman 1989, 2-3; Sweetser 1990, 55; of course, 'temporal distance' is in itself already a metaphor based on the perceived similarity between time and space (Fleischman *ibid*, 39n.3).

<sup>632</sup> Fleischman 1989, 2, boldface by the author.

<sup>633</sup> See Steele 1975, 216-17; Slobin & Aksu 1982, 198; Vidal & Klein 1998 present an interesting case of a language grammaticalising irrealis from a general marker of spatial distance; cf. also Hardy & Gordon 1980, 193.

<sup>634</sup> There is some asymmetry herein. Future can be affected to varying degrees by decisions taken 'now' whereas true 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung' is impossible. This lack of control over past would seem to solve the old puzzle of why is *past* rather than future often chosen as the metaphor for uncertainty in grammaticalisation.



whereas in the domain of modality the 'distance' involved functions as a *force-dynamics barrier* and sets the instantiation described more beyond manipulation, certainty and commitment.<sup>635</sup> In contrast, the greater 'proximity' of the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* is a result of the generally less 'disassociated' speaker perspective to the situation described that is manifest both aspectually and modally as absence of a temporal and force-dynamics barrier. Although included in this overall category, the situation is less strongly irrealis and higher on the scale of subjective speaker commitment.

The connection between the concepts near/far and temporal/modal function also accounts for the respective profiles of the un-introduced geminating and non-geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* complements with regards the discourse relevance of the information conveyed. The differences between the inherent figure/ground, background/foreground and focus/de-focus-properties of imperfective and perfective aspect have been widely commented upon in linguistic studies.<sup>636</sup> An instantiation viewed perfectly can be likened to a circumscribed geographical area, e.g. a field, seen from a distance, whence the feature likely to attract most attention is the 'enclosure' or whatever delimiting feature that separates the field from the surrounding landscape. Imperfective vantage point is analogous to actually 'standing on' the ground of the 'field' without necessarily perceiving or at least not primarily focussing on its limits. Lunn describes this difference with a visual parable of 'aspectual lens'.<sup>637</sup> By adopting an imperfective 'internal' vantage point, the speaker may be metaphorically 'too close' to obtain a focussed view to the totality of the situation, which appears as lacking in coherence and 'out of focus'.<sup>638</sup> Imperfective profiling is thus eminently suitable for concentrating on the internal development of a situation or something that captures interest outside it, but the result of this is that the state of affairs itself tends to fade away from 'the realm of precision and concrete reality into that of vagueness and unreality'<sup>639</sup> and receive mere 'reduced assertion'. Manifestations of this are e.g. the grammatical links in many languages between

<sup>635</sup> A comparable system is seen e.g. in Itzaj Maya (Hofling 1998).

<sup>636</sup> Fundamental studies are Hopper 1979; 1981; Wallace 1982; Lunn 1985; Fleischman 1985; 1995, 539-42; Chvany 1985; Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986; see also Hopper & Thompson 1980, 281-88; Binnick 1991, 378-83.

<sup>637</sup> Lunn 1985.

<sup>638</sup> Lunn 1985, 57.

<sup>639</sup> Wallace 1982, 204; see also D. James 1982, 399-400.



habitual and irrealis noted earlier on,<sup>640</sup> or the use of imperfective in Russian for indicating that the verb and its complements are not the focus of the sentence, but e.g. an optional adverbial adjunct.<sup>641</sup>

(56) V etoy porternoy ya obdumyval svoyu dissertatsiyu i napišal (PERF) pervoe lyubovnoe pis'mo k Vere. Pišal (IMPF) karandashom.

'In this tavern I pondered my thesis and wrote my first love letter to Vera. I wrote it in pencil.'

Another example of this is the often-noted use of imperfective in narrative to create background or setting to more focal situations which form the narrative 'backbone' and carry the 'story' forward.<sup>642</sup> Not coincidentally, the latter are often perfective in character. The external viewpoint of this aspectual category renders the totality of the situation as the primary focus rather than its internal detail or some extraneous landmark. Perfective situations thus appear as sharply individuated and defined 'figures' which are 'isolable from their contexts and easy to perceive as wholes'.<sup>643</sup> Similarly, in Earlier Egyptian, complement clauses with the geminating *sḏm=f* e.g. focus merely on the internal character of the situation described and generally portray it as close to the speaker's 'mental scope', but also as lacking in relevance and salience *per se*. In contrast, the same constructions with non-geminating form(s) typically describe subjectively and concretely distant, yet holistically viewed states of affairs which comprise the 'figures' in the flow of events.<sup>644</sup> They may also refer to complete background situations, but, as seen, here the *sḏm.n=f* is prone to be used when possible.<sup>645</sup> Thus again the temporal and modal properties of the forms used in un-introduced complement clauses are parallel and inseparable.

<sup>640</sup> See 0.1.2. In Italian and French, imperfective aspect is also common in descriptions of dreams, hallucinations and other semi-conscious states in which the speaker's ability to focus on the events narrated is impaired; see Lunn 1985, *passim*; Fleischman 1995, 530-32.

<sup>641</sup> Hopper 1981, 218-19.

<sup>642</sup> E.g. Comrie 1976, 3; Hopper 1981, 213-15; Lyons 1982, 118; Wallace 1982, 208-09; Saeed 1998, 122.

<sup>643</sup> Lunn 1985, 52.

<sup>644</sup> In Earlier Egyptian the terms *figure* and *ground* describe the contrast better than the alternative labels *background* and *foreground* inasmuch as 'the foreground is necessarily that which is less distant', whereas the non-geminating *sḏm=f* is first and foremost used for information which is 'temporally or psychologically distant... and yet remains as a figure' (Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986, 855) and the geminating *sḏm=f* for 'close ground'.

<sup>645</sup> See 5.1 above. Waugh & Monville-Burston (1986, 851) similarly note of the French simple past, often characterised as a foreground-tense, that 'it need not be foregrounded; it may remain as a simple



The temporal and the irrealis-modal functions of the bare geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*'s in complementation thus reflect and result from the metaphorical 'viewpoints' to the situations described. In case of the geminating *sdm=f* and forms with *-w/-y*, this 'perspective' does not vary according to use, whereas with the other non-geminating unmarked *sdm=f*-forms which lack a fixed modal *and* temporal (aspectual) profile, it does. The relationship of the aspectual-modal characteristics of these forms need not be viewed as derivative; i.e., for example the proximal irrealis character of geminating *sdm=f* complements is not necessarily a corollary of its aspectual properties.<sup>646</sup> Instead, their co-occurrence is based on their perceived similarity with the more abstract concepts distant/close, and this is, in turn, used as a guiding principle in coding semantic-pragmatic content onto grammar.<sup>647</sup> Imagination is capable of conjuring up an unlimited array of thoughts, ideas and 'meanings' that one may wish to express in linguistic terms, but a unique and specific expression does not and cannot exist for each and every meaning. Thus there arises a need to 'map' them onto e.g. verb-forms in a way that is economical and 'makes sense' intuitively. There are various ways for achieving this, but all reflect the same principle of associating the same expressions with such meanings that are viewed to share some general 'family resemblance' or 'ideational' similarity which makes them 'natural' associates. The organisation and expression of irrealis in Early Egyptian complementation provides a glimpse into the inherent 'logic' of this associating of semantic-pragmatics with grammatical expressions and the use of metaphor therein which is both elegant and approachable. In fact, results of similar processes are obvious throughout this language. For example, the *sdm.n=f* may, as seen, be used for modal functions such as counterfactual which have very little to do with time as

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figure, with no difference in significance, or it may recede to the background.' The division between the functions of the geminating and non-geminating forms is, once again, not sharply delineated, but scalar and graded in character.

<sup>646</sup> Cf. e.g. Thacker (1954, 212) who claims that the 'energetic' sense of the geminating *sdm=f* is derived from its earlier imperfective meaning. Borghouts (1985) argues similarly for the 'howness' of this form. However, the possibility of derivation cannot be excluded out of hand; studies on the development of TAM-systems suggest that diachronically temporal functions of grammatical patterns precede possible modal ones (see Givón 1982 for discussion). However, this is the case when the modal properties *derive* from temporal functions e.g. through a metaphorical link, but when there is no such linkage, nothing prevents the semantic-pragmatic potential of an expression from being expanded in the reverse order. The diachronic development of the expression *hpr.n* (2.3) could be argued to be an example of such a process.

<sup>647</sup> Cf. Waugh & Monville-Burston 1986, 853, who note on what they call 'detachment', a synonym to 'distance', that it is 'more general than any of its contextualizations... it simply means separation or dissociation within a universe.'

such.<sup>648</sup> This extension of the form's functional scope derives from the very same metaphorical use of past tense, viewed as distance and remoteness, for irrealis modality as in many other languages. Similarly the grammaticalisation of the patterns *hr/m/r* + infinitive as tenses results from a metaphorical application of spatial concepts for temporal description.<sup>649</sup> Such a 'mental leap' is possible because the imagery used to cognise time and space is essentially the same. Thus, the mechanisms of organising temporal-modal meaning onto bare *sdm=f*-forms in Earlier Egyptian complementation do not represent a curiosity of this grammatical domain alone, nor are they restricted to this language. Instead, related and analogous phenomena occur widely within and without Egyptian. The more abstract characteristics and functional overlaps of the Earlier Egyptian organisation of irrealis modality in the constructions studied emphasise its deeper similarities with other modal systems and allows it to be viewed more holistically as a part of a larger non-atomic 'meaning-continuum' which ultimately covers and extends over all the categories of TAM.<sup>650</sup>

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<sup>648</sup> 5.1 above.

<sup>649</sup> Collier 1994, 60-67.

<sup>650</sup> For further discussion, see 7.3 below.



## 7. CONCLUSION AND BEYOND

### 7.1 Summary and the diachronic status of the system

Earlier Egyptian complementation reveals a system of expressing modality whose richness of expressivity is unparalleled among ancient languages, but which is nevertheless approachable and shares its fundamentals with other modal systems. To recapitulate; the grammar of complement clauses governed by syntactically higher predicates and prepositions is based on the expression of different sorts of modality. The primary division is that between assertion and non-assertion. Complement propositions towards which the speaker entertains a high degree of commitment and acceptance, and which are presented as new and high in information value are asserted and receive grammatical marking as realis. Clauses describing states of affairs which are lacking in one or more of these characteristics are not asserted but treated as grammatically irrealis. Asserted complements are marked by the specific realis operators *ntt/wnt/iwt* whereas irrealis is characterised by the absence of these elements. In affirmative complements, irrealis is typically expressed by employing bare *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*-forms, whereas in the negative the negations *tm/nfr.n* appear. Affirmative irrealis also displays various sorts of internal divisions which are expressed by different sorts of un-introduced *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*-forms. These differences are not made in all root-classes of the Earlier Egyptian verb, and are only displayed by mutable roots, of which final weak radical verbs are the most important. Bare *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* complement clauses with these verbs can be divided into binary categories on the basis of

- Modal typology: proximal versus distal irrealis
- Morphology: geminating versus non-geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*
- Form-function: marked versus unmarked.

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The first two of the above divisions stand in mutual one-to-one correspondence: proximal irrealis is expressed by the geminating, distal by the non-geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*-forms. The division of form-function cuts across the two former classes: the geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* and non-geminating forms with the endings *-w* and *-y* represent specialised, or marked, irrealis moods with only this function, whereas other non-

geminating (as well as immutable) *sdm=f*-forms are modally unmarked and obtain their irrealis value through negative marking by not being introduced by *ntt/wnt*. In the class of doubling verbs the doubling form (e.g. *m33*) is modally unmarked, the short (*m3*) can be characterised as a marked (distal) irrealis.<sup>651</sup> The variation of the different bare *sdm=f*-forms indicates the degree to which the irrealis proposition is viewed as non-assertable and communicates varying speaker approximations and evaluations of its reliability, acceptability and discourse relevance. Situations viewed in committed terms, and which often are realised, but which have a defective information value, are typically coded as proximal irrealis, whereas non-realisation, lack of commitment and negative attitude correlate with the use of distal. However, the division between these, and, indeed, all the modal-typological categories is scalar rather than absolute: the characteristics noted represent merely the most *prototypical* values of the forms in complement use. Overall, realis and irrealis form one continuous scale of modal meaning which extends from the expression of information known, accepted and viewed as newsworthy, to unknown, rejected and believed to be lacking in relevance. The various grammatical forms and construals divide up this continuum and are, as it were, 'located' at its different points. However, the lines of division within this scale are quite ill-definable. Already the basic categories of realis and irrealis are, in Egyptian as elsewhere, inseparable, inasmuch as treating propositions in one way or the other is fundamentally a speaker choice and in most cases reflects his subjective perception of likelihood of the situation described and the reliability and relevance of the information passed. This is poignantly the case also with the typically Egyptian phenomenon of grammaticalised distal and proximal irrealis. For example, even in case of notionally non-assertive governing verbs after which irrealis is the only option available, the speaker may, by employing the proximal, indicate that the situation is ontologically realised, but may also use the distal if signalling this is deemed superfluous for whatever reason.<sup>652</sup> The approximate domains of use of all the construals *vis-à-vis* the key factors of commitment and relevance is represented in the diagram below in which the relative

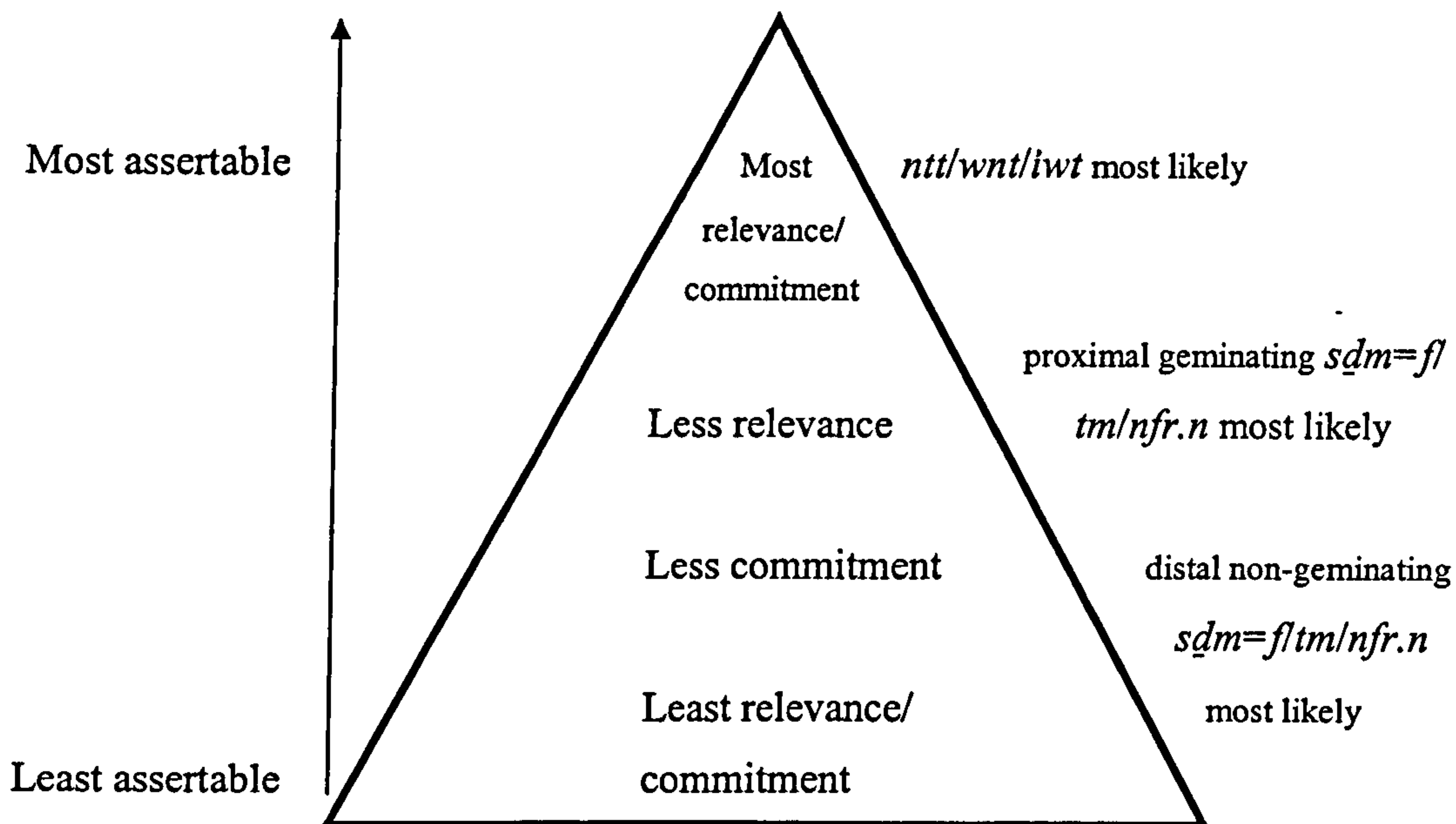
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<sup>651</sup> The apparent discrepancy in the form-function divide between final weak radical- (geminating = marked proximal, non-geminating = unmarked distal) and doubling roots (long = unmarked, short = marked distal) is in no way surprising. Gemination and doubling are distinct phenomena and as a result, the distribution of modal functions between and within the classes is radically different.

<sup>652</sup> See 1.3.



mass of the pyramid also reflects the quantitative differences of actual attestations between the forms and constructions:<sup>653</sup>



The fundamentals of the variation between assertion and non-assertion are most apparent in object complement clauses of verbs of locution, cognition and perception, after which *ntt/wnt*-introduced and bare *sdm=f*-clauses of all kinds are found in abundance.<sup>654</sup> These predicates show in an ideal manner the context-sensitivity of the speaker's modal choices and their dependence of the surrounding discourse. Their behaviour also suggests that the *ntt/wnt*-introduced realis-clauses are analytic construals consisting of modally neutral forms and constructions ushered in by functional elements which assign them the grammatical role of realis.<sup>655</sup> In contrast, the modal profile of object complements of deontic, volitive and negatively implicative predicates of e.g. ordering, requesting and preventing, is largely determined by the notional properties of these verbs.<sup>656</sup> As notionally non-assertive they are systematically incompatible with asserted complements and the realis-markers *ntt/wnt*. However, also here the role of the speaker is, depending on the verb in question, variously brought to fore in the complement through indication of

<sup>653</sup> The other *sdm=f*-forms besides those from weak verbs are abstracted away for the sake of illustration.

<sup>654</sup> See 1.2.

<sup>655</sup> See 1.2.4.2.

<sup>656</sup> See 1.3.



differences in the strength of the attitude expressed and the ontological status of the complement situation.<sup>657</sup> Earlier Egyptian subject complements also display the division between asserted realis *ntt/wnt*-marked- versus bare geminating/non-geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* clauses as the verbs of locution/cognition/perception, and the same degree of sophistication to which this can be employed for 'expressive' purposes.<sup>658</sup> This holds also for the negatives of both these types of complement clauses, where *iwt/ntt n* and *tm/nfr.n* appear in variation.<sup>659</sup> All these forms and constructions also occur after prepositions used as conjuncts. Here, in a fashion analogous to complements of governing predicates, the subordinate clause is assigned a status as realis and irrealis partly on basis of the speaker's attitudinal stance towards the situation described, but also, and, in fact primarily, of his evaluation of its discourse relevance and value as information.<sup>660</sup> Owing to their role as components of adjunct clauses, which by default provide 'circumstantial' background-information, Earlier Egyptian preposition complements are mostly modally irrealis, but may also, when needed and possible, be profiled as realis by the speaker.<sup>661</sup> The bare *s $\underline{d}$ m.n=f* occurs as a supplementary form to the principal system of introduced realis/un-introduced irrealis *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*-clauses in certain irrealis environments where the unmarked non-geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f* may also appear, but where the overall semantic-pragmatic value of the proposition is least in accord with the prototypical distal profile which the latter form is assigned in un-introduced complements.<sup>662</sup> Finally, the various levels of irrealis modality also merge and interact with the semantic domain of tempus, particularly aspect. The prototypical characteristics of proximal irrealis share conceptual similarities with imperfective aspect whereas distal displays 'family resemblance' with perfectivity, and these similarities are exploited in 'mapping' the temporal and modal functions onto the bare geminating and non-geminating *s $\underline{d}$ m=f*-forms in the particular syntactic and syntagmatic environment of complementation.<sup>663</sup>

This organisation of complement clause modality is a characteristically Earlier Egyptian phenomenon. It is clearly functional already in the earliest non-religious

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<sup>657</sup> See 1.3.2 and 1.3.3.

<sup>658</sup> See 2.2.

<sup>659</sup> See 3.

<sup>660</sup> See 4.

<sup>661</sup> As a third alternative, the modality may be left unmarked in 'unspecialised' adjuncts without prepositional conjuncts; see 4.3.

<sup>662</sup> See 5.1.

<sup>663</sup> See 6.

royal and private inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, and the same appears to hold also for the Pyramid Texts. As seen at various occasions, in these inscriptions the elements *ntt/wnt* occur and are absent after the same verbs and prepositions and under the same conditions as later on; indeed, some of the finest examples of non-assertion arising from lack of acceptance after verbs are to be found in these texts.<sup>664</sup> Similarly, in the PT verbs and prepositions introduce bare geminating and non-geminating *sdm=f*-forms and the difference between the two appears to be the same as elsewhere in Earlier Egyptian. However, the Pyramid Texts nevertheless both warrant and seem to require an independent investigation into their complement modality. For example, as the said inscriptions are entirely devoid of the ‘pseudo-verbal’ patterns [subject + *hr/m/r* + infinitive], asserted *future* complements cannot be expected to appear as *ntt/wnt=f r sdm*, but must have been indicated by other means. It may be that in the PT the non-geminating *sdm=f*-forms with and without the ending *-w* (and/or *-y*) carry some difference in meaning, which might have been used for this purpose in complementation; for example, the variation in the following instance may not be accidental given the apparent difference in the governing verb tense:<sup>665</sup>

322 (PT 795a-b) The king’s burial ground is addressed:

P/M: *dd r<sup>c</sup> s3hw=f N pn*

*sdm nn dd.n ntrw*

N: *dd.n r<sup>c</sup> s3h=f N pn*

Listen to this what the gods have said: ‘Ra says/has said that he will/would transfigure this N’.

Yet, whether or not this is so, the traditional explanation of an ‘objective’ *sdmw=f* versus ‘modal’ ‘subjunctive’ future is presumably too one-sided, given that, as seen, here it is not merely the *original* speaker’s perspective that has to be taken into account, but also the *reporter*’s. In 322 the editors of the different variants might have understood the speakers’ attitude towards the reported proposition differently: after all; this is also what the variation of *will/would* signals in English. However, if the form-variation here and elsewhere in PT complement clauses is based on modality, this might reveal new insight into the development and origins of the system

<sup>664</sup> See n.168 and the use of the negation *tm* in 205 above.

<sup>665</sup> J.P. Allen, PC.



described in the present work. Indeed, the PT are likely to hold an answer to e.g. such puzzles as the exact position of the element *is* in the grammar and modal organisation of complement clauses in Earlier Egyptian.<sup>666</sup> Similarly, it is noteworthy that in Old Egyptian the bare *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* is apparently not used after prepositions; the frequency of this construct increases in time, with its greatest concentration in Early XVIII dynasty texts.<sup>667</sup> This anomaly represents another target for subsequent research on modality in Earlier Egyptian complementation, a topic which the present work does not by any means claim to have exhausted.<sup>668</sup>

Even if the modal system of realis and irrealis discussed would appear to characterise Earlier Egyptian as a whole, it did not survive the diachronic transition to Late Egyptian, i.e. the linguistic idiom of non-literary texts of the New Kingdom and particularly the Ramesside era. As seen, the appearance of the expression *r-dd* to introduce complements in informal texts of the late Middle Kingdom and in the monumental inscriptions of the early New Kingdom appears to signal the beginning of the end for the organisation outlined.<sup>669</sup> Subsequent development saw further extension of use of *r-dd* and its grammaticalisation as a well-nigh generic complementiser. In Late Egyptian *ntt/wnt* have disappeared completely and *r-dd* occurs also in environments where the former group of elements could not.<sup>670</sup> Further signs of the gradual collapse of the modal system of complementation during the XVIII dynasty are examples such as the following in which the object complement of the notionally non-assertive predicate *mr(i)* is introduced by the initial auxiliary *iw*:

323 (Urk IV 890, 10-11) Amenemhab boasts of his camaraderie with the king:

*iw šms.n(=i) nb=l r nmtwt=f hr h3st mh3tt rsyt mr=f iw=l m iry-rdwy=f*

I followed my lord to his journeys in northern and southern lands, for he wanted me to be his closest companion.

<sup>666</sup> See 5.2 above.

<sup>667</sup> Cf. EAG §534; Junge 1978a, 105; in the PT the situation can hardly have been different (*contra* Allen 1984 §411).

<sup>668</sup> See 7.2 below for a brief discussion of *mrr=fpw*-constructions.

<sup>669</sup> See 5.3.

<sup>670</sup> As noted, (3.2) this fate befell *twt*, the negative equivalent of *ntt/wnt*, already at the end of the Old Kingdom, although it still occurs in the Coffin Texts. *ntt* seems to have undergone phonetic erosion prior to its eventual disappearance:

Block in the mortuary temple of Merenptah (temp. Amenhotep III):

*di=f rh psdt 3t r nty tw h3.ti m nsw-bity hr st hr [nt 3nhw]*

He shall let the Great Ennead know that you have appeared as a dual king on the Horus' throne of the living.



Similarly, irrealis ceased from being indicated by bare *sḏm=f*-forms in pace with the overall demise of the method of creating different suffix-conjugation forms by mutating the verb-stem. In Late Egyptian *sḏm=f* complements of governing verbs are largely restricted to bound causative constructions with *rđi*, whereas they are scarcely found after fully lexical predicates.<sup>671</sup> Save for such semi-lexicalised compounds as *m-ḏr sḏm=f* (Coptic ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉϥⲟⲩⲧⲏ), *sḏm=f* is neither used after prepositions, where it is replaced by the infinitive (for present and future) or the relative form (for past) preceded by the possessive pre-formative *p3y=f*.<sup>672</sup>

324 (KRI III 255, 5-7) The author quotes his recipient from an earlier correspondence:

*ḏḏ=k n=i gr.tw m iri mdwt iw=i r dit in.tw n=k p3 k3r m p3y=i spr*

You said to me: 'Be quiet, say nothing, and I will send you the boat when I arrive'.

325 (KRI VI 776, 5-7) A question put to a suspected tomb-robber:

*ih p3 shr n šmi l.irw=k irm N iw=k (hr) ph t3 st ʿ3t iw=k (hr) in p3y ḥḏ im r-bl (r)-s3  
p3 šm l.iri n3 it3w*

What was the business of your going with N and entering the Great Place and bringing this silver out of it after the thieves had left?

This development took place, in turn, parallel to the major remodelling in Late Egyptian of the methods of forming adjunct clauses. The 'unmarked' 'circumstantial' clauses disappeared altogether and the language developed a generic adjunct 'converter' from the auxiliary *iw*. These changes are likely to be connected and to reflect a global demotion in Ancient Egyptian of the role of modality from its prior status as the dominant factor in the grammar of complement- and adjunct clauses. However, as the example of indirect speech shows, similar shifts away from modally-based grammatical organisation occasionally took place also during the diachronic stage of Egyptian studied in the present work, well before the onset of Late Egyptian.<sup>673</sup> On the other hand, the fortunes of the element *is* give reason to assume that the system of realis and irrealis described represents a relatively recent

<sup>671</sup> Cf. Junge 2001, 214-21.

<sup>672</sup> See Černý-Groll 1993, chapter 51, 9; Junge 2001, 102-04, 229-31.

<sup>673</sup> See 1.2.1.

development in historical Egyptian.<sup>674</sup> It may be that, in a fashion analogous to e.g. the difference between generic versus progressive present, grammaticalised in Middle Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic but not in the PT and Late Egyptian,<sup>675</sup> the indication of irrealis and realis modality in complementation and the organisation of the grammar of these construals accordingly fluctuated through the diachronic stages of Ancient Egyptian. Further research on complementation might clarify this question and should, in any case, adopt an increasingly historical perspective to the topic.

## 7.2 Extending the hypothesis

The principles and categories of modality established in the present work would also appear, as argued repeatedly in the course of discussion, to have further applications both in studying the grammar and semantic-pragmatic character of types of Earlier Egyptian complement clauses not discussed here, as well as beyond this particular syntactic category. In addition to negations with *tm/nfr.n*, adjunct clauses, and the constructions following the operators *ntt/wnt*,<sup>676</sup> such areas are e.g. the peculiarities of the verb *gm(i)*, the element *hpr.n* and the genesis of auxiliaries, as well as relative constructions,<sup>677</sup> complements embedded as predicates of the element *pw* in bipartite nominal sentences and also the old chestnut of second tenses. Although full discussion of these issues belongs to the domain of future research,

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<sup>674</sup> See 5.2.

<sup>675</sup> Cf. Eyre 1994, 119.

<sup>676</sup> See 1.2.4.1; 2.2 and 4.3 above.

<sup>677</sup> In the present work the issue of relative forms and –constructions has been deliberately avoided due to the enormity of the topic. However, just as in the original polotskyan analysis the geminating *sḏm=f* was seen as an ‘abstract relative form’, the morphological parallelisms between the *sḏm=f* relative form and the geminating *sḏm=f*, the close similarity of the complementiser *ntt* and the relative particle *nty/ntt/ntyw*, the possibility of creating relative *sḏm.n=f* of intransitive VOM and the *tm*-negation of the relative forms are hardly coincidental. Seeing that relative clauses typically pragmatically presuppose the situation described, it may well be that in Earlier Egyptian relativisation was part of the same modal organisation as complementation. It is quite remarkable that relative clauses seem to display the same tripartite split into bare geminating/non-geminating *tm*-negated *sḏm=f*- (and *sḏm.n=f*-) forms, *nty/ntt*-introduced, and wholly ‘unspecialised’ (or ‘virtual relative’) types. As for the question of the *sḏm=f/sḏm.n=f* relative ‘forms’ themselves, there does not seem to be any particular reason to presume their existence as separate morphological entities simply because they require the use of a relative pronoun in translation and show agreement. It may well be that the agreement is actually a feature which can be *added* to the bare geminating or non-geminating *sḏm=f* and the *sḏm.n=f* when they are *used* ‘relatively’. This would mean that in fact the same un-introduced forms used as irrealis in complementation can also be used as un-introduced relative clauses, and this parallelism suggests that they may share the same modal profile in both instances just as they share the same negation and features such as the *.tw*-passivisation of the *sḏm.n=f*. However, clarifying this requires nothing less than a thorough reanalysis of Earlier Egyptian relative clauses from a modal and functional perspective.



certain preliminary remarks on the two last-mentioned issues will serve as an illustration for the possibilities of extending the present analysis into other areas of Earlier Egyptian grammar.

The construal *mrr=f pw* is a recurrent feature of Earlier Egyptian medical and 'aetiological' texts where it is used to clarify the meaning, etymology etc. of a preceding word or expression. Syntactically the construction is a nominal predicate sentence consisting of a geminating *sḏm=f*- or *tm*-clause predicate complement of a *pw*-subject:<sup>678</sup>

326 (Smith 10, 21-22) A medical gloss explaining a term:

*ir nnw mwyt=f h33 mwyt pw m ḥnn=f n s3.n=s n=f*

As for 'his water is lazy'; this means liquid issues from his penis unrestricted.

327 (Smith 16, 14-16) As above:

*ir n 'b3.n irtw=sn tm nbibiw inm=sn pw*

*ir nn tms ḥr=s tm wn ḥt pw ḥr=s dšr*

As for 'their colouring does not sparkle'; this means their skin does not shine.

As for 'there is no reddening on it'; this means there is no red matter on it.

The predicate may also be e.g. a subject + *ḥr* + infinitive ushered in by geminating *wnn*:

328 (Nu pl. 9/BD 17) A gloss explains an expression in a liturgical text:

*ir 'r=sn n=l 'nd im=sn wnn sm3tyw swty pw ḥr tkn im=s*

As for 'few of them ascend to me'; this means the cronies of Seth were drawing nigh to her.

Here *pw* picks up the expression A introduced by *ir* and equates it with its predicate *mrr=f*, i.e. the construal has the semantic form [A = *mrr=f*]. It is clear that the assertion in these sentences, albeit only in notional terms, is the nexus between the geminating *sḏm=f* and *pw* rather than that of the embedded predication, i.e. the one

<sup>678</sup> The predicate may also be *sḏm.n=f*, which may be formed of intransitive VOM and appear passivised with *.tw* (e.g. Nu pl. 9/BD 18 *ḥtm.n.tw sm3yt swty pw* 'This means that the cronies of Seth were annihilated').



between *sḏm* and its subject =*f*.<sup>679</sup> Put informally, the ‘point’ of a sentence such as *mrr=f pw* is not to express committed stance and to ‘inform’ an audience about the situation described by the geminating *sḏm=f* ‘(that) he loves’ but instead that something means/equals ‘(that) he loves’. ‘He loves’ constitutes a non-assertion; as a situation-description it carries not the proportionally most optimal relevance in the sentence which is instead assigned to the syntactically higher predication and explanation ‘this means he-loves’, i.e. A = *mrr=f*.<sup>680</sup> The embedded proposition is hence indicated as modally irrealis with the geminating *sḏm=f* and negated by *tm*. Nevertheless, there is no question as to the situation described being subject to non-acceptance, doubt or any other distal-inducing traits of attitudinal nuance, for which reason the form shows gemination.

Outside complementation, the most promising and also much wider area for applying the modal analysis developed herein is second tenses. For the past six decades there has hardly been a topic more intensely debated among scholars of the Ancient Egyptian language.<sup>681</sup> As a reminder, if such be needed, second tenses fall into two principal semantic classes.<sup>682</sup> They can consist of a setting followed by a subsequent main clause:

329 (Merikara C V7) The king says men are well-tended by the sun-god:

*rmm=sn tw=f hr sḏm*

Whenever they cry, he is listening.

Alternatively, and more commonly, the initial verb may function as a main clause in the translation, but its role is then to highlight or ‘emphasise’ some subsequent adjunct:

<sup>679</sup> Once again, it is important not to confuse assertion as a notional concept equalling a particular illocutionary force, and as a modal category tantamount to realis, which is part of the system of grammaticalised TAM and pertains only to verbal propositions. In notional terms a non-verbal nominal predicate construal may well be said to express an assertion, even if this is not part of its grammatical marking; see 1.2.4.2, end.

<sup>680</sup> The same analysis is, in essence, proposed by Loprieno (1991b, 234) for the use of the ‘mention-negation’ *tm*.

<sup>681</sup> The bibliography on the topic is of unparalleled magnitude in Egyptological linguistics and references herein are reduced to bare minimum; Depuydt 1983 provides a historical summary of the argument up to the early 1980’s.

<sup>682</sup> The so-called ‘balanced sentences’ are a third and more marginal category of second tenses, but can be accommodated into the analysis proposed below.

330 (Peas B1 195) The peasant tells the high steward not to side with thieves:

*m it irr=k r itw*

Do not steal; take action *against* a thief.

Both these types are negated by *tm*; below is an example of a negated 'emphatic' sentence:

331 (Urk IV 693, 12-13) Thutmosis III explains his motives for abbreviating a list of plundered goods:

*tm.tw rdit rht=sn hr wd pn r tm s<sup>c</sup>š3 mdwt*

Their number is not put on this record merely in order not to multiply words.

Except when referring to past situations, where a bare *s<sub>dm</sub>.n=f* appears, (also in passive and of intransitive VOM) second tenses make use of un-introduced *s<sub>dm</sub>=f*-forms which show gemination in roots with final weak radical, as above.<sup>683</sup> Although they can be preceded by particles such as *mk* 'behold', second tenses never occur after *itw* or other initial auxiliaries.

The original ST analysis of these constructions was firmly rooted in the 'nominal hypothesis' and actually marked its beginning.<sup>684</sup> The initial geminating 'nominal' verb-form was argued to represent a subject to the following 'emphasised' adverbial 'predicate', with the following structure and 'literal' sense:

$[irr=k]_{\text{Nom subj.}} [r itw]_{\text{Adv. pred.}}$

'That you take action is against a thief'

However, there are serious objections to this hypothesis, some of which have already been noted.<sup>685</sup> Most crucially, it proposes a very strange analysis of 'predication' and is fundamentally incompatible with the concept of argument-structure.<sup>686</sup> In e.g. 330 the initial verb *iri* 'act' clearly does not have any 'predicative' relation with the adjunct at the periphery of the sentence; this honour falls to its own subject =*k*, which

<sup>683</sup> In earlier texts similarly functioning non-geminating forms, sometimes with endings *-w* and *-y*, are occasionally encountered.

<sup>684</sup> Polotsky 1944 remains the basic work on the topic.

<sup>685</sup> See the discussion on 'embedded second tenses' and the verb *wd* in 1.3.2 above.

<sup>686</sup> See Collier 1992 for a detailed discussion of these issues.



is not simply a 'satellite' but an indispensable semantic argument of the verb required by its inherent meaning which presupposes an agent-role (the 'actor').<sup>687</sup> Moreover, the ST analysis does not seem very plausible with the setting second tenses;<sup>688</sup> e.g. in 329 the main clause following the initial verb consists of a syntactically fully independent *iw*-sentence which can hardly be treated as 'adverbial', let alone 'predicative' to the latter. Because of these and other problems with the ST analysis, an alternative view of the nature of second tenses has recently gained popularity among Egyptologists. The initial verb-form has been argued to have undergone a process which sets it into the *background* in the information-flow and thus allows it to function either as a *theme* to the following focalised adjunct 'rheme' in 'emphatic' second tenses, or as a background *topic* to a following 'comment' in settings.<sup>689</sup> However, it is not clear how this 'thematisation/topicalisation' supposedly takes place; if it is a derivative process, there must be some source from which the verb-forms are thematised or topicalised, but no suggestion as to what this might be has been made. From the incompatibility of second tenses and initial auxiliaries it could be conjectured that, aside from gemination in the root-classes showing this feature, the absence of these elements is a signal of e.g. 'thematisation'. Yet, what then constitutes the 'theme' or 'topic' in e.g. *iw*-sentences and why? If it is now not the verb but e.g. its subject, how does the auxiliary 'direct' the 'thematicity' to the right address? Do the verb-forms and constructions following auxiliaries somehow signal that the situations they describe are 'non-thematic/-topical', or should the auxiliary be seen as a 'theme/topic'? Why does the geminating *s $\bar{d}m=f$*  or the bare *s $\bar{d}m.n=f$*  behave as a 'theme/topic' only when used initially but not in other uses such as complementation? Descriptively adequate as the 'thematic hypothesis' may be, it fails to suggest an actual mechanism for the phenomena observed and seems to entail unwarranted derivative postulates.

There is, however, a further possible approach to this most problematic area of Earlier Egyptian, which makes use of the findings of the present work. Complement clauses after governing verbs show the geminating *s $\bar{d}m=f$*  to be a marked irrealis form and the same holds also for the negation *tm*. The *s $\bar{d}m.n=f$*  and immutable forms of the

<sup>687</sup> *Contra* Junge 1989, 42-43, 66-68; cf. also Ritter 1995, 80-83; 244-47.

<sup>688</sup> Cf. Vernus 1981 and Junge 1989, 53-56.

<sup>689</sup> This formulation follows Loprieno 1995, 192. There are hardly two Egyptologists sharing views on what the terms theme-rheme and topic-comment are supposed to denote. The most extensive discussion to date is Junge 1989.



*s<sub>dm</sub>=f* are modally unmarked, but may also serve an irrealis function e.g. in un-introduced complements. These formal and syntagmatic similarities already suggest that second tenses are analysable as constructions headed by irrealis non-assertions, and this proposal seems quite appropriate also from a semantic-pragmatic perspective. The underlying motive for such a modal status is perhaps clearest in second tenses used to express WH-questions:

332 (Peas B1 146) The peasant argues that the high steward's inaction is against his own good and asks:

*irr=k r=k irf r m*

Why do you act against yourself?

In WH-questions the verb stands outside the scope of the interrogative and is presupposed information- in this instance the presupposition is [you act against yourself].<sup>690</sup> The verbal head is thus most certainly un-asserted here. In setting second tenses with the geminating *s<sub>dm</sub>=f* such as 329, the word 'whenever' in the English translation captures rather well the non-referring, indeterminate character assigned to the state of affairs described. The situation-profiling is less rooted in 'reality' than e.g. gnomic and general reference as it does not necessarily refer to anything more tangible than a possible situation. In 329 it is not said or, indeed, asserted, that 'they' 'cry' even as a matter of habit or custom; instead, the situation is generic to the extent that its reality or non-reality is largely immaterial. Its sole purpose is to provide background to some more salient state of affairs and to establish a real or potential 'frame' where the latter can then be concentrated upon. This is achieved by reducing that situation into irrealis, and, significantly enough, into the *proximal* irrealis specifically associated with event-descriptions with less than optimal discourse-relevance. The same principle is also applicable to 'emphatic' second tenses. As in WH-questions in which the verb has the status of presupposition and the interrogative — by default carries the highest pragmatic salience, a similar process of reducing the 'assertivity' of the predicate verb takes place, with the result that the informational salience of some subsequent adjunct is elevated. The latter is not so much focalised as it is *focal* owing to the *downgrading* of the initial verbal situation-description into background. The setting- and 'emphatic' second tenses appear to be two sides of the

<sup>690</sup> Levinson 1983, 184; Givón 2001, vol.1, 312; vol. 2, 232, 300-01.

same coin: although what exactly is left to stand in relief varies, both involve the same mechanism of demoting the initial verb into irrealis and non-assertion.<sup>691</sup> In fact, this seems to have been recognised already by Gardiner, who, seeking to challenge Polotsky's analysis of the 'emphatic' second tenses, remarked the following:<sup>692</sup>

'This result <i.e. 'emphasis'- SU> would naturally be best achieved by removing the stress<sup>693</sup> from the verb-form in the sentence. It was thus important for the Egyptian to avoid saying positively that such and such an action happened or would actually happen. Now this *avoidance of direct assertion* may be effected by giving the verb-form a general or non-committal character.'

This characterisation captures a great deal of what seems decisive herein. Second tense verbal heads constitute non-assertions which not only signal that the situation they describe is not the centre of interest in the proposition overall and that this lies rather in what follows; their employment is also fundamentally a modal speaker choice and a device for shaping the discourse.

This hypothesis, sketched in the most preliminary and informal terms, does not assume any *ad hoc*-theory of 'predication' nor ignores the relationship between the second tense verb and its associate arguments. It brings the different types of second tenses under one explanatory umbrella of irrealis modality and thus also integrates the analysis of the verb-forms employed with their other domains of use, e.g. complementation. However, it is not incompatible with earlier observations on second tenses but is able to accommodate and enhance many of them. For example, if it is ever possible to reach consensus on the meaning of these terms, the description of the initial verb as 'topical' in setting second tenses might be semantically quite appropriate.<sup>694</sup> The hypothesis presented herein proposes that this is a result of the inherent modal profile or an assigned function of the form employed. Similarly, it has often been noted that 'emphatic' second tenses with the geminating form sometimes require a deontic/optative translation, sometimes not. However, 'optativity' is not

<sup>691</sup> Junge (1989, 61) refers to 'weakening' of the situation 'information weight', but only as a translation-device for second tenses. Cf. also Collier 1994, 79n.61.

<sup>692</sup> Gardiner 1947, 100; emphasis by SU.

<sup>693</sup> Gardiner seems to be referring to *communicative*, rather than phonetic stress.

<sup>694</sup> Cf. e.g. Thompson & Longacre 1985, 229-32.



inherent to these construals, but a contextual implication by the audience, compatible with the overall discourse context in which the second tense appears and the non-assertive and –indicative character/function of its head verb.<sup>695</sup> It has also been recognised for some time that in negated second tenses *tm* has only the initial verb in its scope, whereas when the scope is the highlighted adjunct, Earlier Egyptian uses the negation *n...is*:

333 (Urk I 224, 18) Pepiankh assures his audience of the reliability of his words:

*dd(=i) m m3[?] n dd(=i) (i)s m ʕ3-r*

I speak truthfully; it is not in boasting that I speak.

Here the proposition [I speak] whose status is hardly more than a co-textual presupposition remains outside the negation scope. But such a separate strategy also makes sense from the modal perspective: *tm* only has scope over the non-assertive verb because the adjunct does not represent part of the irrealis background and *tm*, as an irrealis negation, cannot negate such information. Further, if the initial second-tense verb is non-asserting, the absence of *iw* and other auxiliaries must surely indicate that the role of these elements, as suggested at various points in the present work, is to do with assertion and realis-marking. Many of the forms and constructions following auxiliaries are the same ‘unmarked’ ones found after *ntt/wnt* which alone do not function as initial clauses any more than as complements. Active forms of *sdm=f* and the *sdm.n=f* do, but in initial environments a bare un-introduced non-geminating (and immutable) *sdm=f* is always non-asserting, exactly as in complementation after verbs. It seems that all these forms can be seen as members of the same system of auxiliary-introduced realis-, and un-introduced irrealis initial clauses, and that a modally-based account of *iw* and auxiliary use in Earlier Egyptian is possible. True, *iw* has been labelled ‘assertion particle’ before, but it has not been suggested that it might be this what renders it incompatible with second tenses.

Previous analyses of second tenses have neither been able to substantiate their postulates with general linguistic data and theory or cross-linguistic parallels. In contrast, the hypothesis sketched herein corresponds well to the views on the relationship between information-structuring by means of modality outside

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<sup>695</sup> Cf. Junge 1978a, 122-23.



Egyptology; theories linking lack of ‘relevance’, ‘background’ and irrealis/‘reduced assertion’ have been noted frequently in course of the discussion. Here it suffices to note that uses of irrealis modality for very similar effect as in Early Egyptian second tenses occur also in other languages.<sup>696</sup> For example, subjunctive is employed in New Testament Greek clauses similar to ‘setting’ second tenses to indicate that no particular or ‘actual’ situation is envisaged, but something resembling a mere possibility.<sup>697</sup>

- (57) όταν δοχήν ποιήσ (SUB) κάλει πτωχούς  
 ‘Whenever you prepare a feast, invite the poor.’ (Luke 14: 13)

In Bemba verbal inflection indicates whether the verb is included in the scope of the assertion or not. In the latter case it lacks a signal of inclusion and is marked as presupposed (i.e. non-asserted/background) information, with the result that something else in the sentence, e.g. an adjunct, receives additional focus.<sup>698</sup>

- (58) Context: What did they do?  
 Response: ba-à-lí (INCL)-boomba                    ‘They *worked*’
- Context: Where did they work?  
 Response: ba-à-boomba mu-mushi                    ‘They worked *in the village*’
- Context: When did they work?  
 Response: ba-à-boomba bulya bushiku                    ‘They worked *the day before yesterday*’

The similarity of this and the ‘emphatic’ second tenses is obvious. Thus neither the phenomenon nor the proposed mechanism of second tenses represents an idiosyncrasy of Earlier Egyptian. Instead, they appear to be innovative uses of irrealis modality in need of a full inquiry.

<sup>696</sup> As seen, in Russian imperfective aspect-marking of verbs can also have very similar effects as ‘emphatic’ second tenses (see 6 and example (56) above). This of course recalls the old argument of the geminating *sdm=f* second tenses as ‘imperfective’, which seems worthy of a serious reconsideration along the lines of 6 above.

<sup>697</sup> Perschbacher 1995, 325.

<sup>698</sup> Givón 1972, 178-79, 212; 1975b; 1982, 139; 2001 vol.1, 343-44.

### 7.3 Final remarks

Egyptology is as much study of inscriptions as it is analysis of material remains, and every Egyptologist must possess at least a working knowledge of translation and philology so as to augment the archaeological record with information from textual sources. This requires systematic translation techniques which in turn presuppose solid grammatical principles as their foundation. Notwithstanding the largely theoretical focus of the present work, the hypothesis proposed has also been intended to serve this more utilitarian purpose. Hitherto there have been no guidelines beyond personal taste and educated guesses for translating complements. Clauses with geminating/non-geminating *sdm=f* and the negations *tm/nfr.n* have all been translated mechanically with *that*, and *ntt/wnt*-clauses with both *that* and *whether* without further ado, as if the distinct grammatical types did not differ in meaning beyond some nebulous shades of temporal nuance. Yet, the variation *is* meaningful and affects both translation and interpretation of texts. Whenever *ntt/wnt/iwt* appears, the clause is an assertion and is to be translated as such; whenever these elements are absent, the clause is unasserted, and non-indicative may be appropriate also in the translation-language once the exact type of the non-assertion has been established from the co(n)text.<sup>699</sup> Similarly, e.g. complements of verbs incompatible with assertions may signal what sort of an attitude is being referred to, what is the discourse motive of the utterance, whether the reference is to a realised or merely hypothetical situation etc. Differences of this sort can have dramatic effects on the understanding of the text studied and its potential value as a source of information. For example, in translating historical inscriptions, the difference between *knowing that*, *whether* or *how* something is the case, or whether or not a situation said to have been ordered was realised at the time of speaking may be of considerable importance.

Further, instead of the rather forbidding formulations based on ill-defined 'nominality' riddled with enigmatic 'exceptions', the use of the different complement types can also be both explained and learnt in a way which allows teachers, practising Egyptologists and students alike to mobilise their knowledge of other languages. For

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<sup>699</sup> Whether or not there is correspondence in the expression of modality between Earlier Egyptian complement clauses and the language of translation of course depends greatly of the methods of expressing modality in the latter. For example, English *that* is a highly generalised complementiser which does not necessarily signal the status of the complement as an assertion or non-assertion, and can be used far more extensively in translation of Egyptian complements than e.g. the Romance indicative.



example, those with knowledge of Romance languages in particular can often make direct comparisons between the use of modality in the latter and Egyptian, but, as seen, parallels can be drawn with a formidable number of different languages. Calling attention to these similarities makes the grammar of Earlier Egyptian complementation easier both to present and to comprehend. The parallelisms between the Earlier Egyptian assertion-non-assertion system and that found in other languages arguably also render the former more accessible to non-Egyptologists. Ancient Egyptian is hardly ever quoted in linguistic literature, and a significant contributing factor to this state of affairs seems to be the combined effect of the syntactic models with which the language has been described and the sense of overwhelming 'otherness' they entail. Postulates such as the various 'nominal transpositions' and 'converters' create a false impression of Earlier Egyptian as somehow fundamentally alien, incomprehensible and best left to specialists. However, when it is shown that it possessed clear and definable means of expressing modality which share resemblance with those found in other languages, this is certain to attract the attention of students of language more widely. The same holds also for the special features of Earlier Egyptian modality, in particular the internal division of irrealis, the use of irrealis negations, the delicate relationship between modal function and syntactic/syntagmatic use with certain verb-forms, and the generally 'upside-down' character of the system where irrealis is less marked than realis. The relationship with linguistics can be made reciprocal: just as methods and principles of the latter can be appropriated for the benefit of Egyptology, a solid description in similar terms of Ancient Egyptian, the language with the longest documented history, can make a significant contribution to the general scientific discussion of language and communication.

Finally, the study of language is, albeit in a rather oblique manner, study of the mental processes that lie at its root. Although pessimism as to whether grammatical research can actually make any substantial contact with the actual thoughts of language users seems recently to have once again gained some foothold,<sup>700</sup> cognitive grammarians have demonstrated that, at the very least, this allows access to the more abstract reasoning behind linguistic expression, including the use of metaphors and iconic representations which seem to be shared by all languages and are of notable anthropological and psychological interest. Egyptologists interested in language are

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<sup>700</sup> See e.g. Sperber & Wilson 1986, 10-11.

no strangers to such views; the Anglo-Saxon research-tradition of 1920's and 1930's to Egyptian made conscious attempts to understand the 'ancient thought' and the Egyptian 'mind' through grammatical and philological examination.<sup>701</sup> After the 'polotskyan revolution' such aspirations were hardly expressed, but they arguably maintain their credibility. The present work has attempted to show how Earlier Egyptian modality can be successfully analysed and described with analytical models fundamentally metaphorical in character. These spatial-temporal-modal explanatory and descriptive metaphors are based on the same mental representations shared by language users both ancient and modern and are not products of western speculative thought. For all individuals, what is distant or behind a barrier is less controllable and less verifiable than what is closer and more within reach. Similarly, it does not strike one as strange or curious to treat something that is 'out of focus', 'background', or lacking relevance as less part of the 'real world': this is apparent in all expression. People tend to regard *clear* ideas and concepts with readily *apparent* applications and use as *outstanding* and 'the real thing', and the rest as *opaque* speculation. That 'relevance' should be a common *Leitmotiv* in modal systems across languages is an iconic reflection of this rather basic truth. The avenues of the mind involved are recognisable and open irrespective of the passage of time, and the 'ancient thought' seems to live on in communication and linguistic expression. It may at times be difficult to recognise, but this is not because it is alien and incomprehensible, but because it is so deeply entrenched in human mentality as to go unnoticed.

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<sup>701</sup> See GEG §§3 and 211 in particular; more recently the same goal has been pursued, although from a more non-linguistic perspective, e.g. by Kemp (1989, *passim*) and Assmann (2003).



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CCG 20536	4-5	n.486	
	4-6	n.365	
CCG 20538Id	2	n.486	
	3-5	n.365	
CCG 20538IIc	24	n.486	
CCG 20539	2. side, 9	n.517	
CCG 20540	2	n.359; n.489	
CCG 20541	10	n.575	
CCG 20543	18-19	<u>167</u>	
CCG 20567	horizontal 1-2	<u>158</u>	
CCG 20606	3	n.489	
CCG 20609	2	n.489	
CCG 20683	2-3	n.486;	
	2-4	n.365; n.489	
CCG 20712	10	n.355	
CCG 20748	bottom 5	n.489	
Carnavon tablet	right, 14-15	<u>239</u>	See Gardiner, A. 1916 in the Bibliography
CT I	27c-28b	<u>137</u>	DeBuck, A. 1935-61 <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> . 7 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
	29a	n.597	
	71b-d	<u>203</u>	
	78a	n.479	
	104/05d-e	<u>300</u>	
	131a-b	<u>3</u>	
	131b	n.328	
	140g	n.186	
	141e	n.534	
	155g	n.592	

	158a-159c	<u>40</u>
	159d-h	<u>41</u>
	160g-161b	<u>42</u>
	162d-163d	<u>43</u>
	167a-b	<u>60</u>
	168d-169a	<u>44</u>
	169e-f	n.203
	169d-170f	<u>45</u>
	170g-i	<u>195</u>
	174f	n.482
	174j-175b	<u>46</u>
	265g	n.500
	267b	n.575
	278c-f	<u>304</u>
	334c	n.224; n.586
	335a-c	<u>94; 295</u>
	390c-91a	<u>96</u>
	391a	n.479
CT II	2c	n.518
	24c	n.592
	29b	n.500
	39e	n.517
	40g-h	<u>284</u>
	47f	n.500
	51b	n.165
	106b-c	<u>182</u>
	125f	<u>196</u>
	156b	<u>233</u>
	214b	n.592
	215b-217g	<u>95</u>
	219a	n.592
	221c-222a	<u>126</u>



	222b-c	<u>130</u>
	254v	n.500
	344/45b	<u>318</u> ; n.517; n.566
	350a	<u>275</u>
	359c-360a	<u>62</u>
CT III	47k	n.537
	48e-49a	<u>264</u>
	158a	n.515
	171j-l	<u>201</u>
	181c	n.592
	202i-j	<u>265</u>
	206c-d	<u>123</u>
	207d	n.328
	263e	n.500
	268/69a-270/71b	<u>24</u>
	316h-i	<u>289</u>
	328a	n.479
	332e-g	<u>282</u>
	355a-b	<u>263</u>
	382e-83e	<u>321</u>
CT IV	75f	n.479
	84i	n.592
	84j-k	n.186
	178h	n.479
	236/37b	n.517; n.560
	242/43a	n.517; n.560
	326j	n.509
	385e	n.165
	398b	n.512

CT V	11d	<u>241</u>
	49b-c	<u>312</u>
	49c	n.138
	66e-h	<u>31</u>
	80b-c	n.156; n.161
	103e	<u>27, 30</u>
	119c	n.281
	123b	n.500
	174c-d	<u>240</u>
	241a	<u>129</u>
	241c	n.479
	244b-245a	<u>34</u>
	247b-c	n.165
	322i-j	<u>242</u>
	324j	n.165
	333p	n.560
	349b	n.500
	397m-o	<u>19</u>
CT VI	73a	n.479; n.500
	92p	<u>117</u>
	93a	n.162; n.165
	93d-e	<u>32</u>
	143i	n.482
	173r	n.575
	194c	n.386
	198n-p	<u>37</u>
	210h-i	<u>145</u>
	260b-d	<u>71</u>
	269k	n.514
	277q-278d	<u>47</u>
	283e-g	<u>310</u>
	290f	n.500

312d-f	<u>58</u>
316p-r	<u>28</u>
317b-c	n.157
318g	n.165
318j-k	<u>197</u>
328b	n.479
328f-g	<u>20</u>
334o	n.500
336l	n.479
340j	n.138
344d	n.500
347f	n.518
348d-e	<u>301</u>
348f	<u>308</u>
348l/348r-s/349m	<u>311</u>
348p	n.328
353l-m	<u>125</u>
368l-m	<u>217</u>
371o	n.328
393g-h	<u>133</u>
408m-q	<u>26</u>

## CT VII

3p	n.500
31k	n.560
32a-c	n.203
34a-e	<u>38</u>
54l	n.479
61m-p	n.311
62r-s	<u>118</u>
111f	n.165
171g	n.482
177e	n.509
202i	n.282



	232m	<u>279</u>	
	228k-l	<u>88</u>	
	308c	n.531	
	353a	n.575	
	382c	n.517	
	429d	n.515	
	438c-d	<u>253</u>	
	463f-464b	<u>142</u>	
	487c	n.517	
	492h	<u>302</u>	
Deir el-Gebrawi II	pl.5, right pl. 8 pl. 28	<u>175</u> <u>320</u> <u>77</u>	De G. Davis, N. 1902 <i>The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi</i> . vol 2. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
ODeM 133	v5	n.276	Černý, J. 1937 <i>Catalogue des Ostraca Hiératiques Non-littéraires de Deir el-Médineh</i> . vol. 2. Cairo: IFAO.
ODeM 1406II	x+3	n.276	Posener, G. 1977 <i>Catalogue des Ostraca Hieratiques Littéraires de Deir el Médineh</i> vol. 3., fasc. 1. Cairo: IFAO.
<i>Dendereh</i>	pl.2A, left 3	n.359; n.486	Petrie, F. 1900 <i>Dendereh</i> . London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
pDram	53 64 72 76 83 87 89	n.409 n.407 n.407 n.407 <u>189</u> n.407 n.407	See Sethe, K. 1928 in the Bibliography.

	97	n.407	
	101	n.407	
	104	n.407	
	107	n.407	
	114	n.409	
	117	<u>190</u>	
	126	n.407	
EAG	§1022	<u>48</u>	See Edel, E. 1955-64 in the Bibliography.
Ebers	2, 3-4	<u>113</u>	Grapow, H. 1958 <i>Die Medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert</i> . Berlin: Akademie Verlag; Grundriss der Medizin Alter Ägypter V.
	8, 16	n.479	
	39, 13	n.573	
	40, 14	n.479	
	40, 19	n.573	
	41, 2	n.479	
	41, 16	n.566	
	49, 8	<u>207</u>	
	53, 10-11	n.562	
	56, 2-3	<u>277</u>	
	56, 20-21	<u>272</u>	
	68, 3	n.560	
	70, 16-17	<u>278</u>	
	70, 24	n.502	
	73, 20-21	n.317	
	78, 4	n.560	
	78, 14	n.560	
	88, 14	n.560	
	88, 19	<u>8</u>	
	91, 7	n.560	
	91, 15-16	<u>216</u>	
	91, 16-17	n.576	
	96, 21	n.576	

	97, 3	n.560	
	100, 21	n.534	
	109, 14-15	<u>171</u>	
Edfu stela of Khonsuemwase	3-4	<u>251</u>	See Helck, W. 1975 in the Bibliography.
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Florence 2561	1-7	<u>159</u>	
Florence 2571	3-6	<u>227</u>	
Florence 6365	7	516	
Florence 7599	x+2	n.359	
Fischer 1994	fig. 1, 3	n.479	Fischer, H. 1994 'A new Sixth Dynasty inscription from Nagada', in C. Berger, G. Clerc & N. Grimal (eds.), <i>Hommages à Jean Leclant</i> , vol 1. Cairo: IFAO, 181-88.
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	113, 15	n.498	
	114, 8	n.500	
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Haskell Museum	1-2	<u>50</u>	Gardiner, A. 1930 'A new letter to the dead', <i>JEA</i> 16, 19-22.
13945	3-4	<u>179</u>	



	6-7	<u>309</u>	
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	16, 9-10	<u>293</u>	
	22, 1	n.566	
	22, 2-3	<u>317</u>	
	22, 6	n.566	
	22, 12-14	<u>285</u>	
	22, 15	n.509	
	22, 19	n.479	
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Hearst	9, 8	n.317	Grapow, H. 1958 <i>Die Medizinischen Texte in hieroglyphischer Umschreibung autographiert</i> . Berlin: Akademie Verlag; Grundriss der Medizin Alter Ägypter V.
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	49d	n.489	
	52e, 3	n.360; n.486	
	61f, 3-5	<u>226</u>	
	61f, 4	n.489	
	67, 6	n.486	
	88, 2	n.486	
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KRI VI	776, 5-7	<u>325</u>	
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	98, 8-9	n.192	
	99, 1-2	<u>246</u>	
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 pl. 8/BD 17 n.500  
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 pl. 16/BD 93 n.518  
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	795a-b	<u>322</u>	
	828a	n.314	
	835a	n.314	
	838c	n.314	
	944a-b	n.168	
	967c	n.349	
	998	<u>205</u>	
	1102a	n.130	
	1128a-29b	n.320	
	1223a	n.402	
	1242a	n.314	
	1275b	n.320	
	1276b	n.320	
	1295a	n.349	
	1439d/P	n.312	
	1440b/P	n.312	
	1477a	n.168	
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