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THE "EMPHATIC" *SDM.N.F* FORM

BY

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The theory of the Coptic Second Tenses and their ancestors set forth in *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo 1944) involves the hypothesis that «emphatic» forms — if I may use this term as a convenient label — exist not only alongside of the ordinary predicative *sdm.f*, but also of the predicative *sdm.n.f*, and possibly of the prospective *sdm.f*. Since the very existence of a distinct prospective *sdm.f* is a matter of controversy, I shall, for the moment, limit myself to the *sdm.n.f*, which is the least problematic, or at any rate the least controversial, of Middle Egyptian verb forms.

Since the «emphatic» *sdm.n.f* cannot be expected to look any different from the ordinary predicative *sdm.n.f*, there will be no formal, «objective», criterion to distinguish between the two.² It can therefore be argued that the quest for the «emphatic» *sdm.n.f* is hopeless, idle, and contrary to sound scientific method. Differences which do not show need not concern us. *De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est ratio.*

A possible way to achieve at least some degree of plausibility³ would be, *e. g.*, to call in the help of historical grammar and to trace the development of certain syntactic patterns. If we find, on the one hand, the succession M. Eg. *sdm.n.f* → L. Eg. and Dem. *sdm.f* → Coptic ⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲏ, on the other hand M. Eg. *sdm.n.f* → L. Eg. and Dem. *ḡr.f sdm* → Coptic ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲥⲱⲧⲏ, it is perhaps not too fanciful to infer that the diver-

¹ An abridged version of this paper was read on August 26, 1954 before the Egyptological Section of the XXIIIrd International Congress of Orientalists at Cambridge.

² *Études*, 83-5. Cf. Sir Alan Gardiner's criticism, *JEA* 33 (1947), 100, lines 29-34 (and n. 1).

³ A comparatively simple proof is available if the view is accepted that all forms of the suffix conjugation which are negated by *tm* are by this very fact shown to be «emphatic» (*Études*, 90-1). The

mere occurrence of *tm.n.f sdm* would then suffice to prove the existence of an «emphatic» *sdm.n.f*. Unfortunately no more than one single example of *tm.n.f sdm* seems to be on record, and that a New Kingdom one (*o. c.* 87, bottom). A point which one must wish to see settled before using this argument with confidence, is the morphological character of *sdm.hr.f* and *sdm.k.f*, both of which are negated by *tm* (*tm.hr.s hr*, see Gardiner, *Eg. Gr.* § 432; *tm.k: 'q stpt*, *Coffin Texts*, II, 174 i).

gence which becomes apparent from L. Eg. onwards must have had its roots already in M. Eg., in other words that we have indeed to reckon with two *sdm.n.f.* forms, differing from each other in the same way as their L. Eg. and Coptic descendants. Yet, though this argument may be suggestive, it does not amount to proof, and a critic would be justified in refusing, on principle, to admit essentially diachronic evidence.

Fortunately, there exists a form which renders it unnecessary to have recourse to such precarious arguments. By the side of the so-called «passive *sdm.f.*», which serves as the normal passive of *sdm.n.f.*, we have a form derived from *sdm.n.f.* by the ending *-tw* : *sdm.n.tw.f.* Both forms are usually considered equivalent, which they doubtless are in so far as both are passive and both refer to the past. But, as I hope to show presently, the *sdm.n.tw.f.* possesses a specific meaning of its own : it is used in sentences containing a strongly stressed adverbial complement.¹ It is, in fact, the «emphatic» counterpart — the Second Tense, so to speak — of the «passive *sdm.f.*».

Before I go on to produce some evidence for this contention, I have to mention a recent treatment of *sdm.n.tw.f.* which has arrived at quite a different result. I am referring to W. Westendorp's very valuable work on the passive in the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom.² According to him, «nominales log. Objekt erfordert das pass. *sdm.f.*, dagegen wird bei pronominalem log. Objekt die Form *sdm.n.tw* bevorzugt». It will be seen that this rule breaks down as soon as we go beyond the texts which the *Wörterbuch* classifies as Lit MR (cf. below, ex. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, etc.).

¹ There is admittedly no «objective» criterion for determining the degree of emphasis borne by an adverbial complement. The only way is to examine whether, in a given context, it is the verb or the adverbial expression which contributes more to the predication contents of the sentence. Attention may be drawn to some cases among the examples quoted below where the verb is one of «incomplete predication», i. e. requiring an adverbial complement to make sense, esp. *iri*, *rdi*, *gmi*, all of which also occur with their full meaning. Translation is often helpful, though idiosyncrasies of different languages must be taken into account. Besides the Cleft Sentence of French and English.

a useful test is often provided by the German *und zwar*, especially for intermediate cases, in which the verb keeps a certain amount of predicative force. It is well to remember that logically there is an infinite number of degrees between the two extremes, while linguistically there are only two alternatives. — I use this opportunity to refer to the remarkable treatment of the French Cleft Sentence by J. Damourette and Éd. Pichon, *Des mots à la pensée. Essai de grammaire de la langue française*, IV (1934), § 1553-66.

² *Der Gebrauch des Passivs in der klassischen Literatur der Aegypter* (Deutsche Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Inst. f. Orientf., Veröff. Nr. 18), p. 97-101.

The following list has been obtained by assembling the examples quoted by Sethe,¹ Gardiner² and Lefebvre,³ and adding one or two of my own. Under (A), (B) and (C) are singled out three sentence patterns, in which an "emphatic" form, or a Second Tense, seems particularly appropriate.

A. FOLLOWED BY AN INTERROGATIVE ADVERB.

1. *ir.n.tw nn hr m?* "What has this been done for?" *Urk.* IV, 365, 11.

B. PARALLEL TO EMPHASIZING CONSTRUCTIONS.

2. *nuk dfzw, ir.n.t(w) n.i htp.(w)t* "Mine are the provisions, it is for me that offerings have been made". *CT* IV, 134 b-c.

3. *gm.n.tw rz pn m Hmww, hr dbt nt bis Sm', htw m hsbd m', hr rd.wi ntr pn, m hzw hm n Mn-kzw-R' m'-hrw; in z: n-sw't Hr-dd.f m'-hrw gm sw...* "It was in Hermopolis, on a brick of Upper Egyptian copper,⁴ engraved in true lapislazuli, at the feet of this god, in the reign of His late Majesty King Mycerinus, that this spell was found. It was the late Prince Hr-dd.f who found it..." *BD*, ed. Budge (1898), 141, 3ff. (*Nu*, ch. 64, Rubric).

4. *iw ist grt sphr.n.tw šfdw pn m hst-zp 33, etc..... m znt r zš n iswt iry m hzw.....; in zš I'h-msw sphr znn pn.* "It was in the year 33, etc. according to an ancient writing made in the reign of..... that this book was transcribed. It was the scribe Ahmose who transcribed this copy." *Rhind Math. Pap.*, Title.

5. *in hm.f ir nn m zn(t) r zšw iswt; h.wt n.w (sic) rmtw dr rk im.w-bšh n (neg.) ir.sn hb hnt (? read hft?)⁵ hb-sd; wd.n.tw.f n (Amenophis III).* "It was His Majesty who did this according to ancient writings. Generations of men since the time of the forefathers had not made celebration at the time of(?) a jubilee. It was to (Amenophis III) that it was ordained." *Tomb of Kheruef*: A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 42, 492.

¹ *Verbum*, II, § 374.


² *Eg. Gr.* § 414, n. 21.

³ *Gramm.* § 302, 305.

⁴ The question whether *bš* here really means "copper" is being discussed by Fr. B. Couroyer in

Rev. d'ég. 11 (1957).

a footnote to a forthcoming article in the *Revue biblique*.

⁵  would be an unusual spelling for the late 18th dynasty, and no suitable meaning seems to be recorded for *hnt*.

C. GLOSS.

6. *zy-tr pw miw pw 'i?* — *R' pw ds.f; dd.n.tw «miw» r.f m* (var. *hr*) *dd Sia r.f* : «in miw sw m nn irr.f»; *hpr rn.f pw n «miw»*. «Who is this great cat?» — «It is Re^c himself. He was called «cat» when (or, because) Sia said of him : « in these doings of his ». This is how his name «cat» came into existence.» *CT IV*, 286-7 c.¹

D. OTHER EXAMPLES.

7. *mi-ntt ir.n.t(w) is sz pn hft dd Wsr pn [im?]*. «As it is in accordance with what this Wsr has said that this document has been drawn up.» *Berlin P.* 9010 : *Berl. Hierat. Pap.* III, 1; Sethe, *ZÄS* 61, 71.

8. *ir.n.tw 'hst ntrw hft wd.i.* «It was according to my order that the war-ship of the gods was made.» *CT IV*, 194-5 a.

9. *rdi.n.t(w) nn n tww n N. pn hr* (var. *in*) *nn n hwnwt.* «It is by these maidens that these wind have been given to this N.» *CT II*, 389 b.

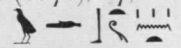
10. *tww pw n 'nh mhyt; rdi.n.t(w).s n N. pn 'nh.f im.s.* «The north-wind is the wind of life: it is in order that he may live by it that it has been given to this N.» *CT II*, 391 a-b.

11. «*dd n.i rn.i*», *in šdw* : : «*ir.n.tw.tn m msk; n Mr-wr; wdb.wt n.t*² *Swti rn.tn.* «Tell me my name», say the . . . (a leathern part of the ship) : : «It is from the hide of the Mnevis-bull that ye are made; «the sinews (?)³ of Seth» is your name.» *BD*, ed. Budge (1898), 206, 6 (*Nu*, ch. 99, 18).

12. *gm.n.tw Hr hrw.f m'w; rdiw n.f ist nt (i)t.f* «Horus was found justified (and) the office of his father was given to him.» *Hymn to Osiris*, Louvre C. 286, 18 (=

¹ In *Études*, 26 and 65-6 it was shown that the Arabic 'innamā often corresponds to the Coptic Second Tenses. In this connexion it is of some interest that 'innamā frequently occurs in contexts which are exactly analogous to the above example, viz. introducing an aetiological account of a strange name or sobriquet, e. g. *وَأَيُّهَا سُمِّي (المكشوح...)*

بذلك لأنه ضرب على كشحه Wright, *Arabic Reading-book* (1870), 37, 11.

²  (kindly collated by Mr T. G. H. James).

³ I owe this rendering to Mr James, who points out that the Middle Kingdom version of this spell (*CT V*, 191 b) has *rwḏ.w*.

de Buck, *Reading-book*, 112, 4). *Sdm.n.tw.f* and "passive *sdm.f*" in parallel clauses; the former due to "incomplete predication" ["find" = "acknowledge or discover to be so-and-so"]; (Law) "determine and declare".¹

13. *ir.n.tw hft ddt.n.f* "It was in accordance with what he had said that action was taken". *Ibid.* 25 (= *o.c.* 113, 1).

14. *iz pn, qd.n.tw.k n hb, snt.n.tw.k n bw-nfr* "O tomb, it is for festivity that thou hast been built; it is for good things that thou hast been founded." *Leiden* V, 68 (= Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 87, 2).

15. *rdi.n.tw.k r sdm mdt, r wdf snwî, r hsf 'ws-ir.f* "It is in order to hear cases, to judge twain, to repel the robber, that thou hast been installed". *Peasant* B 1, 234.

16. *rdi.n.t(w).k r dnit n msw* "It is for a dam unto the poor man that thou hast been installed". *Ibid.* 237.

17. *ir.n.t(w).f r hwt Stw* "It is in order to smite Asiatics that he has been made". *Sinuhe* B, 72.

18. *ist hsb r msw n-swî wnw m-hf m mš pn; nis.n.tw n w' im, ist wî 'h.kwi* "The Royal Children who were with him in this army had been sent for;² it was while I was standing that one of them was summoned". *Sinuhe* R, 23-4.

19. *sd.n.t(w).f.* *Sinuhe* B, 200, see below in the text.

20. *ir.n.tw t3 imt-pr m-bsh X Y Z in z3b Rn-snb* "It was in the presence of X Y Z, by the z3b Rn-snb, that this testament was drawn up". Lacau, *Stèle juridique de Karnak* (CASAÉ 13), line 10.

21. *gm.n.tw nzy.sn irp wshw m nzy.sn nmw mî hdd mw* "It was like the flowing of water (lit., as water flows) that their wine was found lying in their presses". *Urk.* IV, 687, 11. It is the last three words which the *sdm.n.tw.f* serves to emphasize; the sentence describes the "Fülle des Landes *Dshj*" (Sethe's caption).

22. *sr.n.tw.î r hn.ti rnp.wt m hpr.s-î<s>* "It was as a born conqueror that I (Hatshepsut) was foretold for future times". *Urk.* IV, 390, 13. Cf. Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 48 and 55, note v.

¹ *Concise Oxford Dictionary*. — ² Cf. de Buck, *Griffith Studies*, 57-60.

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23. *di.n.tw trw n hr.f m nhtw n Mntw* «It was through the victories (or, strength) of Mont that red colour (? blood?) was given to his body». *Kubban Stela 3*. The translation is lexically doubtful, but the syntactic frame seems clear.

24. *ir.n.tw hstl.k m zn(t) r Pth qmz hmwrt* «It was in the likeness of Ptah, the creator of arts, that thy heart was made». *Ibid.* 19.

25. *hs.n.tw.s hr wst, brw pr mw im.s* «(The well) was left unfinished,¹ no water came out of it». *Ibid.* 21.²

If *sdm.n.tw.f* is **always** «emphatic», it follows, since *sdm.n.tw.f* is merely an extension of *sdm.n.f*, that *sdm.n.f* can **sometimes** be «emphatic». For practical philological work and for elementary teaching the consequences of this conclusion are negligible, because there can never be absolute certainty about any individual case. Personally, I should not hesitate to consider as «emphatic» every *sdm.n.f* occurring in any of the typical sentence patterns illustrated by the first three groups of my examples of *sdm.n.tw.f*. I should further regard with strong suspicion very many *sdm.n.f* forms of verbs of motion. If a grammarian has to quote just one example to illustrate the narrative use of *sdm.n.f*, I think he had better not choose, of all verbs, *spr* «to arrive»,³ the *sdm.n.f* whereof occurs, significantly in parallelism with a *sdm.n.tw.f*, in a famous passage in Sinuhe (B. 199-200):

spr.n wd pn r.i, h.kwi m hr-ib whwt.i;
sd.n.t(w).f n.i, di.n.(i) wi hr ht.i.
dmi.n.i zstw.

These sentences follow immediately after the text of the royal letter, the «bringing» of which has already been related, albeit only in the form of an attributive passive participle, in line 179. It seems therefore that neither *spr.n* nor *sd.n.t(w).f* can be simply narrative. The stress must be on the circumstantial clauses by which the two verb-forms are followed: they contrast Sinuhe's posture at the time of the arri-

¹ This is the least conclusive of all examples known to me. However, an adverbial complement is present, and *hs* is a verb of no great predicative force, so the «emphatic» form may be justified after all. A familiar example of the idiom *hs hr wst* is *Orb.* 3, 2.

² Archaizing instances of *sdm.n.tw.f* occur even much later than the 19th dynasty. G. Posener has drawn my attention to the formula of the Apis stelae (26th dyn.), *ms.n.tw.f m ht-zp hr hm n*

³ De Buck, *Gr. élém. du moyen égyptien*, § 136.

val of the letter and that during its being read to him : "It was while I was standing in the midst of my tribe that this decree reached me; it was after I had prostrated myself and touched the ground that it was read to me". It is only with *di.n.i sw zš hr šnby.i* (201) that the narrative proper is resumed. The weakness of this interpretation is the assumed transition from two circumstantial to two narrative *sdm.n.f* forms : at first sight it would certainly seem natural to regard the four forms *di.n.i wi . . . dm.n.i . . . di.n.i sw . . . dbn.n.i . . .* as syntactically parallel. A possible solution would be afforded if M. Eg. could be shown to have used the pattern "emphatic" *sdm.n.f* plus circumstantial *sdm.n.f* somewhat in the manner of the "cum inversum" of Latin¹ and of the corresponding constructions of modern European languages. Middle Eg. evidence, if it exists, will be difficult to recognize, but I hope to show in a forthcoming article that this usage does exist in L. Eg. and in Demotic.

If no great practical importance can be claimed for the "emphatic" *sdm.n.f*, its theoretical significance, on the other hand, seems to me considerable. The main question at issue is, of course, the true nature of the "emphatic" forms in general, and of the "emphatic" *sdm.f* in particular. According to one theory the "emphatic" *sdm.f* is an "imperfective" or "durative" form, contrasting with the "perfective" *sdm.f*, both being equally predicative forms. Another view regards the "emphatic" *sdm.f* as a non-predicative, nominal form, practically equivalent to a *that*-clause. It seems to me that one and the same principle of contrast must hold good for all "emphatic", as against the corresponding non-"emphatic", forms, *sdm.f* as well as *slm.n.f*. Now within the *sdm.n.f* an aspectual contrast of durative ("imperfective") *vs.* point ("perfective") is obviously out of the question : the *sdm.n.f*, whether predicative or "emphatic" or relative, is never anything but a point tense. Only the second of the theories referred to seems equally applicable to the *sdm.n.f* as well as to the *sdm.f*.

The "emphatic" *sdm.n.f* thus provides, I believe, a strong argument against the doctrine of the "imperfective" *sdm.f*.

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By way of appendix I should like to adduce a piece of diachronic evidence which seems to afford additional proof of the "emphatic" character of *slm.n.tr.f*, while at the same time it raises a grave problem the discussion of which falls outside the scope

¹ Roby, *Gr. of the Latin Lang.* § 1733.

of the present paper. There exists a M. Eg. syntactic pattern where the passive counterpart of *sdm.n.f* is never the "passive *sdm.f*", but only *sdm.n.tw.f*, viz. the construction *n sdm.n.f*. The negated *n sdm.n.tw.f* is rather more frequent than the positive *sdm.n.tw.f*. Among Gunn's examples of *n sdm.n.f* (*Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, ch. 12) I count 14 cases of *n sdm.n.tw.f*. Westendorf (o.c. 101) has been able to quote from his texts 26 examples of *n sdm.n.tw.f* as against only 7 of positive *sdm.n.tw.f*. Now I am not the first to believe that M. Eg. *n sdm.n.f* is the ancestor of L. Eg. ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ *sdm* and of the Coptic Negative Aorist ("Praesens consuetudinis") ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩⲧⲁ . This view has already been expressed by Edgerton¹ and by Hintze.² It is generally agreed that the L. Eg. auxiliary used in this construction is the "emphatic" form; this is borne out by the fact that the verb "to give", which does not require an auxiliary, appears in the characteristic form ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ . Now if *bw ir.f sdm* is the descendant of *n sdm.n.f*, it follows that this particular *sdm.n.f* is "emphatic", and this would naturally account for its passive being *n sdm.n.tw.f*.

While morphologically everything thus seems to fall into line, the syntax presents a real difficulty. The negated *sdm.n.(tw.)f* differs from the positive in being quite independent of the presence of an adverbial complement, stressed or otherwise. The use of the "emphatic" form would therefore seem to be due to the nature of its connexion with the negative word. Yet M. Eg. *n* is, in Gunn's terminology (*Studies* ch. 26), essentially "adverbial", not "predicative", such as one would expect with a noun-equivalent. An attempt to solve this difficulty, which concerns not only *n sdm.n.(tw.)f* but also *n sdmt.f*, requires nothing short of a re-consideration of the whole problem of the negative words.

ADDENDUM

This paper was already in the hands of the Editor when I obtained access to T. W. Thacker's important book *The Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems* (Oxford 1954). One of Thacker's conclusions is that the *sdm.n.f* formation presents "a more complex problem than has hitherto been realized" (p. 245). This is not the place to discuss his theory of the "Second Infinitive" (p. 133-53), which he believes to be the base of a special *sdm.n.f* form, the clearest representative of which is *iw.n.f*,

¹ *On the Late Egyptian Negative* ⲙⲉⲛⲟⲩ , *AJSL* 48, 33 and esp. 38, n. 4.

² *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (Deutsche Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Inst. f. Orientf., Veröff. Nr. 6), p. 251, n. 2

and 263.

distinct from the normal *i.n.f*, "he has come" (p. 246). For all practical purposes this "infinitival *sdm.n.f* form" is the same as my "emphatic" *sdm.n.f*. The example from *Pyr.* 349 a quoted on p. 251, showing *ir.n.f* and *i.n.f* side by side, illustrates a syntactic setting which is particularly favorable to the use of "emphatic" forms (*Études*, 29 ff.) — On p. 269 (cf. already *JE* 35, 37) Thacker offers an explanation of the presence of the negative *n* in the construction *n sdm.t.f*.

Tm.n.f sdm (*supra*, p. 109, n. 3) is indirectly attested by 19th dynasty epigraphic *ir.n.f tm sdm*, a pseudo-archaism for L. Eg. *ir.f tm sdm*: *Nauri Decree*, 107, *hr swt ir.n hm.f tm di*¹⁰⁸ [.] *n mr(wt) di* . . . "It was for the sake of causing that H. M. did not cause [.]". For comments on this passage see Edgerton, *JNES* 6, 226, n. 59; Gardiner, *JE* 38, 32.

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