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THE “EMPHATIC” S\text{DM}.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 \text{sdm}.f, but also of the predicative \text{sdm}.n.f, and possibly of the prospective \text{sdm}.f. Since the very existence of a distinct prospective \text{sdm}.f is a matter of controversy, I shall, for the moment, limit myself to the \text{sdm}.n.f, which is the least problematic, or at any rate the least controversial, of Middle Egyptian verb forms.

Since the “emphatic” \text{sdm}.n.f cannot be expected to look any different from the ordinary predicative \text{sdm}.n.f, there will be no formal, “objective,” criterion to distinguish between the two. It can therefore be argued that the quest for the “emphatic” \text{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 plausibility 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. \text{sdm}.n.f — L. Eg. and Dem. \text{sdm}.f → Coptic άητακοκτύ, on the other hand M. Eg. \text{sdm}.n.f — L. Eg. and Dem. \text{im}.f \text{sdm} → Coptic άητακοκτύ, it is perhaps not too fanciful to infer that the diver-

\text{sdm}.f \text{sdm} would then suffice to prove the existence of an “emphatic” \text{sdm}.n.f. Unfortunately no more than one single example of \text{sdm}.f \text{sdm} seems to be on record, and that a New Kingdom one (c. 87, bottom). A point which one must wish to see settled before using this argument with confidence, is the morphological character of \text{sdm}.hr.f and \text{sdm}.kr.f, both of which are negated by \text{tm} (\text{tm}.hr.s \text{hr}, see Gardner, Eg. Gr. \$ 433; \text{tm}.kr.g \text{q stpt}, Coffin Texts, II, 174f).
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 ε-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. It is, in fact, the ε-emphatic ε-counterpart — the Second Tense, so to speak — of the ε-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. Westendorf's very valuable work on the passive in the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom. According to him, ε-nominales log. Objekt erfordert das pass. sdm-f, dagegen wird bei pronominalem log. Objekt die Form sdm.n.tw bevorzugt ε. 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 ε-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 predicational contents of the sentence. Attention may be drawn to some cases among the examples quoted below where the verb is one of ε-incomplete predication ε, i. e., requiring an adverbial complement to make sense, esp. iρi, ελι, γεμί, 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 Ed. Pichon, Des mots à la pensée. Essai de grammaire de la langue française, IV (1934), § 1553-66.

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The following list has been obtained by assembling the examples quoted by Sethe, Gardiner and Lefebvre, 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 mn hr m?* What has this been done for?* " Urk. IV, 365, 11.

B. **Parallel to Emphasizing Constructions.**

2. *nnk dsfr, ir.n.t(w) n,i htp.(w)t* *Mine are the provisions, it is for me that offerings have been made* <sup>1</sup> CT IV, 13'4 h-c.

3. *gm.n.tw rt pn m Hmnw, hr dbt nt bi 3m, htw m hsbd mi, hr rd.wi ntr pn, m hsw hm n Mn-kfr-fr mi'h-fr; in z₃ n-sw Nfr-dd.f mi'h-mw gm sw...* *It was in Hermopolis, on a brick of Upper Egyptian copper, engraved in true lapis lazuli, 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 Nfr-dd.f who found it...* BD, ed. Budge (1898), 142, 3ff. (*Nu, ch. 64, Rubric*).

4. *iw ist grt spfr.n.tw šfdw pn m hst-zp 33, etc....... m znt r z₃ n ins t iry m hsw...* ; *in z₃ ḫm-msw spfr zmn 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 Ḫons who transcribed this copy.* <sup>2</sup> *Bknh Math. Pap., Title*.

5. *in ḫm.f ir mn m z₃(t) r šfr ins; hxt n.x (sic) rmtw dv rk im.x-bḥḥ n (neg.) ir.sn ḫb hnt (?) read hft?)* <sup>3</sup> ḫb-sd; vdr.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.* <sup>4</sup> *Tomb of Khnuef: A. Fakhry, ASAE 42, 492.*

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<sup>1</sup> *Verban*, II, § 374.

<sup>2</sup> *Eg. Gr. § 414, n. 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Grammar, § 302, 305.

<sup>4</sup> The question whether bi here really means "copper" is being discussed by Fr. B. Couroyer in *Rev. d'Ég., 41 (1957).*

<sup>5</sup> *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 mtri pw 'i; — R pw ds.f; dd,n.tu = mtiw = r.f m (var. hr) dd Sia r.f : 'in mtri sw m n n rhrf=; hpr rn.pw n = mtiw =. "Who is this great cat?" — "It is Re' 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-att ir.n.t.(w) is z5 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, ZAS 61, 71.

8. ir.n.tu 'hst ntrw hft wdl.i. "It was according to my order that the war-ship of the gods was made." CT IV, 19b-5 a.

9. rdi.n.t.(w) nn n tsw n N. pn hr (var. in) nn n ntrw. "It is by these maidens that these wind have been given to this N." CT II, 389 b.

10. tsw pw n "nh mhgy; rdi.n.t.(w).s n N. pn "nhf 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 rui ra =, in sdw =: ir.n.tu.in m msik n Mw-te; wdbwt n.t. Sati rru.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 seven winds of Seth is your name." BD, ed. Budge (1898), 206, 6 (Nu, ch. 99, 18).

12. gm.n.tu Hr hpr.f mtrw; rdiw n.f ist n (i)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, 56 and 65-6 it was shown that the Arabic 'innāmā often corresponds to the Coptic Second Tenses. In this connexion it is of some interest that 'innāmā frequently occurs in contexts which are exactly analogous to the above example, viz. introducing an etiological account of a strange name or sobriquet, e. g. (المكشوح... ولا حاجة مركبة) Wright, Arabic Reading: Book (1870), 37, 11. (=

5 I owe this rendering to Mr James, who points out that the Middle Kingdom version of this spell (CT V, 191 b) has mtrw.}
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de Buck, Reading-book, 119, 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 pu, gd.n.tw.k n lbb, snu.n.tw.k n bmr-nfr = 0 tomb, it is for festivity that thou hast been built; it is for good things that thou hast been founded." Leiden V, 68 (= Sethe, Lessestücke, 87, 2).

15. rdi.n.tw.k r sdm mlt, r wtr suwi, r hsf w3-ir.f "It is in order to hear cases, to judge twain, to repel the robber, that thou hast been installed." Peasants B 1, 234.

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

17. ir.n.(t)w.f r hwt Sisr = "It is in order to smite Asiatics that he has been made." Sinuhe B, 79.

18. ist hth r msw n-swt mnw m-hf.f m mš s po; nis.n.tw n w t im, ist wī 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. sdm.n.(t)w.f. Sinuhe B, 200, see below in the text.

20. ir.n.tw ti im-pr m-biḥ X Y Z in zeb Rn-snḥ = "It was in the presence of X Y Z, by the zeb Rn-snḥ, that this testament was drawn up." Lacau, Stèle juridique de Karnak (CASAE 13), line 10.

21. gnm.n.tw nṣn irp wšhw m nṣn nwnw m hdd mhr = "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 Dšḥ" (Sethe’s caption).

22. sr.n.tw.i r ḫn.ti rnp.wt m hpr.s-št<s x> = "It was as a born conqueror that I (Hatshepsut) was foretold for future times." Urk. IV, 390, 13. Cf. Gardiner, JE 439, 48 and 55, note v.

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1 Concise Oxford Dictionary.  2 Cf. de Buck, Griffith Studies, 57-60.
23. di.a.n i n h. h. t. w. n h. n t. w. n Mnt w. "It was through the victories (or, strength) of Mont that red colour (is blood?) was given to his body."

Kubban Stela 3. The translation is lexically doubtful, but the syntactic frame seems clear.

24. ir.n.t.w. hti.k m zn(t) r Pth qms hms r "It was in the likeness of Ptah, the creator of arts, that thy heart was made."

Ibid. 19.

25. h.i. n.t.w. s hr w.i, hr pr mrw in.s "(The well) was left unfinished, no water came out of it."

Ibid. 24.2

If sdm.n.t.w.f is always "emphatic," it follows, since sdm.n.t.w.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.t.w.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," the sdm.n.f whereof occurs, significantly in parallelism with a sdm.n.t.w.f, in a famous passage in Sinuhe (B. 199-200):

spr.n wd pn r.i, 'h'.kwi m hr-ib xhw.t.i;
sdm.n.t(w).f n.i, di.n.(i) wi hr ht.i.
dmi.n.i ztw.

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 sdm.n.(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 h'r is a verb of no great predicative force, so the "emphatic" form may be justified after all. A familiar example of the idiom h'r hr wd is Orb. 3, 9.

2 Archaising instances of sdm.n.t.w.f occur even much later than the 19th dynasty. G. Posener has drawn my attention to the formula of the Apis stelae (36th dyn.), ms.n.t.w.f m hrt-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 $\text{di.u.i sw} ~ \text{hr} ~ \text{šnby.i}$ (201) that the narrative proper is resumed. The weakness of this interpretation is the assumed transition from two circumstantial to two narrative $\text{sdm.n.f}$ forms: at first sight it would certainly seem natural to regard the four forms $\text{di.u.i wi} \ldots ~ \text{dmi.n.i} \ldots ~ \text{di.n.i sw} \ldots ~ \text{dbm.n.i} \ldots$, as syntactically parallel. A possible solution would be afforded if M. Eg. could be shown to have used the pattern "emphatic $\text{sdm.n.f}$ plus circumstantial $\text{sdm.n.f}$ somewhat in the manner of the "cum inversum" of Latin\(^1\) 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 $\text{sdm.n.f}$", 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 $\text{sdm.f}$" in particular. According to one theory the "emphatic $\text{sdm.f}$" is an "imperfective" or "durative" form, contrasting with the "perfective $\text{sdm.f}$", both being equally predicative forms. Another view regards the "emphatic $\text{sdm.f}$" 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, $\text{sdm.f}$ as well as $\text{slm.n.f}$. Now within the $\text{sdm.n.f}$ an aspectual contrast of durative ("imperfective") vs. point ("perfective") is obviously out of the question: the $\text{sdm.n.f}$, 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 $\text{sdm.n.f}$ as well as to the $\text{sdm.f}$.

The "emphatic $\text{sdm.n.f}$" thus provides, I believe, a strong argument against the doctrine of the "imperfective $\text{sdm.f}$".

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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 $\text{slm.n.tr.f}$, while at the same time it raises a grave problem the discussion of which falls outside the scope

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1 Rohry, Gr. of the Latin Lang., § 1733.

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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 negativised $n\ sdm.n.tw.f$ 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. 19) I count 14 cases of $n\ sdm.n.tw.f$. Westendorf (p.c. 101) has been able to quote from his texts 96 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. $\exists\ sdm$ and of the Coptic Negative Aorist ("Praesens consuetudinis") $\textit{ueqawtu}$. 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 $\exists\ sdm$. 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 negativised $sdm.n.(tw.)$ 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. 24), essentially "adverbial", not "predicative", such as one would expect with a noun-equivalent. An attempt to solve this difficulty, which concerns not only $n\ sdm.n.(tw.)$, but also $n\ sdm.f$, 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 1956). One of Thacker’s conclusions is that the $sdm.n.f$ formation presents a more complex problem than has hitherto been realised (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 $\exists$, AJSL 48, 33 and esp. 38, n. 4.
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 iwr.n.f and i.n.f side by side, illustrates a syntactic setting which is particularly favorable to the use of "emphatic" forms (Études, 99 ff.) — On p. 269 (cf. already JEA 35, 37) Thacker offers an explanation of the presence of the negative n in the construction n sdm.n.f.

Tm.n.f sdm (supra, p. 109, n. 3) is indirectly attested by 19th dynasty epigraphic iwr.n.f tn sdm, a pseudo-archaism for L. Eg. iwr.f tm sdm : Nauz Decree, 107. hrswt iwr.n ktm.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, 296, n. 59; Gardiner, JEA 38, 39.

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