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(i)rf IN THE COFFIN TEXTS: A FUNCTIONAL TABLEAU

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A structural, corpus-based role examination of the Middle Egyptian particle element written *irf/rf* shows it to be anything but simple or monolithic. Scanning its environmental distribution as well as its micro- and macro-syntactic compatibilities and its commutabilities we arrive at two major structural identities (i.e., functions correlatable with distinct formal entities): (a) an analyzable, verb-syntagm-componential AUGENS *r.f*, the pronominal component of which is conditioned by a preceding pronoun and noun, (b) an invariable, unanalyzable morph *irf*, a DISCOURSE COHENSION EXPONENT in dialogic syntax, signalling the non-initiality as well as non-finality of its clause, with an additional intra-clausal prosodic DISJUNCTOR function. Each of these is illustrated and discussed in detail, under consideration of its morphological and environmental specifics, a transitional "linking" role between the two is postulated and illustrated. It is suggested that a third element (*rf*, invariable and unanalyzable) is a secondary manifestation of *irf*, functionally specialized as a SUPERORDINATOR.

For H.J. Polotsky
On his eightieth birthday, September 13th, 1985,
with thanks, love and admiration, c.w.s.

0.1 IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES I propose to examine formally, distributionally and functionally, the various recurring sequences of "⌈ + ⊕ + ✎ suffix-pronoun", for which a rectional/complementational-adjunctal interpretation of the preposition *r*- "to, against . . ." governing a pronoun *commutable with a noun is excluded*¹. This preliminary sifting is effected by taking

¹ Some more or less detailed functional discussions of *r(.f)/irf*: Edel §§613f., 616f., 818, 821 (with *Nachträge*, p. lxxx), 818-42 (*ir* among other enclitics), 1007f., 1012, 1012; Gardiner §§252, 497-500; Lefebvre §§558, 587 (on the whole, I agree with L.'s interpretation of the relationship of *r.f* and *irf*, see below); Westendorf 1962 §§388, 392; Müller 1975: §67(5) on *irf*: "after imperatives and in clauses of purpose; in questions." M. Gilula has briefly discussed this particle in his as yet unpublished dissertation (1968, p. 6-8, see *GM* 2:53-59 (1972)); see also Abel 1910 *passim*, Silverman 1980: 87ff. (97: "sentence adverb"—this with reference to the *variable r.f*—"two distinct words both written *rf*, one functioning in rhetorical questions and the other acting as a sentence adverb;" no functional distinction is suggested between *rf* and *irf*), Callender 1983: 89 (drawing on standard text-book expositions, translating *r.f/r.s* "in this regard" and again offering no formal distinctions; *rf* does not feature in his list of enclitics, *ibid.* 91).

into consideration (a) only cases of adverbial (*r(.f)*) where the pronominal element is correferent to the pronominal segment of the preceding verb-form (*pr̄i.i r̄.i* etc.) or to its pronominal reference (*pr̄i* (imperative) *r.k*, *pr̄i* (participle) *r.f*; see below) and (b) cases of (*i*)*rf*—on the face of it, third-person-singular-masculine exponent in *interlocutive* context where such a reference cannot be traced to its nominal or pronominal referate. This is admittedly a rough-and-ready heuristic procedure, empirically conceived and with little theoretical significance: isolated instances in which it fails must be handled individually, by contextual consideration and in the accumulated light of the bulk of the evidence.

0.2 Without claiming *a priori* homogeneity for the *Coffin Texts* corpus—on the contrary, witness idiosyncracies are here constantly in evidence—this is nonetheless assumed in the present study, which is restricted to the seven volumes of the edition.² The question whether or not, or to what degree this corpus does in fact represent a consistently describable *état de*

² A. De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Chicago 1935-1961 (University of Chicago Press, the Oriental Institute Publications); the references below are to volume, page and section.

langue remains yet to be empirically settled by internal structural study of a single witness or reasoned groups of witnesses for given phenomena. Contrastive comparison with other Old or Early Middle Egyptian corpora could relate the statements in an evolutionary or comparative display, but would on no account precede or replace “*Spezialgrammatik*,” corpus-based statements.³

0.3 I knowingly run the risk of distortion by excluding from the present discussion, except for the briefest mention, the paradigmatic and syntagmatic association of the particles in focus with other particles. Such deeper scrutiny, aiming at establishing the categorial identity of the particles in question, would no doubt be called for in the framework of a comprehensive *Partikellehre* for Egyptian—one of those *desiderata* which sadly seem ever to recede into the future, in the present state of Egyptian grammatical research.

0.4 The topic of this paper is the grammatical functioning and value of a heterogeneous set of particles. Its purpose lies in mapping and documenting the distribution of the set members, aiming at a coherent interpretative theory of their occurrence and ensemble of relations.

0.5 Descriptive linguists, especially dead-language ones, have a notoriously loose way with particles, those “small words with grammatical function” (in F. Householder’s inadequate if correct definition, which could be expanded, for instance, into “formal relational elements of *la parole*, actualizing and incorporating syntagms (often clauses), segmentally expressing micro- and macro-syntactic functions in close association with suprasegmentals”). This must be mainly due to the embarrassment of their (the particles’) not being explicable in dichotomic terms, the resistance to compartmentalization of their rich complexity, and the fact that they generally elude the (anyhow leaky) lexicon vs. grammar binomy. Discussion of Egyptian particles is of course handicapped by our profound ignorance of real (as distinct from superficially impressionistic) suprasegmentals and prosody, by the fine discourse-oriented semantics involved, and by the fact that particles fall into the cracks between major or “basic” established analytic categories of syntax and morphology as we know them: indeed, here as so often elsewhere, discussion is bedeviled by ethnocentrism and “squinting” observation (see n. 52).

³ A contrastive-complementary companion study of *r.f/irf* in the earlier corpus of the *Pyramid Texts*, to be published at a later stage, seems to confirm the evolutive tendencies here observed.

0.6 Two major formal sets are brought here into focus. One (*r.f*) in which the sequence *rf* is analyzable, a *syntagm*, with its final component a commutable pronoun, variable in the whole range of the suffix-pronoun paradigm, with a clear grammatical regulation; the other (*irf*) a synchronically unanalyzable *morph*, with *-f* invariable (uncommutable). Both entities are not in direct functional relationship on the synchrony axis, although evidently relatable on the diachronic one: their functional *rapprochement*, attempted below, can be no more than conjectural, a speculative exercise in evolutionary probabilities, overstepping the bounds of the evidence.⁴

0.7 The following combinatory patterns emerge in the course of the analysis:

0.7.1 THE AUGENTIAL/ADLEXEMIC-COMPONENTIAL MODIFIER SYNTAGM *r.i, r.k, r.f, etc.* in collocative and (rarely) narrative cotext:⁵

a(1) “*pri.i r.i*” (1.1.1)

a(2) “*pri.n.i r.i*” (1.1.2)

a(3) “*pri.k.3.i r.i*” (1.1.3)

a(4) “*pri.kwi r.i*” (1.1.4)

a(5) “*pri* (participle) *r.f*” (1.1.5)

0.7.2 THE AUGENTIAL/MODIFYING *r.k* in ALLOCUTIVE-IMPERATIVE cotext:

b(1) “*sdm r.k!*” (1.2.1)

b(2) “*m.k r.k!*” (1.2.2)

0.7.3. *r.i* AN INDICATOR OF PROMINENCE:

c(1) “*ink r.i N*” (1.3.1)

c(2) “*N.i r.i*” (1.3.2.)

0.7.4. THE INVARIABLE (*i*)*rf, ir*: A DIALOGUE INTERCLAUSAL RELATOR:

I “*pri.k irf hr isst?*” (2.1)

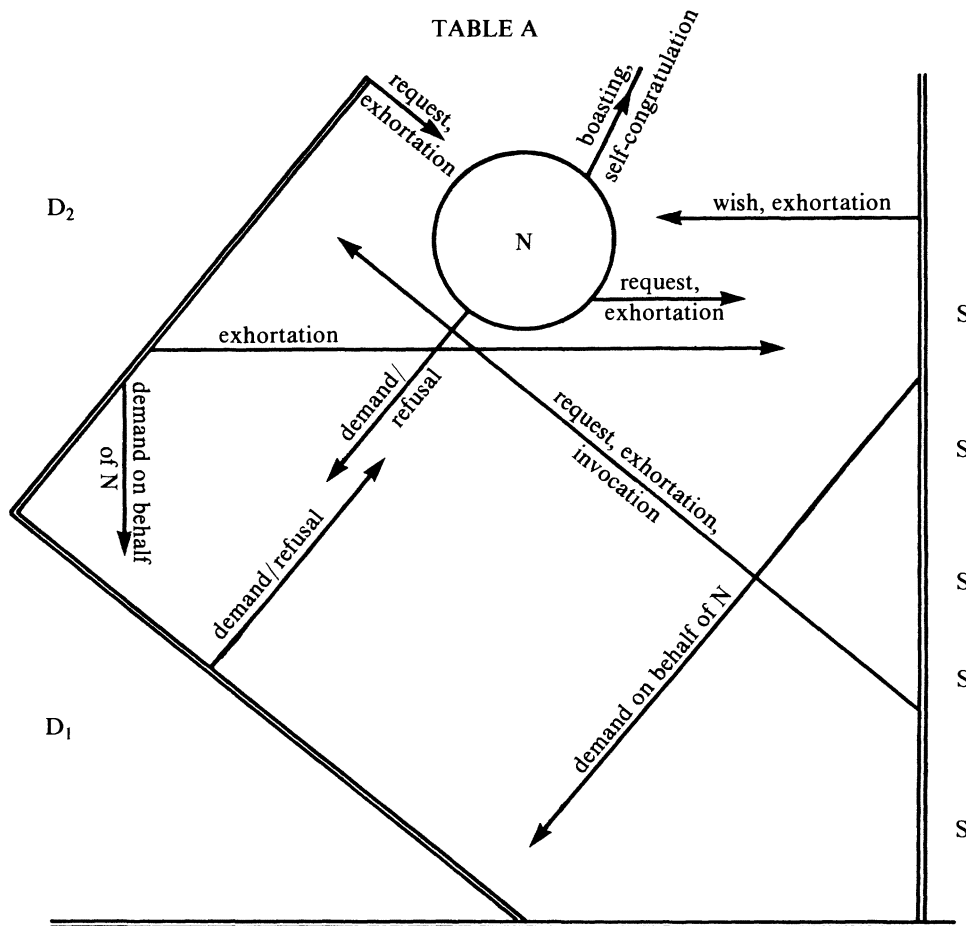
II “*isst pw irf irt.n.s?*”/“*ink pw irf . . .*” (2.2)

III “*N irf . . . ?*” (2.3)

IV “*in m irf ir hn.c.k/ssm.f tw?*” (2.4)

⁴ The fact that the two Coptic “particles” (really conjunctive interclausal relator markers) *hōōf* and *ntof*, strikingly similar in function to *irf*, are synchronically relatable to a set of variable *augentia* is to an extent corroborative. Outside Egyptian, one notes Irish *leis* (3rd masc. sgl. of the preposition *le* “with,” in a “frozen” prepositional phrase used as “particle”) and Welsh *ynteu*, originally an appositive-*augential* 3rd masc. pronoun, as two close parallels.

⁵ *pri* is chosen as code lexeme to indicate the preponderance of verbs of motion in the lexeme inventory of patterns (a), and similarly the first person singular; its morphological idiosyncrasies have no significance in this connection. “*Sdm*” (patt. (b)) represents a lexeme apparently indifferent with regard to the “motion” seme. Patterns (I to VI) are represented by actual instances.



V "*ink irf N*" / "*nnk irf tm*" (2.5)

VI "*sdm(n) irf N*" (2.6)

0.7.5 *rf* a prosodically fused close-juncture alternant of *irf* (3.1–2); *rf* a SUPERORDINATOR.

1.0.1 The syntagm *r.f* (*r.i*, *r.k* etc.), a componential verb modifier and augens,⁶ occurs in three pattern groups, namely (a), in which it is *adverbial*, expanding a finite or personal verb-form; (b), in which it is adverbial to imperatival-allocutive clause forms; (c), in which it is *adnominal*. For the range (a)–(b), the verb syntagms are displayed with their characteristic

⁶ "Augens," which I use for Polotsky's *Verstärker* (Polotsky 1961) is originally a Celtological term ("*nota augens*," cf. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica* (1853) 332ff., 341, 344, etc., Pedersen, *Vergl. Grammatik d. Keltischen Sprachen*, (1913) II 137ff.

semantic-functional definitions in Table A; they are the formal exponents of the interpersonal-functional mutualities displayed in Table B as a "world" dramatic network of attitudinal vectors (the code used: "N" = deceased, subject and object of funerary attentions; "S" = the surviving relation, initiator and agent of these attentions; "D₁" = the "daevic" (malevolent, opponent, "unjust") deities, "D₂" = the benevolent, just, favourable or at least objective deities).⁷

1.1.0.1 The attestations in the CT for the augens *r.f* supply the following formal inventory (the references are representative): (*i*)*r.i* (IV 13c), (*i*)*r.k* (I 277f., III 48e), *r.ḏ* (I 289e), *r.f* (I 142c), *r.s* (I 142c), *ir.in* (I 218b) (8), *r.sn* (V 56a).

⁷ Cf. Grieshammer 1970: 18ff., 71ff. On the significance of the personal parameter in Coptic modal paradigms, cf. Polotsky 1944: 15f. (= CP 120f.)

TABLE B

	N	D ₁	D ₂	S
N →	boasting, self-congratulation "sdm.i (r.i)"	demand/refusal	request exhortation "imper. (r.k) + sdm.i(r.i)/sdm.k (r.k)" "nn sdm.i (r.i)/sdm.k (r.k)"	
D ₁ →	demand/refusal "imper. r.k + sdm.k" "nn sdm.i"	—	—	—
D ₂ →	request, exhortation "imper. (r.k) + sdm.k (r.k)" "sdm.k (r.k)"	demand (on behalf of N) "imper. (r.k) + sdm.f"	— —	exhortation "imper. (r.k) + sdm.k"
S →	wish, exhortation "imper. (r.k) + sdm.k (r.k)" "sdm.k (r.k)"	demand (on behalf of N) "imper. (r.k) + sdm.f" (r.f)"	request, exhortation as for D ₂ → N	delocutive (3rd person) invocation "sdm.f (r.k)"

Obs.(a) I take the *i*-variants in the 1st and 2nd person masc.sgl. to be purely orthographic; in the other persons except for the 3rd masc. sgl., I attribute the absence of this variant to statistical chance, due to relatively weak representation (twenty-odd occurrences). Not so however in the 3rd masculine, with over ninety occurrences: the absence in this case is morphologically significant (systemic), see below.

(b) I do not see the absence of the 1st person plural representant as systemic (significant) "*Unbelegtheit*," but as fortuitous, since no suppletive replacement thereof is detectable.

1.1.0.2 PARADIGM (a), being the verb-lexeme constituency for pattern-range (a):

(1) *Verbs of motion or posture*: (9)

- iy, iw* "come"
- ḥ^c* "stand (up)"
- ḳ* "come/go in"
- wbn* "rise (of sun)"
- btī* "run"
- phr* "turn around, revolve"
- pri* "come/go out," "go up, ascend"
- nwd* "move"
- rwi* "leave, depart"

ḥfʒ "creep, lurk"

hms "sit (down)"

ḥtp "rest," "set (of sun)"

ḥpi "travel, move hither and thither"

ḥr "fall down"

sʒi "linger, stay behind"

swʒ "pass"

zbi "go, pass away"

shnti "progress (be promoted)"

šʒs "go, travel," "traverse"

šm "go, walk"

ḳʒi "cross"

iw(*ḳ*)- "be about to go to-, set out for-" (once, VI 338q)

wnn, conditioned alternant of *iw* (VII 169 k)

ini (passive) "be brought" (once, I 162h)

(2) *Other intransitives*: *ʒm* "burn" (intr.)

ḥḥ "live"

wnn "be, become"

bʒgi "be/become weary"

nḥt "be/become strong"

nḳm "be/become pleasant, sweet"

ḥ^ci "rejoice"

ḥd, shḳ "light up" (intr.), "be/become bright"

hpr “become”

tm “cease, perish”

sbīn (stative) “be in trouble(?)”

skbh “be/become fresh”

gr “be/fall silent”

(3) *Verbs of oral communication: dd* “say”

mdw “talk”

nis “call, summon”

(4) *Transitive verb* (doubtful): *hwi* “protect”, a single attestation (I 218b)⁸

It is suggested that the intransitivity (or rather *univalence*) of the verb lexemes when occurring in patterns (a) in syntagm with *r.f* is a significant categorial component of these patterns⁹ and a guide to the functional value of *r.f* here.

1.1.1 a(1): “*pri.ī r.ī*”, attested in the following persons: 1st singular, 2nd and 3rd masc. singular, 3rd fem. singular. The main *sdm.f* constituency is made up of mostly initial, rarely circumstantial (final or consecutive) prospective *sdm.f* forms (although only *iw.* and a few *3ae infirmae* verbs are morphologically distinctive). This pattern seems to occur only in dialogue: perfectic *sdm.f* forms are not attested, nor is the ‘emphatic’ *sdm.f* in its thematic (“glose”) role.

(1) (III 201q) “*ī wr pw, ī c³ pw. . .*” *h^c.ī r.ī h^c.tn, hms.ī r.ī hms.tn*” “O Great One, O Mighty One . . . let me too stand up as you do, let me too sit down as you do. (Alternatively Faulkner 1973:175: “If I stand up, you shall stand up; if I sit down, you shall sit down”). The two *sdm.f* forms may be interconnected in a protasis-apodosis (topic-comment) or a “Wechselsatz” (balanced or correlative) construction, with two finite substantival (“that-”) forms;¹⁰ *r.f* marks the second, apodotic, component.

⁸ (I 218b) (*dd.f*) *hy/hw.tn īr.tn c³knw Hr.w*. A possible alternative interpretation would analyze this as #imperative + dependent pronoun + *it.ōn#*; I believe, however, that the augens *r.f* and the dependent pronoun are incompatible, mutually exclusive (which would be a fundamental difference between *r.f* and the Coptic augens; one must bear in mind the possibility that this is due to the significant intransitivity of the verbal lexemes more then to a true structural incompatibility of the pronominals).

⁹ Among the twelve verbs quoted in Sethe’s *Verbum* (III, p. 7), ten are verbs of movement, two verbs signifying quality; all are intransitive.

¹⁰ The prospective “emphatic”? see Polotsky 1969: 473ff., 1976: §2.7; Schenkel 1981. (A rare instance of *r.f* with the emphatic *sdm.f* is Urk. I 14.5: *pr.r.f r.f m iw.f.f*). For the correlative constructions, see Polotsky 1964: 281f. 1969: 471ff., 1984: 119f., Gilula 1976: 170f., Nicacci 1980, Vernus 1981.

(2) (III 16a–b) *īm 3wt n N tn, šm.s r.s* “Give this N oblation-presents, that she may depart (‘go on her way’)” (v. 1. “give me . . .”). Compare (V 43g) . . . *iw.t.f r.f*, likewise “circumstantial” prospective. So too:

(3) (VI 231c–d) *iri n.ī w³t, sw³.ī r.ī; īr tm.tn īr n.ī w³t, sw³.ī r.ī . . .* “Make a road for me, that I may go my way! If you do not make a road for me, that I may go my way. . . .”

(4) (I 277e–f) *dī.k c³.k r išt.k, pr.k r.k r pt* “May your hand be on your possessions as you ascend to heaven.”

(5) (I 291c–d) *ī³ N pn! h^c.k r.k r.sn*, “O N, may you stand up against them!”—note the compatibility of the two *r*-morphs, proving them two non-identical homonymic elements, the first grammatical, actor oriented, the second a valency-scheme constituent (see below).

(6) (I 300b) *d³.k r.k r šht-htpw m-m snw.k* “May you cross to Paradise amongst your brethren.”

(7) (V 329a) *pr r.f Šw m iw.f.ī sšm.kwi hr w³t 3h* “May Šw issue from my flesh, as I am being guided (or resultatively: so that I shall be guided) along the Spirit-Way”. Consider also III 38c, 170d.

(8) Two examples of *r.f* apparently expanding the negative grammaticalized verb—lexeme *tm*: (V 35c) *tm r.f šsp, hpr kkw* and (VII 485 d–e) *tm r.f kkw, hpr šsp*: “. . . so that it may not be light . . .”, “. . . so that it may not be dark.”¹¹ The grammatical subject or agent would in this case be zero. Alternatively, we may have here a case of the nexus of the “emphatic” with the circumstantial *sdm.f* forms in the sense of “no sooner . . . than . . .”, or a protasis–apodosis, i.e., correlative complex of two “emphatic” forms (see above, ex. 1), in which case the homonymous lexeme “cease,” “perish” would be more in place (so Lesko’s translation (p. 31): “may darkness cease and light come to be”).

1.1.1.1 *r.f*, not *īr.f*, is almost invariably the orthographic form in the CT of the 3rd-masculine morph in this pattern. Indeed, we find instances, like III 50f.,

NB: in this pattern we find the augens *ds.f* in paradigm with *r.f*. The relationship of both augentia is not entirely clear. Exx. for Urk. I (38.16, 164.16) or the CT (221a), and such adverbial occurrences as *hpr ds.f* (IV 188–89) show *ds*= in this slot to be a *circumstant* modifier (“by himself,” “with no outside help”) rather than an ad-lexemic componential factor; *ds.f* is as a rule neither exclusive nor contrastive (cf. Meltzer 1975), which seems to be the specific semantic feature of augential *r.f* (cf. Planck 1979 for German *auch/selbst*). Better corpus resolution is no doubt called for. (See ex. 29 and n. 31 on the compatibility, hence distinct categorial status, of the two augentia).

¹¹ Cf. Abel’s ex. 104 (Pyr. 387a)—protasis: *itm.k īr.k d³y Wnis . . .*

where “*sdm r.f N*” is neatly in opposition to *irf*, the non-commutable, unanalyzable “particle” (below), in a single syntactic complex:

(9) (III 50h–51b) *sbi r.f t n it hdt, ʿnh.k irf m issi?* “—Supposing white-wheat bread runs out, what will you live on?” Note, however, the incompatibility of the two elements, which is not surprising, given their original identity (see below 2.3, and cf. the incompatibility in Coptic of augens and particle in the case of *ntof* and *hōōf*).

1.1.2 a(2): “*pr.i.n.f r.f*,” attested in the 2nd and 3rd persons singular, including the nominal actor. The augens modifies the circumstantial (adjunctal, not rhematic-narrative, following the theme *iw-*) and “emphatic” *sdm.n.f* forms; only verbs of movement or posture:

(10) (VI 408h–k) *bL, bL, imyw-ht Hr! bL, bL, imyw-ht Stḥ! n ph.n.f sw, bL.n.f r.f hr R^c* “Run, run, followers of Horus! Run, run, followers of Seth! He cannot overtake him, since he has fled to Re.” Note the valential distinction between *bL* “run” (neutral, here with zero rection, “be in pursuit,” cf. Coptic *pot nsa-*) and *bL r.f hr-* “flee (for shelter) to-.”

(11) (V 74d, 152a) *iy.n.k r.k tnw* “From where have you turned up?” (alternatively, the augens is really actor-, not action-referred; consider the colloquial-rhetorical insistence on the actor in surprised questions such as “Where did YOU come from?” (Cf. also II 243b(S2P B9C): *ʿh^c.n.f r.f* with a stative *varia lectio*). I know of no instance of *r.f* with the “emphatic” *sdm.n.f* as theme to a non-interrogative focus-rheme.¹²

1.1.3, a(3): “*pr.k³.f r.f*” usually in *apodosi*, attested in the 2nd and 3rd persons, incl. nominal actor.

(12) (I 273f) *ir gm.k ntrw hmsy, hms.k³.k r.k hn^c.sn* “If you find the gods seated, you too shall sit with them.”

(13) (IV 356a–357a) *kbh.k³.kr.k r kbhw Gb, shd.k³.k r.k r shdw ʿht pt* “You (too?) shall be refreshed with (more than?) the freshness of Geb, you (too?) shall shine brighter than the brightness of the sky-horizon.” The characteristic function of the augens here is additive-adversative (“you, however,” “you too,” “you for your

¹² An early instance of an idiomatic narrative collocation containing the “emphatic” *sdm.n.f* form, common in later phases of the literary language (Urk. IV 896, Westc. 2, 15 and in Late Egyptian narrative (Hirtenges. 177, D’Orbiney 7,2) as well as in early ME (Sin. B 248) may be already frozen or at least fixed in the CT: (VII 36r) *hd.n r.f t³ dw³, dw³* “the land has become light very early” (see Vernus 1981, his exx. 12–13). Wb III 208): the verb form is here probably in nexus with a following circumstantial (“no sooner has the land become light, than . . .” or: “as soon as the land became light, . . .”

part”—cf. Coptic *hōō=*) or comparative, in relation to the protasis of (more rarely) an element in the clause itself. More exx. for this pattern (also common in the Pyramid Texts): I 273g, IV 359b, 363c, 376d (*r.k* and rectional *r-* in compatibility).

1.1.4 a(4)—statives: “*N iy r.f*,” “*pr.kwi r.i*,” attested in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd singular. Note that this is the only case of this augens in the *durative* (“adverbial”) present predication pattern—the stative is after all the exponent of a complex temporal category (the *perfect*: “present state resulting of past action”): *r.f* is apparently incompatible with the *hr* + *infinitive* durative verbal predicates. However, for verbs of movement (and perhaps a larger subset of the intransitive verb lexemes) the opposition of (durative) state vs. past action is neutralized in favour of the former, in the form of the stative.¹³

(14) (I 154d–e, also 155b) *m.k hfty.k pf imy ntrw rmtw imyw hrtyw-ntr . . . iy(w) r.f* “Behold, that enemy of yours amongst the gods and people (and those) of the necropolis has arrived (‘on his mission’) to break your house, to undermine your dwelling.”

(15) (VI 136n) *rh.n.i tn, rh.n.i rnw.tn, pr.kwi r.i w^c.b.kwi* “I know you—I know your names, having ascended pure on my way.”

(16) (II 234b, v. 1. SIP, S1Chass., Pap. Berl.) (his guardian who is in the Tribunal) *-(ʿh^c.n.f r.f ʿwy.f r-hr.f) // ʿh^c.r.f r.f*—(it is with his arms stretched out that he has arisen)/is arisen on his concern,” note the compatibility of the two *r-* homonyms, the first an internal modifier, sharing with the lexeme a single actor-expression, the second a valential “government” modifier. More exx.: I 276g, IV 104d.

1.1.5 a(5): “*N phr r.f*”—participle,¹⁴ attributive or adnexal (“conjunct”) to a noun nucleus—the augens occurring in the 3rd person singular form; no clear imperfective/perfective morphological marking:

¹³ Polotsky 1965: 22ff., 1976 §3.3, Junge 1970: 1–21, 1984: 116. In Bohairic Coptic (probably in Fayumic and Oxyrhynchite too) *še na=* is virtually the *non-durative* alternant of the verb “go.” In Urk. I 125.16 *šm r.f (šm stative)*, the pred. complement of emphatic *gm.n.i* is superficially durative: “on his way”; however, for narrative *šm* the durativity feature is neutralized, in absence of an opposition with another narrative (circ. *sdm.n.f*) form (although the precise status of *šm* among ME “verbs of motion” is admittedly uncertain).

¹⁴ This is the only non-finite verb form I have found expanded by the augens *r.f*. However, the one uncertain example may be taken as an instance of *infinitive* + *r.f*: *Hr m prt r.f r pt* (V 151a, 2 witnesses out of 7).

(17) (VII 430c) *R^c phr r.f m pt* "Re^c, on his circular way in the sky." Three witnesses have the (circumstantial) *sdm.f* here.

(18) (VI 144d) Stative?- *i hnn pw n R^c, nwd r.f m hnnw* "O Phallus of Re^c, moving wildly about."¹⁵ Consider also II 100a (*in N^c nh r.f*), comparing II 95e with *r.f* absent (which may indicate a different—*perfective?*—participle).

1.1.6 STATEMENT OF FUNCTION: In the (a) group of patterns, I take *r.f* to have most typically a verb-modifying augential role. Often, this cannot be isolated in translation, it being an integral part of the semantic whole consisting of the lexemic component and *r.f*. In certain contextually determinable instances, this modification is referable to the nominal/pronominal ACTOR, not the verb lexeme.

As an *internal* adverbial modifier,¹⁶ *r.f* marks a special modality of action, lending a distinct, semantically definable *Aktionsart*¹⁷ characterization to the

¹⁵ A pun; I differ here with Faulkner's translation (1977: 162) "O you phallus of Re^c which goes awry for him in uproar," taking *r.f* to be a prepositional adjunct.

¹⁶ One recalls here the so-called "dativus ethicus" (a doubly infelicitous term for the Semitic *Sprachbund* where it is a striking, if minor, typological trait), at least in some of its functions. This phenomenon, calling for a typological-comparative exposition following upon language-specific accounts, is outside my present brief; Hintze (1952: 81ff.) discusses the "ethical" and reflexive "dative" in Egyptian, with reference to Semitic and Indo-European analogues. He points out the uses—"affektbedingt," in his view of the preposition *n-*, especially when accompanying the imperative. In the late Egyptian stories its distribution is in part not unlike that of our *r.f* (*ibid.* p. 86ff.); its post-imperative role (82ff.) does certainly recall our "(b)" group of patterns (par. 1.2.1–2). Hintze does not mention *r.f* in this connection (Coptic *na*= too deserves to be mentioned here—yet another unresearched chapter of Coptic grammar: very striking in Bohairic, we find in Sahidic too the distinction of post-imperative (address-enhancing) vs. action-referred augential modification). Incidentally, Greenbaum's simple test to distinguish intensifiers from manner adjuncts (Greenbaum 1970: 25f.), viz. the impossibility of phrasing "how"-questions for the former, is applicable to both augential ("actor-intensifier") and lexeme modifying *r.f* (as distinct from the *circumstant r*=).

¹⁷ If the classic distinction of "aspect" from "*Aktionsart*" hinges upon the *objective*, "naturally observable" nature of the latter vs. the *subjective*, "staging" character of the former, then the category we are observing here is one of mode-of-action; yet this is not least a question of terminological

actual expression. This may be concisely defined as "*ENHANCED INTRANSITIVITY*": the (indirect) goal of the action is detached from the action expression, which is focused or "wrapped" around its actor as a kind of INTRANSITIVE REFLEXIVATION, extended in performance (or at least presented in a sort "blow-up" or exaggeration), enriched in implied details—e.g., of aristocratic leisure, of self-centered deliberateness, of asseveration, of energy or intensity.¹⁸ "Eating" is thus transformed into "dining," "going" into "progressing on one's way," "running (away)" into "flee" (adverbials incl. preverbs, or derivation serve to express this type of category in other languages¹⁹). In a textological view, the actor is often promoted to protagonist status, at least episodically.

Note that *r.f* affects the valency matrix of a given verb only insofar as it affirms and enhances the intransitivity of univalent verbs by formally occupying a potential rection slot; *r.f* is here the alternant, for intransitive lexemes, of a reflexive rection. Not being an adjunct but an inner operator of the verb phrase, it is not focalizable by an "emphatic" form. The point to seize the attention here is the prominence lent by *r.f* to the verbal notion itself, probably relatable to the non-attestation of both marked-thematic ("emphatic," in the paradoxical traditional terminology) and narrative (plot-detail) forms among those expanded by *r.f*. (Neither have I found examples in negative clauses).

When, in some contextual configurations, *r.f*—still adverbial in placement—functions externally to the verb lexeme, modifying the (pro)nominal actor, it is an *exponential* rather than *componential* factor, lending prominence to the actor additively or adversatively with others: see the following paragraphs.

1.2 (b) IMPERATIVE-ALLOCUTIVE PATTERNS

The verb-lexeme inventory in pattern-group (b) is as follows:

(1) verbs of movements and posture:

iy, iw, i "come," "go"

is "go, hurry"

systems and metalinguistic models. Be that as it may, *r.f* plays in these patterns a "word-formational" rather than a systemic-morphological role.

¹⁸ Cf. DRESSLER 1968; esp. pp. 56ff.

¹⁹ Other languages express similar semantic functions by lexical pairs (*flow* : *ooze*), by pre- or post-verbal adverbials in close juncture with the lexemes (*peri-ergazomai, ek-poneō, com-pungo, con-calesco, dis-curro, sit about, sleep around, bargain away*) or by special word-formational means (e.g., the Turkish *-iştir-* infix or the Hebrew *hitpa^cel* pattern).

^hc “stand up,” “get up”
 wn “pass”
 wd³ “set out”
 bn “flee”
 pri “go/come out,” “ascend”
 m, my “come” (imperative)
 nm “pass, travel”
 h³i “descend”
 hm “retreat, flee, go away”
 hms “sit (down)”
 htp “rest,” “set (of sun)”
 h^c i “rise (of sun),” “appear”
 hp “return, withdraw”
 ht “go, retire”
 sw³ “pass”
 sb “go, slip away”
 lz, lz+refl. pronoun “rise,” “get up”
 d³i “cross (river)”

with *prepositional phrases* serving for vehement urging (modal—imperative—as marked by the absence of *iw-*) *h³.k* “(turn) back!”

hr-hr.k “(fall) on your face!”

(2) other intransitives:

ⁿh “live”
 (i)gr “be/fall silent”
 hkn “rejoice”(?)
 shm “be mighty, be in control”
³h “be (a) spirit”
 wsr “be powerful”
 ntri “be divine”

(3) transitives (their inclusion in the constituency is distinctive):

wnm “eat”
 tnw “count”
 dd “say, tell”

1.2.1 b(1): “*pri* (imperative)*r.k!*.” The relevant form inventory: (*i*)*r.k*²⁰ (VI 393b), (*i*)*r.ḷ* (IV 174k), (*i*)*r.tn* (IV 100f), with occasional *reiterated* variants for the singular: *r.k r.k* (II 134h. 402c, v. 1. *irf*), *r.ḷ r.ḷ*, *r.ḷ ir.ḷ* (V 254d, VI 230j). The three immediate constituents of the expanded imperatival clause—namely, the address (“vocative”) noun, the imperative verb form followed by the augens—combine into two basic syntagms: “*pri+r.k+(Noun)*!”²¹ or “(*i*, *i³*, *h³*)+*Noun*+*r.k*”.

²⁰ The percentage of *i*-forms is here about 60%, somewhat less in the feminine form—significantly different from that of *ir.f* in the (a) patterns.

²¹ Although the addressee in the imperative utterance is usually made explicit (by means of a dependent pronoun, “vocative” noun or different subsequent pronominal reference), it often happens that *r.k* is the sole exponent of gender/number (e.g., V 308e, VII 359b) and, more impor-

pri+r.k”.²² In spite of the predominance of intransitive verbs, which could support the assumption that what we have here is on principle the same componential “internal” modification as in the (a)-patterns above, it must nonetheless be observed that the very different modality of the imperative makes—at least to some extent—for a difference in the modifying function of our augens. If we let, so to speak, the “external” adnominal modification (insisting on and promoting the actor exponent of a weakly imperative modal form, viz., the prospective *sdm.f*) progress on the modal spectrum towards the absolute imperative, this modification will, reaching the point of straightforward, often brusque command, no longer lend prominence to the addressee but entone the address as a whole,²³ marking an immediacy and urgency of personal reference and attitude. There are remarkable parallels between this prominencing of the allocutive distinctive feature of the imperatival particles or adverbials.²⁴ This address enhancement is compatible with a vehement, impatient, brusque or even rude command tone²⁵ (often in the interpersonal environment (3.1.0.1) D₁ S, D₁ N) or by diacritic need, in which latter case *r.k* is an identifying index for the addressee, or address-marking the “vocative” noun. Let me make

tantly, also an *imperative marker*. (Very rarely one encounters morphological characterization in the verb form itself (e.g., IV 96b *m ir.tn n.i*).

²² As main variant readings in the different witnesses one finds: “*pri N*” (imperative or prospective *sdm.f?*) / “*pri*(imp.)-*r.k*” / “*pri.k r.k*”.

²³ Cf. Hintze 1952: 82 n. 2, 83 n. 5, 84f. For some parallels in English, see Jespersen 1961, Pt. III .11.8.41ff. (“emotional colouring . . . with emphasis on the pronoun (and with a pointing finger)”, Pr. VII .6.9. Onions 1932 §156 (“contemptuous emphasis”). With certain lexemes (*tz*, *wd³*) *r.k* seems to have also valential value, marking or underlining the *reflexivity* of the imperative: “get thee gone.”

²⁴ On the post-imperatival particle paradigm in German, see Gornik-Gerhardt 1981 (*wohl/doch/schon/nur/bloss/aber/also/auch*); see Von d. Gabelenz in Weydt 1977: 472f., Asbach-Schnitker 1977: 52f.

²⁵ Cf. the cattle-drovers’ prompting cry “*3s r.k*”: see Erman, *AeZ* 48:42f. (1910); cf. “*schon* der Dringlichkeit” in German, Gornik-Gerhardt 1981: 99f.; (p. 102) “*schon* markiert, dass der Sprecher voraussetzt, dem Hörer sei klar, dass er aufgrund der Autorität des Sprechers oder aufgrund von allgemeinen Konventionen, Normen oder gegenseitiger Vereinbarung (X) tun muss . . . dass (X) sofort aufgeführt werden muss, da es schon längst hätte getan sein sollen oder können . . . das der Sprecher annimmt, der Hörer müsse wissen, das (X) schon längst hätte getan sein sollen oder können.”

myself clear: post-imperative *ir=* is certainly a different structural entity from the augens *r=* in patterns (a) (although partly homonymic with it): this statement of (partial) homonymy is based on their functional differences, their different syntagmatic compatibilities (*ir.k* compatible also with transitives), the fact that *ir.k* does not refer to any overt and specific (pro-)nominal element, but to an address-form as a whole (the imperative does not “contain” an implied 2nd-person mark but, like interjections and “vocatives,” is marked as allocutive), and finally its distinctive form inventory, making for a “morphological” difference.

(20) (III 48e–f) *wnm irk in.sn r.i; n wnm.i n.in!* “Eat you—so they say to me; I won’t eat at your behest” (note the contrast of the prepositions *r-* (“at,” with aggressive and ill intent) and *n-* (“dativus commodi”).

(21) (IV 70–71) *gr ir.in, ntrw, mdw ntr hn^c ntr* “Shut up, you gods, when one god talks (or: that one god may talk) to another” (cf. also BD 78.5 (Nu). 78.7 (Ani)).

(22) (V 46–7) *dd n.i ir.k sšw ipn nb nw (?) pr Rwti nty im* “Tell you me all the particulars of yonder House of the Rwti”—*n.* usually precedes the augens, although there are exceptions.²⁶

(23) (VI 210d) *hr-hr.k ir.k, sm³ it.i Wsir!* “On your face, you, my father Osiris’ murderer!”

(24) (IV 55e, 68b) *i bik m r.k r Ddw* “O Falcon, come you to Busiris”—note again the compatibility, hence structural difference-of-identity, of the two *r-* elements. Additional examples: I 373c, IV 96d, 100b, V 182a, 308d, VI 114c.

A single instance of *n.k* in syntagm with *ir.k* establishes their compatibility, with the former an internal-componential, the latter an external-augential modifier: (25) (I 58b–c) *h³ Wsir N in, iw n.l ir.l r p.t* (vv. 1. *iw.t.l*, prosp. *sdm.f* and (masc. imperative) *iw ir.k*) “O female Osiris N! Make you your way to the sky!” (cf. Faulkner’s note, 1973:12 n. 1)

1.2. b(2): Instances of “*m.k r.k*” seem to corroborate the suggested interpretation of *r.k* as marking or stressing the address feature.²⁷

²⁶According to Edel §821, an “accusative or dative-object” preceding *3r=* is characteristic of Old as against Middle Egyptian; yet he admits to an exception in the Pyramid Texts (see §616f.). Edel’s suggestion (§18) that the prominence-lending (*hervorhebend*) variable *ir=* is typically OE illustrates the dangers imminent in this sort of “characterology” (unless of course he has the *spelling* in mind).

²⁷ And cf. the Latin “ethical dative” accompanying “you-deictic” expressions, like *ecce/hic tibi* (Kühner-Stegemann I 323f.), Greek *toi* (cf. Kühner-Gerth II 149f., Denniston 537ff.), modern Irish *feach leat*, etc. Cf. Callender 1975: §3.5.4 (*r.k*

(26) (V 123–24) *m.k r.k wsh.t, m.k r.k sy hr whr.t* “Here is the boat (“for your information”²⁸)—here she is at the wharf.” Contrast the relative order of the augens and dependent pronoun (grammatical subject) here with that in (I 194e) *m.k iw ir.k*, where the dependent pronoun is not a grammatical subject but the existenc in the you-deictic existential claim “Here you are.”²⁹

(27) (I 306c) *m.k ir.k gm.n.i iw hr gs.k, Wrđ Wr* “See, lying on your side I found you, Great Weary One!”

1.3.1 (c1): The augential *r.f* MARKING AS PROMINENT a preceding (focal) pronoun:

(28) (IV 42a–b) *hpr m wdh . . . ink ir.i hpr m wdh* “BECOMING A CHILD: It is I who have become a child.” Although there is no escaping the fact that the thematic contour of this sentence as it is before us is ambiguous, and its resolution is not aided by the augens,³⁰ yet the face of it, a Cleft Sentence (pronominal *vedette*) interpretation seems plausible and, if we are to judge by the prosodic features of a comparable Coptic pattern (*anok pet-*), is even preferable. Note that one witness here has *irf* (the particle), illustrating the relatively easy shift from segment-reference to clause-reference (see below).

1.3.2 (c2): Prominent inalienable possession in the interlocutive persons (in vaunting or defiant address):

marking a special, involved, non-detached address focus); idem, 1983: 90 (without further comment translated “behold; it is important that”); Hannig 1982: 35f., 41f., 49 is the only one who attempts a definition of *m.k*-statements in text-grammatical terms (“*Textrelation*,” presentative communication).

²⁸ Faulkner (1977: 34) takes this to be an imperative: “complete the barge!” (our pattern b(1)).

²⁹ In (VII 280c) *ink R^c ntr^{c3} r.k, r.k*, I believe, is not the comparison preposition (“greater than you”: so Faulkner, Lesko; two arguments against this interpretation are the absence of a suitable referate to *.k* and the higher probability of *ntr^{c3}* being a compound proper name), but must mean “for your information” (cf. Greek *toi*), and its remarkable placement may indicate either a *prosodic* relatively-close juncture (single-colon status) of the whole preceding complex of nominal sentence + apposition or its *informational* unity. (*ink-* would be the focus, to judge by the incompatibility in Coptic of the interlocutive subject-pronouns with proper names—the only exx. I know of are *NHC V (3) 278* (Apoc. of James) and the Fayumic *Mark 8:28* (Chass.). (On the *#ink + PN#* pattern see Gilula 1976: 164, 167ff., Junge 1981: 450, Schenkel 1984: 162f.)

³⁰ See Gilula 1976, esp. 167ff., Junge 1981: 441f., 450. Schenkel 1984: 162f. For the “prominence” concept (Dahl’s

(29) (II 79b) “*pr.n.i* (v. 1 *pr.i*) *n r3.tn r.tn ds.tn, in Wsir r ntrw*” “It is from your very own mouth I have emerged (/shall emerge?), says Osiris to the gods.”

The fact that *r.tn* occurs here in syntagm with another augens, *ds=*, establishes their belonging to different augential categories.³¹

(30) (III 121a–b) “Upright shall I depart,” *hnn.i r.i dmi, r.t.i r.i dm.ti* “MY phallus secured (joined), MY rectum sewn up.”

(31) (I 169b) *smsi.i ir.i ir.nf wi m h w n iw.f* “As for MY begetter, it is from the members of his flesh that he has shaped me.” Note that the two last exx. have the possessed noun in the focal constituent of the clause.

2. THE INVARIABLE PARTICLE *irf/rf*

2.0.1. We now turn to look at the non-analyzable element written *irf* (⊖) or *rf* (⊖) which appears, by functional and distributional considerations, to be a single entity with two prosodically conditioned allomorphs (or at least allographs)—a graphemically fuller (*irf*) and a lesser (*rf*) one. The distribution of *irf* being the more extensive and its functional picture the clearer of the two, I shall treat it first.

2.0.2 The form *irf*, with a variant ⊖ (the omission of the ex-pronominal grapheme is instructive and corresponds to the derelevantization of the pronoun in this ex-syntagm; moreover, the 3rd person sgl. masculine is the *unmarked* member in the person category,³² see pattern-specific orthographic information below). Syntactic traits are observable in *irf*-containing patterns: (a) they feature a *nominal/pronominal grammatical subject*, (b) they are (in the overwhelming majority of cases: four out of five patterns, over 90% of all attestations) *interrogative*

“emphatic topic,” Regula’s “mise en relief thématique”), cf. Halliday 1967, Jones 1977: 169ff. (also 3ff., 6ff.).

³¹ Compare the compatibility of Coptic augentia: *-hōō= mmin mmo=* (e.g., Shenoute *Amél.* I 261), *-hōō= nto=* (ibid. II 468), cf. Shisha-Halevy 1986: 170f. See n. 10 on the distinction between *ds.f* and *r.f* (For *n.f* as possession-focusing augens in later phases of Egyptian, cf. Borghouts 1971: 106f. [n. 208]).

³² *irf* is corrected into *ir* in two or three witnesses out of four in III 121e (not a “scribal error,” pace Edel §821 Anm.—in his Nachträge (p. LXXX) he even relates this form to the pronominal-anaphoric adverb *iry!* See p. 412 for the invariability issue. Note that *ir* is the form in about 20% of all attestations, and usually occurs as variant reading in the case of multiple evidence. Other occasional variants are *irrf* (*ir + rf?*), *r, irn* (V 70a).

dialogue constituents.³³ These two points have fundamental significance for the functional evaluation of *irf*.

2.1 PATTERN (I). By far the largest number of occurrences of *irf* is observable in sentences with an “emphatic” substantival verb-form as subject,³⁴ in order of frequency (but probably not of grammatical significance): *sdm.n.f, sdm.f, sdmw.f* (the “emphatic” prospective³⁵), with no restriction of valential properties: transitives and intransitives, all active. The predicate is an interrogative adverbial—prepositions governing the interrogative pronouns *išst* “what?”, *m* “who,” *zy* “what-, which-?”, and the interrogative adverb *tnw* “where?”. In this pattern (as also in patt. VI, par. 2.6 below) one may consider the prevailing writing *irf* (⊖) as distinctive, since *only in these two patterns* as opposition between the particle *irf* and the analyzable (syntagm) *r.f* is at all conceivable (see par. 2.6 for their compatibility).

(32) (II 215–16) *irh.tn irf (v. l.rf) mi išst ntr is pw . . . ir.tn(⊖) r.f m-hnw swht?* “But how do you know that he (or: it) is a god . . . that you should act against him in the egg?”³⁶

(33) (V 92–93) The construction of the boat: “. . . But what (shall I do) if the wind blew before she had a mast?—Take Babi’s phallus (for a mast). . . *smn.i sw irf hr išst*: “. . . But what shall I fasten it on?”—“. . . What about her cables”—Take yonder N’w-snake (for a cable). . . *wd.i sw irf tnw* “. . . But where shall I fix it?” Note that *irf*, not being ad(pro-)nominal, is compatible with the dependent pronoun, unlike the augential *r.f*.

(34) An often recurring, well-known dialogue sequence (e.g., in spells 173, 184, 187, 195, 199, 203, 205 581 etc.³⁷: having rejected and refused to eat the various impure substances pressed on him by the daevic deities, the deceased is then asked: *nh.k irf m išst?* (*nh irf Nm išst?*) “—But what will you (/will N) live on?”

The distinctive form of the particle in this pattern is *irf* (with 100-odd occurrences, counting all witnesses, as against less than ten for *rf*, and occasional *ir*-variants). In this type of sentences we do find the

³³ On this invariable element, the most extensive monographic discussion is by Silvermann 1890: 93ff. *passim*.

³⁴ Polotsky 1976 §2.4–5.

³⁵ Op. cit., §3.6; Schenkel 1981.

³⁶ Cf. Gilula 1971: 17 n. 14.

³⁷ One instance of this dialogue (III 202i) seems very important for the syntax of the Cleft Sentence and *glose*-form since

augential r.f., either as a variant reading for *irf* or, rarely, as a sole reading (patterns a(1)–a(2) above). The verbs occurring here are *iy*, *d̄i*, *ph* (with object) and *dd*. This is hardly surprising: historically and to a degree synchronically, *irf* represents the anaphoric reference to the whole substantival (“emphatic”) verb form, whereas *r.f.* is anaphoric only to its actor component. Synchronically, *irf* is often fossilized, yet history has left its traces in the synchronic distribution—not the prevalence of *irf* after nominals (and more especially the pattern that may well represent the original function of *irf*, patt. (III), see par. 2.3 below):

(35) (VI 338o–q) *i.n.k ir.k tn ? . . . i.k ir.k zy bw?* “Whence have you come? Whither will you go?” (Faulkner 1977: “What do you want? For what have you come?”).

(36) (IV 77c) *ph.k ir.k drw nw p.t mi m ?* (v. 1. *phk irf. . .*) “How will you reach the boundaries of the sky?”

irf here is primarily an illocutive indicator, exponent of interclausal cohesion, signalling recourse to facts mentioned before or a situation assumed to be familiar to the interlocutor; it is a grammatically pertinent option, and can be put in paradigmatic relation to (“replaced by”) other particles such as *tr* and *is*.³⁸ *irf* may have a secondary prosodic *disjunctive* function (see 2.7).

in it the interrogative-adverbial focus *precedes* its topic-theme: *hr/n išt irf/ir tm.k swr /wm wšt/hs ?* “But why wilt thou not drink urine (/eat excrement)?” (see Edell §1119). To judge by the negation, the verb-form is nominal—unless we concede *tm*-negation of circumstantial verb forms, and consider this an early instance of the “adverbial” *glose* with an initial focus (cf. Shisha-Halevy 1978 for Late Egyptian, 1986: 85ff. for Coptic). Be that as it may, the clause-second position of *irf* points to its identity with *irf* in the topic-initial patterns. Yet another mystifying case is (III 94c) *ir (⊕) irf mi m nḥ.tn m fk̄w h̄dwt.ī, swr.tn m-m šcw sifwt.ī*—which I propose to translate “How come (lit. ‘how done’) (that) you should live on the baked provisions of my altars, drink of . . . my jars. . .” (*ir(⊕) m šd/šd.n št.k, ibid.* f–g, seems to be the justifying answer to this indignant question). Could this also be the circumstantial *sdmw.f* serving as *glose*, i.e., topic-theme of the Cleft Sentence? (Incidentally, in (III 51f.) *rdi.n.k wnm.k irf tn sw, irf* is in the second, not third position (pace Gardiner p. 405); the placement of the focus *tn* is probably conditioned (non-pertinent).

³⁸ Consider V 95f–g, VI 288c, V 397m, III 234–5, and cf. the German paradigm of *wohl/denn/ja/doch/etwa/eigentlich/auch* (Asbach-Schnitker 1977: 50ff., König 1977 with further ref.).

2.2 PATTERN (II): interrogative or (rarely) non-interrogative apparent Cleft Sentences, with *irf* in the “prosodic slot” between the pronominal subject (also focusing element) *pw* and its relative/participial appositive expansion (constituting together with it the *glose* or theme-topic):

(37) (VI 250g) *išt pw irf irt.k n.ī m isw iry?* “But what will you do for me in return for it?”—*irt.k* is a prospective relative form.

(38) (V 110h, M2C) *išt pw irf išt r.s?* “But what is the damage (‘mutilation’) done to it (the boat)?”

Consider here too (IV 222–23c) *pw tr/rf sw, t̄ pn n ̄htyw?* (vv. 1. *pw r rf/pw ir t̄ pn. . .*) “But what is this land of the Horizon-Dwellers?”—NB: rear apposition is the only way a subject noun can enter the *pw sw* essentially pronominal pattern.

(39) (I 173a) *ink pw irf ir.n.f. . .* (v. 1. *ir.f*) “I am one who was made (by) having acted/acting (successfully)” (pace Faulkner 1977:32: “I am he who was created; he is created and endures . . .”). In this case one might argue for a different pattern—the copular (“ternary”) Nominal Sentence, with initial pronominal subject—and the prosodic contour evidenced by the pre-final (or colon-final³⁹) placement of *irf* seems to support the copular identity of *pw*.⁴⁰ Still, this may be a “binary” “*ink pw*” Nominal Sentence with *pw* expanded by a participle that is “substantival” (i.e., contains its own nucleus),—not, however, a Cleft Sentence⁴¹: the fact that our sentence is in absolute text-initial position seems to weigh against a polemic role.

2.3 PATTERN (III)—#Noun -*irf/irs*#: an especially illuminating array of examples in which *irf* follows a noun (incl. a nominal verb form) in a *presentative-querying* rejoinder construction:⁴²

³⁹ “Colon” in the sense of E. Fraenkel’s “Kolon und Satz” studies, namely a sub-clausal prosodic unit.

⁴⁰ Cf. the Prosody indicated in the Coptic copular Nominal Sentence by such constructions as (*Amél.* II 76) *pounof noušere ebol hntmtrmmao enta-pefeioṭ taas naf pe ouhoou* (Shisha-Halevy 1986: 34f.)

⁴¹ Cf. the distinction in Coptic of the Cleft Sentence “*N pet-*” and “*N pe pet-*”, not Cleft Sentence but delocutive Nominal Sentence with determinated-relative appositive subject (cf. Polotsky 1962: §4ff.). On the *ink pw* pattern (deceivably simple; in fact, probably hiding two or three distinct patterns, the Coptic as well as Egyptian) see Gilula 1976: 167ff., 1981: 393, Junge 1981, the latter also for the Nominal Sentence: Cleft Sentence dilemma in Middle Egyptian: Schenkel 1984: 161ff.

⁴² This is not an “*elleipsis* of the interrogative word” (Edell §1000), but a distinct (and even basic) pattern by its own right.

(40) (V 93–94) (The construction of the ferry. The deceased enumerates, one by one, the individual items of its equipment—apparently in an interrogative-queruing modulation: “What about . . .?”, receiving appropriate answers (“X will do for that purpose”), to which further consultative-deliberative queries are linked. I am quoting here the variant readings differing in point of lexeme as a continuous text):

t̄ḅwt irs ? (T1C)—“But (what about) her sail?”
t̄ḅwt.s irs / t̄ḅwt.s irf? (Sq 1, 2Sq/T1Be, M2C)
ibw.s irf? (Sq1, 2Sq, Sq1C, T1Be, M2C)—“But (what about) her cables?”
biw.s irs ? (T1C)—“But (what about) her gunwhales?”
spr.s ir / spr/// irf? (Sq1Sq/M2C)—“But (what about) her ribs?”
spr.ty irf (Sq1c, T1be)

Compare (V 117–18): *t̄ḅwt.s irs*, *ibw.s ir///*, *spr.s irs*
 And, resolving this variation by witnesses (“MS norm”):

(Sq1Sq) *Noun (m.) + fem. possessor + ĪRF/ĪR*,
Noun (f.) + fem. possessor + ĪRS
 (Sq2Sq) *Noun (m.) + fem. possessor + ĪRF*, *Noun (f.) + fem. possessor + ĪRS*
 (Sq1C) *Noun (m.) + fem. possessor + ĪRF*, *Noun (f.) (dual) + ĪRF*
 (Sq7Sq) *Noun (m., f.) + fem. possessor + ĪRS/ĪR*
 (T1C) *Noun (f.) + ĪRS*, *Noun (m.) + fem. possessor + ĪRS*
 (T1Be) *Noun (m., f.) + fem. possessor + ĪRF*, *Noun (f.) (dual) + ĪRF*
 (M2C) *Noun (m., f.) + fem. possessor + ĪRF*

Despite the regularity, striking at first sight, of the gender-concord of *irf* with the preceding noun, one observes three kinds of significant variation: (a) between *irf* and *irs* following a feminine noun and feminine possessor—the dual always having *irf*; (b) between noun-referred and suffix-referred concord (in T1C), (c) between *irf* and *ir* (with masc. and fem. nouns).

The nouns in this case are predicates in this catalogic enumerative sequence, of which every #*Noun* + *irf*# unit is a relatively independent component. The particle, here anaphorically variable, “fastens upon” either of the two referable constituents of this single-membered clause, thereby not only integrating it in the texture of the dialogue, but also hypostatizing it, i.e., giving it full status of an allocutive clause, intoned, occupying a slot in the dialogue sequence, response-eliciting (41). I consider this—at least partly—a (clause-oriented) *particle*, not (clause-segment-oriented) *augens* function, because of the regular *i*-form, the orthographic variations and the unmistakably discourse-oriented role of an interclausal relator or *link signal*: *irf* “pilots a dialogue in order to keep a situation of communication

alive even if . . . the ‘real thread’ has got lost or is being questioned.”⁴³ It must nonetheless be conceded that here is a kind of transition or twilight zone between the augential and particular functions—a transition environment from the (a–b) to the (I–VI) sets of patterns: this is the link between the augential-analyzable and the particular fossilized entities, between the intra-syntactically functional syntagm and the macrosyntactically functional morph—a janus-faced relator in the first component of a dialogue joint comprising allocution and response substructures.

I propose a similar interpretation for the following *loci*: (41) (III 334) (*wbn.k wbn.ti, ḥpr.k ḥpr.ti* “May you shine and stay shining, come into existence and stay in existence”) *nw irf ḡd.n.k: ḥḅ n.i s̄.ḥ!—m.k wi i.kwi!* “But as for that which you have said, namely ‘Would I had a son!’—here I am!” (cf. Pyr. 886a: *wy R^c! nw rf ḡd.n.k, R^c: ḥw s̄.ḥ . . . m.k N, R^c, Npw s̄.ḥ.k!*)

(42) An example I consider especially illuminating—a variant of the common “*ḥḅ.k irf m iḥst*” (par. 2.1 above) reads (III 93, twice) “*ḥḅ.k irf*—“But what about your nourishment”, literally: “But (what about) ‘that-you-will-live’”? (note the absence of valential characterization of the specific rection of “live on, subsist on”). The question is thus phrased as a nominal problem-setting—apparently the minimal, or nuclear substructure of pattern (I).

(43) (VI 320f) (possibly) (*d̄i ir.k rh̄.i irt.n.sn* “Let me know what they have done . . .”) *dbḥ.t.k rs, i.in Siḅ* “‘Your request,’ says Siḅ” (Faulkner 1977:254 translates differently (with n. 14 on p. 255): “Let me know what those two have done (about) what you asked for,” with *hr* supposedly omitted).

2.4 PATTERN (IV): *irf* in the so-called “participial statement” Cleft Sentence—*in*-introduced nominal/indep. pronoun *vedette*, mostly interrogative, followed by a participle or prospective *sḡm.f glose*. The placement of *irf* here is clause-second, thus post-focal (a position common to patts. III–IV). Observe that a secondary *disjunctive* function is conceivable here (see below, 2.7). As for the spelling: whereas in patts. I–III the standard is decisively *irf*, we encounter in patt. IV quite fre-

⁴³ Cf. Denniston 309ff., esp. 312f.: “the questioner asks for supplementary information” (on responsive and connective *de, kai*), also 81ff. (*gar*, “progressive”—boundary signal for the commencement of dialogue concatenation; see Gardiner §152 (*r.f* “now . . .”). Compare German *ja aber* (see Körfer 1979, Franck 1979: 3f., Lütten 1979); the type of rejoinder isolated here is missing in the illuminating typology of rejoinder sequences in Halliday-Hasan 1980: 206ff.

quently (approx. 50% of all occurrences) the form *rf*.⁴⁴ I cannot see a grammatical motivation for the distribution of the two forms in our pattern.⁴⁵

(44) (VI 249o ff.) *in m irf ir hn^c.k ?—in Inpw nb smt* “But who is it will cooperate (/cooperated?) with you?—It is Anubis, Lord of the Desert,” *in m irf rdⁱ pr.k ?—in Bs(?) Wr*—“But who is it will let (/let?) thee forth?—It is the Great Hidden One,” *in m rf st³ tw ?—in K³ Wr*—“But who is it will pull (/pulled?) you?—It is the Great Bull,” *pr.k irf hr išt ? pr.i hr šw*—“But on what will you ascend?—On Shu will I ascend.” The participles must be perfective-punctual, referring to future time, or—which would functionally amount to the same—true active prospective participles.⁴⁶

(45) (V 89d) *in m irf* (v. 1. *nm-rf*) *s³y.f n.n (n.i) dpt tn?* “Who is it then will guard this boat for us (for me)?” note the fused form *nm-rf*, comparing the forms in 3.1.

(46) (IV 42a–b, f–g) (*hpr m wd^h sp-2*) *ink irf hpr m wd^h* “(Becoming a child for the second time). It is I who have become a child for the second time”—note the augential variant (patt. (c): *ink ir.i* (ex. 27).

2.5 PATTERN (V): *irf* in post-focal placement in a binary nominal sentence or an adjectival-predicate clause.

In the post-focal position *irf* appears to have a focusing (prominent-rheme) function (in addition to pattern and context information):

(47) (I 234g) *dd.sn n.k: iw m htp, Wsir N (pn)! twt irf nb imnt* “They shall say to you: ‘Welcome, Osiris N! YOU are the Lord of the West!’” As in ex. 27, here too the thematic resolution of *#ink—N#* is uncertain, but the open juncture indicated by the placement of *irf* may point to the focal status of the pronoun.⁴⁷

(48) (II 166c–d) *nnk irf tm; Gb sn.i pw* “TO ME belongs everything: Geb is MY BROTHER.”⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Except for one witness—S10Ca (4 *irf*, once *rf*), the sources are consistent in their choice of either of the two variants.

⁴⁵ The evidence for the correlation of *irf:rf* with the variation (at least orthographic) of the amalgamated focus *nm* vs. unamalgamated *in-m* is too uncertain to be of much use: *in-m irf* (19), *in-m rf* (4) but *nm irf* (6), *nm rf* (5)—for *rf*, a ratio of 17.4% following *in-m*, 45.5% after *nm*. Nonetheless, a striking opposition (V 89d) of *in-m irf* vs. *nm rf* may hint at a prosodic conditioning for the lesser allomorph *rf* occurring after a proclitic *nm-* (see below, §3.0.1).

⁴⁶ Cf. Gunn 1924: 35ff., Gardiner §368; Schenkel 1965.

⁴⁷ Cf. Gilula 1976: 167ff., Junge 1981: 441f., 450f.

⁴⁸ Cf. Gilula 1968b, and consider *hw rf-* with Meltzer 1984.

(49) (VII 96?) *in sw irf, ir (☉) nšn ?* “Which (or: where) is he, then, he who created a disturbance?” Note the *intercolary* placement, possibly related to a prosodic disjoining—“comma”—role of the particle (2.7).

2.6 MISCELLANEOUS. (a) *irf* in RHETORICAL QUESTIONS—verb clauses.⁴⁹ The distinctive orthography here is *irf*. Examples are not numerous:

(50) (V 92b) *ir.n (☉) irf pt t³w, n wnt ht.s?*—“But what if the wind should blow before she (i.e., the boat) has a mast?,” taking *ir.n-* as introducing a protasis (preposed circumstantial form as a *hypothetical* clause) or, alternatively, an “emphatic” (still hypothetical) *sdm.n.f* with the focal (unmarked circumstantial) negative-possession *n wnt ht.s*: “But what if it was before she had a mast that the wind blew?”. Differently Faulkner, 1977:25 “The weather is windy and she has no mast.”

(51) (V 115b ff.) *dd irf ntr pw špsy: in d³.n.k n.i s n rh.f inw db^cw.f?* “(As for that which thou hast said, that you would ferry over to where this noble god is,) why, this noble god will say: ‘Have you ferried over to me a man although he does not know the number of his fingers?’” (the circumstantial *n rh.f* seems to be the adv. complement predicated by the emphatic *sdm.n.f* form rather than merely adnominal to *s* “a man.”)

(b) Here I would like to mention a rare instance of the compatibility—a rareness not surprising, in view of what has been suggested for the history of *irf*—of *r.f* (INTRACLausal, augential/Aktionsart-and *irf* (INTERCLausal relator). Not attested, to my knowledge, in the CT, this example is from the Pyramid Texts (461a): *pr r.f N irf ir p.i hr.k R^c* “Yet (or sim.) N shall ascend to the sky (on his way) to you, R.^c” The functional opposition is reflected in one of placement: *r.f* in a *pertinent position, adjunctal to the verb lexeme pri*; *irf* between cola (or colon-final), in a prosodically conditioned position. (It is however difficult to decide whether this placement of *irf* is also motivated by the co-occurrence of both elements and the need to signal their distinct functioning: this would account for this position, different from the usual post-lexemic one of *irf* with a nominal actor.⁵⁰)

⁴⁹ Edell (§821, p. 412f.) suggests the placement of *irf* is typologically indicative of the OE-ME transition, the particle not “penetrating” *verb + object* syntagms in Old Egyptian.

⁵⁰ Sethe (*Kommentar* II 260f., see also VI 148) considers—wrongly, in my opinion—*irf* and *r.f* here to be a doubly occurring (repeated) “emphasizing ethical dative” (i.e., our augens), with the difference in position reflecting a prosodic not essential difference in function: *r.f* “status constructus,”

(c) (52) (I 273a, T₁C, T₂C) (*nīs.n n.k 3st, dsw.n n.k Nbt-Ht*), *rdiw n.k irf 3hw . . .* “Isis has summoned you, Nephthys has called out to you; to you have the Spirits too been given over”: *irf* again characterizes the final link.

2.7 THE PARTICLE *irf*: STATEMENT OF FUNCTION

Judging by micro- and macro-syntactic environmental criteria, namely the prevalence of *irf* in interrogative and/or argumentative-polemic (Cleft Sentence) clauses, on the one hand, and in dialogue-serial environment, on the other, as well as by paradigmatic criteria of substitution (*tr* apparently the semantically adjacent member, occupying an adjacent slot of the interrogative paradigm-matrix,⁵¹ it appears *irf* is a regressive (retrospective)-conjunctive sentence adverbial,⁵² overlapping sections of the combined semantic range of

“proclitic” (*sic!*), the *irf* a fuller form of the same entity. Sethe quotes (462c, relative) *sk.n N irf* (but note the significant non-personal variant *ir!*)—“which he even destroyed” and the reiterated *augens* (variant) in 133b *iy.n.f r.f r.f hnty Hr*.

⁵¹ Note that *tr* is not in the same category (in the strict structural conception) as *irf*, since the two are compatible: witness the common amalgamation *p(w)-tr-rf* (varying with *pw-rf* and *p(w)-tr*) “But who . . . ?”

⁵² Jacobson’s terms (Jacobson 1964); “conjunct” (concessive-additive) in Greenbaum’s terminology (Greenbaum 1969); “connector” (Pinkster 1972), “conjunction” (Halliday-Hasan 1980). The terminological issue here is hardly trivial. *irf* would be a “jonctif” in Tesnière’s classification of *mots vides* (lexemically empty, but grammatically decisive—“Outils grammaticaux”—while the “full words” are of far lower grammatical significance). Yet at the same time we are painfully aware of the fuzzy and ill-defined borderline between junctors (“empty”) and adverbials (“full”—or would it be “fuller”). The question must be faced, not only whether we are at all in a position to advance an analytic, unbiased definition of the ADVERB in Egyptian, but whether the theoretical distinctions involving adverbials are indeed dichotomic or rather *gradient*—consider that other perennial embarrassment, that of drawing the line between *actants* (of high grammatical significance) and circumstants (low grammatical significance), a structural weakness of Tesnière’s model that is clearly related to our quandary. (See Baum 1976: 89f.). Pinkster’s confident various semantic relations between *paratactic* sentences, are no *coordinators* and can be shown not to be *adverbs* either—I have italicized such constituents of the definition as are themselves in need of being (re)defined—rather begs the question. The fact that the consensus analysis of the relation between the *irf*-clause and its preceding context

Greek *oun, de, de,* and *nu/nun*⁵³ and somewhat similar in function to the Coptic particles *ntof* and *hōōf* (also fossilized from 3rd person masculine augential syntagms). *irf*, primarily an indicator of the dependence (= non-initiality) of its clause, is simultaneously a signal of cohesion, of the dependence (= non-finality and, on the informational level, in sufficiency) of the preceding one(s): witness its incompatibility with the same allocutive *m.k-* patterns that accommodate the *augens r.f* (*m.k rf-* does occur in other phases -or textual types? see n. 55). Prominent among the formal operators of dialogic syntax, it also signals the “OBSTINACY” (in H. Weinrich’s terminological sense) of a THEME OF DISCUSSION—hence yet another telling incompatibility, namely with *grt*, typically used to signal a change of topic (*pace* Callender 1983:91, who translates *grt* “now, you understand” and calls it “explanatory”). *irf*, which is primarily an operator in dialogue grammar, often characterizes a special kind of rejoinder, one following a response and soliciting another, thus a cohesion factor linking a new query to a preceding set of query + response dialogue subunits. (Needless to say, this is a dependence entirely different from the one existing *within* the query-response complex).

It is moreover worth considering—even if one cannot see at present a way of proving this—whether *irf* does not also have a prosodic-syntactic “disjunctive” role, marking a more or less sharp articulation between to primary (prosodic as well as syntactic) immediate constituents of the utterance, a sort of segmental comma-element, a pause or “rest” mark.⁵⁴ Historically speaking, we witness the isolation of an observed macrosyntactic factor, an exponent of interclausal relations, out of an original *augens* or ad-(pro)nominal

will be paratactic (cf. Halliday-Hasan 1980: 322), should not overly impress us: it is ethnocentric, with an unmistakable Indo-European squint (“subordination = conjunctive hypotaxis”), and ought to be questioned with a view to the special workings of Egyptian tagmemics (see §2.7.1).

⁵³ Cf. Denniston 431, 259 (note for instance the examination sequence in Oed. Rex 555ff.).

⁵⁴ I find this corroborated by an instance of *ir* giving an addressed pronoun prosodic independence or the status of “minimum prosodic unit”: (VI 288c) *i ntk ir, iy.n.k tr ir.(k?) m?* “Hey you! What have you come to do?” (Faulkner 1977: 235 n. 5 hesitantly suggests emending to *ink*). (Compare the double role of German “*Abtönungspartikel*” such as *ja, also, doch,* as *Gliederungssignale*: see Sandig 1979, and cf. the prosodically and to a degree semantically similar *however*:

modifier—an “isolation” process correlatable with the neutralization of the gender/person/number category and the shift of reference from a clause segment to the clause as a whole.

2.7.1 A few critical remarks are here called for on an important recent paper by J. B. Callender, in which he applies the distribution of so-called enclitics to defining “sentence-initiality” (Callender 1983): (a) Callender states confidently (87): “Enclitic particles are absent from dependent constructions. Such dependent constructions, i.e., object clauses and predicate complement clauses are, of course, defined by the existence of a sentence matrix into which they fit and defining them presents no special problem for either recognition (since they are overtly marked by their matrix sentence) or for structural theory.” Quite apart from the fact that there can be no “of course” about any of this, and that “recognition” and “structural theory” cannot diverge in a descriptive analysis, Callender’s statement reveals, in my opinion, three basic flaws: (1) “dependence” is NOT pre-analytically meaningful or clear. This applies even to such superficially self-evident (but ever open to controversy!) “categories” of syntax as C. enumerates; they do not “fit into” a “sentence matrix”: this is not given, but becomes gradually clear in the course of the analysis. (2) “Initiality” and “dependence” are on no account commensurate. The former is binary, the latter is not: absolute independence, being a *conjunctural* notion, is as much a myth (and a convenient model premise) as absolute subordination. On the whole, I would say the “syntactic” statements of initiality vs. non-initiality (if the eligibility for the *text-initial* slot is thereby meant; what possible meaning can “sentence initiality” have in macro-syntax?) is hierarchically secondary to statements of relative dependence (or independence), which are only phrasable in the gradient terms of a scale of juncture. (3) Arguing (88) for initiality from the occurrence of so-called enclitics runs the danger of circularity, unless “enclitics” as well as enclisis and clisis are independently defined, which they are not in Callender’s treatise; moreover, the only clear theoretical insight we have regarding enclisis is that it too is *relative* and *scalar*. In view of the above, and until the terms of the analysis are much more refined, it is, I believe, difficult to attribute any structural significance to such pseudo-phenomena as the “incompatibility of enclitics with dependent constructions” or to conclusions drawn therefrom.

see Halliday-Hasan 1980: 250f. (“however associated with intonational prominence”).

(b) It is not any easier to accept all that Callender has to say about *rf*. This particle is certainly not “affective” (a role C. attributes to “clausal” enclitics: of “manipulating the emotions of the hearer in regard to what the speaker is saying,” (91), but it does “instruct the hearer about the relationship of the sentence to the other sentences . . . in the discourse as a whole (93); I find it hard to reconcile these two statements.

3.0.1 The morph written *rf* (𓄿) that is referable neither to a verb-form nor a (pronoun, nor featuring in any of the contextual patterns treated above, has its own remarkable distribution pattern: it occurs after proclitic *clause-initial* (or rather pre-clausal) particles and similar grammatical elements (3.1.1) or after clause-enclitic particles (3.1.2).⁵⁵

3.1.1 *rf* occupying second position after clause-initial, proclitic (or rather pre-tonic, relatively unstressed) elements—particles, syntactic markers, grammaticalized nexus constituents.

*ir*⁵⁶-*rf* . . . (II 379b, III 98h)

*in*⁵⁷-*rf* . . . (III 86e: non-interrogative assertion, IV 337g: part. statement?, VII 163n: rhetorical interrogative)

*hw*⁵⁸-*rf* (v. l. *irf*) . . . (II 200d)

*ist*⁵⁹-*rf* . . . (IV 342e, VI 348q)

⁵⁵ Generally speaking, no distinction is made in grammatical discussion between *irf* and *rf* (Westendorf 1965: §§388, 392 is the rare exception: “*irf* typically in interrogative clauses, *rf* with a ‘strengthening’ role”).

⁵⁶ See now especially Callender 1983 (esp. 88, 90: “both dependent and sentence-initial”). The segmentation and topicalization marker *ir* (cf. Satzinger 1976, Junge 1978) is synchronically a different entity from the preposition (i)r: *ir* can topicalize adverbials—including adverbial verb-forms—as well as nominals; it is not proclitic in the sense of absolutely close juncture, and can be separated from the topic by enclitic particles (cf. *in ir grt p3*: “What about . . .?”, *Heqanahet Papers*, 102f., and see Johnson 1984:78).

⁵⁷ Edel §§818.2, 843a, Gardiner §227, Silverman 1980: 93ff.

⁵⁸ Edel §867, Gardiner §238. *H3/hw* may be a predicative adjective, see Callender 1983: 90 (“it would be good if . . .”), Meltzer 1984.

⁵⁹ Gardiner §§119.2, 231; Callender 1983: 88. Note the opposition *ist rf:m.k* (*ir.k* §1.2.2), in a narrative vs. dialogue functional complementary distribution hinging on a deictic opposition (*er-/jener-* vs. *du-Deixis*). *M.k rf* (*Shipwrecked Sailor* 10, see Hannig 1982: 49 “Siehe doch”) is a *narrative*

$\dot{i}w^{60}$ -*rf* + (N) *circ. sdm.n.f* (II 113k, 116d, 114b, 201b)
sdmw.f
stative

nn/n⁶¹-rf (v. 1. *irf*) + *prosp.sdm.f* (VI 348h, VI 135p)
sdm.t.f (V 179a)

3.1.2 *rf* following enclitic (clause/colon-second) elements:⁶² . . . -*tr*⁶³-*rf* . . . : (53) (III 89 (?)) *i nn-tr-rf wnm.k* "Oh, will you not eat then?" In two witnesses, the grammatical amalgame or cluster is spelled *trf*.⁶⁴ Similarly, in interrogative nominal sentences: *ptr-rf-sw, m-tr-rf sw* "Who is it then?" (e.g., IV 195b, 200–201, 205b, 209a, 217a, 229c)

iw-ms⁶⁵-rf . . . : (54) (III 233bff.) ("May you have power over those who have been ordered to harm you in the necropolis") *iw-ms-rf mi dd.k, N: ^cnh.k m t n Gb? bwt.k pw; n wnm.n.k st! ^cnh.k m t n bd.t dšr.t ^c* "And, indeed, (it is⁶⁶) as you say, N: 'Is it on Geb's bread (i.e., soil) you are to live? It is your abomination; you cannot eat it! It is on bread of red emmer you will live.'" Here we find *rf* in eleven witnesses, while six have *irf* or *ir*.⁶⁷ This may have something to do with the

dialogue (or rather monologue), not part of a bona-fide address in *Wechselrede*: this accounts for the compatibility of *m.k* and *rf*, and instructs us regarding the textual value of the latter.

⁶⁰ Probably a situational ("hic-et-nunc") grammaticalized nominal used in theme status as a superordinator (cf. Polotsky 1976: 34f., cf. Callender 1975: 29, Junge 1978: 74ff. For its prosodic status, cf. Fecht 1960: 118, Edel §880, Gilula 1981: 397 n. 6.

⁶¹ Probably (like *hw, h³?*) a grammaticalized predicative adjective. See Gunn: 1924: 115 (one finds in Gunn's material on the so-called negative words *grt* and *ms* following *n, ms* following *nn* (in the existential *nn wn* Adm. 3/2).

⁶² A brief combinatory checklist of *rf/r.f* with other particles (*r.k grt, r.k tr, rf pw* vs. *is r.f, hm r.sn*), found among Gunn's papers at the Griffith Institute, Oxford (Gunn MSS V 66 p. 8) does not seem to distinguish different entities or environments preceding the enclitic cluster.

⁶³ Edel §818, 838, Gardiner §491-*tr* is not an "interrogative particle" (pace Gilula 1981: 397 n. 6), any more than *irf* is one; both are compatible with and typical of interrogation, yet do not mark it as such.

⁶⁴ Some further instances of *trf, trf*: III 89b, V 103d, 104f.

⁶⁵ For *-ms*, see Gardiner §251.

⁶⁶ *iw mi-*, with a zeroed theme—"possessor" and adverbial predicate: cf. Gardiner §123, Edel §919, Junge 1978: 76.

⁶⁷ Cf. a similar variation in the predicative (adjectival, interrogative) *pw rf sw?* (IV 223c).

ambiguous or varying prosodic value of *iw ms*, perhaps allowing for a contour difference between *iw-ms irf* and *iw ms-rf*.

. . . *k³⁶⁸-rf* . . . : in two examples of *sdm.k³ rf N* with a *feminine* actor noun: V 21d (*bik.t wr.t*, with a consensus of six witnesses) and IV 144–45 (with a parallel text in VII 2421).

3.1.3 Instances of *rf* (not *irf*) as a theme-marker *superordinator* ("then," "therefore," "in that case"), (co-) marking a preceding clause as subordinate-thematic:

(55) (II245d) (since I have crushed his survivor, since I have crushed his cultivator in his field) *ndm rf ib n ³hw/ntrw/R^c* "the Spirits/gods/Re are therefore glad" (cf. also VII 52 1 *ndm rf ^cpr.f tw*).

(56) (V 318i-j) *^ch^c rf Irt-Hr, ^ch^c rf N in dt.s ds.s*—"Should the Eye of Horus should stand up, N here very self shall then stand up."

(57) (VII 511 f) (. . . as I herald Re through the Gate of Heaven) *^ch^c rf ntrw m hsf.i* "then the gods will be joyful to encounter me"; alternatively, "I have come . . . that I may herald Re . . . and the gods will then be joyful . . ."

Note the prevalence of *adjectival-predicate clauses* superordinated by *rf* (ex. 56 may also be a case of the participle predicated: "Should the Eye by upstanding, N shall be upstanding")

3.2 I consider the element *rf* in the above combinations nothing but an environmentally—prosodically and to a certain extent semantically—modified alternant of *irf*. I confess my total ignorance regarding its precise prosodic properties and environment, but it may perhaps not be over-rash to assume a prosodic weakening of *irf* as a symptom as well as mark of its inclusion as final component of an amalgam of second-position particles⁶⁹ or as second component after (relatively) proclitic elements (including Gardiner's "non-enclitic" particles).⁷⁰ In principle, however, this is still the

⁶⁸ See Gardiner §242 for the *initial* ("non-enclitic") *k³-*; whether or not *k³* occurs in the *sdm.k. ³.f* syntagm as a colon-second element, still remains to be settled.

⁶⁹ Consider comparable particle-clusters in Coptic (*-ce-hōōf, -de hōōf on, -an ntof*), and in Greek the opposition of *ara* to *-ra* in *de-ra, e-ra, men-ra, e gar-ra*. (See Shisha-Halevy 1986: 166f.)

⁷⁰ Cf. Abel 1910 (note esp. pp. 3ff., 7ff.), Fecht 1960 (§218ff., 222–23), Edel §§814, 818, Gardiner §226ff., an unpublished systematic listing by Gunn of open-/close-juncture positions (Gunn MSS, V 66)—all with no comprehensive treatment of prosody; the need for serious attention due this all-important if elusive facet of syntax, the only way of arriving at sound statements regarding word-order and placement, is all too bluntly evident in the references to relevant research, in which

interclausal relator particle illustrated above, in its fuller form, for other prosodic-syntactic patterns.

studies are few and far between and statements are blurred and vacuous. (Gilula 1968:1–10) discusses various functional aspects of placement and prosodic status: I fully concur with his argument that prosodic theory must be subordinated to (or at least be part of) a syntactic theory of word order. The rough-and-ready handling of clisis and “enclitics” (a handy old label, nowhere precisely defined for Egyptian or founded in theory) is patently inadequate: structural determination of

categories, juncture features—links and delimitations, boundaries, validity extents etc.—is here a *sine qua non*. (It is surely significant that the latest study of Egyptian syntax touching on prosodic feature (Callender 1983) uses the hackneyed distinction of ‘enclitic’ vs. “non-enclitic” particles as basis for the definition of sentence-initiality, without pausing to reexamine this distinction and without heeding the dangers of circularity imminent in argumentation of this kind).

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