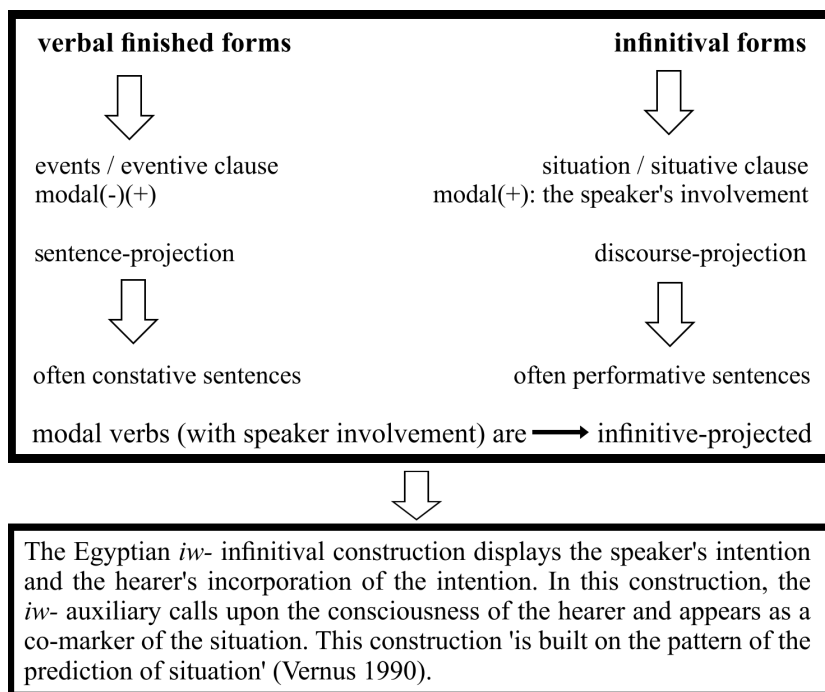

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THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN SECOND
INFINITIVE? 'IW + SUBJECT + R +
INFINITIVE' INTERPRETED THROUGH
THE BIBLICAL INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE
AND THE POLISH SECOND INFINITIVE

Abstract: *Infinitives and infinitival constructions seem to be a kind of conceptualization embedded in a language with a 'genus' different to that of other grammatical forms. But why did human cognition invent infinitives and their associated constructions? On an ontological level, infinitives indicate intentionality that is pro-modal and timeless future-situation-oriented (Prokopowicz 2012). Timeless future orientation expresses accomplishment or achievement, which are different states of perfectivity. If verbal finished forms direct our attention to the complexity of events, which we can for instance classify and express in 'eventive' sentences, infinitival forms draw our attention to situations (for a different context, see Borghouts 2010: 'situative clauses'; Prokopowicz 2012: 'quality, state, activity, event vs situation'). Situations are more complex than events as they involve a speaker with varying intentions, as well as the context of this speaker's expression. Infinitival forms are less sentence-projected and more discourse-projected.*



All of this research has an obvious hermeneutical background. If something is expressed syntactically in one language, it may as well be expressed morphologically or semantically in other languages.

Keywords: *Infinitival forms; discourse-projection; aspectuality; Egyptian grammar*

The '*iw* + subject + *r* + infinitive' construction is usually interpreted as the 'deontic future'; the action is not only expected by the speaker /subject, but it inevitably has to become (Vernus 1990) the subject's destiny (Malaise and Winand 1999: '*elle est destine à*'). We can interpret this kind of deontic modality as commissive modality. The construction has also been clarified as an 'allative future', which specifically indicates purpose or spatial destination – structures associated with goals. If the Old Egyptian 'allative future' marks the subject's intention, in Middle Egyptian 'the intention of the subject is reinterpreted as marking the prediction of the speaker' (Grossmann and Polis 2010). I would like to put forward the suggestion that the Egyptian construction should not be interpreted temporarily or spatially. It expresses a relationship ('from-to') of identity between the prediction of the speaker and the predicted situation. Identificationality is part of the 'be' category (something 'became/turned/changed...' and 'it is').

In the case being investigated, the situation is neither limited by an identificational ‘be’ locative parameter, nor by an identificational ‘be’ temporal parameter, although the situation is confined by an identificational ‘be’ substantive parameter (changing from a ‘thing’ to a ‘thing’, e.g. from ‘word’ to ‘*rem*’). The prediction of the speaker is marked by the auxiliary *iw*-. As the initiator/modifier of a discourse field, the *iw*- auxiliary represents a general grammatical unit more inclusive than a sentence. When an Egyptian wanted to topicalize the hearer’s cognition in a discourse (‘be conscious that...’), he would utter it using *iw*-.

This research paper will demonstrate that in the process of grammaticalization (Traugott and Heine 1991), the Egyptian ‘*r* preposition’ joined the infinitive and developed:

1. into a complementizer expressing purpose (*r*+xxx),
2. into a prefix, which forms (as in Polish or Biblical Hebrew) the second (perfective) infinitive, expressing accomplishment and achievement (*r*xxx),
3. into an infinitival construction (*iw*+*r*xxx) conveying deontic, accomplished or achieved and future-projected (timeless) situations. In Hebrew, the discourse-projected second infinitive indicates commissive modality, engaging the speaker/hearer relationship and turning the actor into the undergoer. In Polish, the second infinitive expresses perfectivity, formed by a simple ‘stick’: prefix (often a grammaticalized preposition) + the first (imperfective) infinitive.

In Polish, Hebrew and Egyptian, the second infinitive constitutes a future-oriented modal construction – the second (perfective) future.

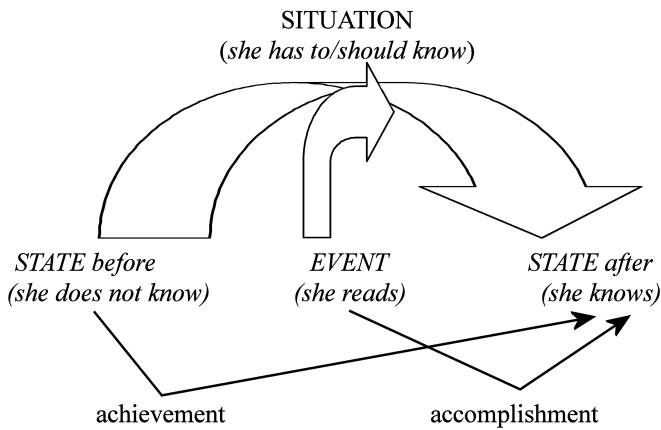
Moreover, it appears that the Egyptian ‘verbal’ construction ‘*sDm.f* prospective’ is clearly ‘subordinated’ (here: sentence-projected) in the pragmatical field to the more general *iw*-infinitival construction. This pragmatism constitutes an essential distinction between the two future-oriented constructions. In other words, an event (verb and eventive /resultative clause) occurs within the scope of a situation (infinitive and situative/causative clause).

Finally, our research will show that the time-aspect proportional correlations of the Egyptian second infinitive construction are as follows:

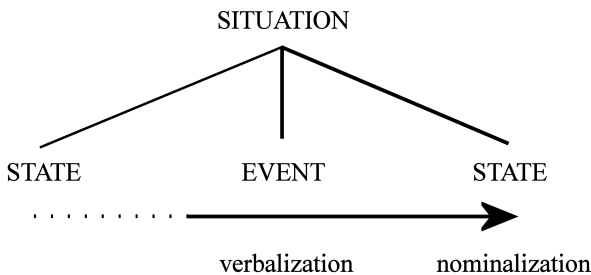
‘*iw/mk* + subject + *r* + infinitive’ expresses accomplishment
 (of activities) and achievement (of state) in the future
 the ‘old perfective’ expresses accomplishment (of activities)
 and achievement (of a state) in the past

Expressing aspectuality

Firstly, I would like to propose a type of operative simplification concerning a group of Egyptian clauses. A large group of clauses with the verbal predicate (model: *sDm.f*) conveys event information, clauses with the nominal predicate (model: 'subject - *m* - noun') convey state information (this includes, in my opinion, the 'locutional' clauses representing a stage of a state event: 'to be in') and clauses with the infinitival predicate (model: 'subject - *r* - infinitive') convey situation information. The last category is the most universal (discourse-projected), because it expresses (not necessarily overtly) a transition from an old state, through events, towards a new state, which signifies an underlying 'before-after' order. Events and states relate to different aspectualities.



In a situation, the event and the state after (accomplished/achieved) are overtly presented, but the state before remains within the underlying field.



Morphologically marked aspectuality

The first observation to be made in this area is that among languages with several infinitives (such as Polish), the different infinitives highlight different aspectualities (contrary to common belief, infinitives are not aspectually neutral). It seems that languages gifted with a plurality of infinitives have the potential to form a morphologically distinguished plurality of aspectualities (and *vice versa*). The lexically aspectual form is internally generated in the following way: a state generates an achievement, whilst an activity generates an accomplishment. This means that on the level of grammatical aspectuality, perfectivity derives from imperfectivity. In Polish, the first infinitive expresses imperfectivity, the second infinitive indicates perfectivity and the ‘third’ infinitive conveys habituality.

Morphologically, the relationship between *Aktionsarten* and ‘aspects’ is clear; lexical aspectualities appear as different forms of imperfectivity (state, activities) and perfectivity (accomplishment, achievement) and also show derivations: state/achievement (with/without an affix) and activity/accomplishment (with/without an affix).

GRAMMATICAL ASPECT	LEXICAL ASPECT	AFFIXES	GRAMMATICAL ASPECT	LEXICAL ASPECT
imperfectivity:	state	⇒	perfectivity:	achievement
imperfectivity:	activities	⇒	perfectivity:	accomplishment

Forms conveying perfectivity derive from imperfectivity by means of prefixes, which must be (?) interpreted as grammaticalized forms of prepositions and adverbs. Polish and other Slavic languages ‘specialize’ in the affix-triggered formation of different infinitives with various aspectualities:

- 1. *czytać* (activities) – ‘read’
- 2. *przeczytać* (accomplishment) – ‘to read’ (the *prze-* prefix)
 - 2a. *wyczytać* (subtype of accomplishment) – ‘to read’, ‘to see’ (the *wy-* prefix)
 - 2b. *doczytać* (subtype of accomplishment) – ‘to read to the end’ (the *do-* prefix)
 - 2c. *odczytać* (subtype of accomplishment) – ‘to read out’, ‘to interpret’ (the *od-* prefix)
- 3. *czytywać* (habituality) – ‘to read’ (from time to time/often) (the *-yw-* infix)

3a. *wyczytywać* (subtype of habituality) – ‘to read out’, e.g. names according to a principle (the *wy-* prefix, and *-yw-* infix)

3b. *odczytywać* (subtype of habituality) – ‘to read out with a time span’ (the *od-* prefix, and *-yw-* infix).

There are even more infinitives (and thus aspects) of the ‘to read’ infinitive, but they seem to be merely subcategories of accomplishment, activities, and habituality. These three infinitival forms are therefore the most basic.

Accomplishment derived from activities by causative derivation. Prefixes, the building blocks of aspectuality, resemble a grammaticalized prepositional form.

Let us consider an infinitive with a fundamentally different aspectuality:

4. *lubić* (state) – ‘to like’

5. *polubić* (achievement) – ‘to grow fond of’ (the *po-* prefix).

Achievement derived from a state by inchoative derivation (the reason for a new state; the transition from one state to another).

Let us focus on two timeless aspectual forms: ‘the property’ and ‘the class of membership’ (for English: Lehmann 1999). On an infinitival level, they form infinitival phrases.

6. *być zielonym* (property) – ‘to be green’

7. *zazielenić* (accomplishment) – ‘to cover with greenery’, ‘to stain green’, ‘to turn green’ (the *za-* prefix)

Accomplishment derived from a property by causative derivation. Accomplishment derived from a property *vs* achievement derived from a state.

8. *być nauczycielem* (class of membership) – ‘to be a teacher’

9. *zostać nauczycielem* (achievement) – ‘to become a teacher’

Achievement derived from class membership by inchoative derivation.

Not only do we thus support Vandler’s (1967) opinion that aspectualities should be grouped in matching pairs (activities-accomplishment) (state-achievement), but we would also like to state that this pairing is related to aspect forming derivation.

However, we do acknowledge that states and activities share the same basic state of infinitive in morphology, which can be termed the ‘first infinitive’. Infinitival forms expressing achievement and accomplishment – the ‘second infinitive’ – are usually represented in Polish by affixal forms.

Morphologically unmarked aspectuality

There is a group of verbs/infinitives in which the lexical and grammatical aspect is not marked by morphology. For example, the perfective lexical form of *zamknąć* ('to close') does not have any prefix. Morphologically, it looks like the first infinitive, but grammatically it conveys perfectivity and lexically it signifies accomplishment, features characteristic of the second infinitive. This means that the basic lexical information of such verbs only conveys accomplishment or achievement and not any activity or state. These infinitives should be treated independently of their morphological forms meaning that our example, *zamknąć* ('to close'), represents the second infinitive, which in turn signifies perfectivity. The imperfective (the true first infinitive) form is marked morphologically (*zamykać*), but it looks like a 'third infinitive' (which usually expresses habituality) built with an infix. When a language cannot pass from imperfectivity to perfectivity on the basis of morphology, it creates a new word that lexically refers to perfectivity ('go-arrive' versus Polish *jechać-przyjechać*). When perfectivity appears as a basic, morphological form, imperfectivity (if it exists) may take on a new morphological form (*zamknąć-zamykać*/'close-closing').

zamknąć ('close') – the second infinitive

lexically: accomplishment

grammatically: perfectivity

morphologically: like the first infinitive (Ø affix).

zamykać ('closing') – the first infinitive

lexically: activity

grammatically: imperfectivity

morphologically: like the third infinitive (habituality) (-y- infix).

It seems obvious that a chosen aspectuality can be represented on different levels (lexically, grammatically, morphologically), but it does not always appear fully distributed. A new aspectuality can contract different morphological forms of the verb/infinitive (very often the case in Polish) or reveal a new verb/infinitive (very often the case in English). Moreover, there is a large group of verbs/infinitives in English, the grammatical aspectuality of which is modified by an adverb (such as 'turn **off**', 'mile **off**'), but, in reality, the 'adverb' resembles an affix as (?) a grammaticalized form of an adverb or preposition (see below).

In sentence complexity, aspectuality can be represented on a syntactic level.

An Egyptian infinitival construction represents perfectivity in terms of syntax and thus both accomplishment and achievement

Prepositions in the process of grammaticalization

For the sake of this paper, 'prepositions' are loosely defined, since they overlap with adverbs, particles, conjunctions, and case and time affixes. In several languages, 'prepositions' appear as very useful operators, particularly within the process of grammaticalization, when they do not retain their original meaning. For us, two different vectors inside this process are meaningful. Morphosyntactically, prepositions have developed into either complementizers with infinitives ('**for** to see' – in Polish: *aby* widzieć) or affixes that modulate aspectuality and introduce situationality by means of the infinitive ('to see': *ujrzeć* in Polish, *lirot* in Hebrew).

These affixes are often interpreted as adverbs or particles in English and have the potential to generate a new aspectuality: 'turn **off**', 'look **out**'. Sometimes English expresses a new aspectuality, thus creating a complex form: 'to take a liking'. Future orientation comes from the space-time cognitive distribution of our cognition, which is expressed in Polish and Egyptian by using a preposition/affix.

In light of these last remarks, I would like to suggest the following interpretation of the Egyptian '*r* + infinitive' construction. In the process of grammaticalization, the *r*-preposition develops into:

1. A conjunction complementizer, which, when attached to an infinitive (10), expresses purpose (11). The infinitive must be interpreted as the first infinitive, conveying imperfectivity (*r* + xxx), or as the second infinitive, conveying perfectivity (*r* + [*r*]xxx).

2. A prefix aspectual marker, which forms the second (perfective) infinitive (*rx*xxx) with the infinitive, expressing accomplishment or achievement (12).

3. A future marker of perfectivity (13).

4. A future-marker of a deontic perfective situation (14)

10. 

ii.t

First inf. (imperfective, activity)

Polish: *jechać/pływać*

English: 'to go'

11. 

rii.t

Complementizer + first inf./sec. inf. (purpose, imperfective/perfective)

Polish: *aby jechać/przyjechać/przy płynąć/przybyć*

English: 'in order to go/arrive'

12. 

rii.t

Second inf. aspectual marker (perfective, accomplishment)

Polish: *przyjechać/przy pływać/przybywać* (prefix + infinitive)

English: 'to arrive' (a new infinitive)


13. 

dpt rii.t

Subject + second inf. (perfective, accomplishment, future)

Polish: *Łódź przy płynie* (prefix + inflected form).

English: 'The ship will arrive' (a new verb).

14. 

iw dpt rii.t

iw + subject + second inf. (speaker-hearer, perfective, accomplishment, future)

Polish: *Bądź świadom tego, co wydarzy się: łódź przy płynie.*

English: 'Be conscious of what will become: the ship will arrive.'

The appearance of a different aspectuality is marked lexically by a new verb in English, but marked morphologically in Polish and syntactically in Egyptian by a new 'prepositional' construction of the same verb.

Expressing the future

Infinitives can contain future orientation. The morphosemantic and functional distinction between the first infinitive and the second infinitive is particularly instructive in constructions expressing the future.

The first future expresses non-completed/non-perfect future situations, whereas the second future indicates completed/perfect ones. But how is it possible for human cognition to express perfectivity in future fields? English restricts this kind of expressivity and forms the second future with concomitant conditions ('I will have done it when...'), non-personal passivisation ('It will be done') or different types of modalities ('I can read over'). The passive interpretation of an infinitive also characterizes such grammatical situations in Egyptian '*si le deuxième argument d'un infinitif est effacé*' (Malaise 1999, #689). Polish (except for passivisation) is highly 'restricted', as expressing the future perfect with an infinitive is always 'modal plus'. In other words, the second infinitive constitutes the second (perfect) future by introducing a speaker. This is a kind of subjectification

(in a different context: Langacker 1998). A slightly similar tendency can be observed in the ‘swinging’ English I will/shall. The ‘non-modal’ future perfect situation is here expressed by the use of verbs in their perfect form (prefix + verb), but even if a sentence is verbally non-modal in such a case, in speech ‘reality’, the perfectivity triggers a ‘modal-oriented’ intonation of the speaker.

first infinitive (activities) (15) (17) and verb imperf. (16) in the first (imperfective) future	second infinitive (accomplishment) (17a) and verb perf. (16a) in the second (perfective) future
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* means ‘incorrect’

15. *Będę* czytać *książkę.*
first inf.

‘I will **read** a book.’

16. *Będę* czytał *książkę.*
infl. 3s. imperf.

‘I will **read** a book.’

17. *Muszę* czytać *książkę.*
first inf.

‘I have to **read** a book’

*15a. *Będę* przeczytać *książkę.*
sec. inf.

* ‘I will **to have read** a book.’

16a. Przeczytam *książkę.*
infl. 1 sg. perfect

‘I shall **read** a book’

/‘I will have read a book...’

17a. *Będę musiał* przeczytać *książkę.*
sec. inf.

‘I will have to **read** a book.

first infinitive (state) (18) (20) or verb imperf. (19) in the first (imperfective) future	second infinitive (achievement) (20a) or verb perf. (19a) in the second (perfective) future
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18. *Będę* lubić *ten film.*
first inf.

‘I will **like** this movie.’

19. *Będę* lubił *ten film.*
infl. 3 sg. imperf.

‘I will **like** this movie.’

20. *Muszę* lubić *ten film.*
first inf.

‘I could **like** this movie.’

*18a. *Będę* polubić *ten film.*
sec. inf.

* ‘I will have **to take a liking** to this movie.’

19a. Polubię *ten film.*
infl. 1 sg. perfect

‘**I shall take a liking** to this movie.’

20a. *Będę mógł* polubić *ten film.*
sec. inf.

‘I could **take a liking** to this movie.’

first infinitive (property) (23) or verb (22) in the first (imperfective) future	second infinitive (accomplishment) (23a) or verb (22a) in the second (perfective) future
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*21. *Ten samochód* *będzie być zielony.*
first inf.

* 'The car **will be be green.**'

22. *Ten samochód* *będzie zielony.*
infl. 3 sg.

'The car **will be green.**'

23. *Ten samochód musi* *być zielony.*
first inf.

'The car has to **be green.**'

*21a. *Ten samochód* *zostać zazieleniony.*
sec. inf.

* 'The car **to become green.**

22a. *Ten samochód* *zostanie zazieleniony.*
infl. 3 sg.

'The car **will become green.**'

23a. *Ten samochód musi* *zostać zazieleniony.*
sec. inf.

'The car has to **become green.**'

first infinitive (class membership) (26) or verb imperf. (25) in the first (imperfective) future	second infinitive (achievement) (26a) or verb perf. (25a) in the second (perfective) future
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*24. *On* *będzie być*
first inf. *nauczycielem.*

* 'He **will be be** a teacher.'

25. *On* *będzie*
infl. 3 sg. imperf. *nauczycielem.*

'He **will be** a teacher.'

26. *On chce* *być*
first inf. *nauczycielem.*

'He wants **to be** a teacher.'

*24a. *On* *będzie zostać*
sec. inf. *nauczycielem.*

* 'He **will be become** a teacher.'

25a. *On* *zostanie*
infl. 3 sg. perfect *nauczycielem.*

'He **will become** a teacher.'

26a. *On chce* *zostać*
sec. inf. *nauczycielem.*

'He wants **to become** a teacher.'

The first future (non-completed situation, modal + or -) can be conveyed using the first infinitive. The second future, expressing a completed situation, is conveyed: 1. by a construction with a verb in the future perfect (modal -/+) or 2. by a construction with the second infinitive (modal +). This means that the Polish second infinitive is pro-modal *par excellence*. The future of atemporal forms (property and class membership), which are 'more' nominal, is expressed (with infinitival phrases) only in irrealis moods.

	atelic				telic	
TIME	atemporal		durative		terminative	punctual
Aspect	class membership	property	state	activities	accomplish-ment	achieve-ment
			imperfectivity		perfectivity	
DERIVATION	A	B	A	B	b	a
A - a	FIRST INFINITIVE				SECOND INFINITIVE	
B – b					VERB IN FUTURE PERFECT	
Mode	IRREALIS		REALIS/IRREALIS		IRREALIS- INF./REALIS-VERB in FUT. perfect	

Fig. 1. TAM (Time Aspect Mood) distribution of Infinitives and Future Perfect Verbs in Polish

The Polish future perfect and the Egyptian ‘*iw* + subject + *r* + infinitive’ construction have the following in common:

- 1. They exclusively mark accomplishment or achievement and are thus future perfect oriented.
- 2. They often express remote future: *Zostanę poetą* – ‘I shall be a poet’ (for Egyptian see Vernus 1990, 11).
- 3. They help to convey commissive modality in prophecies: (certainly) *Powrócę tu za rok*. ‘I shall return in a year.’

As we have seen, the Polish future perfect is conveyed by:

- 1. infinitival, modal-oriented expressions,
- 2. verb inflectional expressions (not necessarily modal-oriented).

If we want to express an Egyptian infinitival future-oriented construction in Polish, we get the following distinctions:

27. **Subject** +  *r iit/riit*

r+inf./second inf.

Polish: *przyjędzie* (infl. 3 sg.)

English: ‘(It will become) it will arrive’.

This is an infinitival construction (with the second infinitive) expressing the future perfect (the second future). The form is modal ‘zero/plus’, which here means that in the act of speech the intonation conveys a kind of modality (usually an assertion – ‘it will become’) which encompasses the speaker-hearer field, wherein the speaker is the first person, the hearer is the second person, and the actor is the third person.

28. *iw* + **subject** +  *r iit/riit*

r+inf./second inf.

Polish: (*może/musi*) ‘*przyjechać*’ + ‘*przyjedzie*’ + (*bądź świadom*) + (*tak oto stanie się*)

English: ‘(it can/it have to) “**arrive**” + “**it will arrive**” + (be conscious) + (it will become)’.

This is an infinitival construction that expresses the modal future perfect.

The situational field of the construction is very complex as it contains:

1. an incontestable assertion concerning the hearer’s consciousness,
2. the objectivity of the situation,
3. the speaker’s intention,
4. the hearer’s obligation/fulfillment.

Such complexity cannot be supported by a single sentence. The Egyptian construction conveys a situation which extrapolates sentence projection and the construction is thus geared towards discourse/narration. No Polish construction can simultaneously combine the ‘modal’ situation implied in *przyjechać* (‘to arrive’, infinitive), and *przyjedzie* (‘it will arrive’, inflected form of the third person). Both are necessary because the infinitive conveys modality and situationality, whilst the inflected verbal form conveys the third person and an objective assertion. In Egyptian, the frontally positioned *iw*-marks discourse projections begun in reference to the hearer’s consciousness: ‘be conscious that’ (see below).

Among Semitic languages, Biblical Hebrew contains the second infinitive with semantic distribution similar to the Egyptian *iw*- infinitival construction.

Expressing modality

Biblical Hebrew, along with several other languages including ancient Egyptian, belongs to a (rare) group of verb-initial languages, in which infinitives ‘play a more prominent role’ (Callaham 2010, 40).

As is the case with several other ancient Semitic languages (Phoenician, Ugaritic, Amarna Acadian), Biblical Hebrew has two different infinitival forms: ‘construct’, and ‘absolute’ (the latter is labelled here as the ‘second infinitive’). The second infinitive usually appears in the Bible as a ‘paronomastic infinitive’, meaning the infinitive acts together with its cognate verb (e.g. *katolyktol*, ‘to kill’ ‘he kills’). This interesting ‘coupling’ (finite form + non-finite form) has traditionally been interpreted as a kind

of ‘stress’ (‘certainly he will kill’), but more recently as a marker of modalities, especially deontic modality (Callaham 2010). The complexity of the second (Biblical) infinitive is similar to its complexity in Egyptian, which was described at the end of the last chapter.

The Biblical paronomastic infinitive absolute (Callaham 2010) is often used in prophecies and predictions in the same way as our Egyptian infinitival construction (‘deontic modality’ in Egyptian constructions: Vernus 1990). Egyptian deontic utterances can be interpreted within ‘commissive modality’.

The internal field of ‘commissive modality’ is the following:

1. Pragmatically, commissive modality emphasises the speaker-hearer relationship: ‘You should be conscious of...’, ‘Be aware...’ with an emphasis on results: ‘certainly it will become’. In prophetic promises and threats, the locution must be fulfilled, not only for the reason that it has been said by a divinity or prophet, but also because the perceiver, in the act of hearing, becomes the undergoer and is no longer the actor. On a cognitive level, when the speaker’s utterance has been embodied by the perceiver, a locution begins ‘to live’ in reality.

2. Semantically, the infinitive marks the ‘cause’ premise, which announces the internal results of an ‘infinitival’ situation, expressed by a ‘then’ or ‘for’ sentence. Here, the infinitive acts as an ‘infinitive resultative’ directing the field of the construction towards the larger scope of discourse. The ‘resultativeness’ within an utterance (therefore in reality) confirms the ‘truthfulness’ (incorporation) of the prediction.

Speaker-Hearer + Actor-Divinity/Destiny + Actor/Undergoer + Results

*And the (SPEAKER) says to the (HEARER): be conscious of what will become,
the (ACTOR – divinity/destiny) causes the
(ACTOR to become UNDERGOER) will fulfill it \Rightarrow the “FORCED INFINITIVE”
the (RESULTS) will certainly appear \Rightarrow the “INFINITIVE RESULTATIVE”*

29.

רמא השאה לא.

הברא הברה
inf. abs.+v

מינב ידלת צעב דגרהו דנובצע

Polish: *A do kobiety powiedział, **wiedz, że tak oto stanie się:** **zwiększę** twój ból*

*i twą zdolność do rodzenia, **i wtedy** będziesz rodzić dzieci w bólu.*

i wtedy
result

zwiększę
sec. fut.

English: ‘Unto the woman he said **be conscious of what will become, I shall intensify** your pain and your ability to procreate **and then** in anguish you shall bear children.’ (Gn 3.16). result

30. רתשא הרשל ןב הנהו היהה תעכ דילא בושא בוש
inf. abs.+v רמיו.

Polish: *i powiedział, **wiedz, że tak oto stanie się:** powrócę do ciebie za rok,*

a wtedy
result *twoja żona, Sara, będzie miała syna.*

English: ‘He said **be conscious of what will become, I shall return** to you in a year, and then
result your wife, Sara, will bear a son.’ (Gn 18.10)

Internal distribution within the infinitive absolute seems to be very similar to the Egyptian infinitival perfect construction, because it conveys: 1. future perfect orientation; 2. commissive modality (the actor becomes the undergoer); 3. the speaker-hearer relationship; 4. discourse projection (see below); 5. the combination of infinitival situational impersonality with the first person (the speaker, implicit), second person (the hearer, implicit) and third person (overtly the actor/undergoer).

Finally, the Egyptian construction in our example should be interpreted as follows:

31. *iw* + subject + 

Polish: *Bądź świadom tego, co wydarzy się – **S przybędzie...***

English: ‘Be conscious of what will become – **S shall arrive...**’

The nature of the ‘forced infinitive’

Let us go into greater detail about the ‘forced infinitive’ of our infinitival construction and its linguistic and philosophical background.

The ‘*iw* + subject + *r* + infinitive’ construction contains an internally subsisting identificational ‘be substantive’ parameter. This parameter creates the necessary incorporated results of future-oriented, completed and timeless situations, which are particularly useful in prognostics and magical spells. How can this be understood?

Every future expression encompasses a (non-)overt ‘from – to’ relationship. Within these, there are some verbs which have an identificational parameter, such as ‘turn’, ‘change’, ‘transform’, ‘convert’... (Gruber 1976, 140-148).

Identification, meaning ‘changing/turning from a (thing/place/time) to a (thing/place/time) results in the “be” category’ (often incorporated).

The ‘be’ identificational is threefold:

(‘be’ locative): changing ‘from’ a place ‘to’ a place: ‘the ship will arrive from home’

(‘at’ a place) > the ship will be [‘at’ a place].

(‘be’ temporal): changing ‘from’ a time ‘to’ a time: ‘the ship will arrive from home’

(‘later’) > the ship will be here [later].

(‘be’ substantive): changing ‘from’ a thing/word ‘to’ a thing: [‘it will become’], ‘the ship will arrive from home’ > the ship will be [as/for I say].

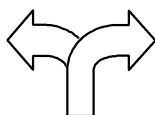
In our case, the situation is not confined by the identificational ‘be’ locative parameter, nor by the identificational ‘be’ temporal parameter, but the situation is limited by the identificational ‘be’ substantive parameter (changing ‘from’ a thing ‘to’ a thing; e.g. from a word to a ‘res’ in prophecy).

A prediction of a speaker is marked by the *iw*- auxiliary (the initial part of the utterance). As the initiator/modifier of the discourse field, the *iw*- auxiliary represents a general grammatical unit more inclusive than a sentence. With the aid of the *iw*- utterance, the speaker directly engages the consciousness of the hearer: ‘be conscious...’, ‘make aware...’. The *iw*- marks not only the exact moment of the speech (Winand 2006), but above all, the direct impact on the hearer, magically enforced in our construction – ‘it will come/become’. The lexically important ‘it’ pronoun (Prokopowicz 2012), which is present non-overtly in *iw*+s+r+inf., creates an event situation destiny or situational identification that is different to the Egyptian identificational *iw A m B* and *iw A r B* constructions that express being state destiny.

Make aware IT will come/become

the ship shall arrive from home

PREDICTION
WORD



REALIZATION
SITUATION

IDENTIFICATION
“be” substantive

Expressing situation

Morphologically unmarked and marked aspectuality

Understanding the pragmatic difference between an event and a situation is of crucial importance. Someone said in prophecy:

32. Polish:

Będziesz pić first future

czystą wodę po śmierci.

English: ‘You **will drink** pure water after death.’

Let us refer to Fig.1 for this utterance:

If we consider the utterance as an event, the act of drinking water is the aspectual ‘head’ and expresses durativity, activities, and imperfectivity.

If we consider the utterance as a situation, the act of (the ‘speaker’s’) prophecy is the aspectual ‘head’ and states that ‘drinking water after death’ expresses terminativity (‘it will be’), accomplishment (of prophecy), and perfectivity (‘cause’ – ‘a new state’).

Why is the future perfect situation not expressed with the second future here in order to avoid ambiguity?

33. Polish:

Wypijesz second future

czystą wodę po śmierci.

English: ‘You **will drink up** pure water after death.’

This utterance (33) is acceptable as an event, but unacceptable as a situation. The speaker’s prophecy in (32) is about eternity, which our cognition understands as durativity. In this particular case, durativity combines with semantic perfectivity and this suggests a more obvious situational context. In order to avoid ambiguity, the event context is introduced by a verb in the finished form and in the second future (33). The English ‘drink up’ looks like a ‘verb + affix’ combination and the affix adverb introduces the new grammatical aspect. When we want to express (33) by means of a second infinitive, a modal form appears by necessity with a situational context, but without event connotations:

34. Polish: *Będziesz musiał*


wypić second inf.

czystą wodę po śmierci.

English: ‘You will have to drink up pure water after death.’

These examples show that we should distinguish the semantics of a situation from the semantics of an event (Prokopowicz 2012).

If an event expresses eternity/durativity (a ‘non-finished’ state), an achievement appears as the end of durativity (‘the water will have been drunk’, see Fig. 1). In the case of semantic event perfectivity, an achievement expresses a new state. In the case of semantic situational perfectivity, an achievement expresses eternity/durativity prognoses by the speaker and takes the syntactic form of the first infinitive.

Syntactically, Egyptian expresses the difference between an event and a situation with the aid of the  *iw*- particle. A future situation is conveyed by the *iw* + second infinitive combination and the situation remains discourse projected, not sentence projected.

At this stage, I would like to suggest that the difference between the Egyptian ‘*sDm.f* prospective’ and the ‘*iw*- sentence infinitival’ construction does not relate to the immediate future *vs* remote future and volitive future *vs* deontic future distinctions (as proposed by Vernus 1990). The examples below show that the difference between the ‘*sDm.f* prospective’ and the ‘*iw*+subject+*r*+infinitive’ is first of all pragmatic and concerns distinctions between discourse projection *vs* sentence projection, and subject projection *vs* subject-hearer projection. The *iw*- foretells a ‘cause’ situation, which is more general than ‘subordinated results’ events. In this context, we find a kind of ‘*sDm.f* resultative (‘then...’; ‘and it will become...’), developing the opinion that ‘*sDm.f* is not a verb form, but a verb formation’ (Depuydt 1993).

The Snake prophesying the future of the Sailor (1) (SS 120-123):

35. 


iw dpt r ii.t m Xnw sqdw im=s rx.n=k

iw + subject + *r* + inf.

Polish: *Bądź świadom tego, co* *wydarzy się*
sec. fut. *– łódź* *przybędzie*
sec. fut. *z domu,*

a z nią żeglarze, których znasz,

English: ‘Be conscious of what **will become** – the ship **will arrive** from home, together with sailors whom you know,’

iw+subject+second infinitive: situation-cause, remote future, deontic future

36. 

$$Sm=k \quad Hna=sn \quad r \quad Xnw$$
 $sDm.f$ prosp.

Polish: (*wtedy*) **powrócisz** *z nimi do domu.*
sec. fut.

English: ‘**(then) you will return** home with them.’

sdm.f prospective: event result, immediate result in remote future,
deontic future

37. 

$$m(w).t=k \quad m \text{ niwt}=k$$

sDm.f prosp.

Polish: (*i tak będzie, że*)

<i>umrzesz</i>
sec. fut.

w swoim mieście.

English: **‘(and will happen that) you will die in your city.’**

sdm.f. prospective: event result, remote result in remote future, deontic future

The snake prophecy expresses the deontic and remote future in an ‘objective’ situation using *iw*+subject+*r*+infinitive (35) and ‘objective’ events using the *sDm.f* prospective (36, 37). The *sDm.f* resembles a results subordinated construction:

Event-result is under the scope of situation-cause

We are confronted with a type of ancient non-sentence logic, in which the (*iw-*) sentences mark a more universal ‘cause’ situation and (*sDm.f-*) sentences express less universal ‘result’ events. In reality, this also touches upon the true distinction between infinitival and non-infinitival constructions, as we have already seen in the Biblical texts.

1. Pragmatically, an infinitival construction relates future results to the consciousness of the perceiver and for this reason.

2. The infinitival ('situational') construction encompasses the whole situation, as well as the scope of the *sDm.f*. The *iw*- and *mk*- particles act as markers of a person discourse situation.

3. The infinitival construction has been non-overtly expressed in the first person ('I tell you') and second person ('you should be conscious') and overtly in the third person ('the ship will...').

The first person always exists in our construction, but not always explicitly.

Interestingly, when the snake repeats the prophecy, the infinitive construction appears under the scope of an *mk*- sentence which overtly engages the hearer's consciousness. It is obvious that:

iw + Subject + *r* + infinitive appears when the actor is the first or the third person
mk + Subject + *r* + infinitive appears when the actor is the second person

The Snake prophesying the future of the Sailor (2) (SS 167b-169a)

38.

mk tw r spr r Xnw n(y) 2-abd

mk + subject + *r* + inf.

Polish: *bądź świadom tego, co* *wydarzy się*
sec. fut. – *dotrzesz*
sec. fut. *do domu za dwa miesiące.*

English: 'be conscious of what **will become** – **you will arrive** home in two months.'

mk+subject+second infinitive: situation cause, remote future, deontic future

39.

mH=k qni=k m Xrdw=k

sDm.f prosp.

Polish: *(wtedy)* *wypełnisz*
sec. fut. *swe ramiona twymi dziećmi.*

English: '(then) **you will fill** your children with your embrace.'

sDm.f prospective: event result, immediate result in remote future, deontic future

40.

rnpy=k m Hnw, qrs.tw=k

sDm.f prosp., *sDm.f* prosp. pass.

Polish: *(i tak będzie, że) twe lata* *wypełnią się*
sec. fut. *w domu twoim i* *zostaniesz pochowany.*
sec. fut. pass.

English: ‘(and it will become that) you will spend the rest of your life at home, and you will be buried.’

sdm.f prospective: event result, remote result in remote future, deontic future

The *mk*- infinitival sentence construction is fully situational, foretells what will certainly be incorporated and the *sDm.f* is within its scope.

The only difference between the infinitival *mk*- and *iw*- sentences in the snake’s prophecy is the third and the second person.

According to our pragmatic hypothesis, every infinitival *iw*- sentence expresses the *mk*-sentence non-overtly (‘be conscious of what will become...’), because it engages the hearer’s consciousness by presenting a situation. Both types of infinitival expressions (*iw*- sentence + *r* and *mk*- sentence + *r*) have the following features that are similar to the Biblical commissive modality of the infinitive absolute:

1. they express a situation which will certainly be fulfilled and are thus ‘forced infinitives’. The situation is externally imposed and for this reason the actor becomes the undergoer; the true actor (a divinity or destiny) often exists implicitly.

2. they are ‘infinitive resultatives’, which means that they mark speaker-hearer cognition in discourse, not only in sentence; the whole situation is within its scope.

3. they are bi-aspectual: achievement + accomplishment/achievement.

‘*iw* + Subject + *r* + infinitive’ and the old perfective (introductory remarks)

The Egyptian infinitival construction expresses achievement (of a state) or accomplishment (of activities) in the field of a future projected situation. The Old Perfective expresses achievement (of a state) or accomplishment (of activities) in the field of a past projected situation. Such an interpretation of the Old Perfective leads to this observation: ‘*Aspectuellement, le parfait ancien est un accompli résultatif, c’est-à-dire une forme envisageant une situation conçue comme une acquisition du point de vue du sujet... le moment de référence sélectionne la post-phase à l’intérieur de la proposition logique* (Malaise and Winand 1999, #715). According to our proposition, the ‘post-phase’ is related to a state or an event and thus appears bi-aspectual.

1. activities → accomplishment (e.g. 'put' → 'lie')


41. 

hAtt rd.t(i) Hr tA (SS 4-5)

Polish: *Cuma leżała już na ziemi.*

English: 'The mooring rope was **already lying** on the ground.'

2. state → achievement (e.g. 'sit' → 'besiege')

42. 

Hm=i Hms.(w) Hr=s (Urk. 4.184.17-185.1) (cit. Malaise and Winand 1999, eg. 1132).

Polish: *Mój Majestat obległ ją (miasto).*

English: 'My Majesty besieged her (the town).'

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