ꜥq "Enter," but How, and Where? Data from the Coffin Texts[*]

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Abstract: ꜥq "Enter," but How, and Where? Data from the Coffin Texts

The verb ꜥq "enter" displays special semantic features, in valency, and Aktionsart, among the general way of expressing space with motion verbs: ꜥq is an achievement with no prephase, and with a stative postphase, and its action is mainly performed at the limit ("access") of the illative spatial complement. This phenomenon is shown by the use of the preposition *r* with sharply delimited complements, while the usual preposition for illative, *m*, is used with unlimited complements—respectively, *objects*, and *substances* according to Johnson and Lakoff's terminology in their book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 30). This peculiarity constitutes an extreme case study, and reveals the relevance of a semantic approach when based upon large textual corpora (in this study, the Coffin Texts) in explaining specific morphosyntactic particularities such as the prepositions used with the illative of this verb. This approach also allows for the testing of certain significant theoretical concepts such as the cognitive schema "container," with data from a natural language such as Ancient Egyptian.

Keywords: ꜥq "Enter" – Motion verbs – Semantics – Coffin Texts

Resumen: ꜥq "entrar" ¿Pero cómo, y dónde? Información de Textos de los Sarcófagos

Si lo comparamos con la manera general en que los verbos de movimiento expresan las relaciones espaciales, el verbo ꜥq, "entrar", presenta unos rasgos semánticos particulares en cuanto a su valencia y Aktionsart: ꜥq es un logro sin prefase y con posfase

estática, cuya acción se produce con mayor frecuencia en el límite ("acceso") del complemento espacial ilativo. Este fenómeno se refleja en el uso de la preposición *r* con los complementos claramente delimitados, mientras que se emplea la preposición usual del ilativo (*m*) con los complementos no delimitados—respectivamente, *objetos* y *sustancias* en la terminología de Johnson y Lakoff en su libro *Metaphors We Live By* (1980, 30). Esta peculiaridad constituye un estudio de caso extremo que demuestra la relevancia de un enfoque semántico basado en grandes corpus textuales—en este trabajo, los Textos de los Sarcófagos—para explicar particularidades morfosintácticas específicas tales como las preposiciones utilizadas con el ilativo de este verbo. Este enfoque permite también probar la validez de conceptos teóricos importantes como el de esquema cognitivo "contenedor" en datos de un lenguaje natural, en este caso el egipcio antiguo.

Palabras clave*: ʿq* "entrar" – verbos de movimiento – semántica – Textos de los Sarcófagos

Inside – Outside

The conceptual opposition *inside-outside* is thought to be one of the more widespread (or "universal") mental images (or "cognitive schemata"), and one of the more productive in forming extended meanings (or "metaphors"). In linguistics, and related fields, one very frequently quoted reference regarding this opposition is the influential book by George Lakoff, and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980).[1] In recent times, this book has also found its own place in the Egyptological field as a theoretical reference for metaphor, and categorization studies in different subjects (graphemics, cognitive anthropology, and linguistics), although the methods of interpreting its postulates are certainly disparate.[2] Lakoff, and Johnson refer to the inside-outside opposition as the process of the human mind viewing the human body, and other objects following it, as *containers*.[3] Twenty years before, urban planner Kevin Lynch[4] had proposed a very similar idea in his equally influen-

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[1] See for example Steen *et al*. 2010: 766.

[2] See, as a sample, Goldwasser 1995; David 2007; Nyord 2009 (with a general overview in chapter 1); and Gracia Zamacona 2010a; 2010b.

[3] Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 29.

[4] Lynch 1960. For Lynch's works, see the Institute Archives, and Special Collections MC.0208 <http://libraries.mit.edu/archives/research/collections/collections-mc/mc208.html> at the MIT, Cambridge, MA.

tial book, *The Image of the City*.[5] In trying to provide himself with concepts to analyse his subject, Lynch started interviewing inhabitants of three morphologically different cities in the United States of America (Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles). He found that one of the operative concepts people employ when describing and using their city is *district*, which he defined in the following way:

> *Districts are the medium-to-large sections of the city, conceived of as having two-dimensional extent, which the observer mentally enters 'inside of', and which are recognizable as having some common, identifying character.*[6]

The two-dimensional attribute given by Lynch to the "district" can be misleading at first, but this is only due to the fact that the tests applied to the informants were strongly based on maps (two-dimensional representations of the reality):[7] the relevant information here is that a "district" can be mentally entered since it has an *inside*, and accordingly it must have an *outside*.

In the Coffin Texts, the inside-outside opposition is prototypically represented by the prepositions *m* "in, into, from the inside of," and *r* "at, to, from the outside of."[8] In her monographic study on prepositions in Earlier

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[5] Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976: 377: "This (= Lynch's) set of spatial elements (= districts, nodes, landmarks, paths, and edges) for cognitive maps *may have some generality for entities other than cities*." For cognitivism in urbanism, see Orillard 2005.

[6] Lynch 1960: 47.

[7] Lynch 1960: 140–159, mainly p. 140: "The basic office interview consisted in its essentials of *a request for a sketch map of the city*, for the detailed description of a number of trips through the city, and for a listing, and brief description of the parts felt to be most distinctive or vivid in the subject's mind."

[8] Franke 1998: 52–53; Nyord 2010: § 1.1, 1.2 and 2.1; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3; Gracia Zamacona 2010b: § 1. For the Afro-Asiatic equivalents, see Behnk 1927: 81 (number 11), which might attest the existence of this elemental opposition in a broader linguistic horizon. The matter has been faced (on completely different grounds) for later texts: see for example Wiebach-Koepke 2003: 130–144; and Hegenbarth-Reichardt 2006: 163–164, 168–171. In a typologically-grounded approach, Werning 2012, especially fn. 15, proposes a double dichotomy *r* "attached to" vs. *m* "in," and *ḥr* "superior" vs. *ẖr* "inferior;" see similarly G. Roeder 1904: 49–50. In fact, data from the Coffin Texts do not support this symmetrical model, for two rea-

Egyptian, Julie Stauder-Porchet puts it in different terms: "*m* exprime fondamentalement la *délimitation d'un espace*,"[9] and "(...) le sémantisme de la préposition (= *r*), fondamentalement de *relation à distance*;"[10] and the spatial model that she implicitly uses does not distinguish "inner" spatial complements[11] (inessive, elative, illative) from "outer" spatial complements (adessive, ablative, allative), since it seems that she employs the term "ablative" for all provenance complements, and "allative" for all destination complements.[12]

However, the "in / out" spatial features of the prepositions *m*, and *r* respectively—and their indifference to express direction[13]—is transparent in passages where two verbs of opposite direction occur:

Ex. 1
CT VI 346 h
pr.t ḥꜣ.t m p.t
To go up **to (the inside of)**, and down **from (the inside of)** the sky

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sons. Firstly, the supposed dichotomy ẖr vs. ḫr, if of any linguistic relevance, would not act at the same level as the m vs. r dichotomy, even if only because of the totally different frequency of use of preposition ḫr with motion verbs, when compared to the other three: ḫr occurs only 23 times, whilst the other three prepositions are very frequent, since they are the *basic* space prepositions in this corpus: m (797 occurrences), r (537 occurrences), and ḥr (372 occurrences), ḥr being thus much more frequently used than ẖr because of its higher degree of abstraction, for all which see Gracia Zamacona 2008: appendix III; and Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 6 (tables); Svorou 2002: 121–142 claims, on typological grounds, that the intuitive opposition up vs. down is less grammaticalised than the in vs. out opposition, which partially overlaps (on *m*, and *r*) the Coffin Texts data. Secondly, by not taking into account the relevance of the notion of limit for spatial complement entities (see Gracia Zamacona 2008: § 2.3; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 5), called "landmarks" by Langacker 1987: § 6.1.2, Werning's *m* vs. *r* dichotomy fails to explain the particular behaviour of verb ʿq (and similar verbs) with the illative, as compared to the main part of motion verbs.

[9] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 62.

[10] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 65.

[11] I follow the valency theory, which distinguishes between "complements" (the arguments belonging to the verbal valency), and "adjuncts" (those not belonging to it): see Herbst *et al.* 2004: xxiv.

[12] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 17, 98, 157, 198–199 *passim*.

[13] Direction is expressed by the verb, and the context, see Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3, and

Ex. 2

CT IV 82 d

*iw šm iw N pn **r** ḥn.t p.t nb ḏr*

This N goes **to (the outside of)**, and comes **from (the outside of)** the limit of the sky of the Lord of All

In the translation, said features of prepositions *m* and *r* have been enclosed in brackets, the expression of direction ("from," and "to") depending on the verb, and co(n)textual information.

Notwithstanding this, in an important minority of cases these prepositions do not express that opposition, since *r* may mean "in, into"—better said: it must be thus translated. And this is exactly what happens with the verb ꜥ*q*, usually translated "enter." There is, however, one problem with this translation: because the English verb "enter" is usually constructed with an object, in contrast to what usually happens in Egyptian, when the discussion focuses on the related preposition ("to," "into," "to the inside of," etc.), a general motion verb ("go" or "come") has been used to translate ꜥ*q*.[14] Only in transitivations, with no complement, or when the preposition is irrelevant to the discussion, will ꜥ*q* be rendered with "enter."

The question is, why in the Coffin Texts is it written:

Ex. 3

CT VII 306 e

*n-wnt z nb rḫ ꜥq **m** sḏ.t*

There is no one who can go **into** the flame

but

Ex. 4

CT II 290 b – 291 b

ꜥ*q **r** pr*[15] *wsir n ḏdw*

To go **into** the Osiris temple of Busiris

In these cases both the prepositions *m*, and *r* express the illative.

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[14] Werning 2012: 326 and fn. 35.

[15] For the illative interpretation of ꜥ*q r pr* in general, see *Wb* I 231 a.

WHERE TO ENTER

The valency of ꜥq, as of any other motion verb, consists of two participants: the first participant is a "weak" agent, in the sense that no patient is implied,[16] and it cannot be considered an undergoer because there is a second participant, the spatial complement.[17] Verbs expressing position, such as *dwell*, display the same argument structure.[18] Thus, *I go to Egypt* expresses a motion, while *I dwell in Egypt* expresses a position, and both verbs express space. Contrarily, in the sentence, *I work in Egypt,* the expression of space is not in the verb's valency, but is just an adjunct semantically independent from the verb.

   Pertinent features[19] for analysing the valency of ꜥq are displayed in Table 1 below. In the left column, the spatial complements are arranged in three large categories: provenance (motion's origin), course (oriented path of the motion), and destination (motion's end). These large categories are further divided by the criteria of "unspecified kind of space," "outer space," and "inner space" into the following respective categories: originating (Or), ablative (Ab), and elative (El) for provenance; coursive (C), exo-coursive (Ex), and endo-coursive (En) for course; and terminal (T), allative (Al), and illative (I) for destination. For instance, elative means "from the inside of," exo-coursive "by (the outside of)," and terminal "towards (nor the inside nor the outside of)." In the other four columns, the nature of the space is shown, according to the features of animation, and divinity. The data are arranged by total number, and, within brackets, by preposition in order of frequency:

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[16] Dowty 1991: mainly § 7 and 8.1.
[17] De Boer 1926: 49; López 1970: 40; Lemaréchal 1989: 204, 207–208; Lazard 1994: 98; Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1516; Stauder-Porchet 2009: 87, 153; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 1.
[18] Gracia Zamacona 2010a.
[19] The general methodological frame is inspired by the maximalist descriptive approach in Comrie and Smith 1977: § 2.1.1.5. The general theoretical approach is psycholinguistic in part: a general overview of the mainstream of such a theoretical frame can be read in Levinson 2003: 98–110, although no specific model fully meets the empirical description proposed in the research underlying this article. More specifically, and among many others, the following contributions have been of great use for said research: Clark and Garnica 1974 and Clark 1978, from the field of experimental psycholinguistics; Svorou 1994, from typological linguistics; Bennett 1972, from theoretical linguistics, whose semantic approach is the closest to this description.

Space		Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
Provenance	Or	-	-	-	-
	Ab	-	-	-	-
	El	-	-	-	-
Course	C	-	1 (*ḥr*)	-	-
	Ex	-	2 (*ḥr*)	-	-
	En	-	11 (*m* 7, *ḥr-ḫʒ.t* 2, *imytw* 1, *tnw* 1)	2 (*imytw* 1, *mm* 1)	1 (*m*)
Destination	T	3 (*ḥr* 2, *m-bʒḥ* 1)	4 (*ḥr* 2, *m* 2)	12 (*ḥr*)	-
	Al	-	3 (*r* 1, *ḥr* 1, *r-gs* 1)	-	-
	Il	2 (*mm*)	97 (*r* 64, *m* 20, *r-ḫn.w* 5, *m-ḫn.w* 4, ∅ 3, *im* 1)	10 (*mm* 6, *m* 3, *m-qʒb* 1)	5 (*m* 2, *r* 2, ∅ 1)

Table 1.

The valency of *ꜥq*

The above table makes clear the following: firstly, there is a total lack of provenance spatial complements; at the same time, the only spatial complement occurring in all the four nature categories is illative; and finally, the rarest of the spatial complements is allative.[20] These three facts are obviously connected, as they exhibit the core meaning of "enter." The same idea might explain the use of the ideogram 🦢 (G35) (a cormorant or an anhinga) for the verb *ꜥq*, given the way in which these birds capture fishes by plunging into water, although the bird's name and the verb might also be homonyms.[21]

[20] See the appendix, table 9.
[21] Vernus and Yoyotte 2005: 366. Wolterman 1992: 125–127, explains it otherwise by the peculiar way in which cormorants swim, with their body awash, and only the neck, and head over the water, and by an hypothetical phonetic alternation *g* / *q* between the terms *ꜥgʒ* "sink," and *ꜥq* "enter": "cormorant" would thus mean "the one that sinks." But this does not justify the presence of the ideogram "cormorant" in the writing of a word meaning "enter," unless this particular way of swimming could have been seen as the cormorant having its body "entered" into the water. Wolterman considers that the interpretation "cormorant" = "the one that enters" is not significant, since many birds plunge into the waters to fish. But this does not preclude that the cormorant could have been chosen, among plunging birds, as the ideogram of "enter." Either for its abundance or for any other reason it could have been chosen as the prototype of this action (for this general process, see for instance Kleiber 1990). We find an explicit identification between the bird, and the verb in *CT* VI 33 h: *n ꜥq.n.i m ꜥq m ꜥq* "(...) because it is like a **cormorant**, like a **cormorant** that **I have entered**."

Secondly, and from a quantitative point of view, it is clear that inanimate illative is by far (97 cases) the most represented spatial complement: one usually enters things. The next complement in frequency (12 cases) is animate divine exclusively with the preposition *ḥr*: this is a very particular expression, *ꜥq ḥr* + "god," meaning literally "enter towards (lit. upon) a god,"[22] but implying the going into the god's residence (temple, chapel, etc.). This becomes clear when the expression is compared to *ꜥq r ḥw.t-nṯr* "enter **into** the temple (lit. god's mansion)."[23] The third complement in frequency is endo-coursive (mainly with *m*): this is the case of doors, and similar entrances. This description would be perfectly banal, but the preposition more frequently employed with inanimate illative is not *m* (20), as expected, but *r* (64 cases); and this usage does need an explanation, even more so when it is noted that *r* is the preposition typically used to express limits (allative, adessive).

Thirdly, there are five cases of transitivised inanimate illatives (and one of inanimate divine illative), which also demand an explanation.

But let us begin with the first problem.

R if an Object, m if a Substance

As Stauder-Porchet has remarked, the spatial complement with *m* after the verb *ꜥq* has raised some confusion.[24] She solves this confusion by arguing that the preposition *m* in spatial complements never expresses, in Earlier Egyptian, the "allative" ("destination" in the terms used here), but always the "ablative" ("provenance" in the terms used here), the allative being expressed by preposition *r*, and that this holds true for any motion verb.[25] However, this seems to contradict an important amount of data from the Coffin Texts: according to the description here proposed, of all 797 spatial complements with *m*, for any motion verb,[26] 331 can be interpreted as indicating destination (for

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[22] For *ꜥq ḥr nṯr* 'enter **towards** the god', see *Wb*. I, 231.9, and Gracia Zamacona 2012: 189.

[23] See Jelinková 1962: 41; Stadler 2012: 242 and 244 (mainly).

[24] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 155. Grammars differ in considering the illative meaning for *m*. Some of them accept it: Edel 1955–1964: § 758, and Allen 2010: 85; others with restrictions: Gardiner 1957: § 162, and Malaise and Winand 1999: § 229; and some others reject it: Erman 1928: § 445, and Lefebvre 1955: § 490.

[25] Stauder-Porchet 2009: 153, 155 and 157.

[26] "Motion" is here to be taken in the narrow sense ("displacement"), thus leaving apart the locative occurrences with 'position' verbs.

361 for provenance, and 105 for course).[27] Here are some examples from this corpus of *m* expressing the illative with motion verbs of different Aktionsart:[28]

Ex. 5

CT V 368 b

*sḫ.t **i.n.i im**.ṯ bꜣ.i m-ḫt.i ḥw.i tp-ꜥ.wy.i*

Oh, Field! It is (with) my *bꜣ* behind me (and) my *ḥw* in front of me that **I have come into** you!

Spell *CT* [467] refers to the deceased's desire of living like Hotep, i.e. in an abundance of food. Once *in* the field (of Hotep), the deceased emphasizes (*sḏm.n.f*) the powers (*bꜣ* and *ḥw*) that sanction his presence there. The verb *ii* is an accomplishment.

Ex. 6

CT IV 96 e

*ꜥq.f im **m ḏnḏn** m ḥtp **m** pr wsir*

May he (= the deceased's *bꜣ*) enter there, **proceeding** in peace **into** the house of Osiris!

In the preceding sentences (*CT* IV 96 c – d), the deceased is overtly asking to the "path openers" (*wn.w wꜣ.wt* and *wpp.w mṯn.ww*) to allow his *bꜣ* to get into the house of Osiris, which is clearly illative. The verb *ḏnḏn* may be an activity.

Ex. 7

CT V 339 a (B6C)

*spr N **m** niw.wt.s*

May N **dock at (lit. in)** its (= of the field of Hotep) towns!

This verb is usually followed by an allative with preposition *r*, because of its Aktionsart (achievement),[29] and valency,[30] as in the variants B1Bo (*spr.f **r***

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[27] Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1725. See also some examples in Van der Molen 2000: 80.

[28] Examples of *ꜥq*, here discussed, are excluded, as well as examples of "vertical" motion verbs, as it seems that the "horizontality" of the motion is relevant for Stauder-Porchet's interpretation (Stauder-Porchet 2009: 155 and 157).

[29] See Winand 2006: 112 and 383, for this verb as an auxiliary verb of resultative meaning.

[30] Its second participant is a spatial complement of destination at the limit of which the action happens.

niw.wt.s), and B1C, B5C, B1L and B3L (the four of them reading *spr.i r niw.wt.s*). It is the plurality of the spatial complement (*niw.wt*) that motivates the use of *m* (see § 2.2), the punctual action of *spr* being summarized as a series of dockings *in* a group of towns, and not *at* every town;[31] but the meaning of destination (illative in this particular case) is evident. Furthermore, the meaning of destination is cotextually enhanced by the preceding sentence *ẖni N m š.w.s* "May N row on (lit. in) its lakes!", in which the fact that the course ("lakes") precedes the destination ("towns") is explicit. Besides this, in B9C, both spatial complements ("lakes" and "towns") are transitivised (*ẖn.y.i Ø š.w.s spr.i Ø niw.wt.s*), and this is a phenomenon more frequent with "inner" spatial complements.[32]

The difference discussed here between *r* and *m* when marking the illative of ʿq can be seen by a completely different approach: some semantic difference among the entities occurring in the spatial complements. As a matter of fact, such a difference was postulated from a general point of view by Lakoff and Johnson. These authors consider containers to be divided into *objects* and *substances*: objects (for instance, "tube") have distinct limits, but substances (for instance, "water") do not.[33] It must be clearly understood that this is the relevant point: in a substance, boundaries (or limits) are indistinguishable from the content; in an object, boundaries (or limits) are distinct from its content. In Egyptian, this property of containers appears linguistically in a very particular context: when containers are spatial complements of achievements that are strongly related to the limits of things (borders, doors...), as is the case with ʿq. With objects, because of their distinct limits, the illative of ʿq is marked with *r*, the typical preposition for *limit* expression. In contrast, due to the indistinct limits of the substances, preposition *m*, which is significantly the typical preposition for *masses*, is employed instead.[34] According to this cate-

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[31] Compare Bertinetto 1997: 56, for habituals seen as macro-events composed of telic micro-events.

[32] Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 6. See § 4 in this paper for the transitivations of illative with ʿq.

[33] Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 30.

[34] A completely different interpretation is proposed by Sederholm 2006: 212, for whom in some passages of the Book of Two Ways this m is interpreted as m of identity, leaving the spatial complement unexpressed. A mystical explanation is offered for this: "The Pool of the Flame in *CT* VII 306 d-f, after all, is only another name for the portal of the horizon: the deceased, who enters it *like* a flame, becomes a piercing sunbeam."

gorization, and taking into account the occurrences of illative with ꜥq in the Coffin Texts,[35] a list of spatial complements may be proposed, as in this table:

		Illative	
		with *m*	with *r*
Objects	buildings, and their parts	*wsḫ.t* "great hall"[36]	*iꜣṯ.ww* / *iꜣṯ.wt* "slaughterhouses," *pr* "house, temple," *nm.t-(nṯr)* "(god's) slaughterhouse", *ḥw.t* "mansion," *ḫb.t* "slaughterhouse," *ḫm* "shrine," *sbḫ.t* "portal," *kꜣr* "chapel," and *iwn.yt* "hypostyle hall"
	body parts	-	*r* "mouth," *fnḏ* "nose," and *ḥ.t* "belly"
	spatial units (delimited places)	-	*ꜣḫ.t* "horizon," *iꜣb.t* "East," *imn.t nfr.t* / *imn.t* "(beautiful) West," *bw* "place," *ẖr.t-nṯr* "necropolis," *gs* "side," and *ḏd.t* / *ḏd.w* "Mendes" / "Busiris"
	others	-	*fꜣ.t* "cargo (?)," and *mḥn* "Mehen"
Substances	masses (fire, liquids, solids, gases)	*wtꜣ.t* "raising flame," *sḏ.t* "flame," *š* "lake," *tꜣ* "earth," and *šw* "Shu (air)"	-
	collectives	*šms.w* "entourage," *ḫt.t* "retinue," and *nbs* "grove of ziziphus-trees"	-

Table 2.
Illative spatial complements of ꜥq with *r*, and *m*: objects, and substances

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[35] See appendix, table 10.

Some examples will permit the illustration of this table, starting with the use of *r* for the illative of *objects* (in the sense used here). The first group of objects in the table is "buildings, and their parts." The prototype of building, *pr* "house," occurs in this construction (see Ex. 4), as well as in other buildings,

Ex. 8

CT II 131 d

tm ꜥq.(w) r nm.t-nṯr

Not to go **into** the god's slaughterhouse

and parts of buildings:

Ex. 9

CT V 257 a – d (B1L)[37]

ꜥq.n.i m nbs n iꜣ.w n rw.ty ḫnt.y-š[38] hꜣ.y.i iꜥ.w.i m š n ḥsmn ḏr ꜥq.t.i r iwn.yt mꜣ.i nṯr nb nṯr.w ḥr-š.f nb nn-nsw (...)

It is only to see the god, master of gods, Arsaphes, the lord of Herakleopolis (…),[39] that I have gone into the (grove of) ziziphus-trees[40] of the mound of the double gates of cedar, (and) that I will go down (and) wash (myself) in the lake of natron, before I go **into** the pillared hall

[36] Here noted for the sake of completeness, but inconclusive: only one instance in the Coffin Texts, in a recent discovery (see below: counterexamples), and consequently not published by de Buck, and with no parallels at all. Monnier 2012: 260–262 and fig. 3 discusses the term, in particular, page 260: "La *wsḫ.t* désigne une cour située au sein du temple haut d'un complexe funéraire royal à l'Ancien Empire ou d'un temple au Moyen Empire et au Nouvel Empire. La forme du hiéroglyphe traduit donc probablement le motif de la *colonnade* d'une cour à péristyle, et quelques fois celui de *niches sculptées* en haut ou en léger relief." This could indicate that *wsḫ.t* has a collective / plural ("massive") semantic feature that could explain its exceptionality within the description here proposed for "buildings, and their parts." But I still consider the data too scanty to reject the whole description. For *wsḫ.t*, see also Spencer 1984: 71–80, and Konrad 2006: 77–84.

[37] The only variant (B1Y), more lacunar, starts with the prospective (or *mrr.f*) instead of the *sḏm.n.f* of *ꜥq*.

[38] The reading, and interpretation of this word are doubtful. Faulkner 1994–1996: II, 67–68, and Carrier 2004: II, 1032–1033 leave it in blank. Nevertheless, the *t*, and the *š* read by De Buck after the difficult sign, could permit the interpretation of the latter as *ḫnt*, leading to the reading proposed here, *ḫnt.y-š* "cedar," a determiner of the precedent word, *rw.ty* "doors," which gives an acceptable sense.

[39] A description of the god follows in the last part of this spell *CT* [420].

[40] Following the interpretation by Altenmüller 1975: 332. See also Allen 2002: 122, for *nbs.yt* "Sidder grove" (probably Heqanakht's estate), as a feminine collective of *nbs*.

The second group of objects is "body parts," like *r* "mouth" in:

Ex. 10

CT III 47 g

*ḥtp-k3 n(n) ꜥq.(w).f **r** r.i pn*

The excrement, it shall not go **into** this mouth of mine

The third group of objects is "spatial units," such as *imn.t* "West" in:

Ex. 11

CT VI 381 p

*r n ꜥq **r** imn.t m šms.w n rꜥ rꜥ nb*

Spell for going **into** the West, into Ra's retinue, every day

The fourth group is, in fact, a set of two unclassified terms, such as Mehen in:

Ex. 12

CT VI 390 k – l

*ir rḫ rn n w3.wt.f iptn swt pw ꜥq **r** mḥn*

As for who knows the name of these ways, it (is) he who goes **into** Mehen

Concerning the use of *m* for the illative of *substances* (in the sense used here), two groups of entities, masses, and collectives, occur. It is to be noted that these two groups are similar in that they share the feature "indefinition," be this quantifiable (collectives) or not (masses). To classify *š* "lake" or *sḏ.t* "flame" as masses can appear inadequate, in the sense that these entities can be seen as spaces with boundaries (lakes are limited by banks for instance); but they are homogeneous in material (water, fire), and amorphous in structure (liquids, gases), and thus they can also be considered masses (the same might be said for collectives).[41] This is an example for masses:

Ex. 13

CT VII 390 a

*n(n) ꜥq.(w).s **m** š ḫbn.tyw*

She (= the deceased) will not go **into** the Lake of the Criminals

And this for collectives:

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[41] On the difficulties, mainly because of strong culture-based differences, of defining a "mass," see Wierzbicka 1985: 311–342.

Ex. 14

CT VI 150 f (B1Bo)[42]

*iw ꜥq N pn **m** ẖt.t.f*

This N goes **into** his (= Ra's) retinue

    Two apparent counterexamples can be found in two recent publications that remark this peculiar use of preposition *r* for the illative of verb *ꜥq*.

    The first publication, by Daniel Polz, is about two new coffins from the late Middle Kingdom found at Dra Abu el-Naga, the texts of which are discussed by Antonio Loprieno.[43] One of the coffins, belonging to *imn.y*, has the titles for spells *CT* [307], and *CT* [813], previously unknown.[44] The title of *CT* [307] is *ḫpr.w m nḥ tm ꜥq.(w) **r** ḥb.t* that Loprieno translates "Zum Perlhuhn werden und die Richtstätte nicht betreten."[45] And that of *CT* [813], *ꜥq **m** wsḫ.t*, is translated by the same author "Eintreten *in* die große Halle."[46] In both cases, the meaning is "to enter a building or a part of it." For the description that follows, it represents a problem to which two solutions are possible: whether the difference between *m*, and *r* no longer exists (for the illative) or whether there is some difference between *ḥb.t* "slaughterhouse," and *wsḫ.t* "great hall." Since the variant existing in the de Buck's edition of the Coffin Texts, T1L, is almost completely lacunar, and since there are no other occurrences of *wsḫ.t* with the verb *ꜥq* in this corpus, it could be crucial to know the complete texts of *imn.y*'s coffin in order to decide on this point—supposing that such occurrences appear in this document—although the second choice seems more probable to this author.

    The second counterexample is in the publication of papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84 by Dimitri Meeks.[47] Even if this Twenty-Sixth-Dynasty document is a linguistic patchwork of Middle Egyptian and later elements, which makes the linguistic analysis unsure,[48] the editor provides remarks of interest. These

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[42] B2Be, and G1T replace the aorist with pseudoparticiples.

[43] Loprieno 2007: 70–80.

[44] *CT* [307] is known from L2Li, and BH4C, but with no title. *CT* [813] was only very lacunar on T1L.

[45] Loprieno 2007: 80; see also Rigault 2009: 600.

[46] Loprieno 2007: 79; see also Rigault 2009: 601.

[47] Meeks 2006.

[48] Meeks 2006: 1 and 4. For a thorough discussion on the concepts *égyptien de tradition*, *Neomittelägyptisch*, and *Spätmittelägyptisch*, as categories for a linguistic analysis, see Von Lieven 2007: I, 226–250 (with main conclusions on pages 247–248).

remarks concern the passage VI 1-2, which reads: *ir dn(i.t) m iwnw [...]py n ꜥq iri.(w).n ir.(t) rꜥ r ꜣḫ.t n.t p.t im.f*, translated by Meeks "Quant à la fête Dén(yt) dans Héliopolis, (c'est) […] où l'oeil de Rê est entré *dans* l'horizon du ciel."[49] The preposition *r* is used here for the illative of ꜥq, with *ꜣḫ.t* "horizon," the same as in the Coffin Texts.[50] But there should be an important difference: according to Meeks, ꜥq *r ꜣḫ.t* should be understood as an appearance in the horizon, because ꜥq *m ꜣḫ.t* also exists, and seems to mean a disappearance in the horizon; if this is correct, the two prepositions should be completely reinterpreted in this specific expression (ꜥq *r/m ꜣḫ.t*).[51]

This has been a description of the valency of ꜥq, an exception inside the general valential system of motion verbs in the Coffin Texts. But sometimes the general system cancels this special opposition between *r*, and *m* for the illative of ꜥq.

Neutralization of the Opposition **m / r**

In some cases, the peculiar *r / m* opposition for the illative of ꜥq can disappear in favor of *m*.

First, when ꜥq is followed by its antonym *pri* "go out," both of them with one and the same spatial complement, this can be introduced by *m*.[52] The proximity of *pri* seems thus to "normalize" the expression of the illative with ꜥq:

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[49] Meeks 2006: 13.

[50] *CT* IV 37 m, and VII 2 w. Compare also the New Kingdom manuscripts of Sinuhe R6 in Koch 1990: ꜥq *nṯr r ꜣḫ.t.f*.

[51] Meeks 2006: 78 and 215, with the textual references. Compare also, for Greco-Roman times (*égyptien de tradition*), the similar expression ꜥq *r p.t/ḥr.t* "to go **into** the sky," as a metaphor of "dying (successfully)," in Kucharek 2010: 297 (pMMA 35.9.21, 11, 13) and 392. Compare also similar cases for ꜥq in an astronomical context in the *Nutbuch*: Von Lieven 2007: I, § 55 (*m r.s* "in her (Nut's) mouth" = disappear), § 60 (*r wn.wt* "in the hour"?; the passage is uncertain: see Von Lieven's remarks on pages 73–74), § 69 (*m grḥ m wn.wt* "in the night, in the hour"?; the passage is uncertain too: see Von Lieven's remarks on page 75), § 94, 93a and 94b (*m r.s m bw tp.s m imn.tt* "in her (Nut's) mouth, in the place where her head is in the West" = disappear?), and § 104 (*m dwꜣ.t* "in the Duat" = disappear?).

[52] *CT* I 387 a (S1C, and G1T) (*kꜣr*), V 43 a (*ir.ty*), VI 73 a (*ḥr.t-nṯr*), and VI 321 l (*ks.t*).

Ex. 15

CT VI 73 a

tm ḫnr.(w) bȝ n z.t r prr.f r ʿq.f r mrr.f m ḫr.t-nṯr

Not to prevent a woman's *bȝ* from going **out of** (the necropolis) (and) from going **into** the necropolis, at his will

The illative, and elative meanings are the only possible means here, since the *bȝ*'s more important function for the deceased is to go *out of* the necropolis by day, and go back *into* the necropolis by night.[53]

Second, when resumptive, the spatial complement is introduced by *m*,[54] or replaced by the adverb *im*,[55] as is usually the case with all motion verbs.[56]

Ex. 16

CT VI 390 e – g

ḫpr.n.f m nb wiȝ (i)wʿ.n.f p.t ḫpr.n.f m wḥm.w n nb-r-ḏr ḏr ʿq.f im.f

He has become the master of the *wiȝ*-bark, he has inherited the sky (and) he has become the Master-of-All's herald, but only since he went **into** it (= the bark)

There are even some cases that simultaneously exhibit this, and the previous factor:[57]

Ex.17

CT II 121 a

wn dwȝ.t pr.t ʿq im.s

To open the Duat, go out of (it) and go **into** it

Third, spatial complements usually introduced by *r* change this for *m* when in the plural,[58] or in one case even in the dual,[59] as if they can be conceived of as being less limited than the singular, and thus allowing the use of *m*:

[53] *Contra* Stauder-Porchet 2009: 157.
[54] *CT* V 381 a (*sḫ.t*), VI 390 g (*wiȝ*), and VII 216 j (*niw.t*).
[55] *CT* IV 96 e (*ḏ.t* "funerary abode").
[56] Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3.4.
[57] *CT* II 121 a (*dwȝ.t*), and VI 340 g (*ḥw.t*).
[58] *CT* I 219 b (*stp.w*), and VI 410 b – c (*qrr.wt im.ywt tp*).
[59] With the same name, *ir.ty* "the two eyes": *CT* V 43 a, and VI 220 t.

Ex. 18

CT VI 410 a – d

*wsir N mȝꜥ.t-ḫrw i n.k (ȝ)s.t di.s pr ṯȝw mr.s ꜥq.f **m** qrr.wt im.(w)t tp.k ꜥnḫ.k mdw.k ḫft.s wsir N mȝꜥ.t-ḫrw*

This Osiris N, vindicated! Isis has come[60] for you to make the wind get up when she wishes (and) go **into** the holes which (are) in your head, may you live (and) speak to her, this Osiris N, vindicated!

However, *m,* and *r* are not the only lexical means to express the spatial complements of *ꜥq.*

Other Prepositions

Prepositions less frequently used for the illative of *ꜥq* are: *mm* "amongst" for animate plurals, and collectives[61] (which is used in the same way with other motion verbs),[62]

Ex. 19

CT III 316 e

*ꜥq.i r ḥm wr **mm** wr.w*

May I go into the great chapel, **amongst** the Great Ones!

and *m-ḫn.w* / *r-ḫn.w* "inside of" for inanimates. The uses of the latter prepositions are displayed in this table:

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[60] For the interpretation of this as a perfective *sḏm.f,* according to the *ii* (M18) base, see Winand 1991 § 32.

[61] *CT* I 132 b, I 133 b, I 134 b, III 292 b, III 314 b, III 316 e, VI 275 h, and VII 391 a.

[62] Gracia Zamacona 2010a: § 3.1 and tables 3, 6, 9 and 12.

	Objects		Substances
	Singular	Plural	
m-ẖn.w	3 (ꜥ-ḏꜣ "ferry dock,"?[63] *itn* "sun disk,"[64] and *ir.t wr.t* "great eye (= sun disk)"[65])	1 (*štꜣ.w* "hidden places, crypts")[66]	-
r-ẖn.w	4 (*ḥm wr* "great shrine"[67], *wnw.t* "hour,"[68] and *kꜣr* "chapel"[69])	1 (*iꜣt.wt* "abattoirs")[70]	-

Table 3. Prepositions *m-ẖn.w*, and *r-ẖn.w* with the illative of ꜥq

At first sight, there seems to be no difference between the two preposi-
tions: no substance occurs with them, and the singular form seems to predo-
minate. But when comparing the referents of the spatial complements, all the
cases with *r-ẖn.w* are clearly delimited entities: all of them but *wnw.t* "hour"
are buildings.[71] Besides, in one case, *r-ẖn.w* alternates with *r*:

Ex. 20
CT IV 306 a
L1NY: *nn ꜥq.(w).i r iꜣt.wt.[tn]* I shall not go **into** your abattoirs
M4C: *nn ꜥq.(w).i r-ẖn.w iꜣt.wt.tn* I shall not go **to the inside of** your abattoirs

As for *m-ẖn.w*, two of the referents are buildings: one of them in plural,
which could explain the *m*:

Ex. 21
CT I 133 a – b (L2Li)
*iw wḏ.n wsir ꜥq N **m-ẖn.w** štꜣ.w*
Osiris has ordered N to go **to the inside of** the crypts

and the other one is doubtful, because it occurs in one document only, and the

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[63] *CT* I 134 b – c (L2Li).
[64] *CT* VII 216 k.
[65] *CT* VII 218 e.
[66] *CT* I 133 b – c.
[67] *CT* I 132 b – c.
[68] *CT* IV 268 d – 269 d.
[69] *CT* VI 267 u, and VI 269 j.
[70] *CT* IV 306 a (M4C).

[71] I thank James Allen for remarking that a spatial interpretation is also possible for *wnw.t* here,
as in the Book of the Amduat for instance.

meaning is not clear.[72] The other two occurrences are of the sun disk, referred to as *itn*, and *ir.t wr.t*; in this case, I cannot explain why *m-ẖn.w* was preferred to *r-ẖn.w*.

Although the data are too scant to persist with this analysis, a subtle nuance must be added regarding the meaning of *ẖn.w*, because this is essential to understanding why these two prepositions (*m/r-ẖn.w*) are used instead of basic *m*. First remarked by Karl Piehl,[73] as Meeks notes,[74] *m-ẖn.w* may unusually be written ⌂⊙ in place of the usual ⌂▥⌂ . The sign in question, ⊙ (N55), should be distinguished from the shining sun (*wpš*), since it represents a pen for animals, as Gaston Maspero stated for the first time: "c'est un cercle de grosses pierres fichées en terre et formant un parc pour les bestiaux."[75] The prepositions *m/r-ẖn.w* seem thus to refer to an area delimited by discrete units—in the case illustrated by the ideogram ⊙, stones.

In this sense, there is an enlightening occurrence of *m-ẖn.w* from the thirteenth dynasty, close in time to the corpus studied in this paper. The passage is on the stele Cairo JE 35256, edited by Anthony Leahy, and belonging to a set of four[76] delimiting an area sacred to Wepwawet in Abydos.[77] The editor identifies this sacred area with the wadi connecting, as a processional way, the Osiris temple with Umm el-Qab:[78] it seems thus to be an open area. The text explicitly forbids one to enter the sacred area without any permission, or to build tombs therein, under death penalty by burning. The relevant passage is *ir rf n.ty ṯw nb r gm.t.f **m-ẖn.w** wḏ.w m-ḫꜣ.(w) wꜥb.(w) r ẖn.t.f ḥr.tw bd.t.f*, and it is translated by the editor "As for anyone who shall be found *within* these steles, except for a priest about his duties, he shall be burnt."[79] Here the preposition introduces the steles, not the area delimited by them: one can even interpret the phrase as *m ẖn.w wḏ.w* "in (the) inner space (of the) steles." And that is exactly what the composed preposition basically means: a space deli-

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[72] *CT* I 134 b – c (L2Li) (*ꜥ-ḏꜣ* 'ferry dock'?).

[73] Piehl 1901: 62–63.

[74] Meeks 2006: 36, passage XVI, 7; and 157, fn. 563.

[75] Maspero 1892: 326. The same author states that these pens were still in use in Egypt when he wrote those lines. See also Riemer 2009: 175–188, for archaeological evidence of formally, and functionally similar structures in prehistoric eastern Sahara.

[76] Leahy 1989: 42, fig. 1; and 43, lines 3–5.

[77] Leahy 1989: 50–52, and fig. 2.

[78] Leahy 1989: 54.

[79] Leahy 1989: 42, fig. 1; and 43, lines 5–6.

mited by isolated (discrete) elements, but not compulsorily closed. This results in an ambiguity displayed both by the alternation of *m*, and *r* as first elements of the composition, and by the very morphology of these composed prepositions: the first element expresses the (untypical) limit, and the second one the inner space. Be this as it may, a full study on the *ẖn.w*-composed prepositions (because there are more of them) should be done to reach more sound conclusions.[80]

Just another two prepositions are used for the illative of *ꜥq*, and only once each: *m-qꜣb* "in the middle of", and *r-gs* "beside."

The preposition *m-qꜣb* occurs with an animate divine plural, the prepositional phrase being factorised with the verb *pri*, expressing the opposite spatial function (elative) with the latter verb, as usual. It also displays the basic meaning of *m*, as *m-qꜣb* would render "in the loop (of a plural or collective)."

Ex. 22

CT III 266 a – 267 a

*r n ꜥq ẖr-ḥꜣ.t pr.t ẖr-pḥ.wy **m qꜣb** wnm.w-t n.w wsir*
Spell of going **into the middle of** the Osiris' Bread-eaters, through (their) front, (and) going out of the middle of the Osiris' Bread-eaters, through (their) rear

In this occurrence, the meaning of *m-qꜣb* (interiority, animacy, and plurality) is proved by the parallel with preposition *mm* in an almost identical passage at the end of the same spell, *CT* [228]:

Ex. 23

CT III 291 b – 292 b[81]

*ꜥq.(w).i ẖr-ḥꜣ.t pr. (w).i ẖr-pḥ.wy **mm** wnm.w-t n.w wsir*
It is only through (their) front (and) through (their) rear, that I will go **amongst** the Osiris' Bread-eaters, and that I will go out from amongst the Osiris' Bread-eaters, (respectively)

The preposition *r-gs* "beside" also occurs with an animate divine, but singular:

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[80] Compare the case study on *ḥꜣ.t* in Di Biase-Dyson 2012.
[81] Following B1Ca.

Ex. 24

CT I 387 a (B2L, B1P, and B1Bo)[82]

*ꜥq.i pr.i r k3r **r-gs** nṯr ḫpr-ḏs.f*

May I go into, and from the chapel, **beside** the Self-created God

Finally, in order to explain the transitivised spatial complements of *ꜥq* (without preposition), a previous analysis of the Aktionsart of this verb is necessary.

How to Enter

A series of tests[83] is frequently used in general linguistics to determine (tendentially) the Aktionsart of a state-of-affairs. The theoretical model for the lexical temporal meaning of the verbs (verbal Aktionsart) used here is the one proposed by Zeno Vendler in 1957.[84] Since then, it has been profusely employed, and discussed by several authors in general linguistics.[85] Vendler's theory states the existence of four different kinds of states-of-affairs (or *time schemata* as he calls them)—activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states—according to their Aktionsart. In his own words:

> *By way of illustration to this section, I add four examples, which demonstrate our time schemata from another angle.*
> *For activities: 'A was running at time t' means that time instant t is on a time stretch throughout which A was running.*
> *For accomplishments: 'A was drawing a circle at t' means that t is on the time stretch in which A drew that circle.*
> *For achievements: 'A won a race between t_1 and t_2' means that the time instant at which A won that race is between t_1 and t_2.*
> *For states: 'A loved somebody from t_1 to t_2' means that at any instant between t_1 and t_2 A loved that person.*
> *This shows that the concept of activities calls for periods of time that are not unique or definite. Accomplishments, on the other hand, imply the notion of unique and definite time periods. In an analogous way,*

[82] Minor variants in S2C, B1C, and G1T.

[83] For these tests, see now Gracia Zamacona 2015. Specific references for each test are given in footnote.

[84] Vendler 1957: 143–160.

[85] See Binnick 1991 and Klein 1994 for a general discussion.

> *while achievements involve unique and definite time instants, states*
> *involve time instants in an indefinite and nonunique sense.*
> *This division has an air of completeness about it. Perhaps it is more*
> *than a mere presumption to think that all verbs can be analyzed in*
> *terms of these four schemata.*[86]

Although Vendler does not use the terms that later became the most frequent, he is distinguishing *durative* states-of-affairs (when he speaks about the "time periods" implied by activities, and accomplishments) from *punctual* (the "time instant" required by achievements, and states); as well as *telic* states-of-affairs ("unique and definite" time units needed by accomplishments, and achievements) from *atelic* ("non-unique and indefinite" time units for activities, and states).

The initially astonishing proximity of achievements and states led Alexander Mourelatos to propose in 1978 a sharper definition of the same four categories, using the criteria of *duration* (non instantaneous),[87] *telicity* ("tending towards a goal"),[88] and *dynamics* (needing the agent's force to occur),[89] with the resulting definitions, and examples: states (non-dynamic, durative, and atelic; e.g. "love"), activities (dynamic, durative, and atelic; e.g. "run"), accomplishments (dynamic, durative, and telic; *e.g.* "grow up"), and achievements (dynamic, non-durative, and telic; e.g. "find").[90]

In 2006 Jean Winand proposed a general approach for the Egyptian language, essentially based on this model, although taking a broader and more explicative perspective: in fact, his intention was to explain not only the Aktionsart but also verbal tense, and aspect (and taking the valential arguments, and adverbials into account) under the umbrella concept of temporality, which comprises time expression in non-verbal sentences as well.[91] As far as Aktionsart is concerned, Winand's model's main contributions are the use, and development of the notions of gradability (explicit, and implicit),[92] and the notions of prephase, and postphase.[93] The concept of gradability will not

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[86] Vendler 1957: 149.

[87] Mourelatos 1978: 416.

[88] The use of the term, and its definition were proposed first by Garey 1957: 91–110, as indicated in Mourelatos 1978: fn. 7.

[89] Mourelatos 1978: 416.

[90] Mourelatos 1978: mainly 415, and 423.

[91] Winand 2006: 151–172.

[92] Winand 2006: 64–67. See also Bertinetto and Squartini 1995.

[93] Winand 2006: 67–68. See also Klein 1994: 84 *passim*.

be employed in this study, but that of postphase is crucial, as it is proposed here to explain some particularities of ꜥq.

The list of tests that follows is thus to be considered as an analytical tool: the more tests that point in the same direction, the more reliable the explanation they provide. These are the tests employed here to analyse the Aktionsart of the verb ꜥq:

a. The adverb "already" is only compatible with telic verbs, and telicised statements.[94] The Egyptian clause r sḏm.t.f "until he hears" could be semantically equivalent to "already." This test is positive for ꜥq, which could be a *telic* verb.

Ex. 25
CT I 398 c – 399 b (S2C)
sw3 b3.i ḥr.s(n) sgr.{i}(w) **r ꜥq.t.f r** k3r
May my *b3* pass by them (= the *3kr.w*) in silence **until he goes** into the chapel!

b. If the presence of a patient implies the feature "telicity,"[95] it might be proposed that telic motion verbs are prone to transitivising spatial complements. In fact, in Egyptian, this depends on the type of spatial complement, and not only on the verbal Aktionsart: achievements transitivise destination (and also provenance); atelic verbs transitivise course;[96] accomplishments transitivise destination but also course.[97] The verb ꜥq only transitivises illatives (see Ex. 34–37):[98] it must be an *achievement*.

c. The Greek aorist has a terminal meaning with telic verbs with stative postphase (for instance ἀποθνήσκω "die"), but inceptive with atelic verbs (for instance βασιλεύω "reign").[99] In this the Egyptian indicative *sḏm.f* could

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[94] Klein 1994: 146–147. Compare Winand 2006: 52 and 227.
[95] Winand, *Temps*, 87; compare Vendryes 1946: 86, and Sánchez Ruipérez 1954: 82–83. In other languages, transitivation can affect the aspect more than the Aktionsart: see Comrie 1976: 8, for the German opposition *er las das Buch* (perfective) vs. *er las im Buch* (imperfective), and Comrie 1976: 1976, 8, fn. 2 for the Finnish opposition "partitive + imperfective" vs. "object + perfective."
[96] Compare Tenny 1988: 9, who considers the couplet "Walk the bridge" / "Walk *across* the bridge." See also Dowty 1991: 569.
[97] Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1670–1671.
[98] *CT* II 132 c, III 52 a, V 57 d, and VI 412 j.
[99] Sánchez Ruipérez 1954: 80–81; Binnick 1991: 165; Winand 2006: 107.

be equivalent to the Greek aorist. Since it occurs with ꜥq, with a terminal *effet de sens*, this verb should be a *telic verb with stative post-phase*.[100]

Ex. 26

CT V 35 k – l

wn ꜣ.wy ḫnz swꜣ tꜣw.w wḏꜥ n.wt.f ꜥq tꜣw

The double doors of the Crossing (= a lake) opened, the winds passed by, its (= lake's) *n.wt*-waters divided, the wind **entered**

    d. Achievements, and semelfactives prefer perfective verbal forms.[101] Also, with progressive, and habitual time adverbials (for example *rꜥ nb* "every day")[102] they have an iterative meaning.[103] In contrast, activities prefer imperfective verbal forms:[104] for instance, in Egyptian, generally no pseudoparticiple occurs with atelic verbs.[105] The verb ꜥq is iterative with *rꜥ nb*,[106] and can occur in the pseudoparticiple:[107] this verb is an *achievement*.

Ex. 27

CT VI 388 o – p

iw.i gr rḫ.kwi wꜣ.wt ip[t]w štꜣ.wt ꜥq.(w)t miw.t im.sn rꜥ nb

I know also these secret paths into which the she-cat goes **every day**

Ex. 28

CT VI 150 f (B2Be)[108]

iw N pn ꜥq.(w) m ḫt.t.f

This N **has gone** into his retinue

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[100] *CT* V 35 l, V 330 b, and VI 269 j.

[101] Comrie 1976: 17–18, and 42; Binnick 1991: 379, and 412; Bertinetto 1997: 51, and 60. For the Egyptian, see Schenkel 1965: 57–58, and Schenkel 1967: 130, about *gmi* "find": few occurrences of the active perfective participle, but very frequent those of the perfective *sḏm.n.f* verbal form—for *gmi*, see now Vernus 2012: 387–438—; and compare Westendorf 1962: 237, and 317 on the verb *pꜣi* "fly off > happen in the past." In a similar way (telicity – perfective – perfect – relative past), compare the Chinese morpheme *-le*, in Melchert 1980, mainly 650–651, and Iljič 1989: 266–267.

[102] Bertinetto 1997: 33; Anderson 1982: 108, about the distributive beneficiary in the sign language.

[103] Comrie 1976: 43; Klein 1994: 96; Winand 2006: 104–105.

[104] Binnick 1991: 379, and 412; Bertinetto 1997: 60.

[105] Malaise and Winand 1999: § 719; Winand 2006: 107.

[106] *CT* VI 388 p.

[107] *CT* III 2 a, III 104 c, and VI 150 f.

[108] Also in G1T (first person).

e. Achievements display a tendency for spatial complements of provenance and destination, as well as for the adessive, whilst atelic states-of-affairs (activities) prefer spatial complements of course (or "path"), and the inessive.[109] The verb ꜥq has 148 cases of destination spatial complements out of 173 in absolute figures: it must be an *achievement*.

f. Compatibility with expressions of the agent's control on the state-of-affairs ("can", etc.; compare Egyptian *r mrr.f* "as he wishes," etc.),[110] dependence on volition verbs,[111] and the impersonal passive of intransitive verbs[112] imply a dynamic state-of-affairs. The verb ꜥq occurs subordinated to *mri*,[113] with *r mrr.f*[114] (see Ex. 15), and with *rḫ* "can"[115] (see Ex. 3): it is *dynamic / agentive*.

Ex. 29
CT V 330 e
*ꜥq ḥr nṯr.w **mrr.w** z ꜥq ḥr.s(n)*
To enter towards the gods that a man **wants** to enter

g. The imperative implies that a state of affairs is dynamic[116] or rather that its subject is agentive:[117] ꜥq is *dynamic / agentive*.[118]

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[109] Wunderlich 1991: 602. Compare Matsumoto 1996: 192 with fn. 8, and 194 with fn. 12, who relates telicity to the spatial complements of destination, and atelicity to the spatial complements of course. Similarly, Boons 1985: 227, remarks the preference of atelic states-of-affairs for spatial complements of course.

[110] Vendler 1957: 148–149, on the English verb "can;" Verkuyl 1989: 47; Bertinetto 1997: 84; Pustejovsky, 1988: 34, on the incompatibility of states with verbs of the kind of "force to;" Binnick 1991: 174, on the incompatibility of states with adverbials of care, and intention. See Winand 2006: 58, and 72, who considers this test essentially for the agentivity of a state-of-affairs.

[111] For Winand 2006: 76–78, this test is basically for the agentivity of a state-of-affairs.

[112] Winand 2006: 85, thinks this test to be mainly about the agentivity of a state-of-affairs. For the hypothesis of the existence of "unergative," and "unaccusative" intransitive verbs, compare the remarks by Dowty 1991: 605–613.

[113] *CT* V 330 e.

[114] *CT* VI 73 a.

[115] *CT* VII 306 e, and VII 447 b.

[116] Pustejovsky 1988: 34; Binnick 1991: 174.

[117] Winand 2006: 58, 78–79, and 84, specifically, on implicative, and beneficiary coreferential with the subject.

[118] *CT* III 86 c, *passim*.

h. In English, the general imperfective (present) of accomplishments, and activities has a habitual present *effet de sens*, but a non-habitual present with achievements and states.[119] The following cases of ꜥq show that this verb is an *achievement*:

Ex. 30

CT V 184 a – b

spr.ḥr.f r k.y sbꜣ **ꜥq.(w)** *ṯꜣw ḥr.f*
And he will dock at another gate **that** the wind **enters** through

The general context is the future deceased's passing through a series of doors of the Field of Rushes, the change of gate being indicated by the *sḏm.ḥr.f* form. The imperfective relative form expresses a non-habitual concomitant present in a given moment, when passing one of these doors.

Ex. 31

CT VI 150 f – h (B1Bo)

iw **ꜥq** *N pn m ḫt.t.f ḫmꜥ.f wsr.t ḫmꜥ.f nr.w.k*
This N **goes** thus into his retinue, rejects the Powerful (female) (and) rejects your (= Ra's) terror

Within a narration with perfective *sḏm.n.f* forms, and passive *sḏm.w.f* forms (CT VI 149 b – 150 e), the aorist (imperfective), alternating with pseudoparticiple (B2Be, and G1T), expresses a non-habitual present that is consequence of the narrated actions.

Ex. 32

CT VI 267 t – 268 b

ink špsi m s.t.f im.y ib n nb kꜣr
pr.i **ꜥq.i** *r-ḫn.w kꜣr n nb-r-ḏr*
siꜥr.i mꜣꜥ.t ḥr ḥtp.t šw im.y qrs.t
sꜥq.i wḏꜣ.t
zzn.i izf.t m ḏꜣ(ḏꜣ).t
nš.i bw.t rꜥ m dp.t.f
nṯr nb ḥr.s qꜣ.i ꜣḫ nb ḫr šfšf.t.i
rḫw.t ḥr dwꜣ nfr.(w).i
I am the nobleman in his seat, the preferred of the Lord of the chapel: **I go in** and out of the interior of the chapel of the Lord-of-All, I present Maat on the

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[119] Austin: 46–47; Pustejovsky 1988: 34–35; Verkuyl 1989: 55; Binnick 1991: 173.

offering table of Shu that is in the tomb, I put the Sound Eye in, I destroy falsehood in the tribunal, I expel Ra's abomination from his bark, on which every god (is), (and) I am on the top, every *ȝḫ* (being) under my terror (and) the *rḫ.yt* adoring my beauty.

Aorist as a non-habitual present, the precise moment of which is expressed by the progressive in *CT* VI 268 b.

Ex. 33

CT VII 388 c – 391 a (B2Bo)

n(n) bs.w m.w r-gs N tn

n ḫsff N tn ḥr rᶜ

n šnᶜᶜ N tn in iri-m-ᶜ.wy.f

n(n) šm.(w) N tn m in.t kkw

n(n) ᶜq.(w).s m š ḫbn.tyw

n(n) wnn.s m šȝm.t ȝ.t

n(n) ḫr.(w) N tn m ḥȝq.t

***ᶜq.s** mm iti.<w> n ḥr.f-ḫȝ-nm.t n.t iȝt.t spd.t*

The water shall not spring beside this N; this N shall be not rejected thanks to Ra; this N shall be not held by The-one-who-acts-with-his-hands; this N shall not walk through the Valley of Darkness, she shall not go into the Lake of the Criminals (and) she shall not be in the heat of anger; this N shall not fall like a prey when **it** (= the prey) **goes** amongst those who are taken to His-face-(is)-around-the-chopping-block of the slaughterhouse of *spd.t*

The aorist is a non-habitual concomitant present regarding the moment expressed by a series of passive prospectives (*CT* VII 388 c – 390 c).

According to the previous test analyses, it must be concluded that *ᶜq* is an achievement with stative post-phase, and no pre-phase.

THE PECULIARITY OF *ᶜq*

Following these analyses of the valency, and Aktionsart of *ᶜq*, the transitivation of some of its spatial complements must be studied. These are the occurrences of transitivised spatial complements with *ᶜq* in the Coffin Texts:

Ex. 34

CT II 132 c

M3C: *n(n)* ***ᶜq.(w).i*** Ø *nm.t-nṯr* **I shall** not **enter** the god's slaughterhouse

G2T: *n(n)* ***ᶜq.(w).i*** *r nm.t-nṯr* **I shall** not **go into** the god's slaughterhouse

S1C: *n(n) sˁq.t(w).i r nm.t-nṯr* I shall not be put into the god's slaughterhouse
S2Ca-b, and M4C: lacunar

Ex. 35
CT III 52 a

B1C, and B2L: (…) *ḥr-ntt ˁq.n.i Ø ṯzi.t* (…) because it is Rising-flame **that I have entered**

B3C: (…) *ḥr-ntt ˁq.n N tn m wṯz.t* (…) because it is **into** Rising-flame **that** this N **has gone**

Ex. 36
CT V 57 d

M6C: *n(n) ˁq.(w).i Ø nm.t-nṯr* **I shall** not **enter** the god's slaughterhouse
Other copies: *bw.t.i pw nm.t-nṯr* My abomination is the god's slaughterhouse

Ex. 37
CT VI 412 j

T6C: *ˁq Ø sšt꜍ n msq.t tn* **Enter** the hidden place of this *msq.t*!
T10C: *ˁq ḥr sšt꜍* **Enter towards** the hidden place![120]

    The transitivation of the spatial complement of *ˁq* in these passages can be approached from a multi-factorial perspective that takes into account verbal aspect, spatial complement type (object – substance), and number, as well as alternating prepositions, as this table displays:

CT	Aspect		Illative		Alternating preposition
	Perfective	Imperfective	Object	Substance	
II 132 c	prospective	-	*nm.t-nṯr* "god's slaughterhouse"	-	*r*
III 52 a	emphatic *sḏm.n.f*	-	-	*ṯzi.t* "Rising flame"	*m*
V 57 d	prospective	-	*nm.t-nṯr* "god's slaughterhouse"	-	-
VI 412 j	-	imperative	*sšt꜍ n msq.t* "hidden place of *msq.t*"	-	-[121]

Table 4.
Transitivations of spatial complements with *ˁq*

[120] End of line, and coffin side.

[121] The preposition *ḥr* is considered here as expressing the terminal, not the illative: this means that these documents hold different versions.

According to these data, the following conclusions may be proposed:

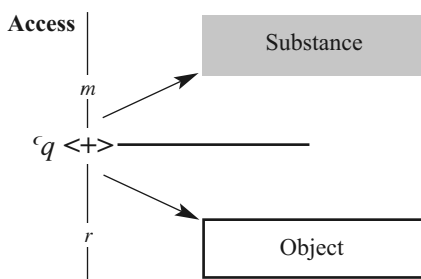First, transitivation is more frequent with perfective than with imperfective verbal forms.

Second, illative is the only spatial complement transitivised, and always in the singular: this is significant, for it also happens generally with other motion verbs.[122]

Third, although transitivity objects predominate over substances this pattern may not be significant, because, generally speaking, objects are much more frequent than substances.

Fourth, alternating prepositions for the illative, *m*, and *r*, do not show aspectual or communicative differences.

All this seems to point to the existence of a weak tendency in the "linguistic stage" of the Coffin Texts to transitivise singular illatives in perfective statements, resulting in a complex valency change that depends not only on the aspect but also on the Aktionsart, and valency characteristics of ꜥ*q*.[123]

Such characteristics constitute the peculiarity of this verb: ꜥ*q* is an achievement with no prephase, and with a stative postphase; its action is mainly performed in the limit ("access") of the illative spatial complement, a phenomenon enhanced by the use of the preposition *r* with sharply delimited complements (*objects*), while the usual preposition for the illative, *m*, is used with unlimited complements (*substances*).

Fig. 1.
Typical illative of ꜥ*q*[124]

[122] Gracia Zamacona 2008: 1670–1671; Gracia Zamacona 2010a: 243–244: the transitivation depends on the verbal Aktionsart, and on the number of the second participant. The phenomenon has been mainly identified for spatial complements of "path" (in this article, called "course," because it is oriented) with activities: see Dowty 1991: 569; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1992: 261; Winand 2006: 130, and 139.

[123] Lazard 1994: 223–228; Winand 2006: 88, fn. 84.

[124] For the Aktionsart graphics used here, see Winand 2006: 100–122.

In conclusion, this peculiarity of the verb ⁽q, being an extreme study case of the space's verbal expression (*i.e.* the so-called "motion verbs") in the Coffin Texts, reveals the use of a semantic approach when based upon large samples of study, and this twofold: on the one hand, to explain specific morphosyntactic particularities (such as those of prepositions with the illative of this verb); and on the other hand, to illustrate certain significant theoretical concepts (such as that of the cognitive schema "container") with data from a natural language such as Egyptian.

APPENDIX

Occurrences of Predicative ao in the Coffin Texts by Spatial Complement Type, and Preposition

Provenance: No cases
Course[125]

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
ḥr "by"	-	*wꜥr.t* "plateau"[126]	-	-

Table 5.
Coursive

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
ḫr "below"	-	*qꜣb* "bend"[127]	-	-

Table 6.
Exo-coursive

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[125] Also called "path."
[126] *CT* III 145 a.
[127] *CT* VII 331 d, and VII 515 d.

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
m "through"	-	*sb3.w* "doors"[128], *imn.t* "west",[129] and *sḏ.t* "flame" (and *pri*)[130]	-	Hathor's *wnz* (an access)[131]
ḫr-ḥ3.t "through the front"	-	-	*wnm.w-t* "Bread-eaters"[132]	-
imytw "between"	-	*iwn.wy* "two pillars" (resumptive)[133]	two gods[134]	-
mm "amongst"	-	-	*šms.w* "followers"[135]	-
Ø	-	*ṯnw* "(through) where?" (and *pri*)[136]	-	-

Table 7.
Endo-coursive

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[128] *CT* II 62 I, 363 b, II 372 b, II 374 b, and II 387 b.
[129] *CT* V 320 a – b.
[130] *CT* VI 224 f.
[131] *CT* III 2 b.
[132] *CT* III 266 a – 267 a, and III 291 b (significantly for an endo-coursive, B5C, and BH3Ox read *m-ḥ3.t* instead of *ḫr-ḥ3.t*).
[133] *CT* VII 226 d.
[134] *CT* VI 388 m.
[135] *CT* II 363 b.
[136] *CT* III 2 a.

Destination

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
ḥr "towards"	the deceased[137]	*št3.w* "hidden places"[138]	gods,[139] and one god[140]	-
ḥr / Ø "towards"	-	*sšt3* "hidden place" (transitivation)[141]	-	-
m "towards" replacing *ḥr*	-	*w3.wt* "ways" (resumptive)[142]	-	-
(*m*)-*b3ḥ* "into the presence of"	the deceased[143]	-	-	-

Table 8.
Terminal

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
r "to"	-	*h3s.t* "steppe"[144]	-	-
ḥr "under"	-	*w3.t* "way"[145]	-	-
r-gs "beside"	-	-	*nṯr ḫpr-ds.f* "The Selfcreated God[146]	-

Table 9.
Allative

[137] *CT* VI 172 p, and q.

[138] *CT* VII 017 e.

[139] *CT* II 266 e – 267 e, II 273 e, II 288 b – 289 b, II 310 a – 311 a, II 312 d – 313 d, and V 330 e (1-2).

[140] *CT* IV 386 c (lac.), V 320 a – b, V 330 b, V 330 d, and VI 69 b.

[141] *CT* VI 412 j.

[142] *CT* VI 388 k, and VI 388 p.

[143] *CT* VII 114 b.

[144] *CT* IV 290 c – 291 c: only in B9Ca; rest of documents have *r i3b.t* "into the East" (illative of an *object* in Lakoff's, and Johnson's sense).

[145] *CT* VI 388 m – n: *ꜥq.i imytw.sny ḥr w3.t št3.t im.t wp.t rꜥ imn.t ṯz 4 ipw n mḥ.t-wr.t ḥr.sn* "I have gone between the two of them (= Hu, and Sia) **to the underneath of** the secret path which (is) in Ra's cranial vault (and) that the 4 *mḥ.t-wr.t's* knots (= a part of the solar bark?) hide by themselves." The meaning of this passage is difficult to grasp: the spell *CT* [759] is about Mehen, the solar bark, and four ways of fire surrounding it, but it seems that the deceased has acceded to the inner space of Mehen.

[146] *CT* I 387 a (S2C, G1T, B1Bo, B1C, B2L, and B1P).

Prepositions	Entities		Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
	Animate	Inanimate		
r "into"	-	*r* "mouth,"[147] *ḥ.t* "belly,"[148] *fnḏ* "nose,"[149] *bw* "place,"[150] *ȝḫ.t* "horizon,"[151] *imn.t* "West,"[152] *imn.t nfr.t* "beautiful West,"[153] *iȝb.t* "East,"[154] *gs iȝb.ty n p.t* "eastern side of the sky,"[155] *ḏd.t* "Mendes,"[156] *ẖr.t-nṯr* "necropolis,"[157] *sbḫ.t* "portal,"[158] *iwn.yt* "hypostyle hall,"[159] *pr* "house,"[160] *nm.t-nṯr / nm.t* "(god's) slaughterhouse,"[161] *nm.wt* "slaugtherhouses,"[162] *ḫb.t* "slaughter-house,"[163] *iȝt.wt / iȝt.ww* "abattoirs,"[164] *fȝ.t* "cargo,"[165] *ḥw.t* "mansion,"[166] *ḥw.t-ȝ.t* "large mansion,"[167] *ḥm wr* "great shrine,"[168] and *kȝr* "chapel"[169]	-	*imn.t nfr.t* "beautiful West,"[170] and *mḥn* "Mehen"[171]
r / Ø "into"	-	*nm.t-nṯr* "god's slaughterhouse" (transitivation)[172]	-	-
r / r-ḫn.w "into / to-the-inside-of"	-	*iȝt.wt* "abattoirs"[173]	-	-

Table 10.
Illative (first part)

[147] *CT* III 47 g.
[148] *CT* III 103 e, III 104 c, III 128 e – f, III 132 f, III 136 f, and VI 335 a.
[149] *CT* VI 255 i.
[150] *CT* VI 321 u, and VII 30 u.
[151] *CT* IV 37 m, and VII 2 w.
[152] *CT* IV 326 j, and VI 381 p.
[153] *CT* IV 341 c, IV 342 d, and VI 96 g.
[154] *CT* IV 290 c – 291 c.
[155] *CT* VI 402 g.
[156] *CT* IV 278 a – 279 a.
[157] *CT* III 317 p – q, and IV 339 b.
[158] *CT* III 310 c.
[159] *CT* V 257 c.
[160] *CT* II 290 b – 291 b, V 34 a, V 243 c, and VI 331 l.
[161] *CT* II 131 d, II 133 e, and g, II 166 b, II 167 h, and k, II 168 c, f, j, and m, II 169 c, g, j, and m, II 170 b, II 174 I, and m, V 59 a, and c, VI 132 m, and VII 219 d.
[162] *CT* VI 132 f, and VI 261 a
[163] *CT* IV 62 q.
[164] *CT* IV 323 b, and IV 330 m.
[165] *CT* VI 285 f.
[166] *CT* I 144 g.
[167] *CT* III 362 e.
[168] *CT* III 314 b, and III 316 e.
[169] *CT* I 399 b.
[170] *CT* IV 339 e.
[171] *CT* VI 390 l.
[172] *CT* II 132 c.
[173] *CT* IV 306 a.

Prepositions	Entities Animate	Inanimate	Animate and divine	Inanimate and divine
m "into" replacing *r*	-	**With *pri***: *ks.t* "Keset (town or country),"[174] and *ḥr.t-nṯr* "necropolis"[175] **Resumptive**: *ḥw.t* "mansion,"[176] *dwꜣ.t* "Duat,"[177] *wiꜣ* "solar bark,"[178] *niw.t* "town,"[179] and *mṯn.w* "roads"[180] **Plural**: *qrr.wt im.ywt tp* "holes which are in the head,"[181] and *stp.w* "chosen places"[182] **Dual**: *ir.ty* "eyes"[183]	-	-
m "into"	-	*tꜣ* "earth,"[184] *sḏ.t* "flame,"[185] *š* "lake",[186] and *nbs* "(grove of) zizyphus-trees"[187]	one god[188], *ḥt.t* "retinue,"[189] and *šms.w* "entourage"[190]	*sḫ.t-ḥtp* "Field of Hotep"[191]
Ø / *m* "into"	-	-	-	*ṯzi.t / wṯz.t* "Rising-flame"[192]
mm "amongst"	*šms.w* "followers,"[193] and *iṯi.w* "prisoners"[194]	-	*šms.w* "followers,"[195] *wnm.w-t* "Bread-eaters"[196], *wr.w* "Great ones,"[197] and *imꜣḥ.w* "glorified ones"[198]	

Table 10.
Illative (second part)

[174] *CT* VI 321 l.
[175] *CT* VI 73 a.
[176] *CT* VI 340 g.
[177] *CT* II 121 a.
[178] *CT* VI 390 g.
[179] *CT* VII 216 j.
[180] *CT* IV 96 e.
[181] *CT* VI 410 c.
[182] *CT* I 219 b.
[183] *CT* V 43 a, and VI 220 t.
[184] *CT* VII 30 a, and l.
[185] *CT* III 337 a, and d, III 338 c, VII 447 b, and VII 306 e.
[186] *CT* VII 390 a.
[187] *CT* V 257 a.
[188] *CT* IV 168 e.
[189] *CT* VI 150 f.
[190] *CT* VI 381 p.
[191] *CT* V 381 a.
[192] *CT* III 52 a.
[193] *CT* III 314 b.
[194] *CT* VII 391 a.
[195] *CT* VI 275 h.
[196] *CT* III 292 b.
[197] *CT* III 316 e.
[198] *CT* I 132 b, I 133 b, and I 134 b.

Prepositions	Entities			
	Animate	Inanimate	Animate ande divine	Inanimate and divine
m-ẖn.w "into-the-inside-of, within"	-	*št3.ww* "hidden places, crypts,"[199] *ʿ-d3* "ferry dock,"[200] *itn* "sun disk,"[201] and *ir.t* "eye"[202]	-	-
r-ẖn.w "to-the-inside-of"	-	*ḥm wr* "great shrine,"[203] *k3r* "chapel,"[204] and *wnw.t* "hour"[205]	-	-
m-q3b "in-the-middle-of"	-	-	*wnm.w-t* "Bread-eaters" (plural and *pri*)[206]	-
Ø "(into)" (transitivation)[207]	-	*nm.t-nṯr* "god"s slaughterhouse,"[208] and *sšt3* "hidden place"[209]	-	-

Table 10.
Illative (last part)

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[199] *CT* I 133 b.
[200] *CT* I 134 b (L2Li).
[201] *CT* VII 216 k.
[202] *CT* VII 218 e.
[203] *CT* I 132 b.
[204] *CT* VI 267 u, and VI 269 j.
[205] *CT* IV 268 d – 269 d (T2Be) (in the deity name *ʿq-r-ẖn.w-wnw.t.f*).
[206] *CT* III 266 a – 267 a.
[207] *CT* VII 27 p is lacunar, and has not been taken into account in this study.
[208] *CT* V 57 d.
[209] *CT* VI 412 j.

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