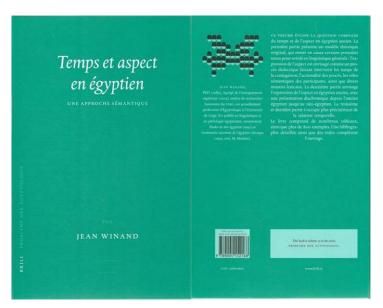**Winand, J. 2006. Temps et Aspect en Égyptien. Une Approche Sémantique. - Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers (Probleme der Ägyptologie 25)**

Book review by S. Uljas

In the present volume, Professor J. Winand tackles the Herculean task of providing a comprehensive synopsis of the expression of tempus in Earlier (Old and Middle) and Late Egyptian. The result is an extensive monograph certain to become a standard research tool into these matters for years to come. A brief review such as this will, unavoidably, do scant justice to the extent and complexity of the problems discussed. It must suffice here to provide an overview of the key arguments and offer some commentary thereof, but more extensive evaluation of all the issues raised in the book has to be left to a further occasion.

Without wishing to align himself into any particular linguistic theory, the aim of the author has been to define the temporal character and values of the various Egyptian sentence patterns and to establish a comprehensive taxonomy of the different semantic values of temporal reference grammaticalised in Egyptian. The intended readership of the work is explicitly stated to be Egyptologists interested in linguistic analysis of Egyptian rather than linguists from outside Egyptology. Although the present reviewer feels that works such as this should ultimately aim at a greater degree of reciprocity between the two, this might be a forlorn hope. The linguistic system of Ancient Egyptian is hardly known among linguists, which is something of a pity given its long diachronic history. Yet, familiarising linguists with the complexities of Egyptian grammar here would have required a book of twice this length.

The first part of the volume consists entirely of a long exposition of the theoretical foundations on which the analysis is built. Overall, temporality represents a binary concept of tense versus aspect, which are, for Winand, radically different phenomena. Contrary to earlier views, tense is not seen as a relationship between a point of reference and the situation itself, but rather only a segment of the situation ('moment of reference') selected by aspect (p. 32-33). Thus, for example in 'A dog was passing by my window', only an interval of the situation of 'passing' is related to the reference point of the time of speaking. Aspect concerns the primary 'selection of the interval' and, for Winand, is thus the more basic dimension of temporal reference not only theoretically but also diachronically: for the author Egyptian of the *prémiere phase* is fundamentally aspect-based. Yet, clarifying the grammaticalisation of aspect in Egyptian or generally in turn requires full understanding of 'Aktionsart,' to which considerable space is devoted. Rather than treating it as a monolithic concept, Winand divides Aktionsart into three spheres (p. 43). At the core lies verbal Aktionsart, which corresponds to the temporal character inherent to particular lexemes. Beyond this, the extended Aktionsart involves the verb and its (realised) arguments. This division is set up in recognition of the fact that *e.g.* 'run' and 'run a mile' involve the same lexeme and thus have the same verbal Aktionsart, but on the extended level involving arguments this unity breaks down. Finally, there is a yet further sphere including the verb + arguments + possible temporal satellites such as time-adverbs. Nevertheless, the basis of Winand's classification of Aktionsart is the innermost verbal core, and here the criteria used are the nature of the 'interval' covered by the state of affairs as durative or punctual; its quality as dynamic or static; whether or not the termination of the process is 'cognitively salient' or not; the inclusion and nature of a 'pre-phase,' *i.e.* a preceding state of affair

that is still semantically 'part' of the situation, as well as a 'post-phase', a subsequent state of affairs (p. 53).[1] These considerations result in the definition and setting up of familiar categories such as telic versus atelic and their subdivisions semelfactive and iterative, obtained by linguistic criteria such as compatibility of the verb with progressive aspect, time-adverbs or various aspectual auxiliaries, and changes in the number of realised arguments. The reader may be excused by being somewhat thrown by the complex graphic representations of the resulting concepts given on p. 54-57 without any explanation, the latter appearing only some eleven pages later (p. 68-69). The categorisation is minute. For example, durative telic verbs (accomplishments) are further subdivided into 'implicitly' and 'explicitly' telic: (p. 64) an example of the former may be 'redden,' which in theory is atelic and can continue indefinitely, but which intuitively will at some point reach a point where further 'reddening' is impossible. The classification of the various and varying Aktionsarts is followed by a discussion of the semantic roles and character (*e.g.* agency) of verbal arguments (p. 69-91). Although this is of great interest in its own right, its scope and length are perhaps not entirely justified: *e.g.* the discussion on the agentivity in causatives (p. 73-76) largely recapitulates the discussion by Schenkel (1999). In addition, some of the criteria used do not appear to produce clear results; for instance, cleft sentences may favour agentive subjects in Earlier Egyptian, but there is no requirement that the independent pronoun/in-introduced actor actually *be* agentive.[2] Similarly, the argument that the presence of a patient object implies telicity only if the former is wholly affected by the process does not seem to hold (87).[3] In any case, the final classification of verbal Aktionsarts in Egyptian is reached on p. 94. These are divided into contingent or non-contingent 'situations' versus processes. The latter fall into contingent/non-contingent stares versus actions. Actions fall into atelic activities and telic 'events.' 'Activities' are divisible into durative versus semelfactive states of affairs and the former also according to whether they have agent or not and whether this is in control of the situation or not. Telic 'events' are either durative accomplishments or punctual achievements. The accomplishments fall into immediate and gradable (such as the 'redden' noted above) and the latter further into 'implicit' and 'explicit' subcategories.

　　　After presenting this intricate taxonomy, the author launches on a lengthy detailed discussion of the various classes of Aktionsarts obtained, but the exposition is surprisingly sparing in Egyptian examples. Without going into details here, the definitions given for the various classes are relatively traditional. For example, states are defined as durative, atelic situations without a 'multi-phasal' structure or agentive subjects, some of which are contingent ('John is ill') and some not ('John is tall'). It is stressed that the membership of verbal lexemes in any of the classes is not fixed, but 're-categorisation' may take place *e.g.* in the form of 'de-telicisation', as when the patient argument of an inherently telic verb is suppressed (*e.g. iri ḫ* 'to do/carry out X' (telic) versus *iri* 'act' (atelic)[p. 127]). Various analogous changes in valence and their effect on the actionality are discussed, among others the appearance of the 'complementary infinitive' or the introduction of the syntactic object by n (*e.g. sḏm* X 'to hear X' versus *sḏm n* X 'to obey X)(p. 135-36). Particular attention is paid to the vexed question of 'reducing' the direct object into an oblique status by means of the preposition *m* (p. 137-49). For Winand, the motivating factor behind this phenomenon is a signal of partitive 'a-telicisation' of the process (p. 139). This fits well examples such as *wnm* X 'to eat X' versus *wnm m* X 'to eat from/some X' but rather less so with instances such as 'if three men leave on the road, *gmm.tw m 2* only two are found' (Adm. 12, 13-14). An aspectual analysis may not be the ultimate solution here.

　　　Chapter 3 (p. 151-170) discusses non-verbal predication. The analysis is intended only as an overview, and the reader is directed to the fuller discussion of non-verbal predication in 'Winand (2005)' (p. 151 n.1) which, however, is not listed in the bibliography.[4] A general characterisation is given for all three types of non-verbal predicates (nominal, adjectival, adverbial) and these are divided according to their temporal properties. The two former predication types are static in the sense that their semantic profiles do not imply any development or change. By contrast, adverbial predication is contingent in that it is of (one might add, potentially) limited validity. Yet, there are ways to escape from this basic setting (p. 162). For example, nominal sentence assignment of a class-membership (*ink sš* 'I am a scribe') may be profiled as contingent by using alternative adverbial and verbal construals (*iw=i m sš*; *iw=i ḫpr.kw m sš*; *iw=i iri=i sš*). The semantic profiles of the different constructions also bear on their combinability with 'auxiliaries with enunciation' such as *iw*. For Winand, the non-use of this element with adjectival and nominal sentences is due to its assumed character as 'limiting the temporal validity' of the following situation-description and shows that it expresses 'absolute time'

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[1] For example, 'reach' involves a dynamic pre-phase and a static post-phase.

[2] As shown be instances such as Peas B1 247-48 in *sḏrw m33 rswt* 'It is the sleeper who sees dream'.

[3] For example, in Finnish 'Ammuin lintua siipeen' 'I shot the bird in the wing' with a not wholly affected partitive case object *lintua* is just as telic as 'Ammuin linnun' 'I shot the bird' with a wholly affected (killed) genitive case object (*linnun*).

[4] There are other omissions like this in the book; *e.g.* on p. 374 reference is made to 'Schenkel, 2005' and on p. 427 to 'Cassonet, 2000,' which are similarly absent from the bibliography.

(p. 166). This topic is resumed later on (see below). The chapter concludes with a discussion of non-verbal predication and verbal auxiliaries and lexical time-expressions.

The second part of the volume presents the fullest analysis of aspect in Ancient Egyptian to date. It begins, again, with a theoretical section. The author repeats his case that in Middle Egyptian, aspect is primary grammaticalised category of tempus and the verbal system is founded on expressing it (p. 173). In general, aspect equals choosing some point or section of the process as 'cognitively salient'. For example, a dynamic process has five such points of reference: the pre-phase, the beginning of the process, its interior, its termination, its post-phase and the process in its entirety (p. 175). If the metaphorical focus is cast on the pre-phase, one has what Winand terms 'mellic' aspect, which in principle means prospective. A similar treatment of the beginning thereof corresponds to inchoative, whereas treating the interior as the most salient equals progressive aspect, the termination completive aspect, the post-phase resultative aspect and the process as its entirety, 'global' aspect. The 'selection' is carried out using grammatical patterns specialised for the purpose, which the author divides into two larger categories of 'accompli' and 'inaccompli' (p. 177). Overall, aspect concerns differentiation between perfective and imperfective. Winand reviews some of the earlier definitions of perfective as 'outside viewpoint' or 'complete/closed process' and finds them unsatisfactory (p. 179-181). He proposes rather that perfective be seen as selecting or concentrating on the section at the beginning (for atelics) or end (for telics) of the process (p. 182). It may therefore correspond equally well to inchoative or completive meaning, but also resultative. This definition is, in fact, not incompatible with the analysis suggested by Loprieno (1984, 1986) who views perfectivity as 'closure' (*Abgeschlossenheit*) of the situation, which is erroneously interpreted by Winand as equalling mere termination (p. 181). In fact, the idea behind Loprieno's definition is that a perfective situation is 'closed off' from the metaphorical locus adopted by the speaker, and the 'closing point' may lie either at the end or beginning situation. This does not mean that the situation need be complete, *i.e. en*closed 'at both ends', and may thus be viewed as completive or inchoative/prospective. As for imperfective, Winand sees this as concentrating on an internal section of the process (p. 185). If its 'left-hand' limit is the start thereof and the 'right-hand' limit is ignored, one has 'global' imperfective, which falls further into habitual and continuous subtypes. If the latter is specified, and the 'left-hand' limit ≠ the beginning of the situation, one has progressive aspect (p. 185). The clear separation between the subcategories of imperfective in Winand's definition represents a notable improvement of the earlier view of it as 'internal perspective', even if both entail the same basic idea. Yet, the requirement of the presence of the situation 'left-hand' limit in case of 'global' imperfectivity seems to fit ill with the widely noted modal properties of this particular aspect across languages. These appear to relate to the idea of the situation as not having a 'visible' beginning or end (continuous) and/or consisting of separate sub-events not seen as located anywhere in time (habitual; see Uljas, 2007).

After this prelude, Winand goes on to look for formal correlates of his aspectual categories in Egyptian. These are, in principle, grammaticalised verbal patterns of 'accompli' and 'inaccompli' as well as periphrastic and temporal auxiliary constructions. The basic system has the following appearance (p. 188):

Accompli: *iri* (participle); *iri.n=f* ('emphatic' *sḏm.n=f*)
       Punctual: *iri.n=f*
       Perfect: *iw=f irw*; *iw iri.n=f*

Inaccompli: *irr* (participle); *irr=f* ('emphatic' *sḏm=f*)
       General: *iw=f iri=f*
       Progressive: *iw=f ḥr irt*

The situation is complicated for example by the use of relics such as the 'perfective *sḏm=f*,' the persistence of archaic features in patterns such as the stative, and continuing diachronic evolution particularly in the domain of inaccompli. Further, there are patterns such as the *sḏm.in=f* that are not part of the aspectual system and others such as the imperative and 'subjunctive' *sḏm=f* that partake in the expression of perfectivity, but whose function is more properly modal. Temporal auxiliaries play a part here as well as do lexical expressions of aspectual character such as 'often.' All this then interacts with Aktionsart and tense, and the reader is justly warned of the complexities ahead (p. 188). These are, indeed, present from the start in the chapter that follows (chapter 5) which discusses perfectivity in particular.

For Winand, the basic division of perfectivity is between 'momentaneous' and resultative sense, the first of which falls further into inchoative and completive classes. Although in the non-relative domain the grammatical expression of 'momentanous' basically involves only two forms of accompli, the *sḏm.n=f* and the stative, the values of these forms are argued to have changed in course of time (there is also the old 'perfective *sḏm=f*' still around). Even before the historical Egyptian of the Old Kingdom is reached, the author postulates four (!) different hypothetical stages in the development of these patterns. The system from Old Egyptian to Middle Egyptian underwent further changes, which cannot be listed here. Suffice it to say that the graphs on p.

202-203 bear eloquent testimony to the complexity of the system set up; and this all without anything on Late Egyptian. On the whole, the grammatical representative of 'momentaneous perfective' is the punctual accompli *sḏm.n=f* used as a sequential (continuative or after *ꜥḥꜥ.n*) in Middle Egyptian and the sequential *iw=f ḥr (tm) sḏm* in Late Egyptian. The principal reason for classifying the *sḏm.n=f* as an aspect is its inchoative character with atelic verbs.[5] Thus *e.g.* *ꜥḥꜥ.n šms.n(=i) sꜣ=f* properly means 'then I began to follow his son' (p. 206). Yet, whether inchoative or not (or even Perfect or not - see below) the situation described by the *sḏm.n=f* is, of course, always past (*i.e.* truly 'accompli') in relation to the time of speaking or some other point of reference. Hence, seeing that the aspectual value of the situation described by the *sḏm.n=f* varies according to verbal Aktionsart and the syntactic and syntagmatic environment whereas the linear temporal locus does not, the latter feature appears more basic, and thus *sḏm.n=f* seems to be primarily a tense- rather than aspect pattern.

This discussion is followed by remarks on 'momentaneous' perfective patterns not grammaticalised as accompli or inaccompli (p. 215-221). These are construals such as the Middle Egyptian narrative forms 'punctual accompli' *wn.in/ꜥḥꜥ.n=f* + construction such as the progressive *ḥr sḏm*, the stative, or a non-verbal pattern. Again, the different meanings obtained result from the Aktionsart of the verb involved (if any) and are listed with examples. There are also some notes on the imperative (p. 219-221), curiously characterised as 'completive' with telic verbs (*e.g.* *ꜥḥꜥ* 'arise!').

The main 'punctual accompli' forms *sḏm.n=f* and the stative are also used for resultative (Perfect) sense. The stative is resultative except with state verbs, but according to Winand, also has a dynamic sense with verbs such as *e.g.* *hꜣi* 'descend' (p. 231). The author argues that this is due to a selection of their 'dynamic post-phase' for focus (p. 233) but whether the post-phase of an action such as 'descend' is dynamic (rather than static) in character is disputable. The *sḏm.n=f* expresses resultative in initial (*iw*-introduced) and circumstantial uses (p. 248). After some remarks on the 'perfective *sḏm=f*' as a 'disjoint resultative', the author discusses the accompli participles and relative forms (p. 253-255), defining them as marked for perfective aspect, but without the internal divisions of the non-relative patterns. There follows discussion of the forms *sḏmt=f* and the *sḏm.ty=fy*, (p. 255-259) which are analysed as partaking in the expression of resultative perfective, but due to their syntactic restrictions and the absence of corresponding patterns in the domain of imperfective, they are seen as external to the system of grammaticalised aspect. This argument is slightly strange: for a form to qualify as a legitimate member of grammaticalised aspect thus requires that it is free from syntactic restrictions and has a morphologically related, semantic-functional polar opposite. The discussion on resultative accompli and perfective aspect in general is closed with remarks on lexical expressions that may give rise to a perfective interpretation of the situation described.

Chapter 6 is devoted to imperfective aspect (p. 263*ff*), beginning with a general discussion of 'global' and progressive. The 'inaccompli' forms used are given for Middle Egyptian, where one has the 'general' NP + *sḏm=f* versus progressive *ḥr* + infinitive (p. 268) as well as the relative patterns *mrr/mrr=f* versus *nty ḥr sḏm*. In addition, there are two 'marked enunciation' patterns, the non-relative *mrr=f* and the construction *wnn=f ḥr sḏm*. A detailed account then follows of the grammatical treatment of 'global' imperfective, beginning with a discussion of the Middle Egyptian 'general inaccompli' NP + *sḏm=f* and its negative, *n sḏm.n=f* with verbs with different Aktionsarts. Various semantic factors favouring the use of the general inaccompli are surveyed, the dynamic modal ('can') sense thereof is discussed (p. 278-280) and the disappearance of a distinct general inaccompli in Late Egyptian briefly charted. The corresponding relative patterns are given an identical treatment. A very brief note is reserved for the non-relative *mrr=f*. Besides noting that this form 'can express deontic meaning' (p. 284), the author does not give any indication as to what he believes to be the reason for the existence of two 'general inaccompli' patterns in Middle Egyptian. Although it seems that the answer to the problem does not lie in the domain of tempus or aspect, this question should not have been left without a comment.

Winand's discussion of the progressive is equally detailed and has the same structure as that on 'global' imperfective (p. 287*ff*). The author notes that for a given event to be truly progressive, it should be durative, dynamic and multiphasal in character, as well as have a controlling agent, but this is, of course, not the case of all verbs found in progressive inaccompli. The resulting semantic peculiarities and the surprisingly few 'gaps' in the range of combinatory possibilities are meticulously charted: the verbal meaning may undergo shifts due to the construction (*e.g.* *ḥr mꜣꜣ* denotes 'regard' rather than 'see'); in case of punctual situations one obtains iterative meaning; achievements with a pre-phrase such as 'die' include the latter in the progressive ('he is dying', *i.e.* not yet dead); those without a pre-phrase such as 'go' focus on the preceding situation and the result is 'mellic' sense (*e.g.* *mt wi m hꜣt r kmt* 'I am about to go to Egypt', Peas R1, 2-3), which for Winand is the origin of what he calls modal values of the progressive (p. 294; see below). A specific section is devoted to the

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[5] Occasionally, there is some sense of the author being not quite able to hold on to his terminology. For instance, on p. 214 the sense obtained from having a state verb in the form *iw=f ḥr (tm) sḏm* is said to be 'ingressive.' Yet, the term 'initive' is otherwise used in the work. In the index (p. 479) the entry 'ingressive' gives 'voir inchoatif.'

meaning and diachrony of the construction m + infinitive (p. 303-310). The author stresses that this construal is by no means a mere curiosity of verbs of motion, but has its own function as opposed to *ḥr* + infinitive, at least in origin. The original idea behind *m* + infinitive is argued to have been focus upon the preliminary phase of the situation described, resulting in a 'mellic' sense in case of punctual verbs and in progressive with duratives (p. 310). This discussion is followed by a section on the diachronic development of all the 'inaccompli' forms. There are few surprises here, except for the author's insistence that, like preposition + infinitive, also the construction *iw* + subject + *sḏm=f* is 'based on an adverbial predicate construction' (p. 312) although, of course, neither the form of the *sḏm=f* nor the overall meaning of the pattern need be 'adverbial' in any sense (n. 45). After the battles fought over this question in the early 1990s it is slightly dispiriting to see this wholly discredited hypothesis still put forward, albeit with an ever-greater number of caveats. The chapter closes with a discussion of negative progressives and lexical expressions such as m *pȝy hrw* 'today' that may bring a progressive interpretation into effect.

Chapter 7 is a relatively brief exposition of aspectual auxiliaries. These fall into three groups of inchoative, progressive and completive elements. The most notable member of the first group is *ḫpr*, whose definition as an inchoative expression does not fit all instances in Earlier Egyptian (*e.g. ḫpr.n rs nn wi ḥnᶜ* 'it happened that I was not with (them),' Sh.S. 130) where its function seems to be modal rather than temporal (see Uljas, 2006: 327-336; 2007: section 4.3). The important Late Egyptian elements *ᶜḥᶜ*, *ḥmsi* and *sḏr* form a complex lattice of inchoative, progressive and resultative meanings depending on whether they and/or the main verb occur in the stative or *ḥr* + infinitive (p. 329-333). An interesting detail is Winand's understanding of pWestcar 8, 23 *ᶜḥᶜ.n pȝ smn ᶜḥᶜ ḥr gȝgȝ* as 'then the goose resumed cackling' (p. 331).[6] The chapter closes with various (mostly Late Egyptian) expressions of completion and cessation such as *pḥ* 'reach' and *gr* 'stop,' whose status as auxiliaries is less clear.

Chapter 8 concentrates on more marginal issues related to aspect. The discussion centres on examining variation of the different aspectual forms in sequence (discourse) as well as in parallel textual variants. A particular case in point is the common variation between accompli and inaccompli negations n *sḏm=f* and n *sḏm.n=f* (p. 350-352).[7] Keeping in mind the completive sense of the *sḏm.n=f* with telic verbs, but an inchoative one with atelics, n *iri.n=f st* is argued to have originally meant '*il ne l'a pas accompli*' whereas n *mdw.n=f* '*il n'a pas commence à parler*' (p. 350), but in Middle Egyptian n *sḏm.n=f* was still partly understood in this isomorphic manner, resulting in its variance with the accompli n *sḏm=f*. The problem with this analysis is the seemingly non-isomorphic character of n *sḏm.n=f*. In Winand's model, the morphological fixing of the pattern must have preceded its semantic-pragmatic specialisation, which is unlikely. The final, very brief section addresses the question of aspect and modality (p. 362-363). Basically, only the dynamic sense of ability associated with global inaccompli is noted, along with the possibility of progressive situations extending to futurity or sometimes, as in case of achievements without a pre-phase, laying wholly in the future ('I am about to go'). Yet, although futurity is the domain where modality commonly obtains, future in itself does not equal modal. Winand does not argue this either, but it is to be stressed that ultimately whether or not the situation is partly or wholly non-realised in ontological terms is largely independent of the degree to which it is subject to speaker doubt, mitigated commitment or reduced information relevance, *i.e.* its modal character.

The third and final part of the book is devoted to tense, and is less than half the length of both the theoretical introduction and the section on aspect. This quantitative difference is a direct reflection of the author's explicitly stated view that in Egyptian tense is a secondary phenomenon and comes to fore only in Late Egyptian (p. 367). As noted, Winand views tense as a relation between a moment of reference selected by aspect, and a point of reference, and the status of the latter as identical with the time of speaking or not determines whether one has absolute or relative tense (p. 369).

There are various indicators that signal the exact tense of the situation, ranging from the type of discourse to the use of tense-marked forms, auxiliaries, the overall syntax, and lexical means to supra-segmental factors. The author proceeds to consider these in turn. Narrative discourse is usually past whereas dialogue is non-past (p. 372). The inventory of tense-marked forms is small in *première phase* Egyptian, comprising only the pattern NP r *sḏm*, the archaic 'perfective *sḏm=f*, the 'prospective *sḏmw=f*' and the *sḏm.ty=fy*, and the last two also have 'a complex relationship with perfectivity' (p. 373). In addition, there also existed a set of specialised relative tense patterns (*sḏm.in/ḥr/kȝ=f*). Also the Late Egyptian sequential pattern *iw=f ḥr (tm) sḏm* and the conjunctive *mtw=f sḏm* are mentioned in this connection, although surely without implying that they are 'tense-marked.' Auxiliaries of enunciation also play their part in the expression of tense. The most complex of these, *iw*, is again

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[6] However, pBM 10403 vso. 3, 5-6 (= K*RI* VI 831, 11; Winand's example 583) *ḥr ḫpr=i ḥms.kw ḥḳr.kw* clearly involves the lexical verb 'sit (under trees)' and surely does not mean '*et je me suis retrouvé affamé.*'

[7] One small point: Peasant B1 63 is twice cited (examples 663 and 831) as n *rdi=f mȝᶜ=f r=s*. The correct reading is n *rdi.n=f mȝᶜ=f r=s* (*cf.* Collier, 1999: 56 n. 38).

analysed as (in pre-Late Egyptian) indicating that the situation has absolute tense, or is 'valid in relation to the moment of enunciation', which thus explains its 'indicative' function (p. 374). This is not the time or place to enter into a detailed discussion of the semantic-pragmatics of *iw*. However, it is not clear how a future situation such as NP *r sḏm* can be 'valid' to the speaker at the time of speaking in a temporal sense, particularly if the situation in question is temporally detached from the latter. Also, even if what is described represents a continuous development from the present to future, only a part of the situation can be justly said to be temporally 'valid', whereas most of it (including its possible culmination) lies still in the future. It seems rather that in descriptions of future states of affairs, the 'validity' is tantamount to the speaker's subjective expectations and calculations of the degree of probability of the situation occurring or reaching its conclusion, which are modal phenomena and have little to do with tempus. Concerning non-future situations, it is certainly not the case that the difference between *e.g. iw sḏm.n=f* and *pr.n=f* is even secondarily a matter of aspect or tempus. Winand defines the particle *mk* also as a primarily temporal element that 'anchors the situation to the moment of speaking' (p. 375). A less tempus-oriented way of characterising its function would be to say that it serves to foreground the situation described by calling the interlocutor to pay specific attention to what is said and thus its role is not simply temporal organising but pragmatic information-structuring. As such, *mk* appears to be the opposite of *isk/isṯ*, which Winand analyses pleasingly as 'backgrounding' particles used to break up the temporal flow with a sort of 'flash-back effect' (p. 377). Non-aspectual temporal auxiliaries comprise elements such as *ḏr* 'finish,' *pḥ* 'reach' and *pȝw* 'do in the past'. There is also the 'past converter' *wn*, which signals that the situation described has terminated before the time of reference (p. 384). Here could have been a fine occasion to clarify the position of this 'converter' in relation to the other *wn:s* and *wnn:s* found in Egyptian, but this question is, unfortunately, not addressed. The factor 'syntax' is illustrated by comparing the different permutations of absolute and relative tense obtained in Late Egyptian by combining clauses with the adjunct subordinator iw and the relativiser *nty* (p. 387-393). Various lexical expressions can also fix the tense as absolute (*e.g. m-min* 'today') or relative (*m-ḫt nn* 'after this'); to the latter category are also assigned preposition-introduced adjuncts and unmarked 'circumstantial' *sḏm=f/sḏm.n=f*, which scarcely represent 'lexical' indication of tense (p. 399). The enumeration finishes with notes on the Late Egyptian adverbs *dy* and *ʿȝ* 'here' (or 'right now') as well as speculations on tense and prosody plus notes on tense-implications of aspect.

The final major part of the chapter (p. 409*ff*) and the entire book is devoted to the organisation of discourse and the use of the different aspectual and tensed forms and expressions for this purpose. Basically, the section consists of illustrations of the various patterns discussed earlier in actual use. On p. 423, in connection with a slightly strangely located further consideration of the interrelation of aspect, Aktionsart and the roles of semantic arguments (p. 420-424) one reaches what must be seen as the *summa summarum* of the first half of the book: a highly intricate yet easily decoded diagram of the 'continuum of the classes of actionality,' where verbs representing the various types of Aktionsarts are intercalated with types of arguments in a two-dimensional space together with the grammatical patterns in which they appear. There follow remarks on marked information-structuring in the form of cleft sentences and second tenses, although arguably these matters are relatively marginal to temporal organisation. The 'inferences of direction' (p. 430) are of greater interest here and concern matters such of iconic understanding of events as temporally subsequent ('he took of his shoes and jumped into the water') but also extensions through thematic elaboration ('I gave bread to the hungry and clothed the naked') or 'encapsulation' ('I emptied his camp: I carried away X, Y and Z') as well as assessments required to decide whether e.g. a non-initial *sḏm.n=f* expresses relative tense or not.[8]

Besides rather forbidding graphic representations of the temporal texture of two example texts, there follow the bibliography and indices (p. 441-485). The bibliography is slightly marred by the placement of the initial of the authors' first name before the surname (thus *e.g.* 'J. Osing' instead of 'Osing, J.') which makes it rather difficult to scan through. The index of cited passages is clear and compact, but the publications from which the texts derive are unfortunately not noted. Rather oddly, similarly omitted are all references to passages mentioned in the footnotes but not cited in full. Although the extent to which individual chapters are divided further (there are numerous sub-sub-subsections) slightly reduces its user-friendliness, the overall layout of the work is very pleasing.

In sum, Professor Winand is to be warmly congratulated for providing the Egyptological linguistic community with a monumental work of the highest quality of research that puts an old subject into an entirely new light. A small number of personal disagreements aside, this book is a truly valuable contribution to the discussion on semantics in Ancient Egyptian and is to be heartily recommended.

Winand, J. 2006. Temps et Aspect en Égyptien. Une Approche Sémantique. - Leiden, Brill Academic Publishers (Probleme der Ägyptologie 25). 485 pp. ISBN 90-04-15216-4. Price €182.00/US$246.00 (hardback).

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[8] Strangely, the classic Egyptological paper on these matters by Collier (1996) is not referred to in this connection.

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