

Expecting the unexpected

Mistakes and variation in Late Egyptian

Eitan Grossman & Stéphane Polis

(HUJi & F.R.S.-FNRS/ULiège)

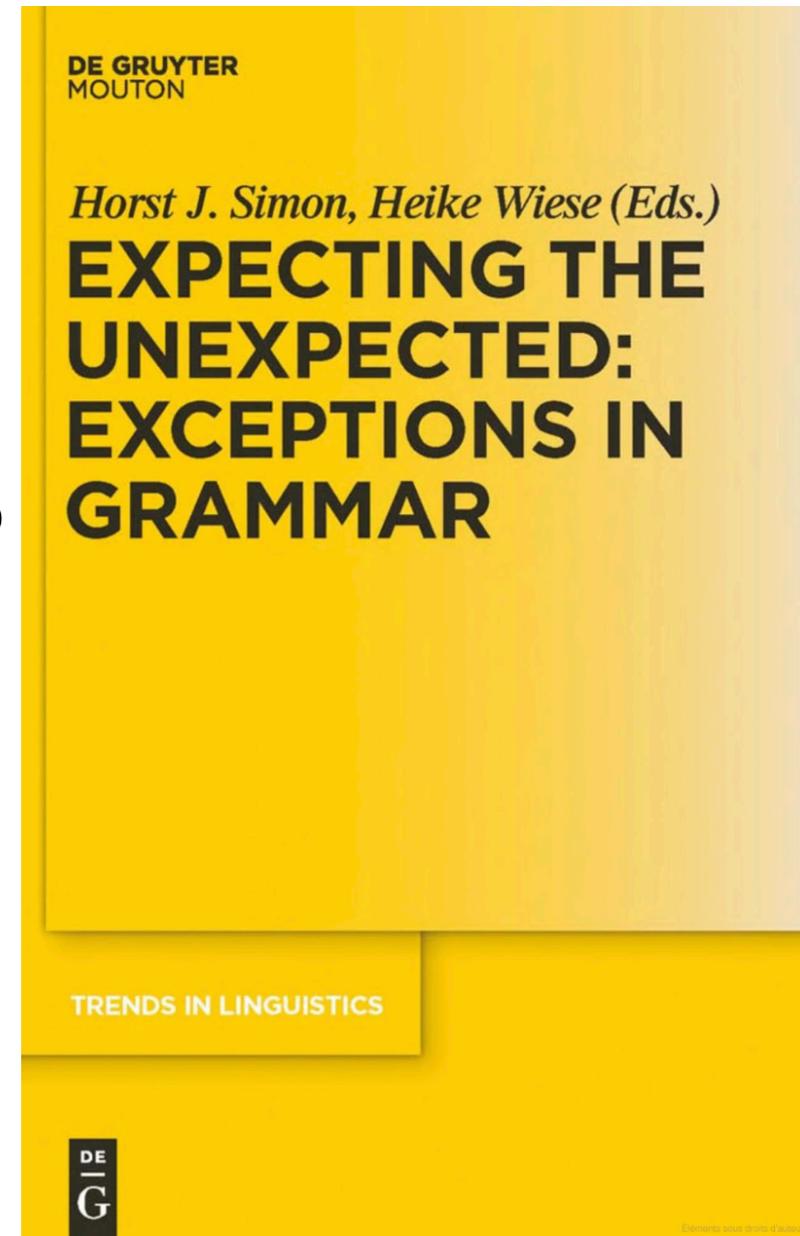


Goal of the talk

- A common feature of both philological and linguistic studies of ancient Egyptian is to assume scribal mistakes rather quickly and to emend the texts accordingly, based on a somewhat normative conception of the grammatical system.

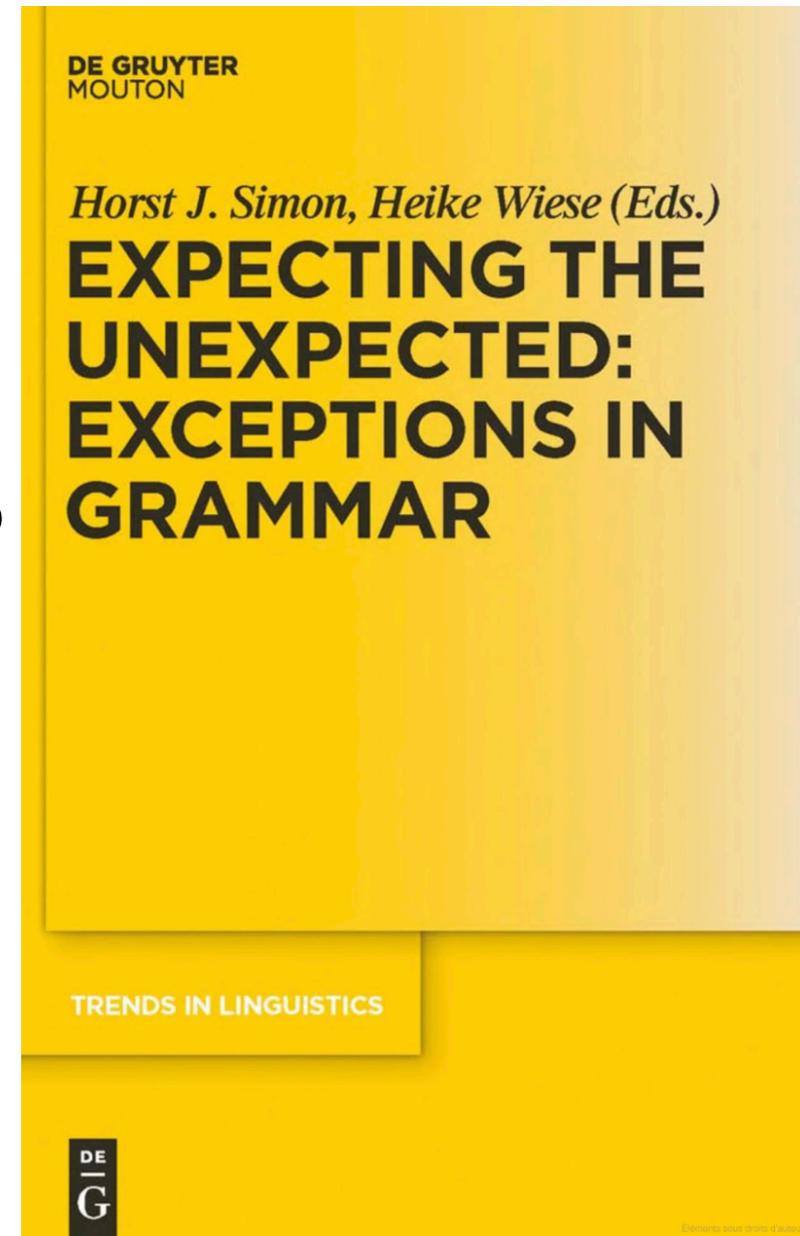
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- A common feature of both philological and linguistic studies of ancient Egyptian is to assume scribal mistakes rather quickly and to emend the texts accordingly, based on a somewhat normative conception of the grammatical system.
- Reuniting these two disciplines invites us
 - to consider mistakes as potential cases of variation
 - and to search for functional or dia(-chronic, -phasic, -topic, -stratic) explanations



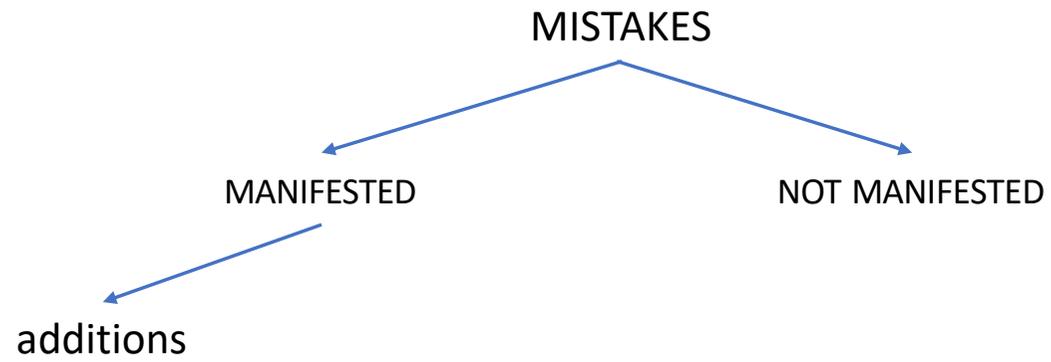
Outline of the talk

- 1) Introduction
Mistakes, variation, rara and marginalia
- 2) Late Egyptian
Variatio non delectat
- 3) Explaining variation
Conjunctive pattern (with non-etymological ḥr and r)

1 – Introduction



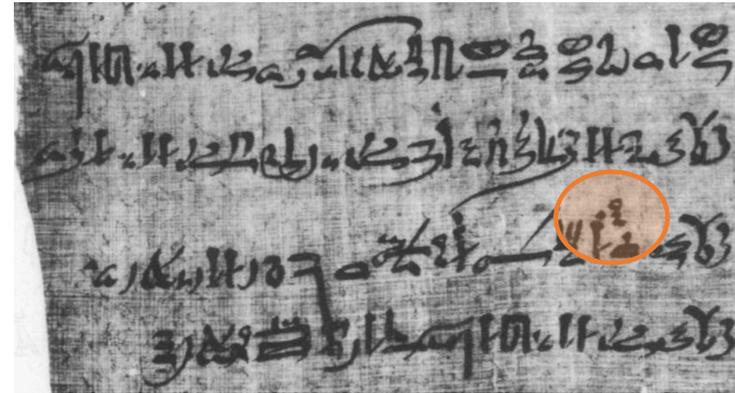
1 – Introduction



1 – Introduction

Additions

- supra & infra lineam
 - During the writing process

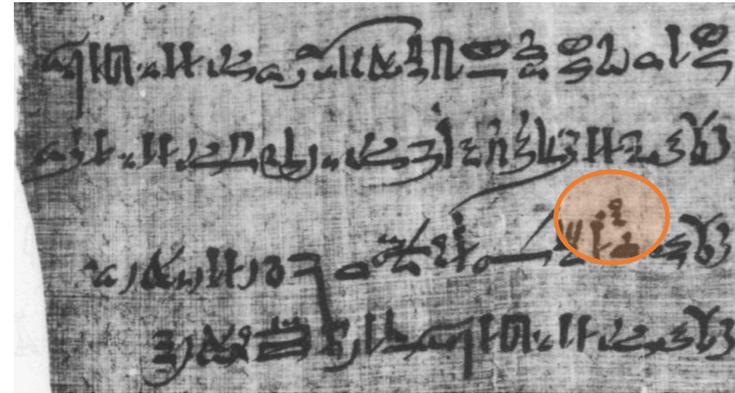


P. Naunakhte 1, r^o 4,10

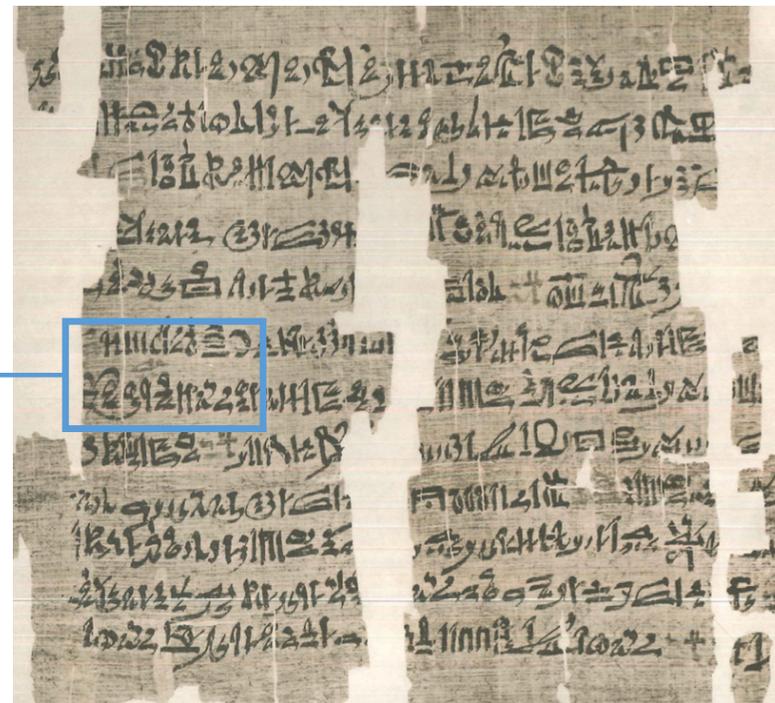
1 – Introduction

Additions

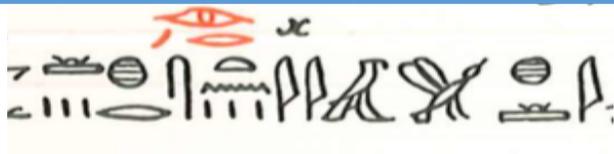
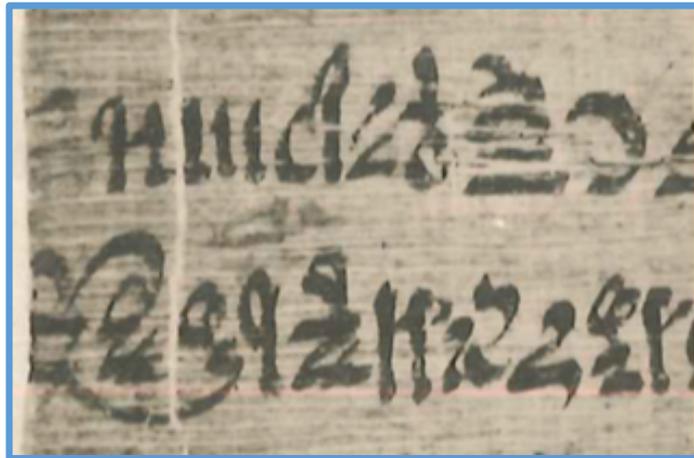
- supra & infra lineam
 - During the writing process
 - As a secondary process



P. Naunakhte 1, r^o 4,10



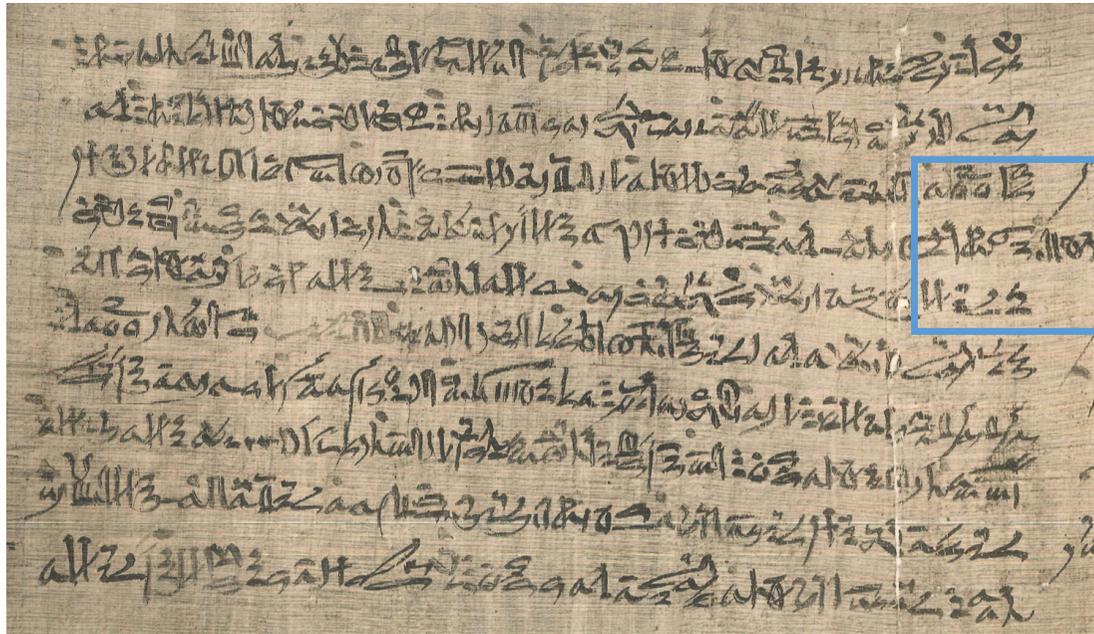
P. Chester Beatty I, r^o 1



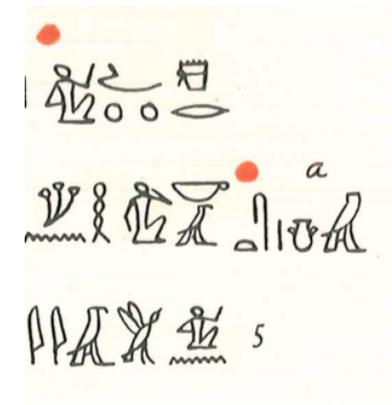
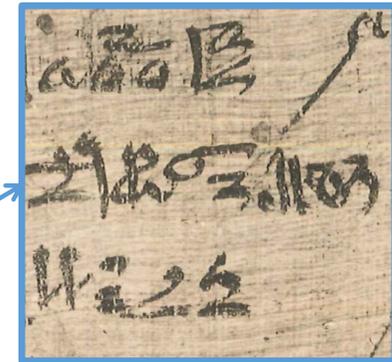
1 – Introduction

Additions

- supra & infra lineam
- in the margins



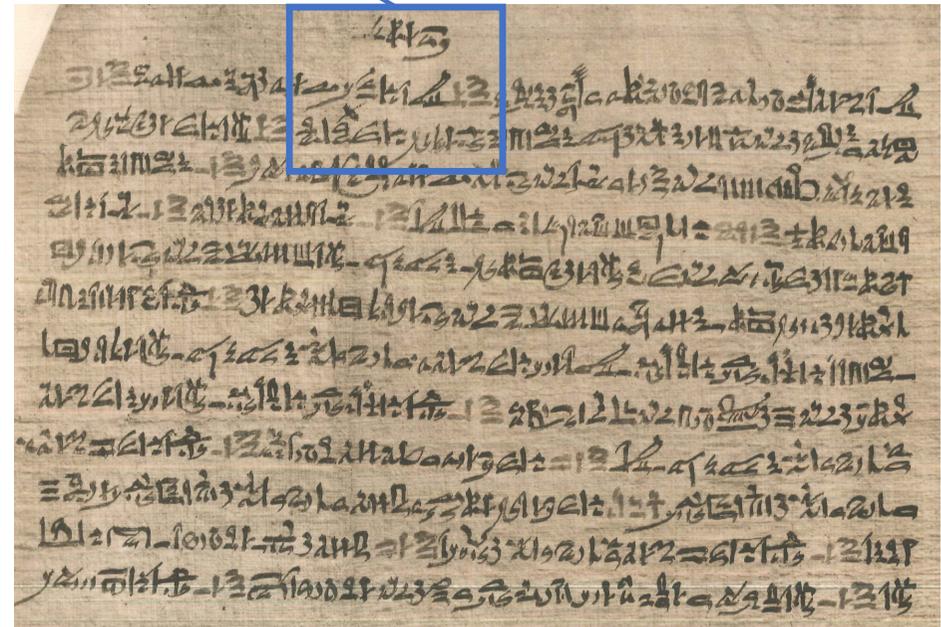
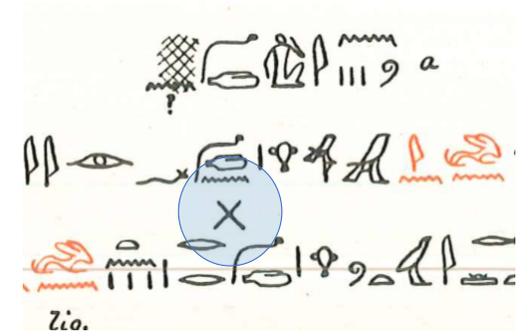
P. Chester Beatty I, v^o Section C, 4



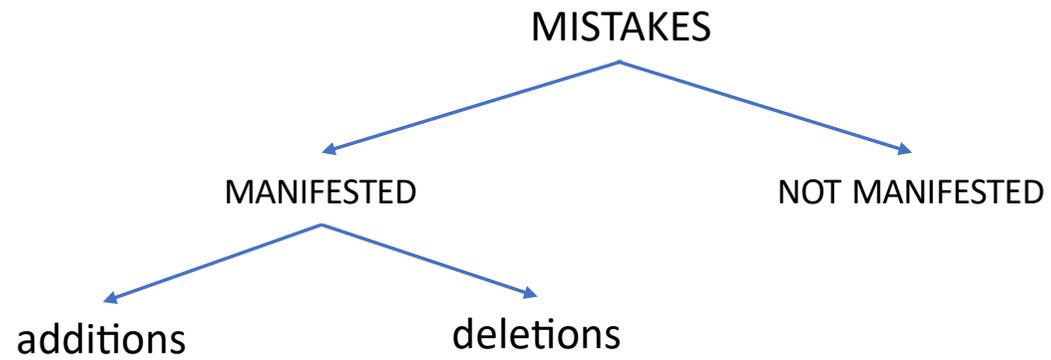
1 – Introduction

Additions

- supra & infra lineam
- in the margins
(using St-Andrew's cross)



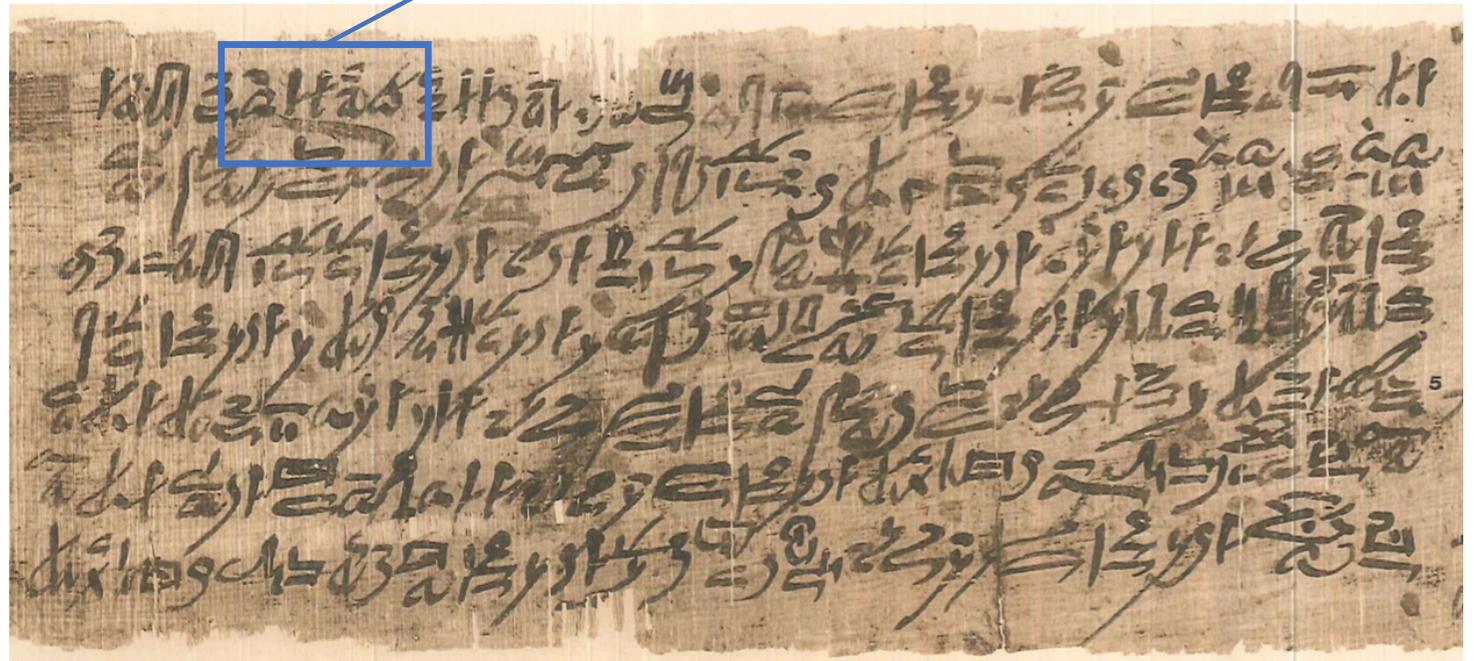
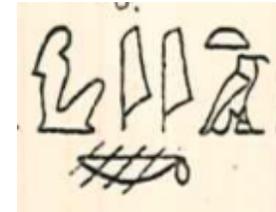
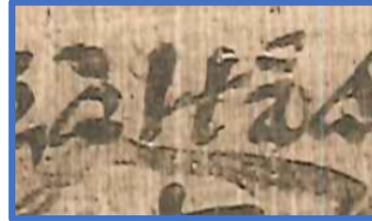
1 – Introduction



1 – Introduction

Deletions

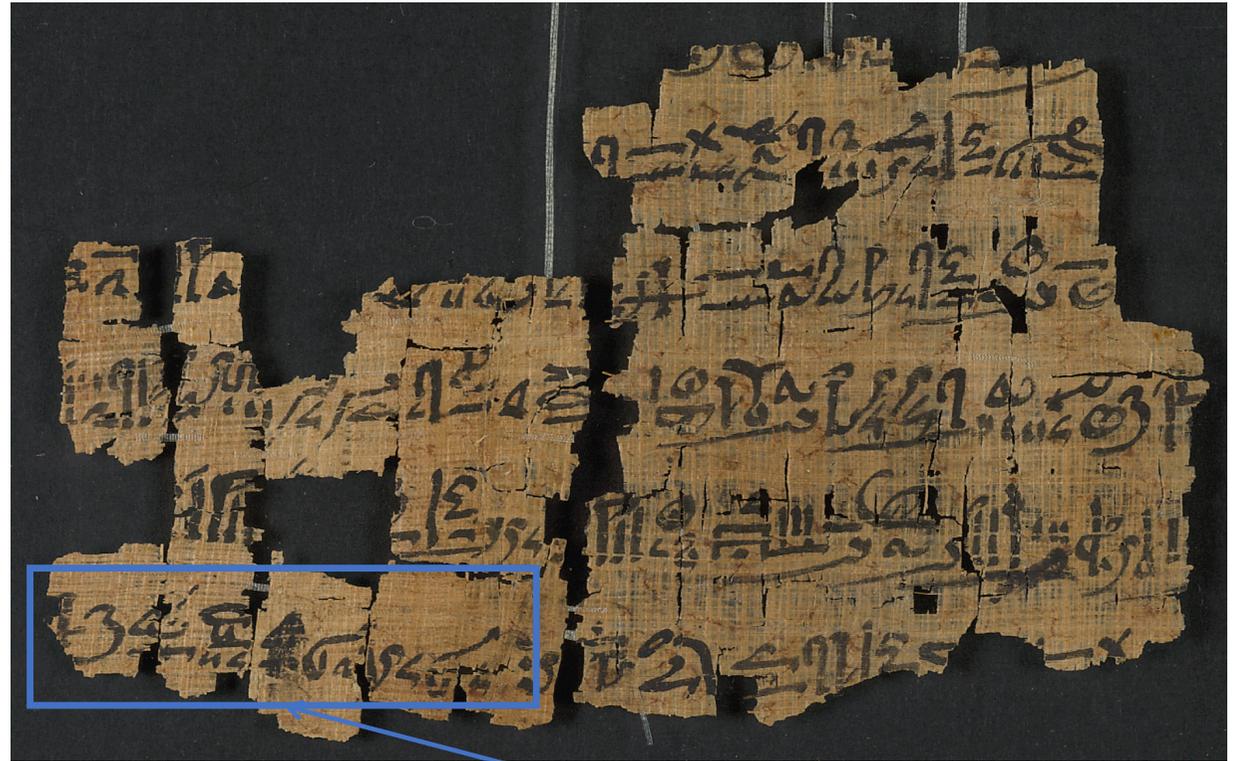
- Washed off



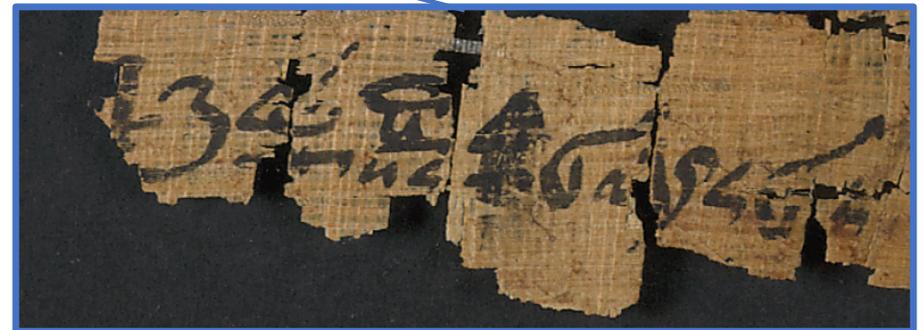
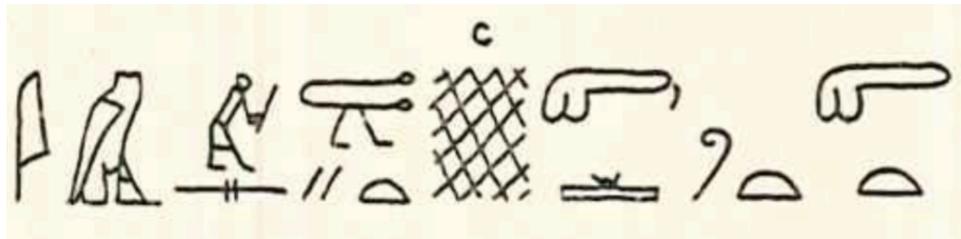
1 – Introduction

Deletions

- Washed off
- Erased



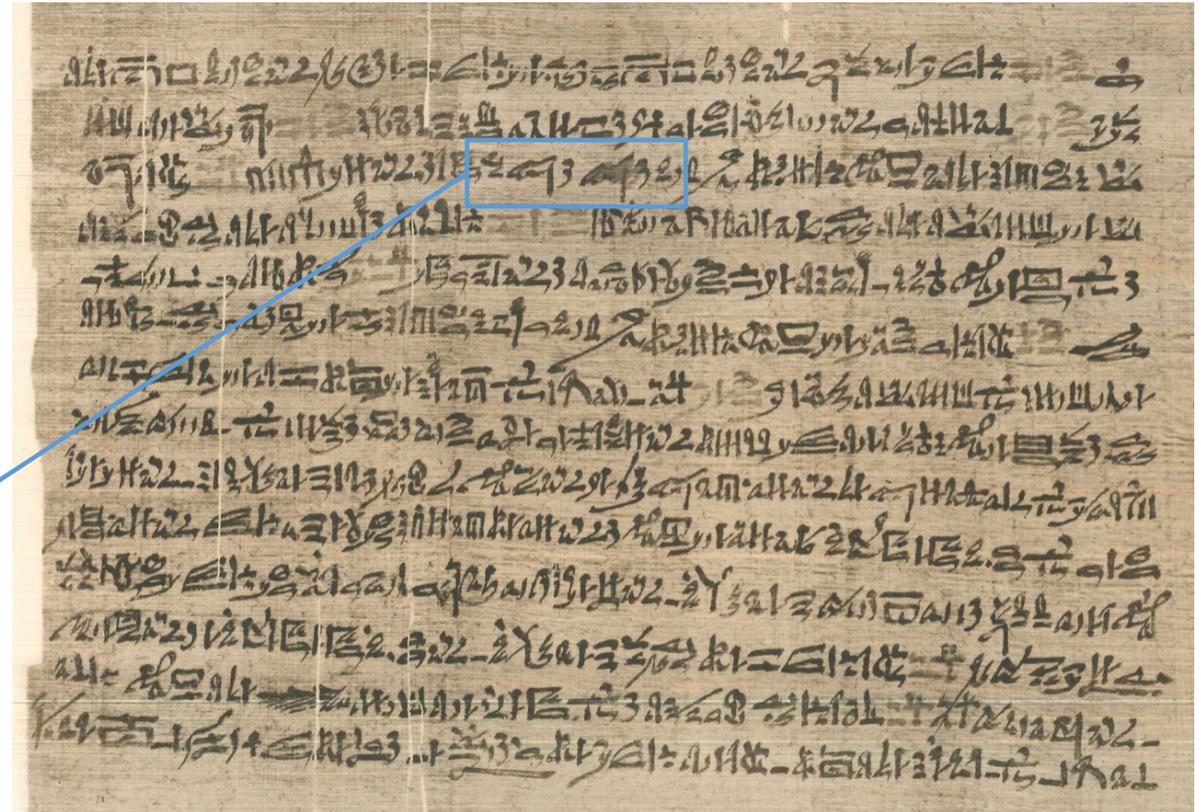
P. Chester Beatty XI, r° 1, 12



1 – Introduction

Deletions

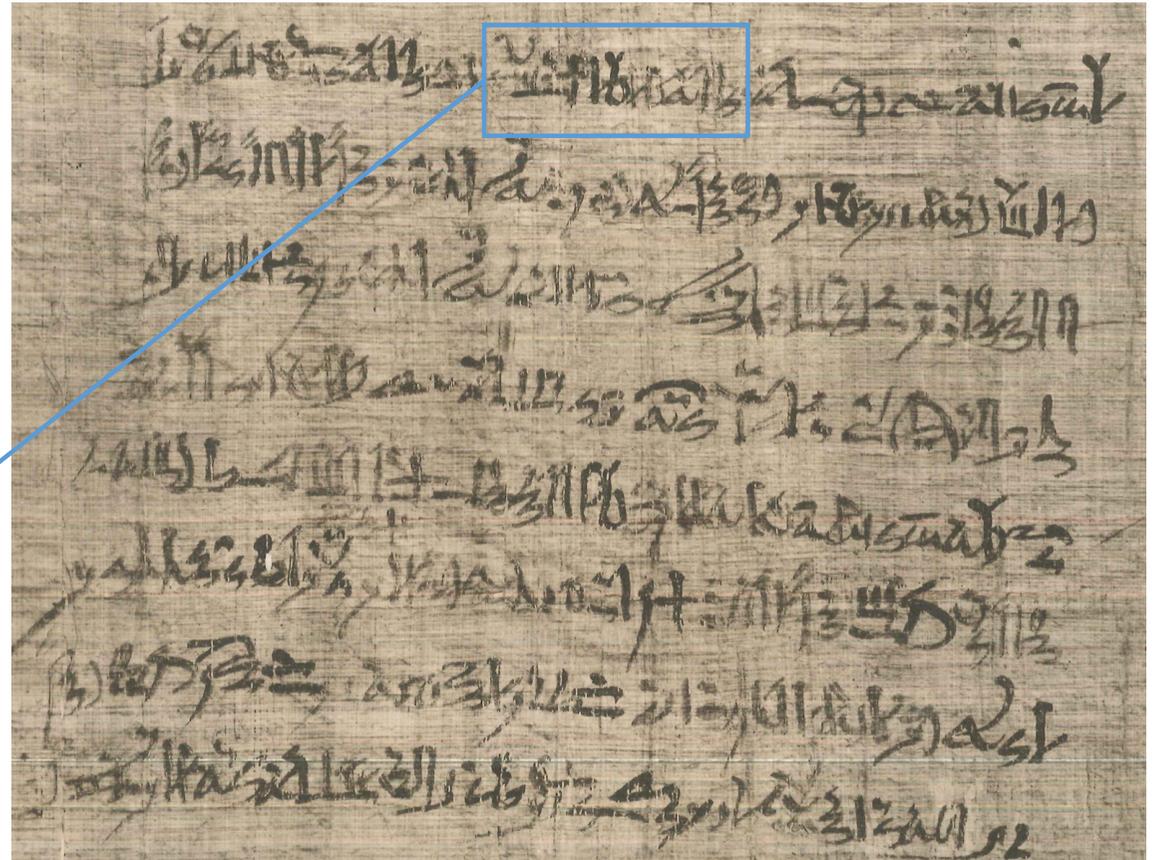
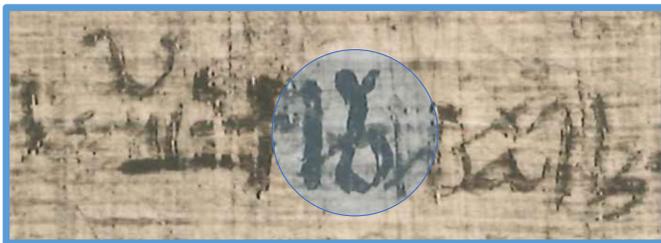
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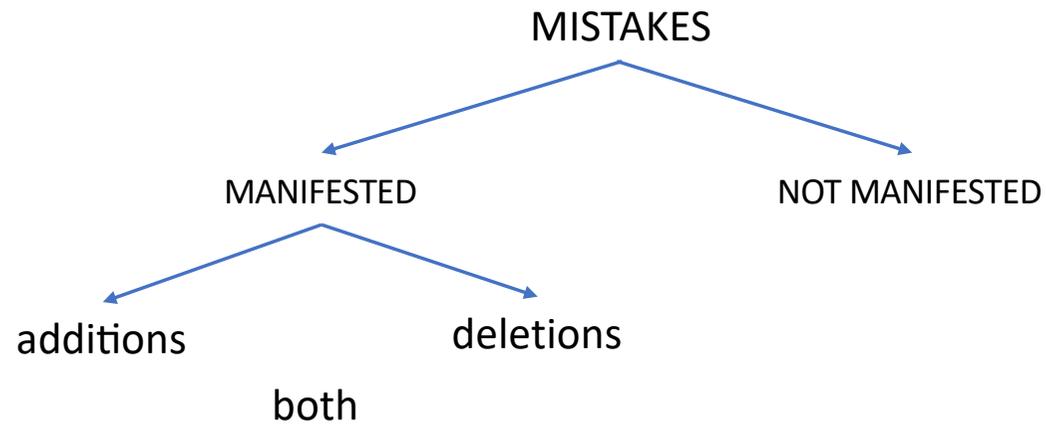
1 – Introduction

Deletions

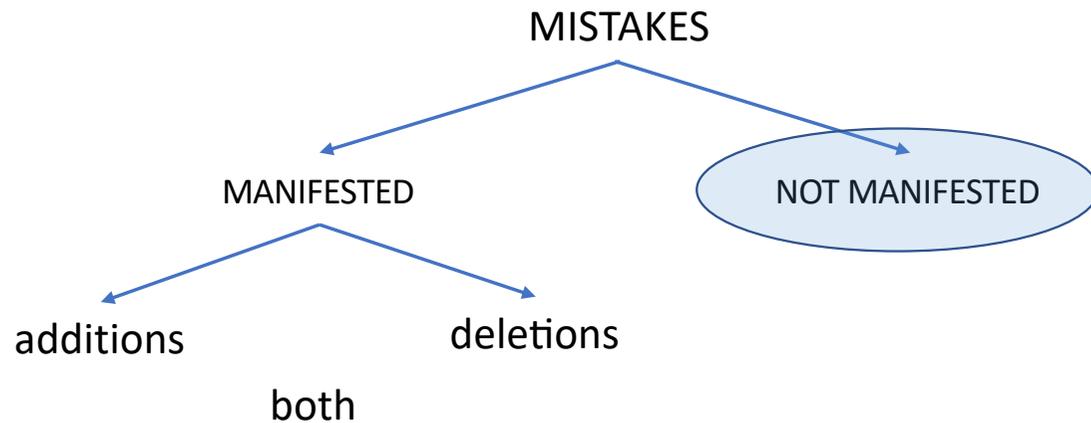
- Washed off
- Erased
- Crossed out



1 – Introduction



1 – Introduction



- Misspellings
- Omissions
- Mistakes re contents (dates, figures, names, etc.)

Accountancy at Deir el-Medīna: How accurate are the administrative ostraca?

Jac. J. Janssen

Abstract

The administrative ostraca from Deir el-Medīna bristle with errors of various types: simple misspellings, omissions of words, mistakes in the dates, in the addition of the products, and so on. The article mentions several examples, raising the question as to what then was the use of such records. The reason for this in our eyes astounding lack of accuracy may be that the society of those days was still predominantly based on oral practice.

The ostraca of Deir el-Medīna testify to the extensive administration of the supply of the workmen as well as of their work in the tombs. The major type of documents are:

- 1) Those recording the number of lamps, i.e. torches, distributed for lighting the work, divided between those for the morning and those for the afternoon shifts.¹
- 2) Those recording the names of the workmen who were absent from the workshop on particular days, in some instances with the reason for their absence.²
- 3) Those recording, day-by-day, the delivery of various products to the community, as well as important events in the necropolis.
- 4) Those recording the supply of the community with fuel (wood, dung, faggots) and fish.³

All these, and some other types of record, conjure up a picture of the state administration as of our days. Concerning them two questions can be raised:

- a) For what purpose were these documents composed?
- b) In how far are the contents reliable?

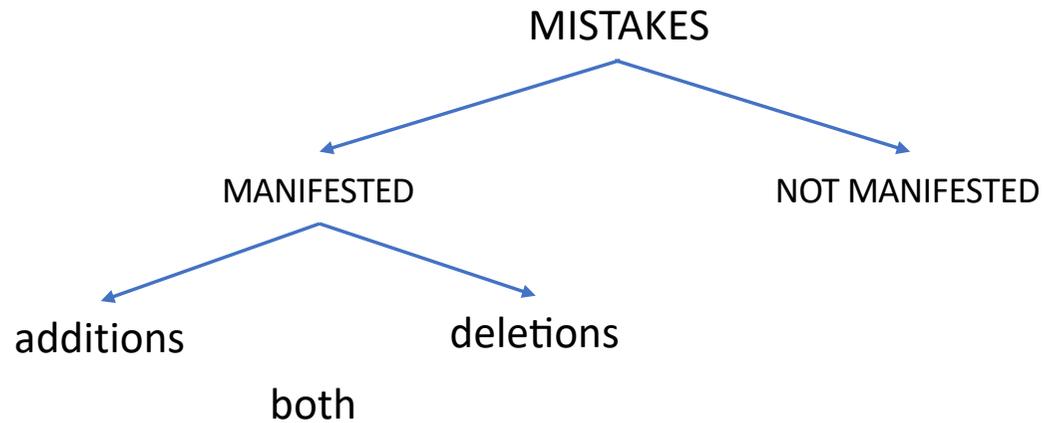
To a modern reader the first question seems superfluous. Of course, a government wants to know all that goes on within its territory. It seems obvious, for instance, that the management of the royal necropolis wanted to know the consumption (*hšw*) of wicks, and of grease supplied to them, or how many days in a specific month a workman did not turn up for his work in the royal tomb. We would suppose that absence could lead to a reduction of the monthly wages. However, there exists no clear evidence that this was ever the case. And

¹ See for the subject: J. Černý, *The Valley of the Kings*, 1973, chapter V: The Lighting of the Work, 43–54.

² Cf. my „Absence from Work by the Necropolis Workmen of Thebes“, in: SAK 8, 1980, 127–152.

³ The supply with fuel and fish is noted, apart from special ostraca, in the day-by-day records (category 3). These texts I have called „Journal of the Necropolis“ ostraca; see R.J. Demarée/A. Egberts (eds.), *Village Voices*, 1992, 91–94. However, as Donker van Heel remarks (in: K. Donker van Heel/B. Haring, *Writing in a Workmen's Village*, 2003, 68), this term could as well be applied to category 2. That is certainly correct; a modern term seldom fully coincides with the Egyptian reality. It was only to facilitate referencing that I introduced the term, and I prefer to stick to it.

1 – Introduction



Two Brothers, 4.9-5.7 L. Eg. Stories, 14a

4.10. ^a Understand $\equiv \text{𐤀𐤃𐤋} < \text{𐤀𐤃𐤋} >$.

^b So written for 𐤀𐤃𐤋 again below 6.5; 16.3; occasionally too in other MSS, e.g. Pap. Ch. Beatty I, 1, 5.

5.1. ^a A phonetic writing, cf. Coptic 𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩤 ; similarly below 𐩠𐩢𐩣 [13.3; 15.9].

^b It is certain, the dot adjoining 𐩠 . ^c A correct writing for $< m >$ we-t, cf. Millingen 1.4; 𐩠𐩢𐩣 Israel stela 6; cf. Coptic 𐩠𐩢𐩣 .

5.2. ^a The dot almost coalesces with the head of 𐩠 . ^b The dot, if any, is lost.

^c 𐩠 here shows a superfluous tick 𐩠 .

5.3. ^a Shadowy traces of 𐩠 but none of initial 𐩠 , emend $\equiv \text{𐩠𐩢𐩣𐩠𐩤}$ and see 3.9, note ^a.

5.4. ^{a-b} 34mm. At end a tail which suits 𐩠 better than 𐩠 . At beginning I see 𐩠 which suggests 𐩠 ; the upper part can hardly be 𐩠 or 𐩠 . In the middle are some very vague horizontal traces.

^c Sic, under the influence of 𐩠 ; emend 𐩠 , as Griffith suggested.

5.5. ^a $< \text{𐩠} >$ is omitted, as again in 6.6.

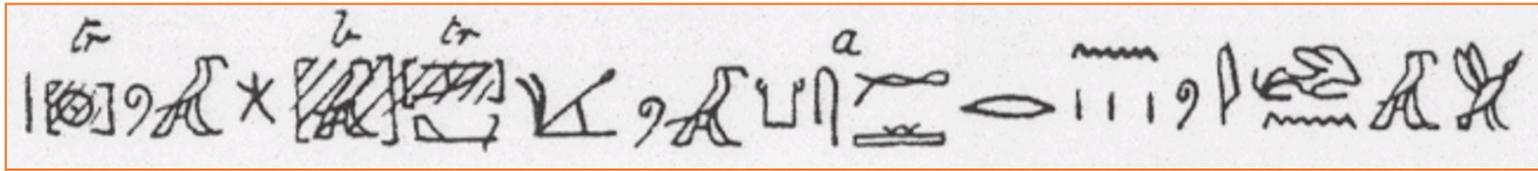
5.6. ^a Insert $< \text{𐩠} >$ as below 6.1.

5.7. ^a $< \text{𐩠} >$

14a

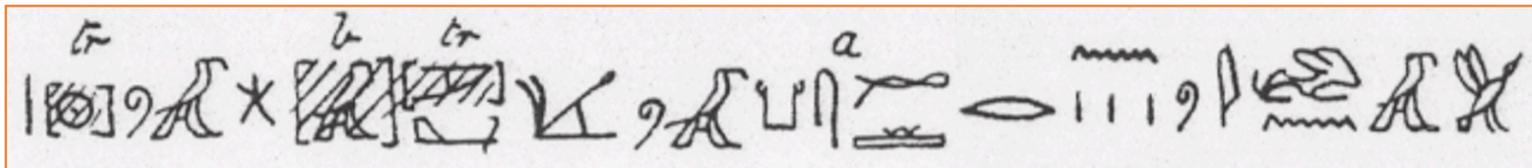
1 – Introduction

[mḥ r + inf.] as inchoative auxiliary (for activities)



1 – Introduction

[mḥ r + inf.] as inchoative auxiliary (for activities)



2,4. ^aEmend $\overline{\text{K}}\text{9}\text{A}\text{U}\text{1}\langle\text{r}\rangle\overline{\text{E}}$; cf. 4,2, end.

(...) p₃-wn iw=n r mḥ <r> sk₃ [m] dw₃

‘(Also, you are to come to the field with seed), because we shall start plowing tomorrow’

Erman (1933: 275, §574); Winand (2006: 334-335)

1 – Introduction

mḥ r + inf.

- oBM EA 5624, v° 7 (KRI V, 476,7)
- oCairo CG 25247, v° 2 (KRI VII, 334,7)
- oGardiner 70, r° 3 (HO 48,1)
- pAn. 3, 6,6 (LEM 27,8)
- pAn. 3, 6,10 (LEM 27,14)
- pChester Beatty 5, 8,1
- pd'Orb. 4,2-3 (LES 13,4-5)
- [pd'Orb. 2,6 (LES 11,8)]

1 – Introduction

mḥ r + inf.

- oBM EA 5624, v° 7 (*KRI* V, 476,7)
- oCairo CG 25247, v° 2 (*KRI* VII, 334,7)
- oGardiner 70, r° 3 (*HO* 48,1)
- pAn. 3, 6,6 (*LEM* 27,8)
- pAn. 3, 6,10 (*LEM* 27,14)
- pChester Beatty 5, 8,1
- pd'Orb. 4,2-3 (*LES* 13,4-5)
- [pd'Orb. 2,6 (*LES* 11,8)]

mḥ + inf.

- oIFAO 562 (BIFAO 35, 47)
- pd'Orb. 2,4 (*LES* 11,4–5)
- pAn. 5, 23,3 (*LEM* 69,7)
- pAn. 9, 19-20 (*KRI* III, 507,15)
- [oCairo 25299 (*KRI* VI, 666,6-7)]
- ?oCairo CG 25575, 1-2?
- ?pAn. 4, 1b,11-12 (*LEM* 35,14-15)?
- ?pGeneva D407 (*LRL* 16,15)?

1 – Introduction

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mḥ + inf.

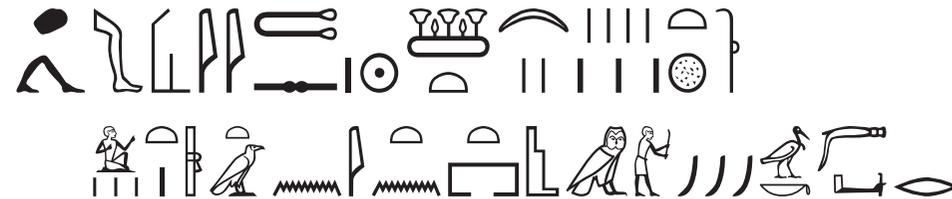
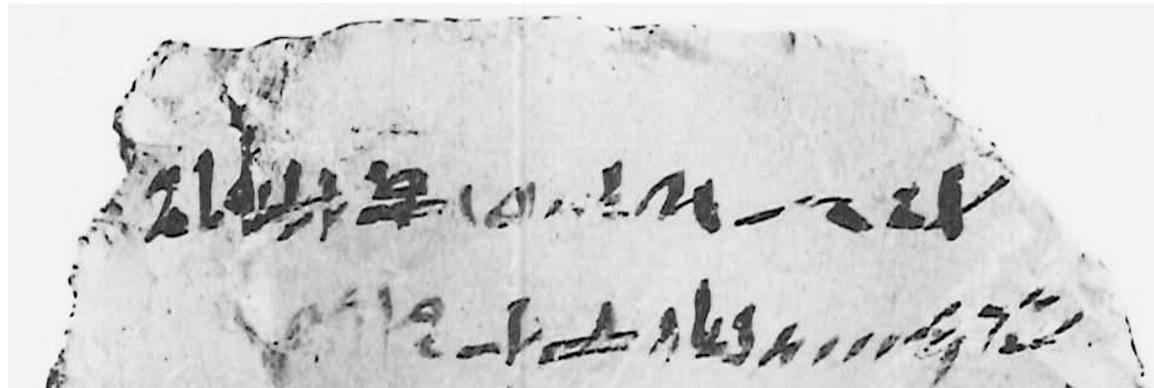
- oIFAO 562 (BIFAO 35, 47)
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- pAn. 5, 23,3 (LEM 69,7)
- pAn. 9, 19-20 (KRI III, 507,15)
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- ?pGeneva D407 (LRL 16,15)?

D. Verschiedenes.

I. mḥ mit ḥ und Inf: fleissig etw. tun 6.
Auch mit Weglassung des ḥ 7.
~~mḥ~~ und oft ḥ.

1 – Introduction

oCairo CG 25575, 1-2 (end 20th Dyn.)

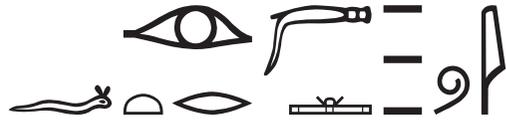


ḥsb.t 7, ʔbd 2. ʔḥ.t, sw 1, t̥sy r mḥ bʔk m s.t tn jn tʔ js.t

Year 7, 2nd month of Akhet, day 1: going up
to start working in this place by the crew

1 – Introduction

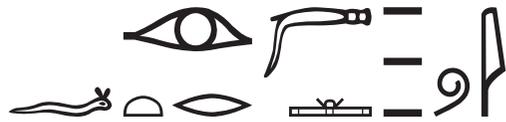
pAn. 9, 19 (KRI III, 507,15)



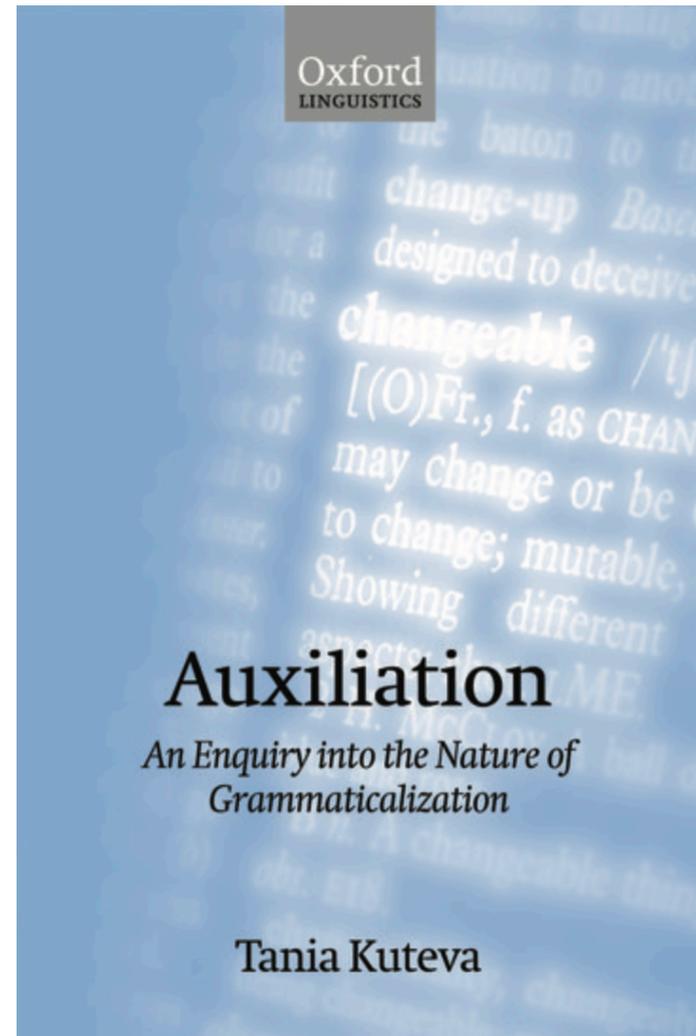
‘and they began to do it [...]’

1 – Introduction

pAn. 9, 19 (KR/ III, 507,15)



‘and they began to do it [...]’



Cf. $\text{ḳn m NP} > \text{ḳn} + \text{inf.}$

1 – Introduction

Legrain (1890: pl. 10)

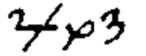


j bA jh snsn jh rd.wj=f, mḥ=f mšꜥ m ḥtp jh tꜥ nb

O Ba, breathing upon his feet: may he startd to travel in peace over every land!

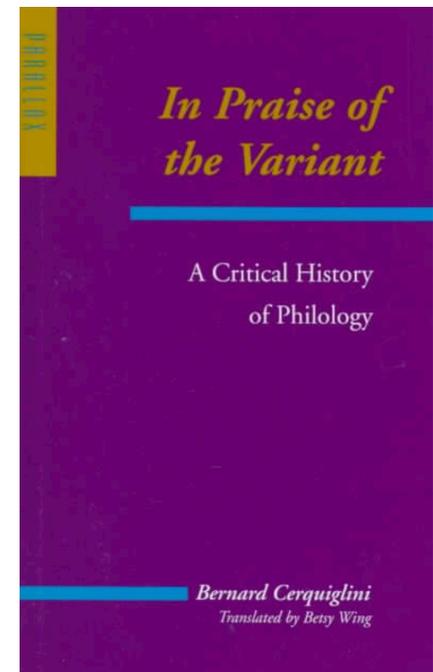
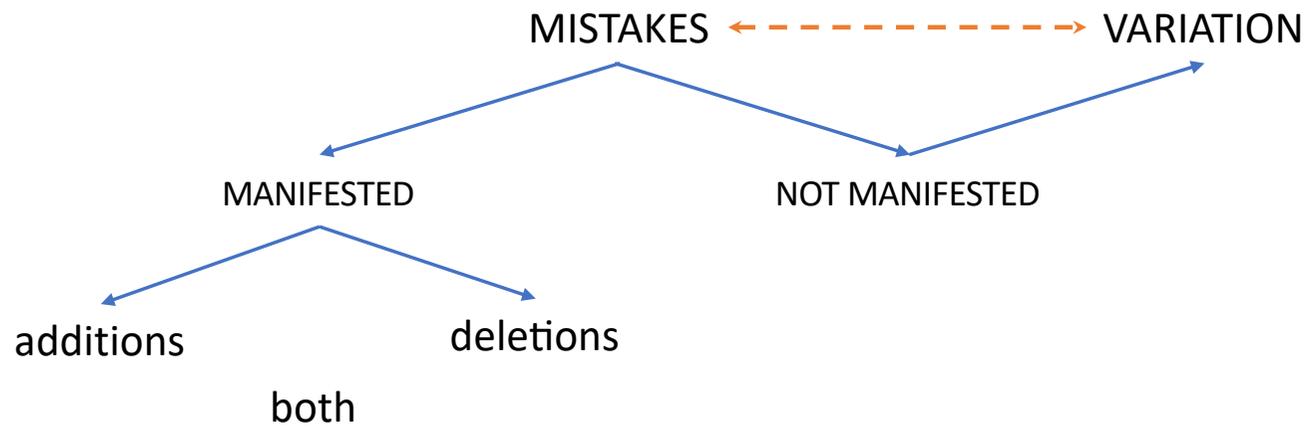
pLouvre E 3452 (Book of transformations), IX,8 (c. 55 BCE, Thebes)

Smith (2009: 646)

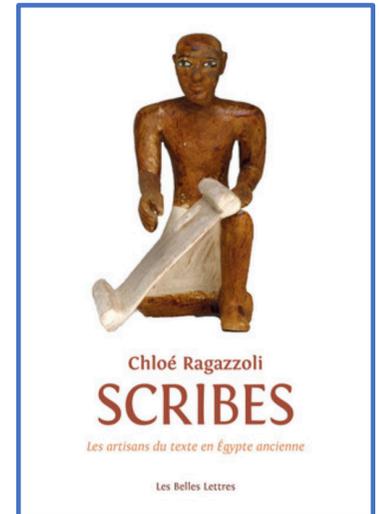
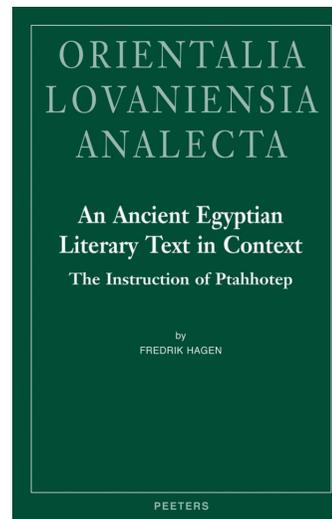
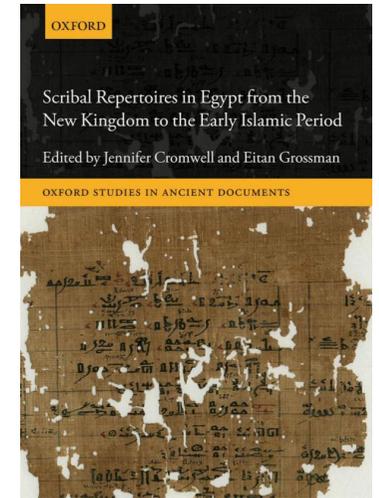
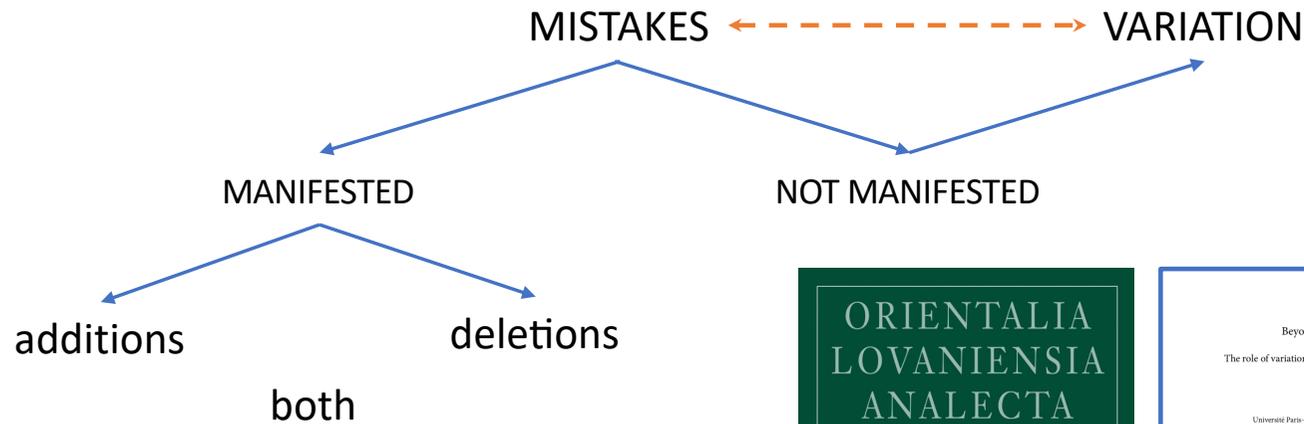
mḥ is written as mḥ 'to seize', , with the : 
(not uncommon, see *CDD* (m, p. 170, 172)

and the construction does not include a *r* in front of the infinitive

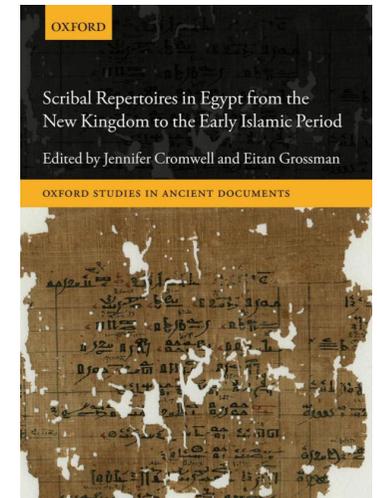
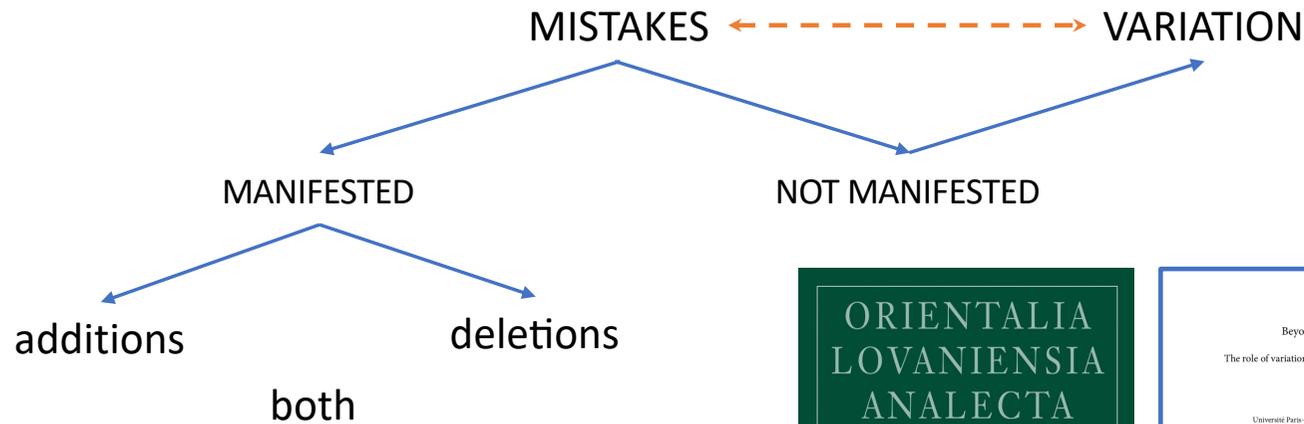
1 – Introduction



1 – Introduction



1 – Introduction



ZÄS 139 (2012) A. Boud'hors und A. Shisha-Halevy: Features of Coptic Syntax 105

ANNE BOUD'HORS und ARIEL SHISHA-HALEVY

Two Remarkable Features of Coptic Syntax

(I) The Circumstantial Stative
(II) The Neutric Copular **ⲡⲉ** in Nominal Sentence Patterns

ORIENTALIA
LOVANIENSIA
ANALECTA

An Ancient Egyptian
Literary Text in Context
The Instruction of Ptahhotep

by
FREDRIK HAGEN

PEETERS

Beyond authors and copyists
The role of variation in Ancient Egyptian and New Kingdom literary production'

Chloé C.D. RAGAZZOLI
Université Paris-Sorbonne, CNRS UMR 8167 composante 'Mondes Pharaoniques'

I. INTRODUCTION

When it comes to literature, tradition is often expressed in terms of a binary system comprised of those who are exclusively authors or exclusively copyists, or, to put it in the terms of this volume, those who practice either dynamic productivity or static re-productivity. In the world of Egyptologists this binary vision pits unshakable writers versus a multitude of sleepy school pupils.

This paper is about the material and human processes of textual transmission in the New Kingdom, from a vantage point as close as possible to that of the writing hand. I develop the hypothesis that 'variation,' which straddles the boundary between the two benchmarks 'reproduction' and 'production,' is a central and defining aspect of Egyptian textual practices.

1.1. Textual transmission in recent scholarship

Over the last thirty years in classical and medieval studies, textual transmission has been the focus of discussion and re-evaluation. Scholars have pointed out the limitations of models that assume the existence of an original text, which could be retrieved from the faulty copies that have been transmitted to us. Proceeding further, 'new philologists' have drawn on the cultural specificity of scribal cultures where all texts are the work of individual copyists and readers. In a deliberately polemical pamphlet aimed at challenging the dominating preconceptions of what a text is, D. Craggins proposed 'variance' as defining medieval textual transmission. This variance was to be seen neither as a defect nor the reflection of scribal incompetence but as a functional aspect of textual practices, and of the attitude of scribes towards the texts they read and copied. 'Medieval writing does not produce variants; it is variance,' according to Craggins: 'Away from the oral word of Occitan

* I owe grateful thanks to Fredrik Hagen for reading through this article and coming up with many corrections and suggestions. I also thank Tom Wisse for thought-provoking comments. Any mistakes it may still contain remain my responsibility alone.

1. Craggins 1999; Craggins 2002.
2. Craggins 1999: 77-78.

Chloé Ragazzoli
SCRIBES
Les artisans du texte en Égypte ancienne

Les Belles Lettres

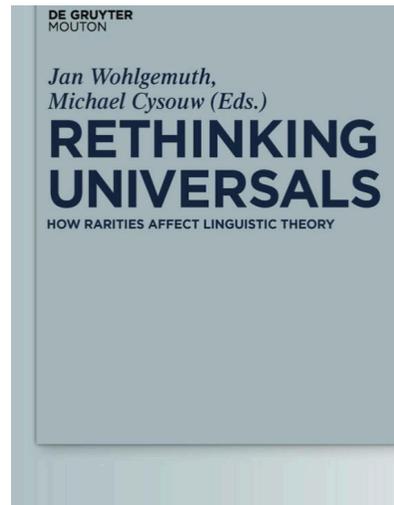
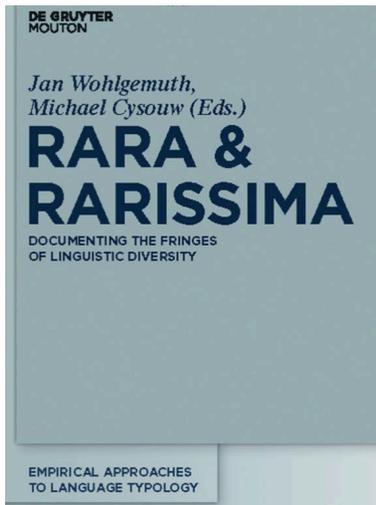
1 – Introduction

- Similar trend in linguistics
 - In linguistics typology: shift from a focus on universals to rara and rarissima



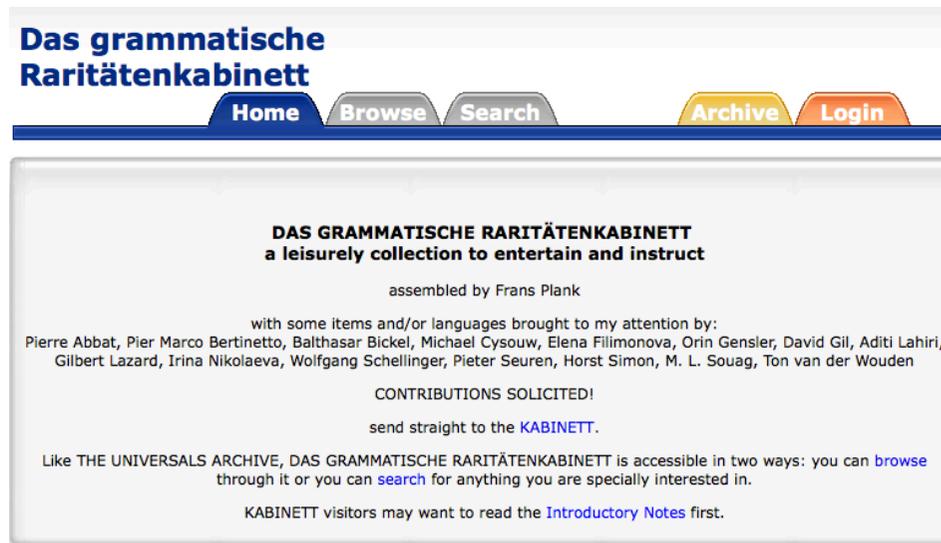
1 – Introduction

- Similar trend in linguistics
 - In linguistics typology: shift from a focus on universals to rara and rarissima



1 – Introduction

- Similar trend in linguistics



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1 – Introduction

DE GRUYTER MOUTON

Linguistic Typology 2016; 20(1): 1–23

Eitan Grossman

From *rarum* to *rarissimum*: An unexpected zero person marker

DOI 10.1515/lingty-2016-0001

Received June 8, 2015; revised March 1, 2016

Abstract: This article addresses the problem of crosslinguistic rarity by mapping the types of diachronic factors that contribute to the rarity of a particular feature. It is proposed that a number of different diachronic factors may play a role, such as the rarity of source constructions, the rarity of particular types of change, the number of stages necessary for a particular feature to develop, and the number of pathways that can lead to a particular feature. This article looks at a *rarissimum* of person marking, namely, a zero-marked feminine 2nd singular person index in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic (Afroasiatic; Egypt). It is argued that such markers are rare because they presuppose rare input structures, and most processes of change would lead away from – rather than to – zero-marked 2sg. Furthermore, this study identifies a diachronic process in which a PART of a morpheme is reinterpreted as a segmentable morpheme (in this case, a person index), thereby leading to the loss of a zero person marker. This is the converse of the well-known “Watkins’ Law”, in which a segmentable person marker is reinterpreted as part of a base.

Keywords: Ancient Egyptian-Coptic, diachrony, inflection, markedness, paradigm, person, rara, syntax

1 Introduction

The present article addresses the issue of crosslinguistic rarity by focusing on a *rarissimum* of person marking. Assuming that the explanation of crosslinguistic rarities requires a diachronic dimension (Bybee 2008), any explanatory account of the problem involves two main questions. First, what are the constraints on language change that inhibit – but do not rule out – the development of the rare feature? Second, what are the developmental pathways that nonetheless lead to the emergence of the rare feature?

Linguists have given different answers to these questions, but several main types can be identified (see Table 1). First, a given feature may be (relatively)

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Swimming against the typological tide or paddling along with language change?

Dispreferred structures and diachronic biases in affix ordering

Eitan Grossman and Stéphane Polis

Hebrew University of Jerusalem | F.R.S.-FNRS & University of Liège

It has repeatedly been observed that there is a worldwide preference for suffixes over prefixes. In this article, we argue that universally dispreferred – or rare – structures can and do arise as the result of regular processes of language change, given the right background structures. Specifically, we show that Ancient Egyptian-Coptic undergoes a long-term diachronic macro-change from exhibiting mixed suffixing-prefixing to showing an overwhelming preference for prefixing. The empirical basis for this study is a comparison of ten typologically significant parameters in which prefixing or affixing is potentially at stake, based on Dryer’s (2013a) 969-language sample. With its extremely high prefixing preference, Coptic belongs to the rare 6% or so of languages that are predominantly prefixing. We argue that each of the micro-changes implicated in this macro-change are better understood in terms of changes at the level of individual constructions, rather than in terms of a broad structural “drift.” Crucially, there is nothing unusual about the actual processes of change themselves.

Keywords: universals, typological rara, Ancient Egyptian-Coptic, diachronic typology, affixation, linear order

1. Introduction

It has repeatedly been observed that there is a worldwide preference for suffixes as opposed to prefixes with a proportion of about three to one in the languages of the world (Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins 1990, Cysouw 2009, Greenberg 1957, Hall 1988, Hawkins & Cutler 1988, Himmelmann 2014, Sapir 1921, and more). As Himmelmann (2014) has noted, this observation in fact comprises two distinct universal preferences: the first, that grammatical morphemes have a marked tendency to

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Journal of Historical Linguistics 8:3 (2018), pp. 388–443. ISSN 2210-2116 | e-ISSN 2210-2124
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Dispreferred structure in affix ordering

Diachronic explanations for cross-linguistic rarities

Eitan Grossman
Hebrew University

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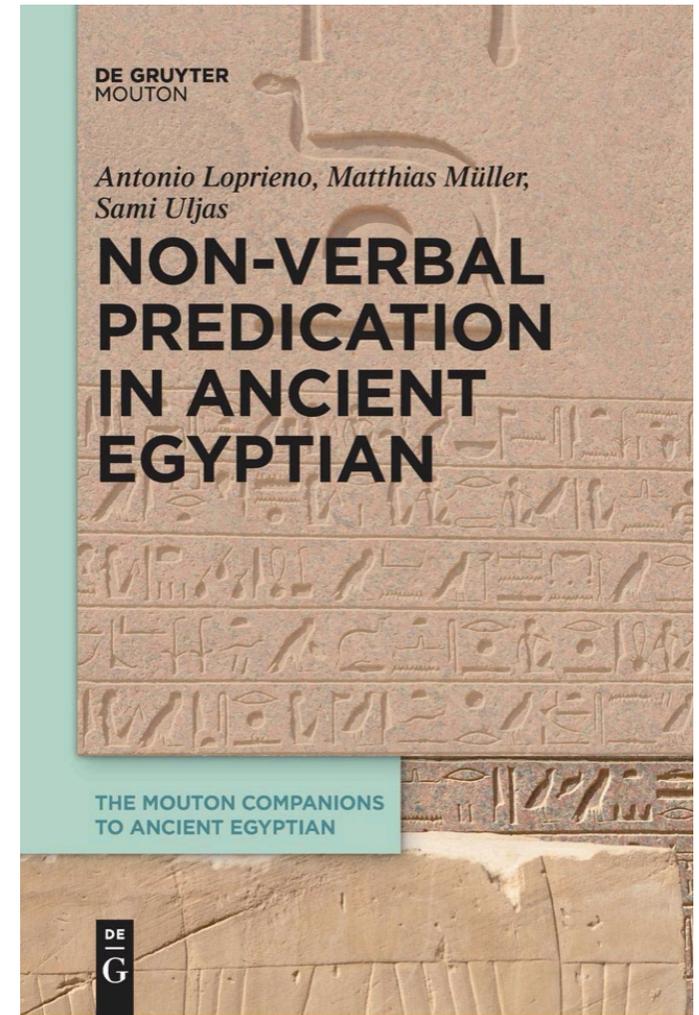
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Journal of Historical Linguistics 83 (2018), pp. 388–443. ISSN 2210-2116 / e-ISSN 2210-2124
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Table 1. Diachronic factors that shape cross-linguistic frequencies

Type	Factor	Rare feature	Documentation
Stage	Many (vs. few) stages	endoclitics	Udi (Harris 2008)
Path	Few (vs. many) pathways	apprehensive affix	Ese Eja (Vuilletmet 2018)
Source	Rare (vs. common) source construction	adverbial subordinator prefixes	Amharic (Teferra & Hudson 2007)
Type	Rare type of change	coronal annihilation	Northwest Mekeo (Blevins 2009)
Stability	Inherent instability	three-way contrast between oral, weakly nasalized, and strongly nasalized segments	Palantla Chinantec (Blevins 2008)
Diffusibility	Resistant to borrowing	demonstrative pronouns	Chamorro (Topping 1973)

1 – Introduction

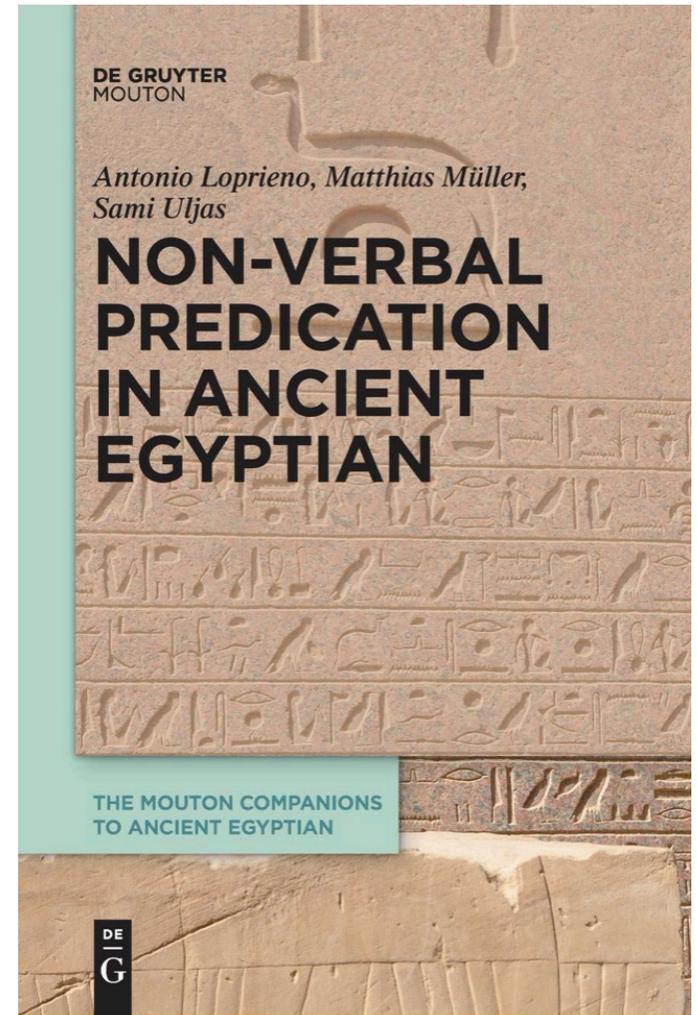
- Similar trend in linguistics
- Prerequisite: describing (and explaining) system-internal rarities



1 – Introduction

- Similar trend in linguistics
- Prerequisite: describing (and explaining) system-internal rarities

yet...



2 – Late Egyptian: *uariatio non delectat*

2 – *uariatio non delectat*



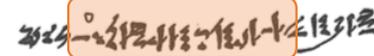
LingAeg 13 (2005), 49-75

Une particularité du néo-égyptien ancien:

l'emploi de la forme verbale *iw.f hr sdm* derrière la particule interrogative *in* ou dans l'apodose d'un système corrélatif (approche diachronique d'un problème de macro syntaxe)*

Jean-Marie Kruchten, Bruxelles

Un passage du « Prince prédestiné » semble avoir été mal retranscrit en hiéroglyphique et publié par Gardiner dans ses « Late Egyptian Stories »¹ si on le compare au texte hiératique du Papyrus Harris 500 tel qu'il nous est transmis par Möller dans ses « Lesestücke »². Sur le fac-similé de Möller



Papyrus Harris 500, III, 10 ne peut en effet que se lire '*in iw.i hr di.t t3y.i šrit n p3 w^rr n Kmt ?*', même si la version en translittération que Gardiner donne de cette question



(*in-iw i.di.i t3y.i šrit n p3 w^rr n Kmt ?*) a seule été retenue par la suite dans les ouvrages de grammaire du néo-égyptien³ et dans les traductions.

* Cette recherche est le développement d'un court article initialement prévu pour des « Mélanges » qui n'ont jamais vu le jour. Je me fais donc un plaisir de le dédier à son destinataire premier, Monsieur François Neveu, avec lequel j'ai eu l'occasion d'avoir maints échanges intéressants au cours des dernières années.

1 Alan H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I, Bruxelles 1932, 5 (lignes 7-8).

2 Georg Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den Akademischen Gebrauch* II, Leipzig 1910, 23 (III, 10-11).

3 Jean Winand, *Etudes de néo-égyptien, 1. La morphologie verbale*, Aegyptiaca Leodiensia 2, Liège 1992, ex. 623 (« Est-ce à ce fuyard égyptien que je vais devoir donner ma fille ? »); Patricia Cassonnet, *Etudes de néo-égyptien: Les Temps Seconds i.sdm.f et i.ir.f sdm: entre syntaxe et sémantique: études de néo-égyptien*, Études et mémoires d'égyptologie 1, Paris 2000, ex. 299 (« Est-ce au fugitif d'Égypte que je vais de ma propre volonté donner ma fille ? »).

Bakir (1970: pl. XXVI)

Turin 1977

P. Turin Cat. 1977

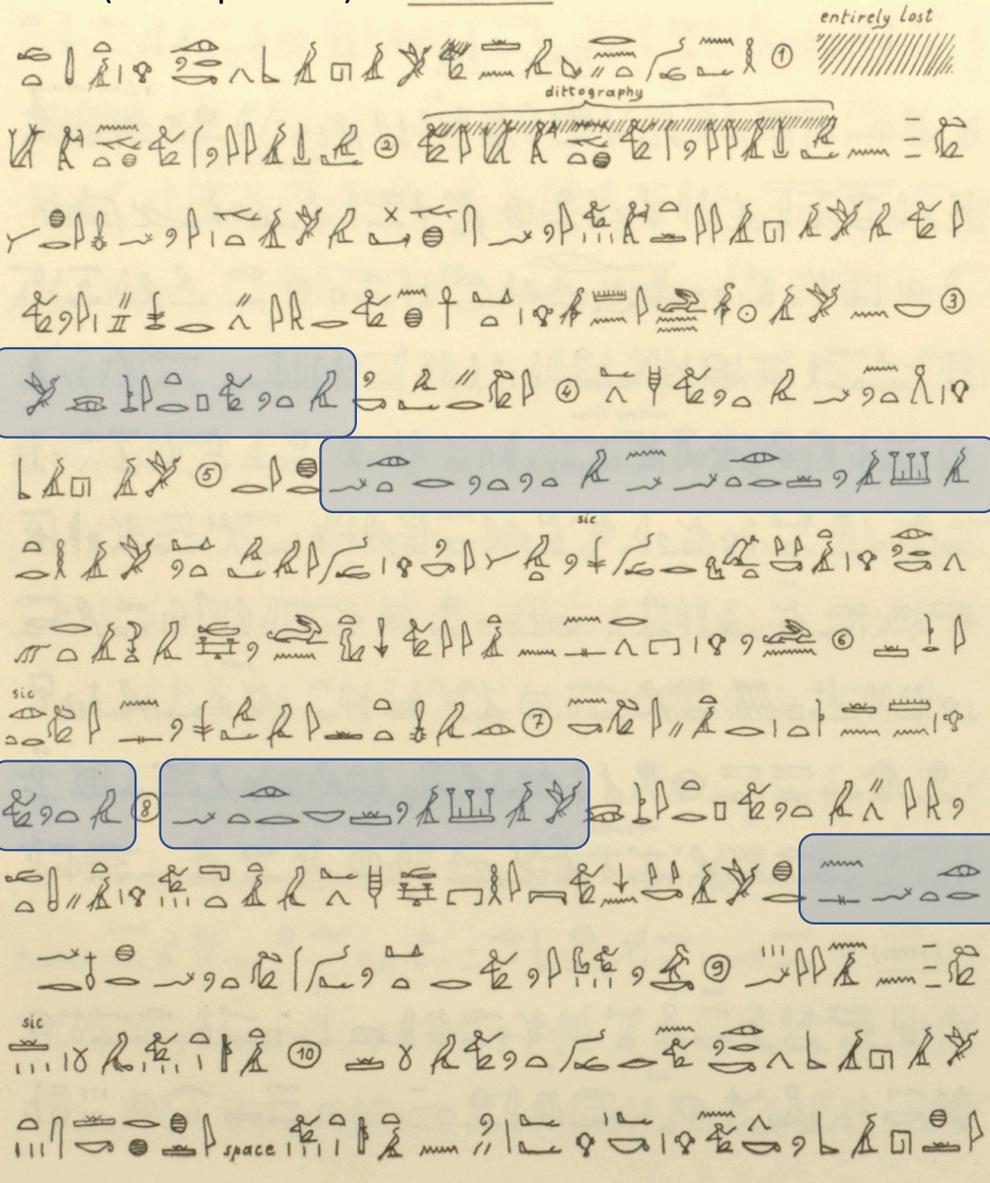
① *entirely lost*
dittography
 ②
 ③
 ④
 ⑤
sic
 ⑥
sic
 ⑦
 ⑧
 ⑨
sic
 ⑩
space

The issue of normalized text editions

Bakir (1970: pl. XXVI)

Turin 1977

P. Turin Cat. 1977



r° 4 (sim. in r° 7)



mtw=j ptr pꜣ šꜣw jr.t=f n=f

(...) and I shall see what has to be done for him,

r° 4



mtw=tw ?r? jr.t=f

and one will do it.

r° 8



mtw=j jr.t=f n=s

(...) and I will do it for her.

A photograph of a fragment of an ancient Egyptian papyrus scroll. The text is written in hieroglyphs and is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. Several areas of the text are highlighted with orange boxes: two boxes on the third line, one on the sixth line, and one on the eighth line. The papyrus is aged and shows some wear and tear.

A transcription of the hieroglyphic text from the papyrus fragment, enclosed in a dashed rectangular border. The transcription is arranged in 12 horizontal lines, corresponding to the lines in the photograph. The hieroglyphs are rendered in a clear, black font, allowing for easier reading and comparison with the original fragment.

Bakir (1970: pl. XXVI)

Turin 1977

P. Turin Cat. 1977

entirely lost

dittography

sic

sic

space



r° 4



mtw=j ptr pꜣ šꜣw jr.t=f n=f

(...) and I shall see what has to be done for him,



r° 4



mtw=tw r jr.t=f

and one will do it.



r° 7



r° 8



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◡ in P. Turin Cat. 1977



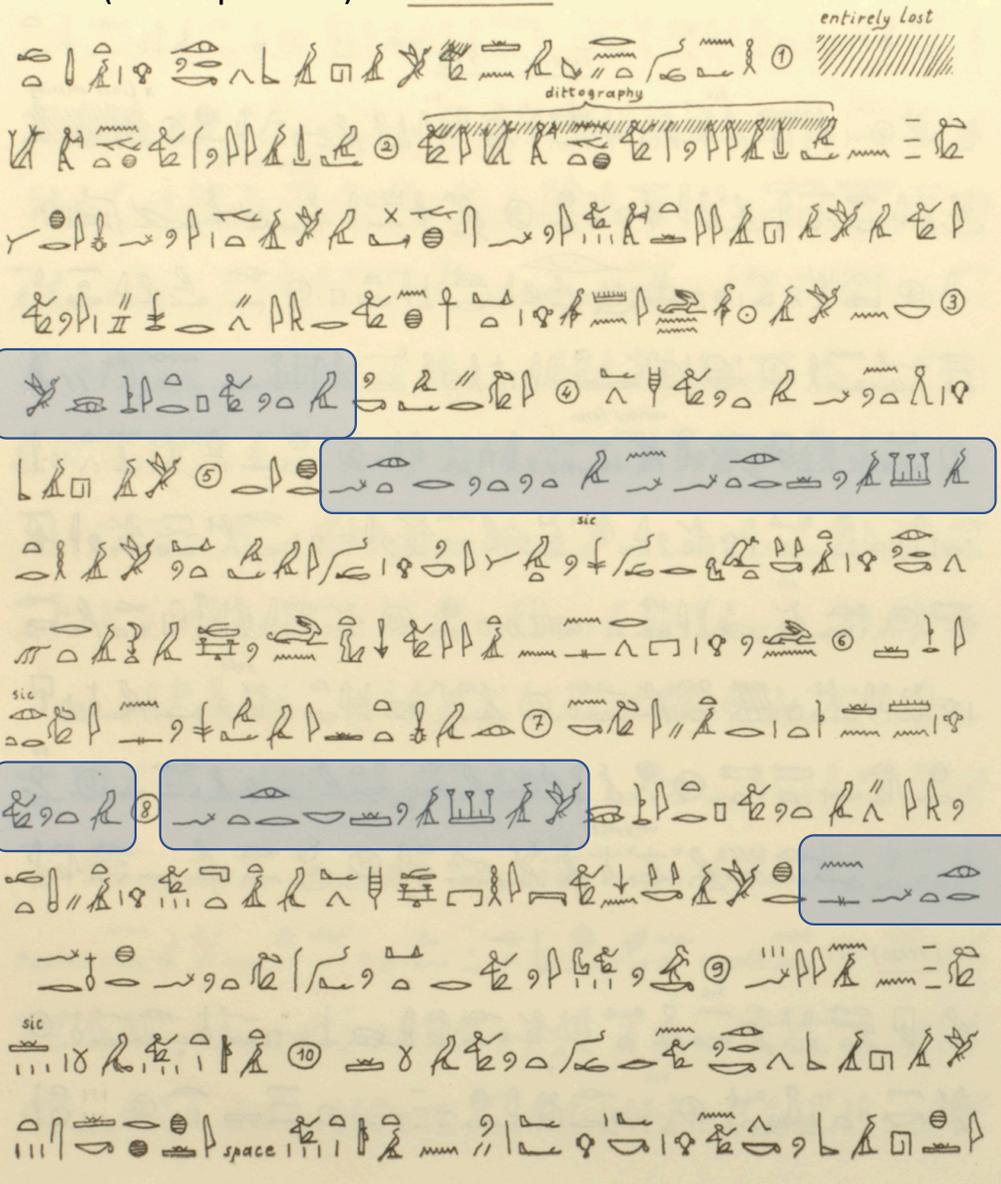
◐ in P. Turin Cat. 1977



Bakir (1970: pl. XXVI)

Turin 1977

P. Turin Cat. 1977



r° 4



mtw=j ptr p; š:w jr.t=f n=f

(...) and I shall see what has to be done for him,



r° 4



mtw=tw r jr.t=f

and one will do it.



r° 7



r° 8



mtw=j jr.t=f n=s

(...) and I will do it for her.

r-jr=f
 as phonemic spelling of
 the pronominal state
 (cf. Coptic ⲁⲁⲓ and
 Černý 1949: 27)

3. Conjunctive pattern: *mtw=f sdm*

with non-etymological *hr* and *r*

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with non-etymological *hr* and *r*

CONIUNCTIVUS MULTIFORMIS

Conjunctive Morphology in Late Coptic Recipes

Tonio Sebastian RICHTER
(Berlin, Free University)

in Fs. Vernus (2016)

3. Conjunctive pattern

unetymological *hr*

unetymological *r*

18/19 cases known to Černý (1949) and Winand (1992)

3. Conjunctive pattern

unetymological *hr*

unetymological *r*

- Gardiner (1928: 92), by false analogy with old pseudo-verbal construction (in which *hr* was still written but not pronounced)

AN EGYPTIAN SPLIT INFINITIVE AND THE ORIGIN
OF THE COPTIC CONJUNCTIVE TENSE

By ALAN H. GARDINER

At the end of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasties are to be found examples of a verbal construction at first sight quite ephemeral in its range and not at all easy to reconcile with the known rules of Egyptian grammar. This construction is of the type  and the following examples are the only ones known to me¹.

18/19 cases known to Černý (1949) and Winand (1992)

3. Conjunctive pattern

unetymological *hr*

unetymological *r*

- Gardiner (1928: 92), by false analogy with old pseudo-verbal construction (in which *hr* was still written but not pronounced)
- Černý (1949: 26), written hyper-correction (cf. Junge 2001: 104)
 - No example in business documents (literary and miscellanies)
 - 8 examples by the scribe of pd'Orbiney, Inana
 - Paralleled by other hypercorrect *hr* (before infinitives and pseudo-participles)

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE EGYPTIAN CONJUNCTIVE

By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ

ALL students of the later phases of the Egyptian language must have shared my own feelings of satisfaction when the mystery of the Late Egyptian construction and its descendant, the Coptic Conjunctive , was, at last, solved by Sir Alan Gardiner in an article in this *Journal*¹ just over twenty years ago. He showed that *mtw:f sdm* was descended from an earlier construction lit. 'together with

18/19 cases known to Černý (1949) and Winand (1992)

3. Conjunctive pattern

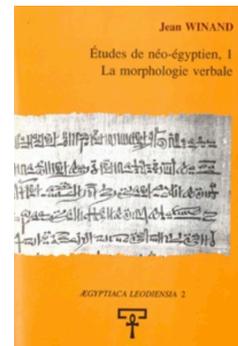
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 - No example in business documents (literary and miscellanies)
 - 8 examples by the scribe of pd'Orbiney, Inana
 - Paralleled by other hypercorrect *hr* (before infinitives and pseudo-participles)
- Winand (1992: 471)
 - More occurrences by Inana
 - Analogy with NIMS constructions ('sequential')

(cf. Borghouts 1979: 15, n. 5 'sequence-oriented')

18/19 cases known to Černý (1949) and Winand (1992)

unetymological *r*



3. Conjunctive pattern

19 occurrences

Document	Edition	Work	Meaning	Verb	Without hr (same manuscript)
pChester Beatty 2, 10,7	LES 36,4–5	Blinding of Truth	Future	dj.t	Y
pDeM 39, v° 9	Sauneron (1980)	Herishef and Meryra	Order	dj.t	?
pBologna 1094, 5,5	LEM 5,7	Letter about conscripts	Order	hꜣb	Y
pAnastasi 4, 11,7	LEM 47,3	Royal rescript	Order	dj.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 11,3-4	LEM 61,11	Letter of reprimand	Past	šm.t/ij.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 22,2-3	LEM 68,10	Letter to quarryman	Order	jr.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 24,4	LEM 70,4	Letter about stelae	Past	ḏd	Y
pAnastasi 6, 38	LEM 75,9	Letter of complaints	Potential	ḏd	Y
pAnastasi 6, 88	LEM 78,13	Report to a superior	Future	ḥsb	Y
pd'Orbiney, 1,10	LES 10,14-15	Two Brothers	Past	jtꜣ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 7,1	LES 16,4	Two Brothers	Future	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,4	LES 17,13-14	Two Brothers	Potential	wꜣḥ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,5	LES 18,1-2	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,3-4	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,4	Two Brothers	Potential	jrꜣ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,7	LES 24,8	Two Brothers	Order	jtꜣ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,9	LES 24,12	Two Brothers	Order	šm.t	Y
pLansing, v° 6-7	LEM 116,1-2	Letter	Future	sꜣi	Y
pChester Beatty 1, 3,3	LES 40,3-4	Horus & Seth	Future	ḏd	Y

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pAnastasi 5, 11,3-4	LEM 61,11	Letter of reprimand	Past	šm.t/ij.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 22,2-3	LEM 68,10	Letter to quarryman	Order	jr.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 24,4	LEM 70,4	Letter about stelae	Past	ḏd	Y
pAnastasi 6, 38	LEM 75,9	Letter of complaints	Potential	ḏd	Y
pAnastasi 6, 88	LEM 78,13	Report to a superior	Future	ḥsb	Y
pd'Orbiney, 1,10	LES 10,14-15	Two Brothers	Past	jtꜣ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 7,1	LES 16,4	Two Brothers	Future	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,4	LES 17,13-14	Two Brothers	Potential	wꜣḥ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,5	LES 18,1-2	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,3-4	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,4	Two Brothers	Potential	jrꜣ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,7	LES 24,8	Two Brothers	Order	jtꜣ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,9	LES 24,12	Two Brothers	Order	šm.t	Y
pLansing, v° 6-7	LEM 116,1-2	Letter	Future	sꜣi	Y
pChester Beatty 1, 3,3	LES 40,3-4	Horus & Seth	Future	ḏd	Y

3. Conjunctive pattern

19 occurrences

Document	Edition	Work	Meaning	Verb	Without hr (same manuscript)
pChester Beatty 2, 10,7	LES 36,4-5	Blinding of Truth	Future	dj.t	Y
pDeM 39, v° 9	Sauneron (1980)	Herishef and Meryra	Order	dj.t	?
pBologna 1094, 5,5	LEM 5,7	Letter about conscripts	Order	h3b	Y
pAnastasi 4, 11,7	LEM 47,3	Royal rescript	Order	dj.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 11,3-4	LEM 61,11	Letter of reprimand	Past	šm.t/ij.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 22,2-3	LEM 68,10	Letter to quarryman	Order	jr.t	Y
pAnastasi 5, 24,4	LEM 70,4	Letter about stelae	Past	ḡḡ	Y
pAnastasi 6, 38	LEM 75,9	Letter of complaints	Potential	ḡḡ	Y
pAnastasi 6, 88	LEM 78,13	Report to a superior	Future	h3sb	Y
pd'Orbiney, 1,10	LES 10,14-15	Two Brothers	Past	jt3	Y
pd'Orbiney, 7,1	LES 16,4	Two Brothers	Future	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,4	LES 17,13-14	Two Brothers	Potential	w3h	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,5	LES 18,1-2	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,3-4	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,4	Two Brothers	Potential	jrj	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,7	LES 24,8	Two Brothers	Order	jt3	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,9	LES 24,12	Two Brothers	Order	šm.t	Y
pLansing, v° 6-7	LEM 116,1-2	Letter	Future	s3i	Y
pChester Beatty 1, 3,3	LES 40,3-4	Horus & Seth	Future	ḡḡ	Y

Archive of Inena
 (Ragazzoli 2019: 98-111, 160-161, 588)
 = 11 occurrences

3. Conjunctive pattern

- Diachronic and diaphasic variation
 - Explained in the broader framework of unetymological *hr* in belles-lettristic compositions (Černý 1949: 26), where it develops a function of infinitive marker (Di Biase-Dyson et al. 2009: 362) as an hypercorrection coined by analogy with other constructions with etymological *hr* (Gardiner 1928: 92), especially the one with coordinative (sequential; Borghouts 1979: 15, n. 5 & Winand 1992: 471) and future (correlative systems) functions

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- No diatopic variation
- No functional variation

pd'Orbiney, 1,10	LES 10,14-15	Two Brothers	Past	jṭ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 7,1	LES 16,4	Two Brothers	Future	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,4	LES 17,13-14	Two Brothers	Potential	wšḥ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,5	LES 18,1-2	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,3-4	Two Brothers	Potential	dj.t	Y
pd'Orbiney, 8,6	LES 18,4	Two Brothers	Potential	jri	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,7	LES 24,8	Two Brothers	Order	jṭ	Y
pd'Orbiney, 14,9	LES 24,12	Two Brothers	Order	šm.t	Y

3. Conjunctive pattern

unetymological *ḫr*

- Gardiner (1928: 92), by false analogy with old pseudo-verbal construction (in which *ḫr* was still written but not pronounced).
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 - No example in business documents (literary and miscellanies)
 - 8 examples by the scribe of pd'Orbiney, Inana
 - Paralleled by other hypercorrect *ḫr* (before infinitives and pseudo-participles)
- Winand (1992: 471)
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18/19 cases known to Černý (1949) and Winand (1992)

unetymological *r*

3. Conjunctive pattern

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- Černý (1949: 27) quotes 6 examples and explains away cases of *mtw=f r jr.t=* as phonemic spellings of the status pronominalis, with *r* rendering an initial vowel (cf. Coptic ⲁⲗⲥ above)

3. Conjunctive pattern

unetymological *hr*

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- Ray (1973) points out a handful of Demotic examples (only in divinations; 'omina') with modal meaning in context ('he is bound to hear')

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- Ray (1973) points out a handful of Demotic examples (only in divinations; 'omina') with modal meaning in context ('he is bound to hear')
- Winand (1992: 471-472) has 5 occurrences of the construction in his corpus, which are explained by analogy with the Third Future (cf. Borghouts 1979: 15, n. 5 'future-oriented' conjunctive)

3. Conjunctive pattern

Ramses Online un corpus annoté du néo-égyptien

À propos ▾ Corpus ▾ Recherches ▾ Aide **Version bêta**



16 occurrences
(having filtered out
the cases of r-jr
status pronominalis,
see above)

P. Mallet, III,6-7	KRI 6,66,8-6	Letter	Order	2pl	jri
O. DeM 684, 5	Černý 1970	Letter	Order	3sg.m	jri
P. ESP A, 10-12	KRI 6,517,13	Letter	Order	2pl	mḥ
P. Florence 7125, v° 6	Botti 1964	Letter	Future	1sg	rdi
P. Turin A, v° 3,8	LEM 124,2-3	Protest against conscription	Past	1sg	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 8	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 9-10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
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P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10-11	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BN 196 III, 9-10	LRL 52,3-4	Letter	Order	2sg.f	rdi
P. BM EA 10060 (= Harris 500), v° 6,15	LES 5,15	Doomed Prince	Future	3sg.n	smḥ

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P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 4-5	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 6	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
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3. Conjunctive pattern

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9 occurrences are from P. BM EA 75019+10302 (= Demarée 2006: 14-19),
a letter from the authorities (probably the general Payankh)

R° 8	V° 2
R° 9-10	V° 4-5
R° 10	V° 6
R° 12-13	V° 10
	V° 10-11




mtw=k r dj.t jn.tw n=j NP

Recognized as the *mtw=f r sdm* pattern by Demarée (2006: 115-16)

3. Conjunctive pattern

Normal spelling of the infinitive of *rdi* in this official letter, which is a rare feature at the end of the 20th Dynasty (cf. Winand 1992: 82-84).



mtw=k r dj.t jn.tw n=j NP



(...) jw=k (ḥr) tm rdi.t jw.t=f 3s zp-2

‘(I had another messenger of mine come to you at the end of the summer)
and you did not make him come (back) quickly at all’

3. Conjunctive pattern



P. BN 196,III, r° 9-10 (= LRL 31, sent from Elephantine by Pentahures)

mtw=ṯ r-rdī.t jry.tw pꜣy niwy
 'and you^{fem} will have this spear made'



Spelling of the infinitive due to

- Beginning of the line
- Frequency of the locution r rdī.t rḥ.tw (and to a lesser extent ḥꜣb pw r rdī.t rḥ pꜣy=j nb)

Parallels include: P. Cairo JE 32748 (*KRI* I, 324,1-2), P. Turin Cat. 1879, v° 1,19, 1,20 & 2,5-6 (*KRI* VI, 337, 4-5, 5-6, & 14-15), O. Louvre E 11178a, 4-5 [Third Futures]; P. BM 10375, 16-17 (= *LRL* 45,11), P. Turin Cat. 1886, v° 1,4 (= *KRI* VI, 333,15), O. Turin CG 57368, r° 1 [participles].

3. Conjunctive pattern

P. Florence 7125, v° 6 (Botti 1964)



mtw=j rdi.t jn.tw=w n=k

'(...) and I will have them brought to you'

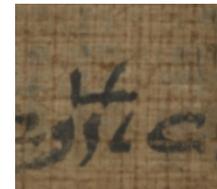


P. Turin 1882, v° 3,8 (= P. Turin A, LEM 124,2-3)



mtw=j rdi.t=f r p3 r-^c-b3k n pr-^{c3} ˆ.w.s nty r-ht=j

'(...) and affect him to the workplace of Pharaoh that is under my responsibility'



3. Conjunctive pattern

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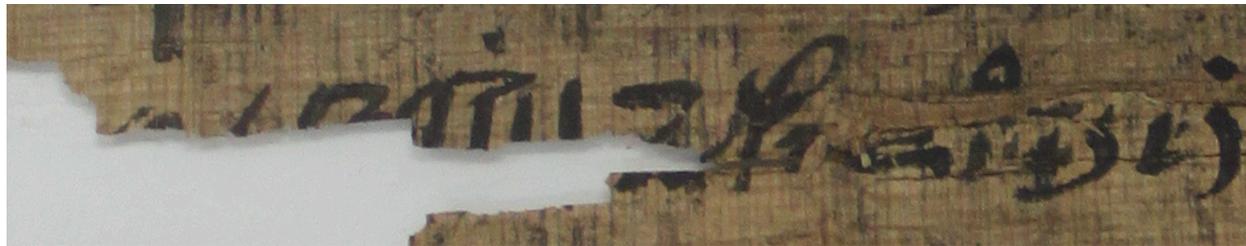
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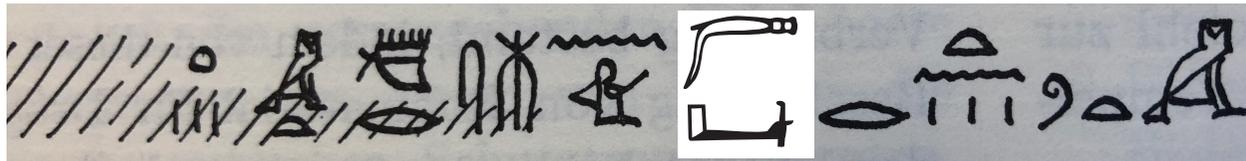
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P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 6	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10-11	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BN 196 III, 9-10	LRL 52,3-4	Letter	Order	2sg.f	rdi
P. BM EA 10060 (= Harris 500), v° 6,15	LES 5,15	Doomed Prince	Future	3sg.n	smḥ

3. Conjunctive pattern



P. ESP A, 10 (= Helck 1967: 146)



(...) mtw=tn r mḥ n=j msdm.t [...]

‘(when my letter will reach you, ...) and you will fetch for me galena (and ...)’

r-mḥ (cf. Coptic ἀμαστε,
with Winand 1992: 472, n. 72)

Sim. spelling in oDeM 843, 1,
P. Turin Cat. 1945, v° B7C11
[KRI VI, 590,14]

3. Conjunctive pattern

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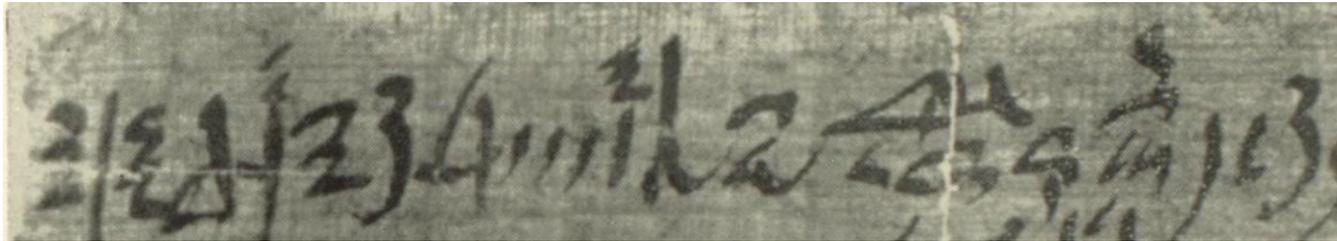


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P. BN 196 III, 9-10	LRL 52,3-4	Letter	Order	2sg.f	rdi
P. BM EA 10060 (= Harris 500), v° 6,15	LES 5,15	Doomed Prince	Future	3sg.n	smḥ

3. Conjunctive pattern

P. Mallet III, 6-7 (= KRI VI, 66,5-8)



(...) mtw=tn r jr.t n=j bh m n3 ʿḫ.wt [...]

‘(when the servant Amenemwia comes to you, you shall set out with him)
and perform corvée labor for me on the farmland (...)’

Cf. spelling in oDeM 317, v° 2

3. Conjunctive pattern

Ramses Online un corpus annoté du néo-égyptien

À propos ▾ Corpus ▾ Recherches ▾ Aide **Version bêta**

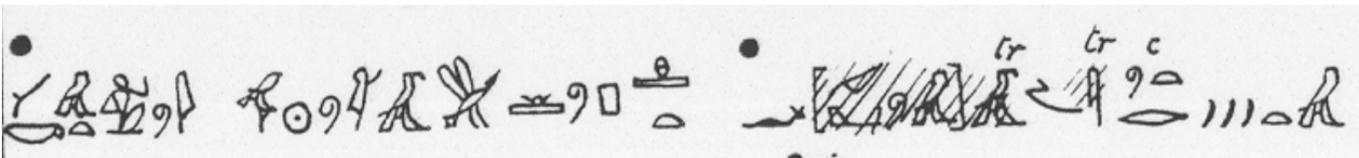
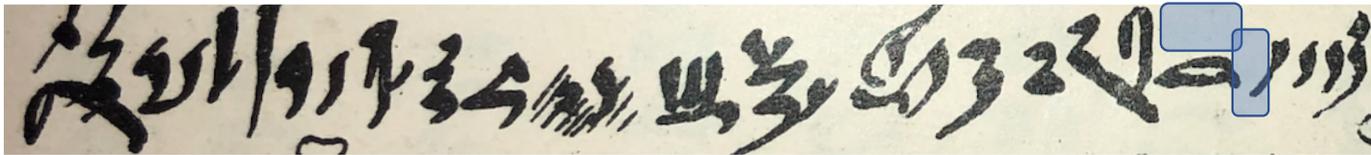


16 occurrences
(having filtered out
the cases of r-jr,
see above)

P. Mallet, III,6-7	KRI 6,66,8-6	Letter	Order	2pl	jri
Ö. DeM 684,5	Černý 1970	Letter	Order	3sg.m	jri
P. ESP A, 10-12	KRI 6,517,13	Letter	Order	2pl	mḥ
P. Florence 7125, v° 6	Botti 1964	Letter	Future	1sg	rdi
P. Turin A, v° 3,8	LEM 124,2-3	Protest against conscription	Past	1sg	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 8	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 9-10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, r° 12-13	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 2	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 4-5	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 6	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10-11	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BN 196 III, 9-10	LRI 52,3-4	Letter	Order	2sg.f	rdi
P. BM EA 10060 (= Harris 500), v° 6,15 LES 5,15		Doomed Prince	Future	3sg.n	smḥ

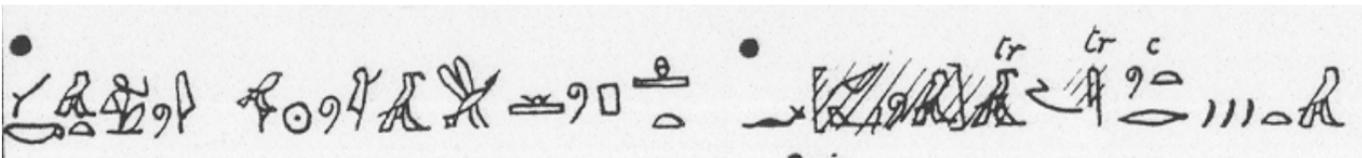
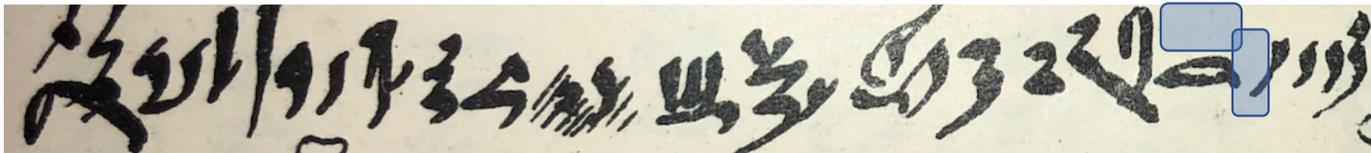
3. Conjunctive pattern

P. Harris 500, v° 6,15 (= LES 5,15)



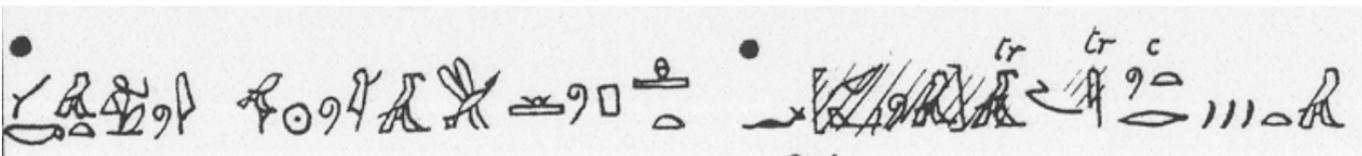
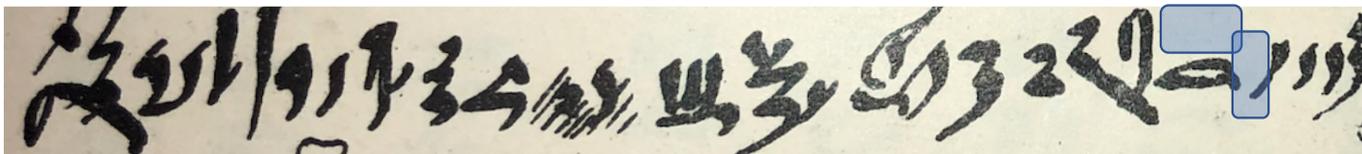
3. Conjunctive pattern

P. Harris 500, v° 6,15 (= LES 5,15)



3. Conjunctive pattern

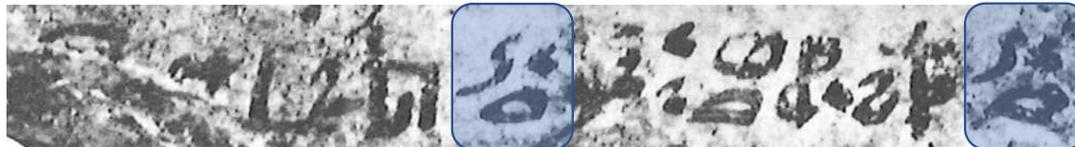
P. Harris 500, v° 6,15 (= LES 5,15)



Conflation of the 'protatic' *mtw=tw sdm* with the future construction *tw r sdm* (Stauder 2013: 358-376)?

3. Conjunctive pattern

O. DeM 1041 (= Posener 1938: pl. 23-23a)



° tw r nd-ḥr.t=f ° tw r ḥꜣb [...]

‘One will greet him, one will send [...]’

Conflation of the ‘protatic’ *mtw=tw sdm* with the future construction *tw r sdm* (Stauder 2013: 358-376)?

3. Conjunctive pattern

Ramses Online un corpus annoté du néo-égyptien

À propos ▾ Corpus ▾ Recherches ▾ Aide **Version bêta**



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P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 2	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 4-5	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 6	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BM EA 75019+10302, v° 10-11	Demarée 2006	Letter	Order	2sg.m	rdi
P. BN 196 III, 9-10	LRL 52,3-4	Letter	Order	2sg.f	rdi
P. BM EA 10060 (= Harris 500), v° 6,15	LES 5,15	Doomed Prince	Future	3sg.n	smḥ

???

3. Conjunctive pattern

Ray (1973); Johnson (1986: 288, n. 176); Hoffmann (1995: 45, n. 91)

pCarlsberg 14, D,5 (= Volten 1942: 96 & pl. 5)



mtw=f r šm r ı[mwt]?

'([he will] live in any place,) and he is going to ?die?'

mtw=f r sđm in lacunary contexts

- mtw=f for ntj-jw=f r sđm (see already Ray 1973: 157)
- [r šr] mtw=s r mwt 'a son of her will die' (Quack & Ryholt 2019: 224)

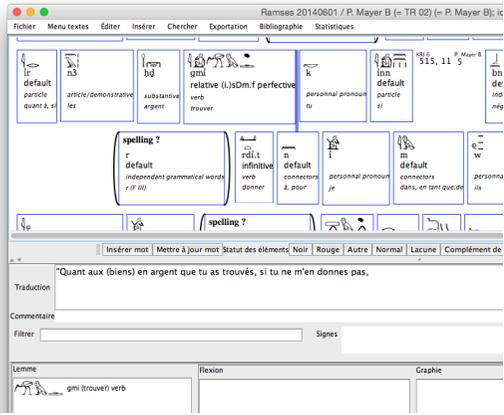
4. Conclusions

4. Conclusions

<http://ramses.ulg.ac.be>



projet RAMES project



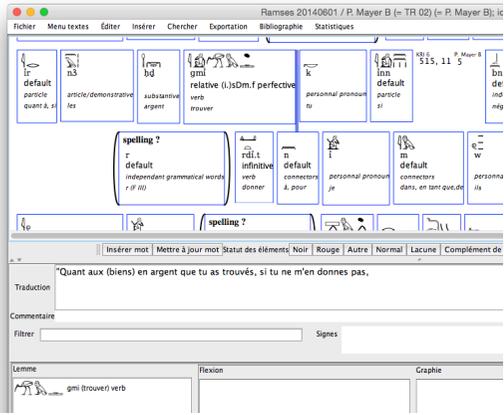
The screenshot shows a web browser window with the URL <http://ramses.ulg.ac.be>. The page displays a search interface for the word "trouver". The search results are organized into a grid of boxes, each containing a word and its grammatical category. For example, "trouver" is listed as a verb. Below the search results, there is a section for "spelling ?" and a translation of the sentence "Quant aux (biens) en argent que tu as trouvés, si tu ne m'en donnes pas,". The interface also includes a menu bar with options like "Fichier", "Menu textes", "Éditer", "Insérer", "Chercher", "Exportation", "Bibliographie", and "Statistiques".

4. Conclusions

<http://ramses.ulg.ac.be>



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The screenshot shows a web application interface for morphological analysis. At the top, there is a menu bar with options like 'Fichier', 'Menu textes', 'Éditer', 'Insérer', 'Chercher', 'Exportation', 'Bibliographie', and 'Statistiques'. Below the menu is a grid of buttons for selecting grammatical features. A 'spelling ?' dialog box is open, showing options for 'default', 'independent grammatical words', 'infinitive', 'verb', and 'donner'. The main text area contains the sentence: 'Quant aux (biens) en argent que tu as trouvés, si tu ne m'en donnes pas,'. Below the text is a 'Traduction' field, a 'Commentaire' field, and a 'Filtre' field. At the bottom, there are sections for 'Lemme' (gmi trouver/ verb), 'flexion', and 'Graphie'.

<http://crossing-boundaries.uliege.be>



CROSSING BOUNDARIES



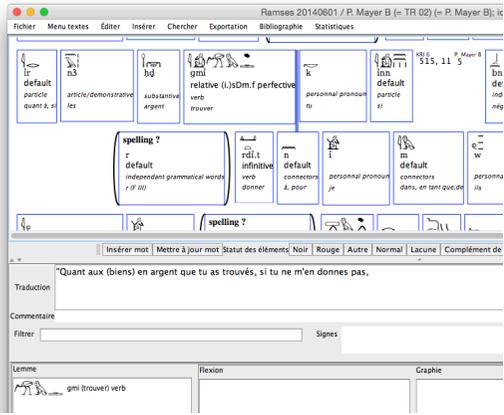
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<http://thotsignlist.org/>



Type	Phonetic value	Semantic value
classifier	—	building
logogram	<i>qd</i>	to build

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4. Conclusions

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<http://thotsignlist.org/>



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TSL_3_22302

Function Type	Phonetic value	Use
phonemogram	hn	regular



hn.t(y)=f^cnh^c nswt^c bj.ty m3^c.t-k3-r^c d^cm n ns.yt

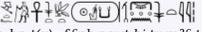
His living statue, the king of upper and lower Egypt, Maatkare, the electrum of kingship,

[View Source](#)

<http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=62830>



Photograph from the Karnak Project: CNRS, USR 3172 - CFEETK / UMR 5140 - ASM supported by the CNRS and the LabEx Archimède ANR-11-LABX-0032-01, Programme Investissement d'Avenir. All photographs © CNRS-CFEETK

Transcription : 

Transliteration : *hn.t(y)=f^cnh^c nswt^c bj.ty m3^c.t-k3-r^c d^cm n ns.yt*

Translation : His living statue, the king of upper and lower Egypt, Maatkare, the electrum of kingship,

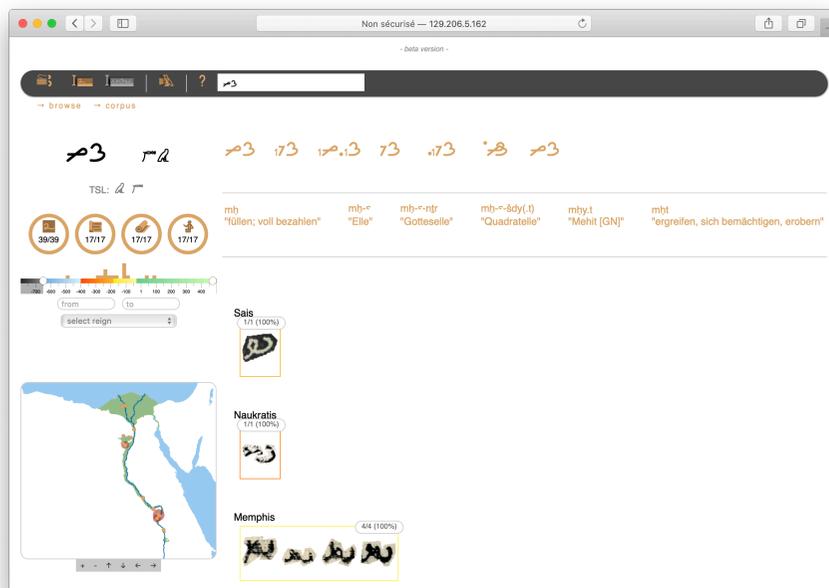
Comment : Note that the =f suffix pronoun is actually written before the classifier of Xn.ty. Note that the A23A is a placeholder for a statue form of that sign.

Metadata

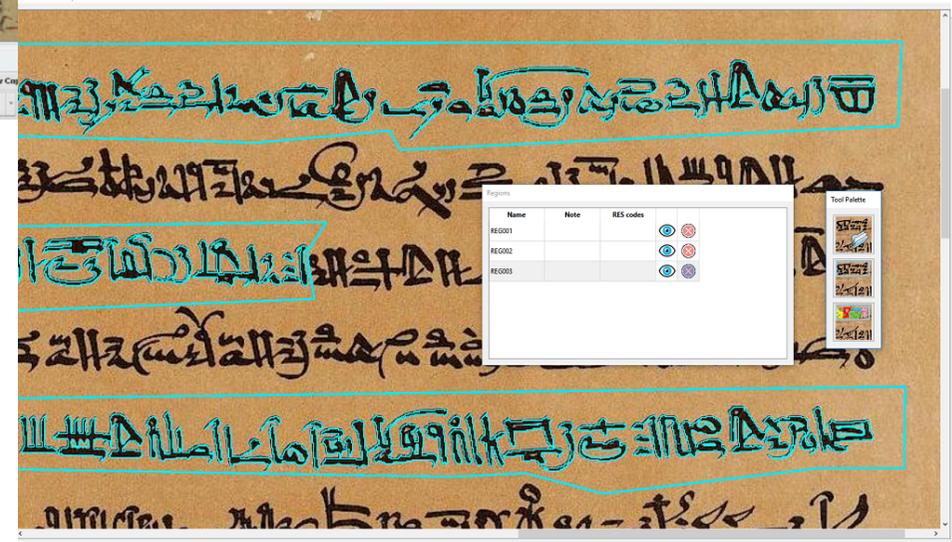
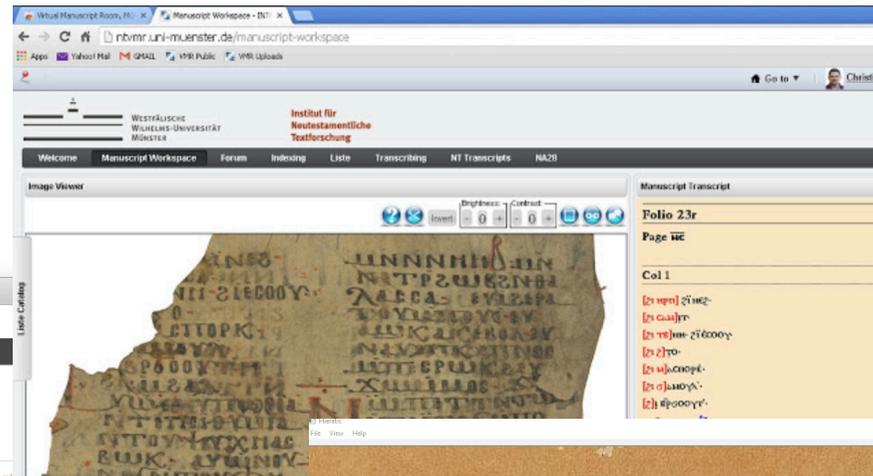
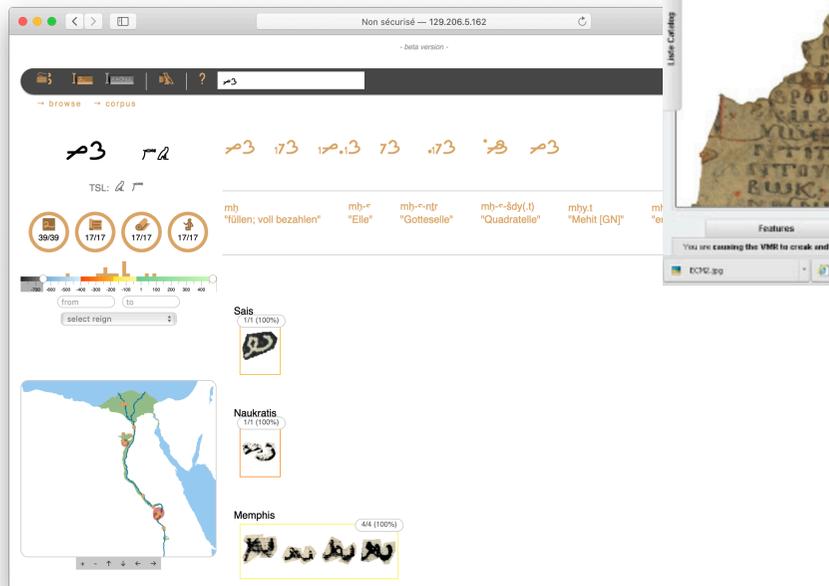
Provenance : Central Group Temple of Karnak, colonnade of Thutmose I, north obelisk	Object type : Obelisk
Location in document : Soubassement, south side, line 5.	material : granite
Date : Hatshepsut Maatkare	Script : Hieroglyphs
	technique of inscription : sunk relief
	Language : Égyptien de tradition
	Text content : Royal text
	Source Code : KIU 1730, line 5

Bibliography **Credits**

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4. Conclusions



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s.polis@uliege.be