# Egypt 2015:
# Perspectives of Research

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# The Case of *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*

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**Abstract:** *I here propose to set out, by means of a case study, the first results and the further perspectives of my researches on the semantic field of time. I will thus highlight how to make a systematic lexical study on a broad corpus of texts by using the new tools, namely the online corpora. I will also explain the advantages and the difficulties of taking into account the diachronic dimension in lexical studies for a dead language like Egyptian, and the possibilities and limits of exploitation of the data.*

**Keywords:** *lexical semantics, linguistics, philology*

## 1. Introduction and methodology

The quest for meaning in Egyptian is a challenge. Indeed, lexical semantics is a new discipline in our field, and still needs a better-defined theoretical framework. The difficulty is to combine the particularities of the Egyptian language with a methodology from general linguistics.

Stéphane Polis and Jean Winand set out this difficulty and proposed a so-called 'lexical trail', in order to approach that kind of study in a more efficient way. This lexical trail is a multi-level approach, organised in five research axes: the graphematic axis, the phonematic axis, the morphematic axis, the syntagmatic axis and the semantic axis. (Fig. 1)

The methodology applied in this study observes the five axes. In the context of the present article, I shall mostly focus on the syntagmatic and the semantic axes, that is to say, on collocations, contextual and cotextual environment, and on decomposition in semantic features.

Another important point is the principle of 'exhaustiveness'. This term is, however, somewhat misleading. Indeed, when one deals with a dead language, one is totally dependent on the existing sources.

The 'exhaustiveness' must be understood in relation to a well-delimited corpus that we will take care to clearly define from the outset. It is important to always keep this reality in mind, for any scholar dealing with lexical semantics applied to Ancient Egyptian as well as for his/her readers.

However, this should not discourage us. Textual sources available for Ancient Egyptian are still numerous, and important progress has been made in the last few years in textual databases. It means that it is now possible to treat a large amount of data and to envisage broad lexical studies. Therefore electronic corpora have now become very precious tools. The two main ones are the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (TLA)[1] and *Ramses Online*[2]. If the *TLA* does not need any introduction anymore, a brief presentation of the *Ramses* database might be useful. This project, under development at the Université de Liège (Belgium), provides an annotated corpus of Late Egyptian texts. *Ramses* supplies hieroglyphic texts with a transliteration, a translation, a grammatical analysis, a bibliography and a reference list. It also comes with powerful searching facilities. Since August 2015, *Ramses* is gradually being released online[3].

Even if they remain long and quite fastidious, heuristics and the analysis of the data are nowadays greatly facilitated thanks to those electronic corpora. Indeed, it is now much faster and easier to look at a large panel of attestations, and to cross-check the data. Lexical studies on complete semantic fields, and not only on isolated lexemes, can thus now be successfully undertaken. I am using these tools in my doctoral thesis (still in progress) about the terminology of time in Ancient Egyptian.

## 2. Case studies

The case studies I will present here are part of the corpus I am working on within the framework of my doctoral thesis. They are the lexemes *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*, associated to the translations 'dawn, morning, tomorrow'. I chose those cases, because their respective meaning is far from having been satisfactorily elucidated. The corpus taken into consideration here is made up of the texts from the Old until the New Kingdom; the data have been collected

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[1] Dils and Feder 2013: 11-13.
[2] Winand, Polis and Rosmorduc 2016.
[3] Winand 2015a (unpublished communication).
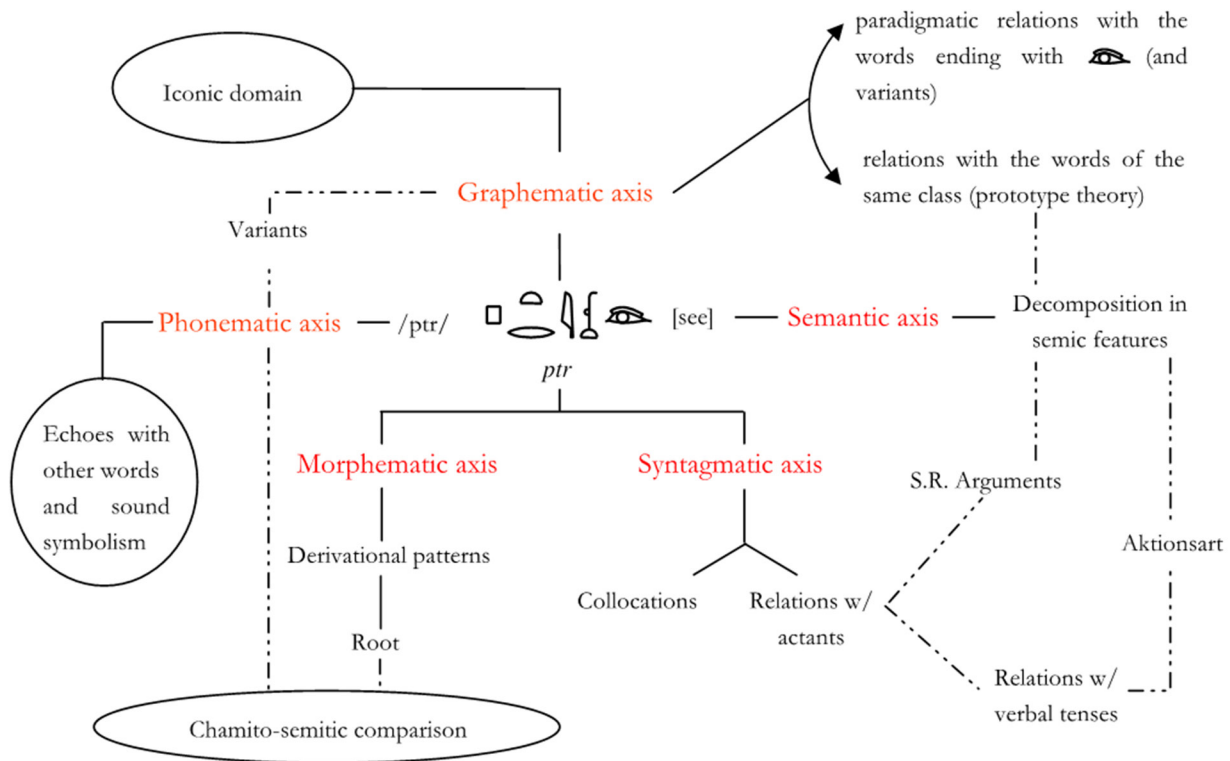
Fig. 1. Semantic Trail. After: POLIS, S. and WINAND, J. 2016: 1506.

from the *TLA* and *Ramses*. I also added the corpus of the *Coffin Texts*.

In the usual dictionaries, the following entries can be found for *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*:

Hannig[4]:

- *dwꜣw*: 1) der Morgen, am Morgen, morgens; 2) der morgige Tag, das Morgen
- *dwꜣyt*: 1) der Morgen, die Morgenfrühe, morgens, am Morgen; 2) der morgige Tag

Faulkner[5]:

- *dwꜣw*: 1) dawn, morning; 2) tomorrow, the morrow
- *dwꜣy.t*: 1) morning

Lesko[6]:

- *dwꜣy.t*: 1) dawn, morning; 2) tomorrow

Wörterbuch[7]:

- *dwꜣ.w*: 1) Morgenfrühe, der Morgen; 2) der morgige Tag, das Morgen
- *dwꜣy.t*: 1) Morgenfrühe, der Morgen; 2) der morgige Tag

For the two entries, one mostly finds the same translations. According to those dictionaries, *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ* can mainly be translated in two ways: 'morning' and 'tomorrow'.

The translation 'dawn' has been added for *dwꜣy.t* by Hannig, for *dwꜣw* by Faulkner and for both entries in the Wörterbuch.

In the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* and in *Ramses*, the situation is the following:

*TLA*:

- *dwꜣ.yt*: der Morgen, das Morgen (morgiger Tag)
- *dwꜣ.w*: der Morgen, früher Morgen
- *dwꜣ.w*: morgen
- *dwꜣ.w*: das Morgen (morgiger Tag)

*Ramses*:

- *dwꜣy.t*: aube
- *dwꜣw*: matin, lendemain

_____

[4]  Hannig 2006: 1043.
[5]  Faulkner 1962: 310.
[6]  Lesko 1982-1989: 125.
[7]  Erman A. and Grapow H. 1926-1963: 424-426.

The situation is thus not clear in the electronic corpora either, as they reflect what we find in the dictionaries. In the case of *Ramses*, for practical purposes, the list of lemmas is basically the one that we find in Lesko's, with some additions.[8]

I will try to show, thanks to the analysis of the data, that one is indeed faced with two different lexemes, but also that the translations could be improved. Indeed, if some confusion exists in the dictionaries between the translations 'dawn', 'morning' and 'tomorrow', we will see how to disambiguate the situation, and what are the difficulties encountered. The study will establish that there are two lexemes, with two different and clear translations: *dwꜣ(.t)₁* 'morning' and *dwꜣ₂* 'tomorrow'.

**3. Graphematic axis**

The graphematic axis is the one dealing with hieroglyphic spellings and, in some respect, with classifiers[9]. Here are some of the main spellings[10] attested for *dwꜣ* and *dwꜣ(y).t*:

★ 𓅓𓇳 *dwꜣ* (MK <)[11]

★ 𓅓𓂝𓇳𓏤 *dwꜣw* (MK <)[12]

★ 𓅓𓏭𓇳𓏤 , ★ 𓅓𓏭𓇳𓏤 *dwꜣy* (MK <)[13]

★ 𓅓𓂝𓂝𓇳𓏤 *dwꜣww* (NK<)[14]

𓂋𓏥★𓇳 *dwꜣ.t* (OK <)[15]

𓂋𓏥★ *dwꜣ.t* (OK)[16]

★ 𓅓𓇳𓏤 *dwꜣ.t* (MK <)[17]

★𓇳 *dwꜣ.t* (MK<)[18]

★ 𓅓𓂝𓇳 *dwꜣw.t* (NK<)[19]

★ 𓅓𓏭𓇳𓏤 *dwꜣy.t* (MK<)[20]

★𓏭𓇳𓏤 *dwꜣy.t* (OK<)[21]

𓅓𓏤𓇳 *dwꜣ.t* (OK)[22]

𓂋 𓅓𓇳 *d(w)ꜣ.t* (OK)[23]

Looking at the spellings, what can we observe? First, when they have a classifier, *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ* have the same classifier, the one with the solar disc. This classifier becomes in the New Kingdom the superordinate classifier (or second-level classifier) for the semantic field of time. Indeed, in the New Kingdom and mainly during the Ramesside Period, a reorganisation of the classifiers system took place, giving pride of place to broad semantic categories. The category of time is one of these, and the words belonging to this semantic field will adopt the same classifier, including the ones that were not initially written with the sign ☉ (*wnw.t*, *grḥ*). This reorganisation has already been demonstrated for hieratic texts[24], and research is still in progress for the hieroglyphic texts.

For *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*, this situation holds for the New Kingdom, at least for hieratic texts, and one can find this classifier in most cases already in the Middle Kingdom (again, for hieratic texts). In epigraphy, the spellings seem at first glance more conservative, but this needs to be further investigated.

In the Old Kingdom, only *dwꜣ.t* 'morning' is attested, usually with the spelling *dwꜣy.t*. The norm is to find it written with the sign of the star. This graphic association is of course interesting because we find the double dimension of light and obscurity. Osing mentions this double dimension of light and obscurity when he talks about the word *dwꜣ.t* 'netherworld'.[25] He defines this *dwꜣ.t* as 'the place where the sun and the stars rise'. Besides it, *dwꜣ.t* 'morning' is the moment when the sun rises and most stars hide (except for *dwꜣ.t*, the 'morning star'), the point of transition between night and day.

It is also sometimes written with the sign 𓊛 in the *Pyramid Texts*. It automatically evokes the idea of path, the travel metaphor, as a reminder of the journey of the sun in the solar boat across the sky; of course, one should not forget that the sign 𓊛 can also be there for phonetic reasons. One does not exclude the other though.

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[8]  Ramses is at present not a lexicon, even less a dictionary; it is only used to identify the lexemes present in texts. The semantic analysis will be dealt with later. An initial 4-year project focusing on the verbs of motion started in October 2015. WINAND 2015 b.
[9]  Classifiers have to be considered in a multi-level approach, as they also make the link with the semantic axis.
[10]  This list is not exhaustive and is given indicatively. The periods in the parenthesis indicate when the spelling is mostly attested.
[11]  PARKINSON 1991: 31,5.
[12]  CERNY 1957: pp.1, pl. I-Ia.
[13]  KITCHEN 1983: 502, 14.
[14]  GARDINER 1932: 65, 10.
[15]  SETHE 1908: 211 (*Wenas*, PT 274, § 404a).
[16]  SETHE 1910: 95 (*Pepi* , PT 504, § 1082b).
[17]  P. Ebers, 40, 2-5 [http://papyri.uni-leipzig.de/receive/UBLPapyri_schrift_00035080].
[18]  KITCHEN 1982: 319, 7.
[19]  ERICHSEN 1933 : 6, 16.
[20]  KITCHEN 1979, 86, 13-14.
[21]  KITCHEN 1979 , 86, 15.
[22]  SETHE 1910: 279 (*Pepi*, PT 569, 1434c).
[23]  SETHE 1910: 279 (*Pepi*, PT 569, 1434c).
[24]  CHANTRAIN, 2014.
[25]  OSING 1976: 266.

## 4. Phonematic axis

The phonematic axis deals with the study of the phonological structure of a lexeme, through its graphic variety. For each lexeme, one can single out several tendencies. For *dwꜣ.t*, five groups are attested:
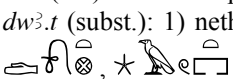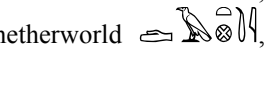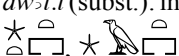
1. *dwꜣy.t*
2. *dwꜣ.t*
3. *dwꜣ*
4. *dwꜣw*
5. *dwꜣy*

The spelling *dwꜣy.t* is the most attested one in the Old Kingdom. The double yod is characteristic for this period; it declines afterwards to give place to the simplified spelling *dwꜣ.t*, but without disappearing. It is the spelling with the final –*t* that can be found in the great majority of the attestations coming from the Old Kingdom. We will see later that one should not mistake the defective spelling of $dwꜣ(.t)_1$ for the real masculine $dwꜣ_2$.
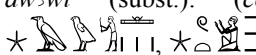
As for dwA, three groups of spellings are attested: *dwꜣ*, *dwꜣw* and *dwꜣy*. They seem to be equivalent, even if *dwꜣw* and *dwꜣy* are more frequently attested in adverbial use.

6. *dwꜣ*
7. *dwꜣw*
8. *dwꜣy*

The phonematic axis allows to connect *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ* with other phonologically close and semantically bound terms. Here are the main ones. I will not develop this point here, because I would rather focus on other axes, as already noted. What can at least be observed right now is that all those terms are semantically linked, related to the same idea of transition between night and day, or between the world of the living and the netherworld. As for *dwꜣ* 'to pray', the first meaning seems to be 'to pray in the morning', and evolved then into the more general meaning 'to pray', without specific nuance of time anymore[26].

- *nisbe* adjective *dwꜣy* 'morning' ★🦅𝄞★
- *dwꜣ.t* (subst): 'morning star' ★◯🦅
- *dwꜣ* (vb.): 'to wake up (early)' ★🦅◯𓀢
- *dwꜣ.t* (subst.): 1) netherworld; 2) funerary room ⬡𓋴⊗, ★🦅◉⬡
- *dwꜣty* (subst.): 1) inhabitant of the netherworld ; 2) *nisbe* ; from the netherworld ⬡🦅⊗, ★🦅◉⬡
- *dwꜣt.t* (subst.): inhabitant (*fem.*) of the netherworld ★◯⬡, ★🦅◯⬡

- *dwꜣ* (vb.): 1) to pray (in the morning), 2) to pray (general) ★𓂓, ★🦅🦶𓂓
- *dwꜣ-nṯr* (vb.): 1) to pray the god; 2) to thank (the god for something) 𓏺★𓀢
- *dwꜣ.t* (subst.): prayer ★◯𓀢
- *dwꜣwt* (subst.): (*coll.*) hymns, prayers ★🦅𓃀𓀢𓏭, ★◯𓂓𓏭
- *dwꜣt-(nṯr)* (subst.): divine adoratrice 𓏺★🦅◯𓀢

## 5. Morphematic axis

The morphematic axis serves to try and connect the lexeme to a broader family of words, for example, by finding its Chamito-Semitic roots. Unfortunately, in the scholarly literature, not much has been said about *dwꜣ.t* and *dwꜣ*.

However, we find traces of *dwꜣ* in Coptic[27]. Osing[28] mentions 'ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ' in Sahidic, translated by 'morning, dawn'. According to Westendorf[29], there would be traces of the lexeme *dwꜣ* in 'ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ' in Sahidic and 'ⲛⲓⲧⲁⲩⲉ' in Akhmimic, and we also find 'ⲧⲟⲟⲩⲓ' in Bohairic. Other etymologies are also proposed for 'ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩⲉ,' like *ḥḏ-tꜣ*, by Fecht[30], or *hꜣw dwꜣ* by Vycichl[31]. However, the last one does not appear very realistic. Indeed, there is no precedent in Egyptian of a locution *hꜣw dwꜣ*. Furthermore, the semantic implications of *hꜣw* do not seem to be compatible with the semantics of *dwꜣ*. Another possible hypothesis is *ḥr dwꜣ*. It makes sense as the locution *ḥr dwꜣ* is regularly attested in Egyptian, and actually attested only with $dwꜣ(.t)_1$ 'morning', as we will see.

## 6. Syntagmatic axis

The syntagmatic axis is instrumental in the quest for meaning. It deals with the study of the collocations, the argumental structure and the contextual environment.

We are thus now going to use this tool for a concrete case. As I wrote, there are two different lexemes: $dwꜣ(.t)_1$ 'morning' and $dwꜣ_2$ 'tomorrow'. However, they are not always easy to distinguish. Indeed, the feminine –*t* of *dwꜣ.t* tends to disappear from the spellings, which creates ambiguity, as can be seen when looking at the translations given in the dictionaries. (Fig. 2)

It is at this point that the use of a distributional semantic model can be helpful. It means that, for every attestation of $dwꜣ(.t)_1$ and $dwꜣ_2$, we shall systematically analyse the co-textual and the contextual environments; in brief,

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26 MEEKS 2000: 12-13.

27 CRUM 1939: 727.
28 OSING 1976: 72.
29 WESTENDORF 1977: 401.
30 FECHT 1960: note 346.
31 VYCICHL 1984: 317.

Fig. 2. Evolution of *dwꜣ(.t)*

all the information that can be relevant. The pattern of analysis here established is the following one: references (document and text), date of the d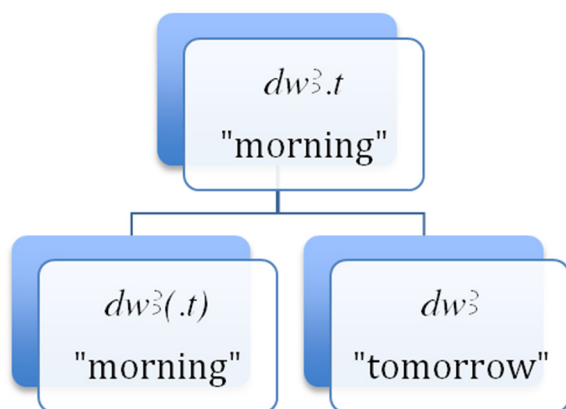ocument, date of composition (if different), genre, support (papyrus, ostracon etc), writing system (hieroglyphic, hieratic etc), classifiers, function of the word in the sentence (and correlated analysis), verbs and aspectual tenses, presence or absence of pronoun, article, adjective, quantifiers, adverbs, collocations, co(n)textual associations and oppositions with other lexemes from the semantic field of time, other co(n)textual associations, passage considered.

The following analysis will show how to differentiate the attestations of *dwꜣ(.t)₁* 'morning' written without *–t* (which is a very recurrent phenomenon) from *dwꜣ₂* 'tomorrow'.

**7.1.** *dwꜣ₁*

***7.1. Co-textual environment***

*dwꜣ1* and *dwꜣ2* can be distinguished thanks to their association in context and co-text with other lexemes or locutions. I shall first expose the case of *dwꜣ₁* 'morning'. Most attestations are very formulaic, especially the ones coming from religious and funerary texts. One can easily identify several co-textual associations where we are certainly faced with *dwꜣ₁*.

- Association with other lexemes from the semantic field of time: *dwꜣ* is in co-textual opposition with lexemes or locutions naming other parts of the day:
  1. *rdi.t šśp s pr.t-ḫrw n.f m dwꜣ m mšrw*
     'to make sure that a man receive an offering for himself, in the morning and in the evening' (*CT* III, 213a)

- Association with other lexemes (e.g. *ꜣḫ.t* (horizon), *wbn* (to rise), *iꜣbtt* (east), *bꜣḫ* (to rise) and *pśḏ* (to shine)) or divine names (Ra, Khepri, Aten etc) from the solar thematic:
  2. *ink ḫpri m dwꜣw rꜥ ꜥḥꜥy.f itm m mšrw*
     I am Khepri in the morning, Ra at his zenith, Atum in the evening (*Legend of Isis and Rê*, P. Turin 1993, strophe 7, l. 3, 10)

- Co-textual association with one or several words from the solar thematic, like *ꜣḫ.t* (horizon), *wbn* (to rise), *iꜣbtt* (east), *bꜣḫ* (to rise) and *pśḏ* (to shine). Those recurrent associations can be found mostly in the religious and funerary texts, in the context of the re-birth of the deceased. There is here no real possible ambiguity, because the context is very explicit.
  3. *ḏd mdw: y nb ꜣḫ.t ḫnty ntr.w iri n.f śnw m dwꜣ. wt*
     'O Lord of the horizon, the one who presides over the gods, for whom the Snw is made in the morning' (Neith, *PT* 758, § 2288a)

     Pepi II – funerary

  4. *wbn ḥr iꜣbtt m dwꜣy.t*
     'the one who rises in the East, in the morning' (P. Chester Beatty VIII = P. BM EA 10688, v 11,6)
     19th dyn. – magical

- *dwꜣ* as first term of a genitival-based construction. From the data, it seems that only *dwꜣ₁* can be used in a genitival construction. Indeed, in our corpus, there are no attestations of it for *dwꜣ₂*.
  *dwꜣ n* X
  5. *iw śśm.n.k šb.w n wr.w (...) dwꜣ.t n.t wꜣg ḥr śštꜣ*
     'you brought food to the greats (…) in the morning of the Wag-festival, in secret' (P. Louvre 3092 + fragment Montpellier (P. Neferubenef), Tb. 169, l. 571)
     Thutmosis IV – funerary

- *dwꜣ* + suffix pronoun
  6. *rꜥ dwꜣ.t.k im(y) pt dwꜣw.k n ny.t {pn} <tn> nb ḥ.t nb.t*
     'Ra, your morning, that belongs to the sky, your morning for this Neith, mistress of everything' (*Neith, PT* 50, § 37b)
     Pepi II – funerary

- *dwꜣ n* + infinitive
  7. *ky-ḏd tit pw n ir.t-rꜥ dwꜣ.t n.t mśi rꜥ-nb*
     'something else : it is an image of the eye of Ra, the morning of being born, every day' (P. London BM 10793, Tb 17, 5,6)
     Siamun – funerary

8. *ḥw n ꜥꜣ dwꜣ.t n.t pśš mw kmw*
   'the night of the big fight and the morning of dividing-the-black-waters' (*CT* IV, 67k)
   MK – funerary

- *dwꜣ* with a definite article

In *Wenamun*, one can find the only attestation of *dwꜣ₁* with a definite article, the article *tꜣ*. This example is particularly interesting because the article is here used in a clearly deictic function. Indeed, it highlights the fact that this occurrence of *dwꜣ* is the marked term of an opposition between *dwꜣ₁* 'morning' and *dwꜣ₂* 'tomorrow'.Thus, if we consider the other attestations of *dwꜣ* in the text, we find out that all of them should rather be translated 'tomorrow, the day after', except the one with the feminine article. There is thus here the wish to catch the reader's attention on a specific point. The general highly developed compositional frame of the text furthermore supports this interpretation.

Still in *Wenamun*, another similar case is attested, the one of *tꜣ dmi* and *pꜣ dmi*. Indeed, during the New Kingdom, *dmi* is usually present as a masculine (even if many attestations show the superfluous ending *–t*), and has the meaning 'town, village'. The feminine *dmi.t* is used with the first meaning of the word 'place, harbour', in recessive use. In this case too, the feminine is reserved to the first meaning of the lexeme, and is indicated clearly. It catches the reader's attention, and gives him the key to understand the play on words. The evolutional pattern is a bit different than for *dwꜣ(.t)* though, even if, in both cases, the feminine ends up the marked term of the opposition. (Fig. 3)

9. *iw.i (ḥr) dwn m tꜣ{y} dwꜣw*
   'I set off in the morning' (*Wenamun*, P. Moscou 120, 1,12 = *LES* 62,3)
   21st dyn. – lit. Fictional
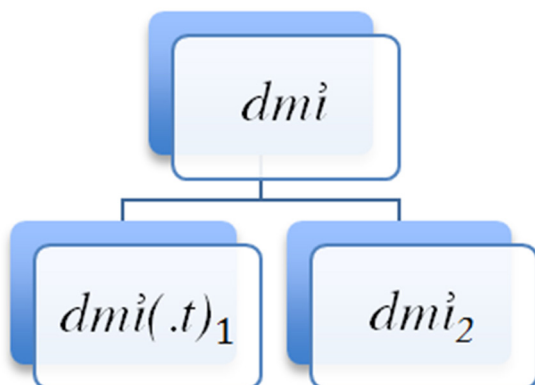


Fig. 3. Evolution of *dmi(.t)*

10. *iw nꜣy tꜣ dmi.t pr r.i r ḫdb.i*
    *iw.i wꜣš<.i> iwd r pꜣ nty ḫꜣtibꜣ tꜣ wr n pꜣ dmi{.t}im*
    'Those of the harbour came to me to kill me, but I managed to find my way to the place where Hatiba was, the princess of the city' (Wenamun, 2, 75 = *LES* 75, 1-2)
    21st dyn. – fictional

- Temporal adverbs

Association from the Middle Kingdom, with the adverb of frequency *rꜥ nb*;

11. *pśḏ.k dwꜣw rꜥ nb*
    'When you shine in the morning, every day' (St. Berlin 23270,3 = *Urk*. IV, 1672,14)
    Amenhotep III – royal

### 7.2. Function of *dwꜣ₁* in the clause

*dwꜣ₁* can be used in different functions inside the clause. It can be the subject of a non-verbal preposition, the direct object of a verb, or it can appear as an adverbial complement. It can also be used as the second term of a genitival construction (therefore, see the paragraph about the collocations).

### *dwꜣ₁* as subject

*dwꜣ₁* can be found as subject of a non-verbal clause. I have not found any attestation of *dwꜣ₁* as subject of a verbal clause in my corpus.

12. *rꜥ dwꜣt.k im(y) pt dwꜣt.k n wniś nb ḫ.t nb.t*
    'Ra, your morning belongs to the sky, your morning is for Unas, lord of everything'(*Unas*, *PT* 50, l. 47-48, § 37b)
    Unas – funerary

### *dwꜣ₁* as direct object of a verb

*dwꜣ₁* can be used as direct object of a verb. One can find it with the verbs *mśi* and *wn*. The morning, or dawn (*tp-dwꜣ*), can thus be opened or they can be given birth.

13. *ḏd mdw: iwr p.t m irp.s msi.n nw.t sꜣ.t.s dwꜣ.t*
    'the sky is pregnant with its wine, Nut gave birth to her daughter, the morning' (*Pepi* I, *PT* 504, § 1082b)
    Pepi I – funerary

14. *iw{.i} wn.n.i dwꜣ.wt hrw*
    'I opened the mornings of the day' (*CT* II, 113b)
    MK – funerary

*dw3₁* **in adverbial use**

*dw3₁* is most frequently used as an adverbial complement. It can be used alone, or with the prepositions *m* and *ḥr*.

- *ḥr dw3*

Looking at the attestations, it comes out that the phrase *ḥr dw3* is found only with *dw3₁* 'morning'. This observation is supported by the fact that the preposition *ḥr* is also used with the locutions *tr n dw3* (lit: morning time) and *tp n dw3* (dawn), both based on dwA₁. *ḥr dw3* seems to imply a more punctual period of time than *m dw3*.

15. *m33.i rˁ dì.f św ḥr dw3w ḫft ḫfty ḥr n nm.t*
    'I will see Ra when he appears in the morning, when the enemies are fallen on the battle field'
    (P. Leiden T2, Tb 15Alb, l. 12)
    19th dyn. – funerary

16. *św<u>d</u>3-ib pw n nb ˁ, w, ś r-ntt wì śpr.kwì dmì n ḥw.t-nbś m 3bd 4 šmw św 5 ḥr tr n dw3*
    'this is a message for my lord, l.p.h.: I reached the city of Hut-Nebes, the 4th month of shemu, the 5th day, at morning time' (, P. UC 32201, 5)
    12th dyn. – letter

- *m dw3*

The situation is different for *m dw3* because the preposition *m* can be found with *dw3₁* and with *dw3₂*. These are thus the most difficult cases to solve. Without other co-textual clues, some of them still remain ambiguous, mostly in fictional literary texts. As a middle way, one can also envisage the possibility that those attestations would be like 'intermediary' cases, that is to say, actualisations of the process that leaded from the meaning 'morning' to the meaning 'tomorrow', and thus to be translated by 'tomorrow morning'. I will come back to this point later.

17. *rdì.t śśp s pr.t-ḫrw n.f m dw3 m mšrw*
    'to make that a man receive an offering for himself in the morning and in the evening'
    (*CT* III, 213a)
    MK – funerary

    *iw.i (r) šm n.i m dw3w*
    'I will leave tomorrow/in the morning' (*Two Brothers*, P. Orbiney, 13,6 = *LES* 23,5-6)
    Seti II – fictional

### 7.3. Collocations

Besides the co-textual associations we have just seen, one can also find several collocations associating *dw3₁* to other terms on a fixed basis.

- *tr n dw3*

The locution *tr n dw3* literally means 'morning-time'. This locution can be related to a similar one, also used only with *dw3₁*: *3.t n dw3.t*. But there are very few attestations of it, probably because of the semantic implications lowly compatible of the two words. Indeed, *3.t* is used to name a punctual event, the climax of an action, or, to the contrary, an indeterminate but generally brief period of time. It seems anyway that *3.t* has a very limited degree of compatibility with *dw3*, as well as with the other parts of the day.

18. *wn.in 3ś.t ḥr šm.t ḥr t3 mtw.t n ḥr m tr n dw3 r p3 ḥśp n śtḫ*
    'and Isis went with Horus' sperm, in the morning, to the garden of Seth' (P. Chester Beatty I, 11,9 = *LES* 52,11)
    Ramses V – fictional

19. *iw ḫntì r bw iy.n.śn im rdì n.śn t.w ḥnḳ.wt mì […m] ḥśb.t 3 3bd 4 pr.t św 8 ḥr tr n dw3*
    'One sailed southwards to the place where they went, bread has been given to them, and beer, like […] year 3, the 4th month of peret, the 8th day, at morning time' (*Semna dispatches*, P. BM 10752, r°, dispatch 1, x+10)
    Amenemhat III – letter

- *dw3 zp-sn ˁnd tp n dw3*

Both locutions *dw3 sp-śn* and *tp (n) dw3* mean 'early in the morning, at dawn'. *dw3 sp-śn* is mainly attested during the Middle Kingdom, and is then replaced by *tp n dw3* in the New Kingdom. There are parallels to this locution for other parts of the day, like *tp n grḥ* (beginning of the night) or *tp n ḫ3w* (early evening, cf. in French: '*entre chien et loup*').

20. *ḥ<u>d</u>.n rf t3 dw3w sp-śn iw iww i3š n.i*
    'when the earth became white, at dawn, they came to summon me' (*Sinuhe* (B), P. Berlin P 3022, 248)
    XIIth dyn. – fictional

21. *m3.k rˁ tp dw3y.t m ḫˁˁ.f m 3ḫ.t i3bt.t*
    'may you see Ra at dawn, when he appears on the oriental horizon' (private Amarna tomb (n° 25), ceiling, central column)
    Akhenaten – funerary

- *dw3 ḥr-ś3 dw3*

Finally, there is also the case of the locution *dw3 ḥr-ś3 dw3* 'day after day, in the future', mainly attested in juridical context. This locution has, most likely, *dw3₁* as basis, as *dw3₂* does not seem to be involved in any collocation. Furthermore, some attestations of *dw3 ḥr-ś3 dw3* show the spelling with final –*t*.

22. *bn thȝ.i r sš ḳdw.t mnn m dwȝw ḫr-sȝ dwȝ.wt*
'in the future, I will not attack Menna, the scribe of the drawings' (P. Ashmolean 1933.810, v° 3-4 = K*RI* V,542,3-5)
Ramses III – juridical

23. *ꜥḥꜥ r-ḳr.ś m pȝy.i mwt m dwȝ ḫr-śȝ dwȝ*
'(and if) he stays on her side, after I die and in the future' (P. Ashmolean 1945.96, r° 6-7 = K*RI* VI, 736,1-2)
Ramses XI – juridical

### 7.4. Verbal tenses

The analysis of the aspectual tenses of the associated verbs does not seem to offer a sufficient criterion to choose between the two lexemes.

## 8. *dwȝ*$_2$ 'tomorrow, the morrow, future'

### 8.1. Co-textual environment

As already seen for *dwȝ*$_1$, there are several layouts that can help us to identify *dwȝ*$_2$.

- Co-textual association with/opposition to other terms from the semantic field of time expressing a relative time: *pȝ hrw* (today), *śf* (yesterday) or *hrw pn*. Sentences like 'Today is like tomorrow' or 'Today, I am well; tomorrow is in the hands of God' (cf. *LRL*) are recurrent.

24. *yȝ twi ꜥnḫ.kwi m pȝ hrw dwȝw ḫr ꜥ.wi pȝ nṯr*
'indeed, Iam alive today, but tomorrow is in the hands of god' (P. Leyde I 369, l. 6 = *LRL* 1, 8)
Ramses XI – letter

25. *bw rḫ.i ꜥ.n r dwȝw*
'but I could not know our situation of tomorrow' (P. Leyde I 360, 9 = K*RI* III, 230,6)
Ramses II – letter

26. *nnk śf iw.i rḫ.kw(i) dwȝw*
'yesterday belongs to me, and I know tomorrow' (*CT* IV, 192/193a)
MK – funerary

*dwȝ*$_2$ is often in contextual association with the god Thoth, whose protection is asked for the future:

27. *ink ḏḥwty rḫ ḫ.t dwȝw*
'Iam Thoth, the one who knows tomorrow' (P. Vatican 63 (38600/1+2), Tb 182, l. 209)
Hatchepsut/Amenhotep II – funerary

28. *ḥȝ-n.i ḏḥwty m-ḥȝ[.i] dwȝ*

'May Thoth be behind me tomorrow !' (P. Sallier 1, 8,3-4 = *LEM* 86,2)
Merenptah – miscellanies

- time adverbs:

*dwȝ*$_2$ is compatible with durativity adverbs, like *ḫr-rȝ-ꜥ* 'during'. It is however difficult to totally exclude *dwȝ*$_1$ in this case, as it seems to be characterised as having a certain length, and semantically delimited with the two poles [after night] and [before noon].

29. *iw.i (ḥr) di.t.w m mḏȝ.t m-bȝḥ pȝy.i nb r rdi.t in.tw pḥ.w ḫr-rȝ-ꜥ dwȝ*
'and I gave them as books to my Lord, in order that the case would be worked out tomorrow' (P. Abbott, r° 6, 24, K*RI* VI,479, 12-13)
Ramses IX – juridical

### 8.2. Function of *dwȝ*$_2$ in the clause

### 8.2.1. *dwȝ*$_2$ used as subject

*dwȝ*$_2$ can be subject of a verbal clause:

30. *dwȝ iw pȝ hrw m śni*
'tomorrow came, today is going away' (*Amenemope*, P. BM 10474, 7,1)
20th-21st dyn. – wisdom text

Or of a non-verbal clause:

31. *yȝ twi ꜥnḫ.kwi m pȝ hrw dwȝw ḫr ꜥ.wi pȝ nṯr*
'indeed, Iam alive today, but tomorrow is in the hands of god' (P. Leyde I 369, l. 6 = *LRL* 1, 8)
Ramses XI – letter

### 8.2.2. *dwȝ*$_2$ used as direct object of a verb

*dwȝ*$_2$ can work as direct object of several verbs:

*grg*

The idea of 'building tomorrow' is present in the Eloquent Peasant:

32. *m grg dwȝ n iy.t.f*
'Don't build tomorrow while it has not come yet' (*Eloquent Peasant* (B1) P. Berlin P 3023 + P. Amherst I, 214)
12th dyn – fictional

(neg +) *rḫ* and *ḫm*

The issue of knowing or not knowing tomorrow finds different answers, according to the literary genre. In

10

the funerary texts, the focus is put on the fact of knowing tomorrow. It is part of the traditional discourse.

33. *iw.i rḫ.kwi dwȝ*
'I know tomorrow' (P. Caire CG 51189 (P. Yuya), Tb 17, 37)
Amenhotep III – funerary

Wisdom texts and letters express the opposite opinion. We thus find neg. + *rḫ*, or *ḥm* 'to ignore'.

34. *bw rḫ.n ˤ.n n dwȝw*
'We could not know our condition of tomorrow (P. Leyde I 363, r° 4 = K*RI* III, 231, 6)
Ramses II – letter

35. *pȝ s (ḥr) ḥm dwȝw mi <i>ḫ*
'The man ignores how tomorrow will be' (*Amenemope*, P. BM 10474, 19,13)
20th-21st dyn. – wisdom text

In the example from Amenemope we can also note the use of the interrogative adverb *mi-iḫ*, reinforcing *ḥm*.

Since the future is unknown, it is also feared. We thus find *dwȝ₂* in a genitival construction with *śnd(.t)* and *ḥry.t* (the fear).

36. *iw ḥbś.śn ḫnt{y}.śn n śnd n [dwȝ]w*
'they hide their faces because of the fear of tomorrow' (*Ipuer*, P. Leiden I 344, 16,1)
MK (doc. 19th dyn.) – dialog

37. *iw.k m ḥry.t dwȝw*
'while you are in the fear of tomorrow' (*Amenemope*, P. BM 10474, 19,11)
20th-21st dyn. – wisdom text

*śiȝ* (envisage, consider)

One can consider tomorrow:

38. *n rḫ.n.tw ḫpr.t śiȝ.f dwȝ*
'one cannot know what can happen, while considering tomorrow' (*Ptahhotep* (P), § D343, P. Prisse, 11,2)
12th dyn. – wisdom text

*kȝi* (think about )

Or simply think about it:

39. *nn śḫr.f kȝi.f dwȝ*
'he has no plan when he thinks about tomorrow' (*Ptahhotep*, § D345, P. BM 10371 + 10435 (L1), d,6)
12th dyn. – wisdom text

In all those cases, the *leitmotiv* is always the same: tomorrow is uncertain, and therefore we cannot pretend knowing it, or making plans. Tomorrow is 'in the hands of god'; the humans are submitted to their fate.

40. *śt ˤnḫ m pȝ hrw dwȝ <m/ḥr> ˤ.wi pȝ nṯr*
'they are alive today, tomorrow is in the hands of god' (P. BM 10417,10-11 = *LRL* 27,15-16)
Ramses XI – letter

### 8.2.3. *dwȝ* used as an adverbial complement

*dwȝ* as adverbial complement can be used with the following prepositions: *m/n*, *mi*, and *r*.

• *m dwȝ*

As we have seen above[32], there can be ambiguity in this case, as the preposition m can be used with *dwȝ₁* as well as with *dwȝ₂*. However, in most cases, the other parameters taken into consideration permit to disambiguate the situation.

41. *iw.k (r) śdm pȝ <nty> nb {nty} iw.i (r) dd twf m dwȝw*
'you will learn everything I have to tell you tomorrow' (*Wenamun*, P. Moscow 120, 2,70 = *LES* 74,8)
21st dyn. – fictional

In the passage below, we are most probably dealing with *dwȝ₂*, especially if we consider the hypothesis that *dwȝ1* is explicitly signalled by the definite article *tȝ*, used as a deictic.

• *mi dwȝ*

In most cases, mi is used for expressing a comparison between today and tomorrow, between the present and the future. Depending on the genre, the perspective changes. Indeed, if in funerary and religious texts the focus is put on the fact of knowing tomorrow, in wisdom texts and in letters from the end of the New Kingdom, the vision is, on the contrary, much more fatalistic. Tomorrow is unknown, cannot be known, and we have to accept things as they come[33].

In Amenemope, there is a dialectic tension between stativity and dynamicity, reflecting a way of thinking the world:

42. *m ir dd pȝ hrw mi dwȝw*
'don't say : today is like tomorrow' (*Amenemope*, § 6,18 ; T. Moscow I 1 d 324, vs. 1)

XXVIth dyn. – wisdom text

43. *dwȝw iw.w pȝ hrw śnn*
'tomorrow has come, today is already gone'
(*Amenemope*, § 7,1 ; T. Moscow I 1 d 324,
vs. 2)
26th dyn. – wisdom text

- *r dwȝ*

The preposition group *r dwȝ* is always used in the
same context of projecting oneself into the future. The
preposition r seems to be used only with *dwȝ₂*.

44. *imy.k ḥr.k m hrw pn r dwȝ bw iw.f*
'don't prepare yourself today for tomorrow, it
did not come yet' (*Prohibitions*, O. Petrie 11,
r° 1)
19th-20th dyn. – wisdom text

In a general way, we can say that *dwȝ₂* is regularly used
as subject or object of a verb. This is much less often the
case for *dwȝ₁*, mainly found in adverbial use.

## 9. Semantic axis of *dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂*

*dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂* have common semantic features: they can
be split in the following ones:

*dwȝ₁* : /time/ ; /day/ ; /part/ ; /after night/ ; /before noon/

*dwȝ₂* : /time/ ; /day/ ; /after night/ ; /+ future/

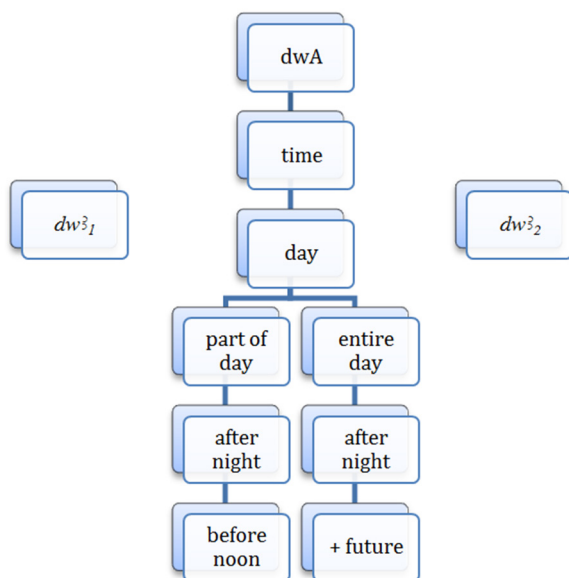The common features are thus: /time/, /day/, /after night/
(Fig. 4)



Fig. 4. Componential analysis of *dwȝ1* and *dwȝ2*

## 10. Distribution

### 10.1. Chronological distribution of *dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂*

The analysis of the diachronic distribution of *dwȝ₁* and
*dwȝ₂* shows that *dwȝ₁* is attested from the Old Kingdom.
The spelling *dwȝ(y).t* is almost the rule in the Old
Kingdom, although the double yod becomes very scarce
afterwards, followed by the final –*t*. The spelling *dwȝ.t*,
however, remains attested, even if in a recessive use.
As for *dwȝ₂*, it appears later, in the Middle Kingdom,
in wisdom texts. It then tends to slowly spread to other
genres. Finally, *dwȝ₁* is attested until the Graeco-Roman
Period, at least in religious texts, and seems to survive in
Coptic. *dwȝ₂*, however, does not seem to be attested later
than the Third Intermediate Period.

### 10.2. Distribution by genre of *dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂*

*dwȝ₁* is attested in all genres, but very rarely in wisdom
texts. This distribution is interesting because *dwȝ₂*,
on the contrary, is mainly found in wisdom texts and
discourse. I thus think that this is where the, so to say,
'breaking point' between *dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂* occurs. Indeed,
it is in those texts that *dwȝ* seems to have taken the more
abstract sense of 'tomorrow' and, by extension, 'future'.
It would be interesting to check if similar phenomena
are attested for other lexemes, in the same genre. What
we can say now, is that, in general, literary texts are a
privileged place to observe experiments and new ideas
in the semantic system, which can eventually lead to
semantic changes or to the creation of derived lexemes.

## 11. Conclusions

The change of gender is well attested in Ancient
Egyptian. It can be the result of the semantic evolution
of a lexeme, leading to its split into two different
lexemes. The change in gender is, in this case, a way to
disambiguate the situation[34]. This difference, even if not
always obvious because of the defective character of the
spellings, can be used in a clearly deictic function, as is
the case in Wenamun[35].

We can thus conclude that we are indeed faced with two
lexemes: *dwȝ₁* 'morning' and *dwȝ₂* 'tomorrow'. It is clear
that the two lexemes are etymologically linked, *dwȝ₂*
being derived from *dwȝ₁*, in the direction CONCRETE →
ABSTRACT. This hypothesis is furthermore supported by
the chronological repartition of the attestations.

*dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂* have common semantic features (time,
day, after night) and the etymological process is still
traceable.

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34   This phenomenon is also attested in other languages, e.g. in German:
der Morgen and das Morgen.
35   Cf. supra, dwA₁. Wenamun 2, 75 = *LES* 75, 1-2.
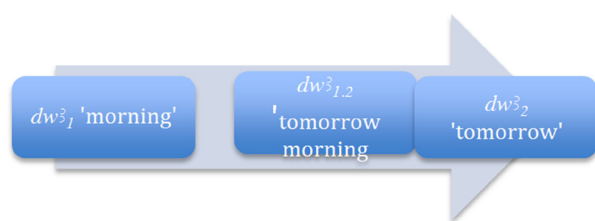
Fig. 5. Evolution path of *dwȝ*

The information that we find in dictionaries should be adapted. Indeed, as we have seen, *dwȝ₁*, means 'morning', and not 'tomorrow'. The translation 'dawn' is correct for *dwȝ sp-śn* and *tp n dwȝ*, but not for *dwȝ₁* itself. As for *dwȝ₂*, it means 'tomorrow, the morrow' or 'future'. (Fig. 5)

We can indeed postulate an intermediary stage 'tomorrow morning', making the link between the first and the second meaning. It might be this intermediary stage 'tomorrow morning' that is attested in some ambiguous cases, like in this example from the Two Brothers:

> *iw.i* (*r*) *šm n.i m dwȝw*
> 'I will leave tomorrow morning (?)' (*Two Brothers*, P. Orbiney, 13,6 = *LES* 23,5-6)
> Seti II – fictional

Differences in the distribution of the attestations of *dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂* are visible on several levels. First, in the chronological distribution, since *dwȝ₂* appears later, in the Middle Kingdom, and seems to be no longer attested after the Third Intermediate Period. Second, as we have seen, most of the attestations of *dwȝ₂* are attested in the wisdom texts and in the Late Ramesside Letters, while *dwȝ₁* is almost absent from the wisdom texts. The distribution by genres is thus highly significant as well.

As we have seen in details in the section dealing with the syntagmatic axis, *dwȝ₁* and *dwȝ₂* are usually not found in the same co-textual and contextual environments. Furthermore, *dwȝ₁* seems to be productive, as it can enter some lexical expressions (*tr n dwȝ*, *tp n dwȝ* etc), which is apparently not the case for *dwȝ₂*.

To conclude, I would say that the perspectives of research in the field of lexical semantics and lexicography are numerous. As I mentioned in the beginning of this article, this is a new discipline in our field, and detailed studies are still very few. Of course, this kind of research, as many other ones, takes a lot of time, and requires a well-established methodological trail. But examining thousands of attestations is now possible and realistic, thanks to the electronic corpora, which allow us to conceive of the research differently and to complete more ambitious lexical studies.

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