Ignorance and forgetfulness in Late Egyptian and Classical Egyptian from the

New Kingdom until the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

A lexical study.

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## Abstract

The conceptual domain of cognition in Ancient Egyptian is realized linguistically through numerous lexemes and expressions. Following Fortescue<sup>2</sup>, these lexical units can be organized around five pivot-concepts that appear to consistently emerge cross-linguistically and define subdomains within cognition. These subdomains are: knowing, understanding, intending, remembering and thinking, to which a sixth notion attention<sup>3</sup> has here been added. The present study focuses on three verbs with negative meanings in relation to the subdomains knowing and remembering: hm "ignore", smh "forget" and mhj "be forgetful, forget", as well as the negative constructions neg. + rh "not know". The aim of this article is to show that the semantics of these lexical units are interconnected with contextual para-synonymy and complementarity relations.

1 Introduction

## 1.1 The cognition domain and its subdivisions

The main goal of the present article is to present as case study a para-synonymic network made of three negative verbs in Ancient Egyptian related to the semantic domain COGNITION: hm (to ignore), smh (to forget), and mhj (to be forgetful, to forget). They have been selected for their behaving in some contexts as para-synonyms, which reveals the semantic proximity of some of their respective senses. They also function as para-

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<sup>2</sup> Fortescue 2001.

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay 2020.

antonyms to one or several cognition verbs. As the scope of this article is limited to the aforementioned case studies, I will not here give an exhaustive overview of the COGNITION domain as conceptually and linguistically realized in Egyptian. This will be the topic of a forthcoming publication<sup>4</sup>. However, a few theoretical notions and a glimpse at the "big picture" are needed to fully grasp the pertinence of the case studies.

Cognition is a vast and abstract conceptual domain which includes states of (non-) knowledge (*knowing*, *ignoring*) as well as cognitive processes (broadly, *thinking*). While everyone has a more or less precise understanding of what cognition means, at least in terms of KNOWING and THINKING, defining the exact extent and subdivisions of this domain is no easy task since they may differ from one culture and language to another. Furthermore, the extent of the domain COGNITION and what are considered cognition verbs have been defined in the scientific literature according to different theoretical frames and in relation with different subfields of linguistics and pragmatics.

Indeed, they have for example attracted a lot of attention for their subjectivizing and inter-subjectivizing functions in formal and functional linguistics<sup>5</sup>. Semantically, they have well-known applications in expressing epistemic modality and, pragmatically, they express a subjective standpoint ("I think that...")<sup>6</sup>. Cognition verbs have also been studied in recent years from cross-linguistic and pragmaticalisation perspectives<sup>7</sup>.

Another point of view, adopted here, is the one of semantics and semantic typology<sup>8</sup>. Indeed, a precise description of the inner organization of the semantic domain of COGNITION as well as of the relations between the different lexemes pertaining to that domain for ancient Egyptian allows for comparison with other world languages. More specifically, the domain of cognition, due to the highly abstract nature of the notions it encompasses, is the seat of numerous inter-field extensions from other semantic domains such as perception, action, motion, volition, etc. Indeed, many lexemes expressing cognition are a result of metaphor or metonymy induced polysemy. Egyptian data thus allow for comparison with previous works on trans-field extension with cognition as target domain, its link with the hierarchy of senses<sup>9</sup> as well as embodied cognition in a more general way<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> The present article is part of my ongoing research project about Cognition and cognition related verbs in Late Egyptian (funded by the F.R.S.-FNRS).

<sup>5</sup> Fetzer, A. & Johansson (2010), Brington (2001), Givón (1993).

<sup>6</sup> Fetzer, A. & Johansson (2010); Andersen (1996:313–314).

<sup>7</sup> Dostie 2004; Schneider (2007).

<sup>8</sup> Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2015).

<sup>9</sup> Sweetser (1990); Evans & Wilkins (2010); Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2008); Vanhove (2008); Vanhove & Hamid (2019).

<sup>10</sup> Sharifian & al. (2008), Zwaan (2021).

Besides the numerous verbs that have acquired a cognitive sense by extension from the realm of actions and experiences perceivable by the senses, many languages have a set of opaque words referring exclusively to core meanings of thinking. They are not definable in terms of specific behaviours or interactions nor in terms of any physically anchored manifestation.

As mentioned earlier, in some languages, the domain of cognition is defined more finely than others (see the parallel established by Fortescue with Rosch's taxonomic categorization<sup>11</sup>). All of them though appear to have at least one lexical unit referring to mental activity unavailable to external observation<sup>12</sup>.

In the current research project from which this article is part, the basic subdivisions proposed by Fortescue (2001) are used as the main frame of reference as this framework has been tested on a large corpus of 73 languages. On the basis of these data, according to Fortescue, five subdomains linked to five pivot-concepts appear to consistently emerge cross-linguistically. This means that they all have at least one lexical unit expressing this pivot-concept<sup>13</sup>. These subdomains are KNOWING, UNDERSTANDING, INTENDING, REMEMBERING, and THINKING. Instead of MEANING used by Fortescue, INTENDING has been preferred here because MEANING implies a polysemy ("cognitive process oriented toward the future" and "signification of a word"), which does not as consistently emerge from the data and can therefore lead to ambiguity if chosen as pivot-notion. This issue was already pointed out by Fortescue himself<sup>14</sup>, without providing any alternative to MEANING. These five subdomains of COGNITION can of course in turn be further subdivided and their boundaries are permeable to different extents in different languages (one can *think* in terms of *remembering*, of *anticipating* etc.)

KNOWING corresponds to the resulting state of knowledge, UNDERSTANDING is the *active* component of knowledge acquisition, REMEMBERING is a past-oriented cognitive process and refers to the storage and retrieving of previously acquired knowledge, INTENDING is an active future-oriented cognitive process and THINKING applies to any active cognitive process, oriented or not. The reason why "active" is not specified in the definition of REMEMBERING is that REMEMBERING implies different levels of agency depending on the context (storage vs. retrieving of information).

<sup>11</sup> Fortescue (2001); Rosch (1975:197).

<sup>12</sup> Fortescue (2001:15).

<sup>13</sup> On the term pivot-notion/concept, see François 2008. The term was initially used in the context of semantic map realization but I propose here its general application for the expression of lexical meaning organisation within a conceptual domain.

<sup>14</sup> Fortescue (2001:26).

Fortescue's five categories can be further subdivided in more specific types of knowledge and thinking processes. For that purpose, the theory for teaching and learning developed by Anderson and Krathwohl (A&K)<sup>15</sup> and based on a former categorization by Bloom<sup>16</sup> provides a more refined model whose main categories can be equated with Fortescue's: KNOW, REMEMBER, UNDERSTAND and INTEND respectively match KNOW, REMEMBER, UNDERSTAND and CREATE found in A&K' s model. The detail of their subcategories for KNOWING and THINKING (in the broad sense of "conceptual process") is given in Tables 1 and 2. The notion of THINKING in Fortescue (thinking process without projection into the past or the future) can be equated to the categories APPLY, ANALYSE and EVALUATE in A&K. These subcategories are very useful for a more precise classification of (Egyptian) cognition verbs. However, some of the the distinctions made between ANALYZE and EVALUATE are not always very clear and therefore some minor amendments might be useful there. Finally, it is also important to note that the core of A&K categorization is based on the opposition KNOWING (as state) vs THINKING (as process). THINKING in A&K is thus also superordinate to THINKING in Fortescue.

As for the realm of knowledge, it is divided in A&K into four types: factual, conceptual, procedural and metacognitive. A fifth type of knowledge is personal knowledge (acquaintance to someone), which is absent from A&K's categorization because they focused exclusively on educational objectives.

In complement to these categories and subcategories, it is proposed here to retain a sixth one, ATTENTION. The notion of ATTENTION has been the object of many definition in cognitive psychology, neuroscience and even, more recently, machine learning. One of the first scholars to take on this task was William James, pioneer of early experimental psychology and author of the famous quote: "Everyone knows what attention is. It is the taking possession by the mind, in clear, and vivid form, of one out of what seems several simultaneously possible objects or trains of thought"<sup>17</sup>. Since then, many attempts have been made at defining more precisely the notion of attention but also at quantifying it and at understanding the mental and neural patterns that underlie it. Yet, despite the plurality and vagueness of definitions<sup>18</sup>, at least one core quality of attention seems to have reached a consensus: "attention is the flexible control of limited computational resources"<sup>19</sup>. Attention is a pre-requirement to learning and knowing, and this translates in its important

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Anderson & Krathwohl (2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Bloom & al. (1964).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> James (1890, XI).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Hommel & al. (2019).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Lindsay (2020).

Concrete knowledge $\rightarrow$ abstract knowledge						
factual	conceptual	procedural	metacognitive			
knowledge of	knowledge of	knowledge of	strategic knowledge			
terminology	classifications and	subject-specific skills				
	categories	and algorithms	knowledge about cognitive			
knowledge of			tasks, including			
specific details	knowledge of	knowledge of	appropriate contextual and			
and elements	principles and	subject-specific	conditional knowledge			
	generalizations	techniques and				
		methods	self-knowledge			
	knowledge of		C C			
	theories, models,	knowledge of criteria				
	and structures	for determining when				
		to use appropriate				
		procedures				

representation in the Egyptian lexical data, mainly through trans-field metaphorical extension.

Table 1: Categories of knowledge (Anderson and Krathwohl 2001:46)

"lower order" thinking skills $\rightarrow$ "higher order" thinking skills						
REMEMBER	UNDERSTAND	APPLY	ANALYZE	EVALUATE	CREATE	
recognizing	interpreting	executing	differentiating	checking	generating	
identifying	clarifying	carrying out	discriminating	coordinating	hypothesizing	
	paraphrasing		distinguishing	detecting		
recalling	representing	implementing	focusing	monitoring	planning	
retrieving	translating	using	selecting	testing	designing	
	<b>exemplifying</b> illustrating instantiating		organizing finding coherence integrating	<b>critiquing</b> judging	<b>producing</b> constructing	
	classifying		outining			
	categorizing		parsing			
	subsuming		structuring			
	<b>summarizing</b> abstracting generalizing		<b>attributing</b> deconstructing			
	<b>inferring</b> concluding extrapolating interpolating predicting					
	<b>comparing</b> contrasting mapping matching					
	explaining constructing models					

Table 2: Cognitive process (Anderson and Krathwohl 2001: 67-68).

# 1.2 Corpus

The core corpus investigated is made of texts in Late Egyptian and classical Egyptian from the New Kingdom (NK), the Third Intermediate Period (TIP) and the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty in the early Late Period (LP). Most of the examples have been gathered from the *Ramses* 

database<sup>20</sup>. The core corpus was completed with the data for hm, smh and mhj from the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (*TLA*)<sup>21</sup>, which includes texts from previous and following periods. Examples prior and posterior to the NK-LP timeframe have been considered in a diachronic comparison perspective but have not been treated systematically. In the tables, the numbers of attestations provided corresponds to the total number of attestations currently encoded in *Ramses* and in the *TLA*, all periods and pre-Coptic language stages included.

For the cognition domain, 42 verbs<sup>22</sup> have been identified so far in Classical Egyptian and Late Egyptian, including 4 verbs carrying a negative meaning<sup>23</sup>. To these must be added a set of compound expressions whose exact number has not been established yet. Table 3 below gives an overview of the 38 verbs with a positive meaning<sup>24</sup>, organised according to Fortescue's five categories to which was added the category ATTENTION. The adequation with the categories of A&K for THINKING are also mentioned. This categorization, applied with all due caution to Egyptian data because of the considerable temporal and cultural gap with our own frames or reference in a modern western society, seems to be actualized quite accurately in the Egyptian lexicon.

	ATTENTION	KNOW	REMEMBER	UNDERSTAND	THINK (APPLY, ANALYSE, EVALUATE)	INTEND
1		<i><sup>c</sup>m</i> "swallow, learn"				
2			<i><sup>r</sup>n</i> "come back, remember"			
3		<i>rk</i> "tie together, understand, be wise"		<i>rk</i> "tie together, understand, be wise"		
4					jb "think"	jb "wish"

<sup>20</sup> Link to the beta version : http://ramses.ulg.ac.be. The core version of the database was used for gathering the data. I hereby sincerely thank the project's directors for allowing me access to it. Last access: July 12th, 2022.

21 https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla

- 23 The list may not be exhaustive yet as the project is still ongoing.
- 24 The verbs are listed in the alphabetical order of the Egyptian transliteration.

<sup>22</sup> Some of them have been already identified and studied by Winand (2013). He focuses on verbs expressing cognition as derived sense resulting from metaphor induced polysemies in earlier Egyptian. However, he adopts a strictly intra-linguistic perspective and does not touch upon more general theory about cognition nor semantic typology.

5					w3w3 "plot"
6				wpj "judge"	1
7			<i>wh</i> <sup>c</sup> "untie, understand"		
8				<i>wh3</i> "search, want"	
9				wd <sup>c</sup> "judge"	
10	<i>ptr</i> "see, look, pay attention"				
11	<i>m33</i> "see, look, pay attention"				
12				<i>nhb</i> "assign, decide on"	
13				<i>nk3</i> "think, reflect on"	
14					<i>ngmgm</i> "plot"
15		<i>rh</i> "know"			
16	<i>rs</i> "be awake, watch"				
17				<i>hn</i> "equip, organize"	
18				<i>ḥḥj</i> "seek, analyze, look for"	
19				<i>hsb</i> "calculate, identify"	
20				<i>h3j</i> "measure, evaluate"	
21				<u>h</u> mt: intend, plan, hope	
22		gmj "find"			
23				<i>k3j</i> "think, intend"	<i>k3j</i> "think, intend"

		22		22		
24		S55		<i>S</i> 55		
		"understand,		"understand,		
		be wise"		be wise"		
25					si?	
23					<i>Sj 5</i>	
					recognize,	
					discern"	
26					sjp	
					"inspect	
					avamina	
					chamme,	
					consider"	
27		<i>sbk</i> "be wise,				
		thoughtful"				
28				snd "be	snd "he	
20				spu oc	<i>spu bc</i>	
				snarp,	snarp,	
				insightful"	insightful"	
29					smtr	smtr
					"examine.	"examine.
					question"	question"
					question	(2)
						(?)
30						Sr
						"predict,
						foresee"
31			sh3			
51			"remember"			
- 22			Ternember			×
32						sš "write,
						compose,
						create"
33				stn "choose	stp	
00				salaat"	"choose	
				Sciect		
					select	
34	<i>sdm</i> "ear,		<i>sdm</i> "ear,			
	listen, pay		listen, pay			
	attention.		attention.			
	understand"		understand"			
25	anderstand		anacistana		×2 "ala-+	×2 "alast
55					ss elect,	ss elect,
					assign"	assign"
36		<i>šs3</i> "be				
		instructed.				
1		wise"				
27	1.: "	W150			1.: "	
51	agj see,				agj see,	
	watch,				watch,	
1	notice"				notice"?	
38		d <sup>e</sup> r "seek			d <sup>e</sup> r "seek	d <sup>c</sup> r "seek
		scrutinize			scrutinize	scrutinize
		solutinize,			serutinize,	solutinize,
1	1	create			create	create

 Table 3: Overview of the 38 verbs with a positive meaning for the domain cognition in Late Egyptian.

The present study focuses on the para-synonymic relations between three verbs with negative meanings related to the subdomains of KNOWING and REMEMBERING: hm "to ignore", smh "to forget" and mhj "to be forgetful, to forget" and the constructions involving rh "to know" in a negative pattern (neg + rh). These verbs have been chosen because they constitute a system and their semantics show points of contacts for some of their senses. As a consequence, they function in some contexts as para-synonymic lexemes. They also function as asymmetrical antonyms to one or several cognition verbs from the aforementioned subdomains. "Asymmetrical" here means that, for none of them, their semantics seem to match perfectly the semantics of their closest positive counterpart. In a perspective of exhaustivity, one should here mention that a fourth verb with negative meaning has been identified so far, was swg3 "to be stupid" (Wb 4, 76.8). It will not be treated here as it is not part of the same system of semantic complementary oppositions as hm, smh, mhj and neg + rh but completes the list of identified verbs with negative meanings pertaining to the COGNITION domain. An overview of basic information regarding hm, smh, mhj and neg + rh is provided in Table 4. One should note that the number of attestations given for Ramses and the TLA is the total of attestations for the given lexemes currently encoded in each database, which implies: 1) that there are a few overlaps; some examples are present in Ramses and the TLA sides and 2) that the attestations mentioned are not restricted to the core corpus of the present study as regards the TLA.

	Verb	Standard	Total number		Most	Classifier	Subdomain
		translation	of		common	category	of
			attestations		classifier(s)		COGNITION
			Ramses	TLA			
1	mhj	forget	7	9	≫ G37	SMALL/	NOT
						NEGATIVE	REMEMBER
2	smh	forget	45	52	≫ G37	SMALL/	NOT
					D25	NEGATIVE	REMEMBER
					ana D35	NEGATIVE	
					R	ACTION	
					₽A2		
					<u>「</u> 」「」 「」」 「」 「」 「」 「」 」 「」 」		
					A2	INGESTION/	
						SPEECH/	
						COGNITION (+)	
						EXTERIORISE/	
						EXPRESS	
3	hт	ignore	105	31925	ana D35	NEGATIVE ACTION	NOT KNOW
					-A	NEGATIVE ACTION	
					<u>سه</u> D33:۲1	+ ABSTRACT	
					\$		
					D35:G37	NEGATIVE ACTION	
						+	
						SMALL/NEGATIVE	
4	Neg	Not know	ca.	ca.	<u> </u>	ABSTRACT	NOT KNOW
	+ rh		33826	389			

Table 4: Basic information on *mhj*, *smh*, *hm* and neg + rh.

A list of the most common pairs of para-antonyms involving *hm*, *smh* and *mhj* on basis of cotextual associations recurrency is provided in Table 5. Further para-antonymic relations are obviously at work within the cognition domain but will not be treated here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The number of attestations for *hm* appears very high compared to the other two lexemes. However, it must be noted that many attestations are very formulaic, and therefore repetitive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The number of attestations for the negative constructions with rh is approximative. It was obtained by a search on collocations through the databases, which is not as precise as a simple search on single lexemes. Minor inaccuracies may thus have occurred. The total number of attestations for rh (with and without negation) is 1643 in the *TLA* and 1094 in *Ramses*.

Verbs with a positive meaning	Verbs a with negative meaning
<i><sup>c</sup>m</i> (learn, know)	<i>hm</i> (ignore)
<i>rh</i> (know)	<i>hm</i> (ignore)
	<i>smh</i> (forget)
	<i>mhj</i> (be forgetful, forget)
<i>sh3</i> (remember)	<i>smh</i> (forget)
	<i>mhj</i> (be forgetful, forget)
	<i>hm</i> (ignore)
<i>šs3</i> (be wise, knowledgeable)	<i>hm</i> (ignore)
	<i>smh</i> (forget)
	<i>mhj</i> (be forgetful, forget)
rdj m jb/ḥ3ty	<i>smh</i> (forget)
(place in the heart = memorize)	
<i>rdj hr r</i> (turn the face toward	<i>smh</i> (forget)
= dedicate oneself to)	

Table 5: List of verbs with positive meaning related to COGNITION in para-antonymic relation with *hm*, *smh* and *mhj*.

#### 1.3 State of the art: hm, smh and mhj in the current lexicography tools

Before moving on to the data analysis, the following section provides a short introduction to each verb with a summary of the existing dictionary entries in the Wörterbuch, the Hannig, the Ramses database and the TLA. The entries denominations provided in the dictionaries and databases are left in their original language to avoid loss of information in translation.

## hmj/hm: to ignore

Standard spelling (as provided in dictionaries):

Distribution in diachrony and by genres:

The verb hm is attested from the Old Kingdom until the Greco-Roman period. From the NK, it is found both in Late Egyptian and in Classical Egyptian (or better Egyptien de tradition), in all literary genres. Based on Vycichl's list<sup>27</sup>, it does not seem to have survived in Coptic. The distribution of attestations in *Ramses* and the *TLA* is as shown in Table 4, as well as the main classifiers and their corresponding conceptual categories.

The entries listed in existing dictionaries and databases for *hm* are the following ones: *Wörterbuch* (Wb 3, 278.5-280.5): *nicht wissen* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Vycichl (1983).

- with object
- o with infinitive
- $\circ$  negated, with preposition: hr "not to forget someone" ("jemanden nicht vergessen")
- $\circ$  with preposition *r* "nicht wissen"

### Hannig (2006: 643, 23414-23440):

- o nicht kennengelernt, nicht erfahren haben, nicht kennen
- o nicht wissen, verkennen
- o vernachlässigen, vergesslich sein
- *hm jb*: unwissend
- o nicht wissen, dass (+ clause)
- nicht tun können
- $\circ$  sich nicht kennen, ohnmächtig werden ( $hm \ d.t$ )
- $\circ$  *hm hr* + neg: nicht vergessen (jds.)
- $\circ$  *hm r*: nicht wissen wie (etwas tun)
- nicht mächtig sein (hm <sup>c</sup>.wj.fj rd.wj.fj)

hm is also signalled in Hannig as antonym of rh.

*Ramses*: ignorer lemma number: <u>hm\_1006\_30218</u>

*TLA*: nicht wissen, negieren (Engl: to not know, to be ignorant of) lemma number: 116910

smh: to forget

<u>Standard spelling (as provided in dictionaries)</u>:

Distribution in diachrony and by genre:

The verb *smh* is attested from the Old Kingdom until the Greco-Roman period. From the NK, it is found both in Late Egyptian and in Classical Egyptian (Égyptien de Tradition). It seems mostly attested in literary texts and it also present in letters. It does not seem to be attested in administrative documents. The verb *smh* did not survive in Demotic<sup>28</sup> nor Coptic<sup>29</sup>. The distribution of attestations in *Ramses* and the *TLA* is as shown in Table 4, as well as the main classifiers and their corresponding conceptual categories. The entries listed in existing dictionaries and databases for *smh* are the following ones:

<sup>28</sup> Does not appear in CDD. However, shm is attested (CDD: 377).

<sup>29</sup> Does not appear in Vycichl (1983).

### Wörterbuch (Wb 4, 140.16-141.10): vergessen

- $\circ$  vergessen = nicht mehr wissen
- o jemanden vergessen
- o jemanden (etwas) vergessen = vernachlässigen
- vergessen = nicht an etwas unangehnemes denken
- etwas zu tun vergessen (+ infinitive)

Also listed as antonym of *sh*<sup>3</sup> "to remember".

Hannig (2006: 767, 28156-28162):

- o vergessen, nicht mehr wissen; vergessen wollen
- $\circ$  vergessen zu tun (+ inf)
- o vernachlässigen

*Ramses* (lemma number: *smh*\_100\_1880): *oublier* 

TLA (lemma number: 135600): vergessen (English translation provided: to forget, to ignore)

*mhj*: be forgetful, to forget

Standard spelling (as provided in dictionaries):

Verb category: 3ae inf.

Distribution in diachrony and by genre:

The verb *mhj* is attested from the First Intermediate Period until the Late period. From the NK, it is found in Late Egyptian and in Classical Egyptian (Égyptien de Tradition). The verb *mhj* is relatively rare and its use seems to be restricted to texts of the tradition: royal texts, hymns, teachings. Vycichl<sup>30</sup> suggests a possible link with the Coptic word **MOEIGE** (S), **MAEIGE** (AL), **MAGEIE** (L) "miracle" and **P-MOEIGE** "to be astonished". The distribution of attestations in Ramses and the TLA is as shown in Table 4, as well as the main classifiers and their corresponding conceptual categories. The entries listed in existing dictionaries and databases for *mhj* are the following ones:

Wörterbuch (Wb 2, 113.7-11)

 $\circ$  *mhj jb/h3ty* = vergesslich sein

 $\circ$  *mhj hr* = etwas vergessen, eine Person vergessen

Hannig:

30 Vycichl (1983:110).

vergessen
vergesslich sein (+ *jb/h3ty*)

*Ramses*: oublier lemma number: *mhi*\_100\_6805 *TLA*: vergessen, vergesslich sein lemma number: 73070

As can be easily seen, the current lexical tools at disposal agree on the standard translations. However, a closer look at the data shows that the semantics of these three lexemes gain in being more thoroughly described and their similarities and differences highlighted.

### 1.4 Ignorance and forgetfulness: two interconnected subdomains

The notions of IGNORING and FORGETTING share in several languages one important feature which shapes the relations between the two subdomains. Indeed, they both imply the non-retrieving and/or non-application of information. From a KNOWLEDGE perspective, it means that the information has never been stored, that it has not been learnt. From a MEMORY perspective, in means that the information, even though it has been stored and learnt at some point, cannot be accessed, retrieved anymore. This accounts for the basic, non-agentive, senses of both IGNORING and FORGETTING: the impossibility to access information experienced by the subject, who has no control on it and has a role of experiencer.

IGNORING and FORGETTING, however, are also attested cross-linguistically as active processes implying a high degree of control by the subject on the action, and therefore moving the subject from a role of experiencer to one of agent. This active component consists in the fact of 1) purposely pretending no to have knowledge or awareness of something/someone in the case of IGNORING and 2) refusing or avoiding retrieving and using an information previously stored in the memory in the case of FORGETTING. In both cases, the antagonistic behaviour consists in denying/not acknowledging the detention of information and the capability of retrieving it.

The verbs hm, smh and mhj share the property of expressing both experienced incapability, inaptitude and active refusal or avoidance of retrieving information. Their semantics overlap in some of their contextual uses and diverge in others. This contextualised description and comparison are the topic of this section. As announced, the negative construction neg + rh will be added to the picture, for it functions in a complementary pattern with hm.

## 2 Uses and senses of *hm*, *smh* and *mhj* in context

### 2.1 Case 1: hm vs neg + rh

Knowledge is usually divided in 3 subdomains<sup>31</sup>: factual knowledge (know what), procedural knowledge (know how) and personal acquaintance (know someone). Their negative counterparts are expressed by hm and neg + rh, according to a different yet complementary pattern. Each scenario encountered in the corpus is listed and the uses of hm and neg + rh contrasted below.

## 2.1.1 Experienced ignorance

#### 2.1.1.1 Ignoring/not knowing a fact

The examples that follow refer to a statement of non-detention of information. This nondetention, and the resulting incapacity to retrieve it, is not controlled by the subject. It is the basic sense of ignorance as not knowing (not having learnt) a fact or not mastering a skill.

The semantics of hm and neg + rh partially overlap for the expression of "not knowing", "not having acquired knowledge". The knowledge conveyed here is factual: not knowing something, a fact. However, the nuances conveyed by hm and neg + rh respectively are not identical. The pattern neg + rh is rather used to negate knowledge of specific facts or events and related to specific circumstances, to a given conjecture. By contrast, hm refers to a statement of ignorance with a general validity: in ex. 1, the future is ignored, under any circumstance. In the opposition neg + rh vs hm, the latter appears to be the marked term of the pair: it can be used only for statements with a general lasting validity and contextually independent.

ex1 *p*3 Ζ hm(.w)dw3w mj jh ART:SG.M manignore:STAT tomorrow like Q The man ignores how tomorrow will be Amenemope, P. BM 10474, 19, 13 ex2 hy-r- bw shr.w rh=kп ntr since NEG know:PFV=2SG.M plan-PL of god Since you do not know the plans of god

<sup>31</sup> Fortescue (2001) and previous bibliography.

Amenemope, P. BM 10474, 23, 8

```
rmt.w jw wn bw rh =w sy hr=j
people-PL SBRD was(AUX) NEG know:PFV =3PL 3SG.F on =1SG
The people who did not know this about me
Inscription of Taharqa, c. 4^{32}
```

ex4

ex3

```
jw bw rh <= j > p_3 nty p_3 3h-hw.t
MCM NEG know:PFV=1SG ART:SG.M REL-M.SG ART:SG.M shaft-F.PL
n t3y=j m<sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.t jm
of POSS: F.SG =1SG tomb-F here:ADV
For I did not know where was the shaft of my tomb
O. BM EA 5624, r<sup>o</sup> 6
```

In the following example, neg + rh expresses a form of hesitation in a situation, thus referring to contextual application of evaluation skills. The whole passage constitutes also a metaphor for hesitation (through back and forth motion and not knowing where to step). This sense does not seem to be attested for hm.

ex5

```
v3
       twn
                (hr)
                     dj.t
                              šmj.t
                      give:INF go:INF
indeed PRS-1PL on
jw=n
          (hr)
                htht
sbrd=1pl on
                go-backward:INF
jw bw rh=n
                                rd.wj=n
                        s.t
SBRD NEG know:PFV=1PL place-F leg-M.DU=1PL
Indeed, we push ourselves to go forward; while we also go backward; for we do not
know where to step
P. BM 10375, v° 13
```

neg + rh, as non-marked term, can also be used for more general statements. However, here as well, there are some differences in the sense conveyed in context, with respect to hm. In the following example, the difference with hm is that bw rh.tw expresses the *impossibility* to know something specific, rather than ignorance in general.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Voir Winand 1992: ex. 558.

```
mwmdbwrh=twphr.ws.t-hm.tw3.tw<r>water deepNEG know:PFV=3SG border-PLwoman-Fbe-away:STATto<math>h3y=shusband=3SG.FAwoman away from her husband, it is a deep water, one cannot know its bordersAni, P. Boulaq 4, 16, 14
```

A recurrent case: not knowing someone's name

The two examples below appear very similar, as they both refer to not knowing the name of someone. The difference is again in the nuance expressed. The first example uses xm and expresses ignorance as an inherent quality of the subject, through the use of a participle. The second example expresses an impossibility of knowing, which is contingent upon external circumstances (similarly to ex. 6, pBoulaq 4, 16, 14).

```
ex7
                          rn=f jmw.w n=f r^{c}
    p3
              hm
    ART:M.SG ignore:PTCP name =3SG.M lamentation-PL for =3SG.M day
    nb
    every
    The one who ignores his name (= Amun-Râ), lamentations for him every day
    O. BM EA 29559, r° 13
ex8
    n\{n\} rh.n
                    ntr.w
                            rn=f
    NEG know:PFV god-PL name=3SG.M
    The gods cannot know his name
    P. Turin 1993, 1. 9
```

2.1.1.2 Ignoring and not knowing something unspecified: stating a general lack of knowledge

In the first example below, hm is used without a direct object to refer to a general state of ignorance, which is considered part of someone's qualities or condition on behavioural basis. This nuance of usual condition is reinforced by the use of the participle<sup>33</sup>.

18

ex6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> One cannot exactly talk about inalienable quality here because it would apply only to a nominal predicate.

```
ex9

bn twk m j3w hm bn twk m <sup>c</sup>dd

NEG 2SG.M in old man ignore:PTCP NEG PRS-2SG.M in young_man

swg3

stupid

You are not an ignorant old man; you are not a stupid young man

O. Gardiner 320, r° 3
```

In the satirical letter of Hori, the alternation of hm and neg + rh runs as a read thread through the text, which plays recurrently and ironically with the concepts of knowledge and ignorance. In all cases, the object of knowledge is unspecified. Different strategies are used for that purpose: a predication of non-existence in the first example, the nonexpression of the object in the second example and the use of *nkt* "something", undefined by essence, in the third example. The opposition between hm and neg + rh is also interesting here in the context of hierarchical relations between Hori and his interlocutor Amenemope. Indeed, while Hori points out – ironically – that there is nothing that Amenemope ignores (hm), the reported speech of Amenemope about Hori uses neg + rh. This implies that, even if some of the flaws pointed out by Hori's interlocutor against him were true, they are contingent and confined to specific facts. On the contrary, Amenemope's ignorance is phrased as being inherent, which is thus a more offensive statement.

#### ex10

sš stp h3ty w3h ndw.t-r3 h~j tw n scribe chose:PTCP heart place:PTCP advice rejoice:IPVF 3SG of hn.t=fspeech-F=3SG.M hft sdm = wmdw-ntr hmw n against hear: IPFV=3PL artisan of word-god nn hm=fnot-existant ignore:REL=3SG.M The scribe perspicacious of judgement, the one who delivers advices, one rejoices when hearing his speeches, expert in divine words, there is nothing that he ignores Hori, P. Anastasi 1,1,1

### ex11

jry=k shrj-c=j m ss dd=kdo:PFV=2SG.M underestimate:INF=1SG in scribe say:PFV=2SG.M

```
bw rh[=f]^{34}

NEG know:PFV=3SG

You underestimated me as a scribe when you said "he does not know anything"

Hori, P. Anastasi 1,8,8
```

ex12

```
m-jrjdj.tddtw < n/r> = kPROH-dogive:INF say:SBJV3sg to=2SG.Mwn\{m\}nkthm=kexistantsomething ignore:REL=2SG.MDo not allow that one would say about you "there is here something that you ignore"Hori, pAnastasi 1,14,7
```

2.1.1.3 Being unaware

a) Being unaware of the existence/nature of something

Both hm and neg. + rh can express the unawareness of the existence and/or the nature of something.

ex13

```
\frac{ddm.n}{wj} \frac{h.wt}{h.wt} \frac{nn}{rh.n=j} \frac{sw}{sting:PFV}
sting:PFV 1SG thing-F.COLL NEG know:PFV=1SG 3SG.M

Something that I do not know stung me, (it is no fire, it is no water; my heart is burning)

O. Queen's College 1116, r° 12
```

The second example is lacunary and could possibly be interpreted in two ways: being unaware of the existence/power of Egypt or purposely neglecting to give allegiance to it. However, the second option is more likely in context and this example appears again in ex. 27, under the section "active ignorance".

ex14

 $h^{3s.wt}$  hm.w km.thilland-F.PL ignore:PTCP Egypt-F dj=j hnd sn hm=k mj swd-hr mjgive=1SG threaten 3PL Majesty=2SG.M like recreation like s3bjackal

20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Other versions of the text have rh=k.

The foreign countries who were ignorant of Egypt, I cause your Majesty to threaten them as recreation like a jackal Karnak, Northern War Scenes of Seti I, KRI I, 30,15

#### b) Being unaware of a situation

The first two examples below appear very similar at first sight. Once again, though, there is a nuance between the one with hm expressing unawareness toward a situation going on in general, repetitively, and neg + rh expressing it regarding a one-off situation in a given context.

ex15

jħ p3y=s v3  $< m > p_3$ wd3 n wstn indeed Q POSS:M.SG=3SG.F walk:INF in ART:SG.M granary of pr-3 5.w.s hm=sn т pharaoh life, prosperity, health in ignore:INF=3PL Indeed, why is she walking freely in the granaries of pharaoh l.p.h. without them knowing it (lit: in their ignorance) O. Ashmolean 1945.37+1945.33+O. Michaelides 90, r° 19

ex16

 $h^{c}.n=sn$ ٢k *m-<u>h</u>nw p3* тš<sup>с</sup> hm=fп CJVB:ANT=3PL enter:STAT inside ART:SG.M army of Majesty=3SG.M hr mš<sup>•</sup> rh=sn jw=sn jw bw SBRD=3PL on walk:INF SBRD NEG know:pfv=3pl They entered the army of His Majesty while they were walking, them being unaware Qadesh, Bulletin (L2), §80

The third example below, featuring hm, may appear somewhat borderline at first glance, since it expresses unawareness of a specific situation (eating one's abomination). Given that, one would rather expect hm. However, the statement made about this specific situation has a general validity: it is bad every time it occurs.

ex17

dw wnm z bw.t=f m hm=fbad eat:SUBJ man abomination-F=3SG.M in ignore:INF=3SG.M Bad: if a man eats his abomination while ignoring (= in his ignorance) P. Chester Beatty 3, r° 1-11

2.1.1.4 Not being able to: hm/neg + rh + infinitive

The inability to perform a task can be expressed both by means of the verb hm and the construction neg + rh. The first one, hm, is already in use in the Old Kingdom and enters very early in the composition of lexicalised compound words such as jhmw-wrd (Wb 1, 125.15-16) "the untiring ones" and jhmw sk (Wb 1, 125.14) and "the ones who do not perish", both referring to circumpolar stars. The second one gathers negative constructions based on rh used a modal auxiliary in Late Egyptian. In both cases, the direct complement of the verb is an infinitive. Here as well, the same opposition between inherent and contextual situations applies. Neg + rh expresses an inability that is tied to specific circumstances, while hm expresses an inability with a general validity, as part of someone's qualities.

In the first example below, the inability is tied to a specific context and limited in time: a worker is not able to work *on a specific day*. In the second example, *hm* describes a quality inherent to the god Amun.

ex18 bw rh=f b3kNEG know:PFV=3SG.M work:INF He was not able to work (on a specific day)

O. Caire CG 25785, r° 8 (list of workers on duty)

ex19

hm rdj.t  $s_3$  hr jr.n=kignore:PTCP give:INF back on do:REL=2SG.M Unable to turn the back to what you accomplished Hymn to Amun, P. Berlin P 3049, 5, 9

The last example is a bit difficult to classify, for it could possibly fit into several categories: ignoring evil as 1) being unaware of it; 2) being unable or untriggered to perform it; 3) actively dismissing it. The lacunary context does not unfortunately provide enough information to decide on the issue. It can only be noted that, in the case of option 3, one would rather expect an oblique construction with r (hm=k r jsft). However, the oblique construction does not seem to ever become mandatory so it is not a decisive argument.

ex20

hm=k jsft ignore:SBJV=2SG.M evil So that you ignore evil

#### O. BM 29549, rº 1

While the aforementioned uses of hm and neg + rh appear as complementary in Late Egyptian, some others clearly diverge. Indeed, neg + rh has a more diverse range of uses, reflecting the wide polysemy of rh. The scenarios presented in the following sections seem to be found only with neg + rh and not hm.

### 2.1.2 Active ignorance

As mentioned above, "active ignorance" is the fact of purposely not accessing and using previously stored information that is part of the individual's knowledge. This sense is mostly realized in two ways: 1) not caring for/paying attention to someone; 2) neglecting/denying something, usually abstract (advice, teaching, speech, etc.)

This sense of hm is sometimes associated with an oblique expression of the object.<sup>35</sup> The oblique construction is not systematic and it is attested *only* when hm bears the sense of "active ignorance". The verb can then be followed with: 1) the preposition hr when the object is an animate (a person) and 2) the preposition r when the object is an inanimate.

2.1.2.1 Actively ignore something

hm r "ignore toward/against"

When the direct object complement of the verb is an inanimate, it may be expressed obliquely by means of the preposition r. The oblique construction hm r always means to purposely neglect something and always implies an agentive subject. It is not found in the primary sense of hm "not knowing".

ex21

hn<sup>c</sup>-dd twk **5**3 °k m prj COMP PRS-2SG.M be numerous:STAT in enter:INF go out:INF iw hm=k r sš MCM ignore=2sg.M to write:INF jth=k < tw > m - dj = jr sdm pull=2sg.M 2sg.M with=1sg to hear:INF You are restless, while you neglect the writing; you pull off from me regarding listening pLansing, 3, 4

<sup>35</sup> On the oblique expression of the object in Egyptian, mainly focusing on the use of *m*, with some typological considerations, see Winand (2015).

ex22 *m-jrj hm r mw.t* PROH-do ignore:INF to death-F Do not ignore death oDeM 01730, r° x+2

2.1.2.2 Actively ignore someone, denying attention to a person

#### hm hr "ignore upon"

The following passage is about a man who became powerful and who is advised to remain humble and not look down on/deny attention to his acquaintances who shared his former social status. The use of the vetitive reinforces the feature [+ control] of the subject on the action; it becomes fully agentive.

ex23

*m-jrj* hm hr rmt rh=kPROH-do ignore on man know:REL=2SG.M (if you are powerful and have become mighty), do not ignore a man that you know pChester Beatty 4, v° 2,1

The idea expressed by this second passage is again the one of not denying attention to someone one is acquainted with when they are in need. The duty of solidarity is repetitively stressed in wisdom texts in terms of "not ignoring" someone close.

ex24

jmy=k hm hr  $s_{2}h.w=k$  hrw.w gbw=snnot-be:IMP=2SG.M ignore:INF on neighbour-PL=2SG.M day-PL be-weak:IPFV=3PL May you not ignore your neighbours/close relatives when they are in misery oPetrie 11 – Prohibitions, v° 6

The last example below is in the same line: on the battle field, Ramses appeals to Amun and reproaches him to leave him alone and without help despite being aware of his distressed situation.

ex25

```
js p_3 n jt hm hr s_3=f
Q ART:SG.M of father ignore:INF on son=3SG.M
Is it the deed of a father, to be neglecting his son?
Qadesh, poem (L1), 26
```

24

From the available data, the construction hm hr has always the sense of "purposely ignoring someone", never of "not knowing" and the subject is always agentive. It seems that the use of hm hr is restricted to ignoring someone of lower rank, or at most equivalent. For individuals of higher rank (king, god), no preposition is used, except in one attestation of hm r + ntr (ex. 26) in which the object is preceded by the preposition r (and not hr as could be expected since the object is an animate). The use of r is here likely a scribal mistake since this construction does not seem to have any parallel with an animate object. Another option would be that the use of r would emphasize the antagonistic nuance of hm in this passage.

ex26

bnmntkj3whm=frntrNEG2SG.Mold manignore:REL=3SG.Mto godbnmntkcddswg3hm=fcnhNEG2SG.M young manstupid ignore:REL=3SG.Mlife(It is death in which I find myself with you/because of you!)You are not an old manwho ignores the god; you are not a young man who ignores lifepTurin A, v° 4, 10

In ex. 27, the element purposely ignored is Egypt and its power:

ex27

<u>h</u>3s.wt <u>hm</u> km.t hilland-F.PL ignore:PTCP Egypt-F dj=j <u>hnd</u> sn <u>hm=k</u> give:IPFV=1SG threaten: SBJV 3PL Majesty=2SG.M mj sw<u>d</u>-<u>h</u>r mj s3b like recreation like jackal The foreign countries who were ignorant of Egypt (= who had never heard of Egypt before), I cause your Majesty to threaten them as recreation like a jackal Karnak, Northern War Scenes of Seti I, KRI I, 30, 15

Comparison of hm and neg + rh: not knowing/being acquainted to someone vs actively ignoring someone

hm and neg + rh can both have a person as object, but their meanings are not identical. NEG + rh refers to not knowing as not being acquainted with/not having met a specific person, while hm rather refers to actively ignoring or not paying attention to someone (at least in Late Egyptian and Egyptien de tradition<sup>36</sup>).

ex28

hsy jw bw rh=j rwdw MCM NEG know:PFV=1SG administrator person name As I do not know the administrator Khai Inscription of Mes, N7 ex29 2 m-mjtt jr wr w<sup>c</sup> rmt r-pw rmt likewise if flee:SBJV one man 2 or man

jw bw rh.tw=w

SBRD NEG know:PASS=3PL

Likewise, if one man flees, or two, who are not known

Hittite peace treaty (Ramses II and Hattusil III), KRI II, 229, 10

In the example below, the verb rh is used in the vetitive. As seen earlier, the use of the vetitive empowers the subject with control on the action.<sup>37</sup> The negative action though does not refer to the fact of retrieving/applying previously acquired knowledge, as is the case when hm is used, but to the process of knowledge acquisition (i.e. purposely pretending that you do not know/recognize someone (hm) vs purposely avoiding to become acquainted with someone (neg. + rh)).

ex30

mmhjb=km[sn]mrhhnmsPROH trust:INF heart=2SG.M inbrotherPROHknow:INFfriendDo not trust a brother, do not acquaint a friendTeaching of Amenemhat, oBM EA 05623, r° 6

neg + rh does not seem to be attested in the sense of "actively ignoring/neglecting" acquired knowledge or "not paying attention" to someone. It is specific to the semantics of hm only.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> cf. infra, B.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> On the use of some grammatical patterns to reinforce the subject's agentivity, see Winand (2021: fn. 77, 6.2.2, exs. 76-77).

2.2 Case 2: *smh* "to forget", "to forgive", "to actively turn the attention away from"

The primary sense of *smh* is "to forget" as failing to remember, experience an incapacity to memorize or to retrieve a previously stored/learnt information. Etymologically, smh is a causative built on hm "ignore"<sup>38</sup> and went through an evolution from s-hm to s-mh. It thus initially means "cause to ignore", which developed into "forget". In addition to that, *smh* can contextually take other senses. As it is the case for *hm*, a distinction can be made between experienced forgetfulness and active forgetfulness. In the second case, the subject becomes agent instead of experiencer and gains control over the action. The sense expressed by *smh* in such cases is the one of *purposely* avoiding/refusing to retrieve an information stored in memory. It can have a negative connotation (neglecting, dismissing), similarly to *hm*, but also a positive one (forgiving).

#### 2.2.1 Experienced forgetfulness

#### 2.2.1.1 Forgetting something

In Late Egyptian, *smh* in its primary sense of "experienced forgetfulness" relatively rarely refers to simply forgetting a material object (i.a. leaving it somewhere) or to losing the memory of a fact. Yet, even if recessive, it remains in use. The exs. 31 and 32 below illustrate some of those cases.

```
ex31
                                  dd=f
     smh
                 =f
                         n3
     forget :PFV =3SG.M ART.PL say:REL=3SG.M
     He forgot what he said
     oBM EA 29551, r° 2
ex32
    smw
            nb
                   m-r
                            hrd.w=f
                                             smh.n
                                                              wnm w
                                                        sw
     greens every in-hand child-PL=3SG.M forget:PFV 3SG.M eat:PTCP
     All the greens remain in possession of his children, after the eaters have forgotten
     them<sup>39</sup>
     Hymn to the Nile, pAnastasi 7, 11, 5
```

In the realm of factual memory/forgetfulness, *smh* most often conveys the sense of 1) forgetting to do something; 2) not thinking about someone (who is dead, out of sight, etc.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Hannig (2006: 767); Wb 4, 243.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> *smw* is a collective in Egyptian.

any longer. As regards procedural memory/forgetfulness, the sense "forgetting how", "losing a capability, an aptitude" is also attested. In example 33, *smh* is used as a participle and translates as "the things that have been forgotten". In the present context, it might refer to actions that should have been performed rather than to something concrete, material.

```
ex33
     hr
          m-dj n3
                         smh = w
                                        hr
                                              m-dj n3
                                                             nty
     CORD with ART.PL forget:REL=3PLCORD with ART.PL REL-M.SG
     bwpw=w jrj = w
     NEG=3PL do =3PL
     hr
          m-dj n3
                         nty
                                   st
                                       (hr)
                                              šd=sn
                                              recite:INF=3PL
     CORD with ART.PL REL-M.SG 3PL on
     (We will do for ms-hr, whose mother is ns-t3-?3, the one said to be the child of pn-
     imn, everything that is in this oracle) with all the things that have been forgotten and
     all the things that have not been done and all the things that are usually recited.
     pTurin 1985, 116
```

2.2.1.2 Forgetting to do sth.

smh r + inf

When *smh* takes as object an infinitive, it is usually followed with the preposition r for the expression "forgetting to" + ACTION. This construction is frequent in amuletic decrees from the TIP, as in examples 34 and 35 below.

#### ex34

br m-dj n3 smb = w r dd = w m-b3b = jCORD with ART:PL forget:REL=3PL to say:INF =3PL in-front =1SG jw = w (r) nfrFUT=3PL FUT be\_good:INF (as for everything that has been reported in my presence while saying "do them for her") and (all things) that one has forgotten to report in my presence; they will be good Neskhonsu, pCaire CGC 58032, 96

#### ex35

md.t nb.t hr hrtw jr j.jr=w р3у TOPZ speech-F every-F do:REL=3PL on DEM:SG.M oracle hn° n3 smh = wr jr.t=w hr=f with ART:PL forget :REL=3PL to do:INF=3PL on=3SG.M

As for every word that they included in this oracle as well as all the things that they forgot to include in it (I will make them good for *t3-b3k.t-n-hr*, the daughter of *tyty-šrj*)

Oracular amuletic decree, pOIM 25622, 96

### 2.2.1.3 Not entertaining (collective) memory (regarding a person or an event)

In the next two examples, *smh* expresses forgetfulness as someone's fading away from collective memory, due to the passing of time. It is thus not a conscious decision nor an individual's failure at remembering, but the community's failure at maintaining the memory of someone as part of the cultural memory.

ex36

smh.wh3w = snnbforget:PASSrelatives =3PLeverybwjr = wn = snmhr.wmmEGdo:PFV=3PLfor=3PLpyramid-plincupperstela-PLwithiron-of-skyAll their relatives have been forgotten, they did<sup>40</sup> not make for them cupperpyramids and celestial iron stelaepChester Beatty 4, v° 2, 7

ex37

st šm smh.w rn=sn 3PL.C go:STAT forget:PASS name =3PL m sš.w j.djdj sh3.tw =w in writing-PL give:PTCP remember:PASS =3PL They are gone; their names have been forgotten; it is the writings that make remember them pChester Beatty 4, v° 3, 10

The example below from P. Bankes conveys the idea of not forgetting as being grateful, as acknowledging what one is in debt for.

ex38

hr twk rh.tw n3 nfr.w knwCORD PRS-2SG.M know:STAT ART.PL good-PL numerous j.jr = j n=k

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> A perfective makes more sense in the present context, but an imperfective translated as a present would also be possible based on the morphology of the form, which is ambiguous in that period.

```
do=1sG for=2sG.M

m-jrj smh=w

PROH-do forget:INF=3PL

Because you know the many good deeds that I did for you; do not forget them

pBankes I, v° 5
```

2.2.1.4 Being distracted from something, not paying attention anymore

In the following example, smh has the sense of "being distracted from something". The subject is experiencing a shift in attention, caused by an external trigger. It is different from the active forgetfulness, in which the subject purposely chooses not to direct their attention toward a specific situation/person. The latter is illustrated *infra* in section 2.2.2. This usage of *smh* is very similar to some of the attestations of *mhj* (cf. *infra* 2.3). Worth is also noting the oblique construction of the object complement by means of the preposition *n*.

ex39

jw=s hr dj.t smh=j n mhrSBRD=3SG.F on give:INF forget :SBJV=1SG of sickness wn m jb=jexist:PTCP in heart=1SG (She returns to me as the benevolent one), while she causes that I forget the pain/sickness that existed in my heart Stele Turin N. 50058, col. 14

The example below also belongs to this category as it shares the same idea of switching focus of attention. The verb *smh* is used in the idiomatic expression *smh* d.t ds=f, which literally translates as "neglecting one's own body" and means "neglecting oneself", "lacking self-care".

The expression appears in situations that are emotionally driven and do not pertain to a rational decision of the subject. The status of experiencer of the subject clearly appears from the cotext, through metaphorical expressions describing the despair of the lovesick woman in terms of experienced physical symptoms of sickness. One shall also note the use of the stative *hpr.kwj*, which has been commented both by Mathieu<sup>41</sup> and Meltzer before him. Meltzer suggests a stative in dependant use to express a resultative clause,

30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Mathieu (2009: 30 and 43, n. 94).

which is quoted by Mathieu but the relation of causality between both clauses does not appear clearly in his translation.<sup>42</sup>

ex40

```
c_{k}c_{k,n} \{=j\}h^{3}y.tjm=jpenetrate:PFV=1SG sickness-F within=1SGhpr.kwjh^{c}=jwdnbecome:STATbody=1SG heavy:STATsmh <=j>d.t=jd.t=jds=jforget:PFV=1SGbody-F=1SGown=1SGSickness insinuated itself inside me, so that my body has become weary; I forgot myown personpChester Beatty 1, Love Songs, v° C 4,7
```

#### 2.2.1.5 Forget how, not to be able anymore

A first point of contact between the semantics of hm and smh is the sense "not know how", "not being able". This sense is rare for both hm and smh and is attested in two variants of the same passage of the Teaching of Ani in examples 41 and 42 below. They were thus likely considered in this specific context as having (quasi-)synonymic meanings. The two verbs indeed express the same outcome, being unable to fight. They both express an inability of retrieving information (not remembering and not knowing anymore). In both cases, the information had been previously learnt and knowledge had been acquired. These two examples show clearly the reminiscence of the etymological link between hm and s-mh.

ex41

 $p_3$  $k_3$  $c_{h3}$  $sm_3.w$  $<m>t_3$  $m\underline{d}.t$ ART:M.SG bull fight:PTCP kill:PTCP in ART.SG.Fstable-Fbm=f $\underline{h}_3^c$  $s_3\underline{t}w$ ignore:IPFV=3SG.M throw:INF soilThe wild bull who was fighting and killing in the stable, he does not know how tothrow away the soil (anymore)Ani, pBoulaq 4, 23, 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> "(...) La maladie s'est insinuée en moi. Mon corps est devenu lourd et j'ai perdu toute conscience" (Mathieu 2009: 30).

ex42  $p_3$   $k_3$   $f_{h3}$   $sm_3$  <m>t3  $m\underline{d}.t$ ART:M.SG bull fight:PTCP kill:PTCP in ART.SG.F stable-F  $sm\underline{h}=f$   $\underline{h}_3$ °  $s\underline{s}\underline{t}w$ forget:PFV=3SG.M throw:INF soil The wild bull who was fighting and killing in the stable, he forgot how to throw around the soil Ani, pGuimet 16959, 5, 3

## 2.2.2 Active forgetfulness

In the examples below, *smh* expresses an "active forgetfulness", a conscious decision of the agent to shift their attention away from a concrete item (e.g. beer), a situation (e.g. injustice), peoples or a land. It does not necessarily imply an antagonistic attitude of the agent, but a purposed shift in focus away from the object.

### 2.2.2.1 Turning away from someone or sth. concrete, disavow, lack respect

The following two examples express the idea of turning away from, disavowing someone or something one was emotionally close to.

```
ex43
```

```
hargin{aligned} begin{aligned} beg
```

The feature [+ control] is stressed here by the imperative, whose use implies a higher agentivity of the subject.

```
ex44
```

```
smh \langle wj \rangle m -jrj wh3 =j
forget:IMP 1SG PROH-do search:INF =1SG
Forget me! Do not come search for me
gr. DeB 8, 2
```

In the next example, *smh* refers to being dismissive of social conventions; in this specific case, lacking respect to someone. The subject is here fully agentive and consciously acts in an antagonistic way.

```
ex45

jw=f smh(.w) t3y=f snd.t

SBRD=3SG.M forget:STAT POSS:F.SG=3SG.M respect-F

When he forgets the respect toward him (= the master)

P. Brooklyn 47.218.135, 4, 8
```

2.2.2.2 Neglect, overlook (actively), being dismissive of sth. abstract

In the first example, *smh* expresses the fact of not taking responsibility for a situation, of not getting involved.

ex46

```
mkh3 smh (r) jry m3^{\circ}.t
ignorant forget:PTCP to do:INF justice-F
(while) the ignorant turns away from doing justice
Khâkheperrêseneb, T. Cairo JE 43261 B, inv. 1.2
```

In the next two examples, *smh* takes the sense of purposely neglecting, overlooking advices and examples coming from the past. It is in contextual association with *hm*, which is used in the sense of "actively" ignoring, denying attention<sup>43</sup>. The *sdm=f* form *rh=f* expresses here concomitant action in a circumstantial clause and is thus neutral regarding the aspect.

ex47

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Vernus (2001:220 and n. 32) translates as "Une arène qui ignore hier" and interprets it as "without precedent", in other words, as not knowing sth. because it never happened, thus, as *experienced* ignorance. This translation raises issues: he translates *smh* as "ignore" instead or "forget", which would be acceptable in the case of active ignorance/forgetfulness. Indeed, *hm* and *smh* are para-synonymous in this sense of *active* ignorance/forgetfulness. However, *hm* and *smh* in the respective senses of *experienced* ignorance (as he translates it) or *experienced* forgetfulness do not appear as interchangeable since the first implies that a fact never happened and the second implies that a fact happened/may have happened but has been forgotten.

```
۶dd
     bn
          twk
                     т
                                     swg3
     NEG PRS-2SG.M in young man stupid
     smh=k
                       md.wt
                                 tp-۲
                                       ts
                                                \{h3ty.kwj\} < h3.t- > / < hry-h3.t>
     forget:PFV=2SG.M word-F.PL before sentence before
     hm=k
                  jb=k
                                   5nh
                               r
     ignore=2SG.M heart=2SG.M to
                                   swear
     You are not a stupid young man; but you neglected the words of before, the advices
     of the past; you ignored your heart at the moment of swearing
     O. Gardiner 320, HO 97,2, r° 4
ex48
     [bw-]3
                           n \quad m33.n.tw = f
                     Sh3
                п
    place-great of fight of see-PASS=3SG.F
          °h3
    jst
                     tw hr mtwn smh
                                                sf
     SBRD fight: IPFV 3SG on arena forget: PTCP yesterday
     nn
          km.n
                     [bw-nfr]
                                 п
                                     hm
                                                  rh=f
     NEG complete place-good of ignore:PTCP know:IPFV=3SG.M
     The importance of a fight is not possible to be seen when one fights in an arena that
     forgets yesterday: the good deed cannot suffice to the one who pretends to ignore
```

while he knows.

Amenemhat, O. BM EA 05623, 12

## 2.2.2.3 Giving up, growing out of sth

This use of *smh* applies to giving up/growing out of a negative habit/behaviour. The first example below is rich in verbs and expressions belonging to the semantic field of cognition. In the first clause, *hm* is used in the sense of actively ignoring someone. The rest of the passage is about thinking critically and acknowledging the soundness of the master's advice.

ex49

ptr  $pn^{c}=k$ md.wt=jr sjp tw see turn\_over:SBJV =2M.SG 2SG.M to inspect:INF speech-PL=1SG gm = kshr.w=j mnh.w find:SBJV=2SG.Madvice-PL=1SG excellent-PL jmy hr=kr sdm sb3y.t=jgive face=2sg.M to hear:INF teaching-F=1sg nb.w r jr.t shr.w=j to do:INF advice-PL=1SG every-PL

34

dj=j smh=k sn r-drwgive:SBJV=1SG forget:SBJV=2SG.M 3PL entirely (Other weaknesses grew after your deed of ignoring me); see, may you retract yourself to inspect my words; and you will find my advices excellent; dedicate yourself at listening to my teaching and to apply all my advices; I will cause that you forget them all (= the weaknesses, etc) Teaching of Menna, O. Chicago OIC 12074, v° 12

In the following passage from P. Anastasi 4, shm has the sense of forgetting for "renouncing", "freeing oneself from". The object of shm is tnrk "beer" and the whole passage is nicely built around the idea of breaking free from alcoholic habits, which are depicted as an abomination (*bw.t*), something one should be untied from (rk) and something one should remove from their memory (*smh*). Regarding the latter, one will note the parasynonymic relation between *smh* "forget" and neg + *rdj m h3ty* ("to place in the heart"). The expression *rdj m h3ty* is the most common way of expressing the idea of memorizing, of storing information (vs. *sh3* which implies an active application of the retrieved information).

```
ex50
```

hn twk rh.tw jw bw.t jrp if PRS:2SG.M know:STAT MCM abomination-F wine mtw=krk = khr sdh CORD.MOD=2SG.M untie:INF=2SG.M on pomegranate wine mtw=ktm dj.t tbw m h3ty = kCORD.MOD=2SG.M NEG give:INF cup in heart=2SG.M mtw = ksmh tnrk CORD.MOD=2SG.M forget:INF beer If you knew that wine is an abomination; you would renounce to pomegranate wine; you would not have cups in mind anymore; and you would forget beer pAnastasi 4, 12, 1

## 2.2.2.4 Forgive

The colexification of forgetting and forgiving is well-attested cross-linguistically<sup>44</sup>. Egyptian makes no exception to that and *smh* realizes this sense.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> This colexification is also listed in CLICS (<u>https://clics.clld.org</u>). Note that the list of colexifications in the database is far from exhaustive but gives an idea of the most cross-linguistically attested ones.

ex51 sn mj-kd p3y=j smh=j smh forget:SBJV=1SG 3PL like POSS:M.SG=1SG forget:INF n3y nty jm=j DEM:PL REL-M.PL inside=1SG (Even if you commit against me a million faults); I will forget/forgive them like I forget/forgive mines pMond 2, 6

ex52

jr jry=j hh.w п bt3 COND do:SBJV=1SG million-PL of fault *bw*  $jr \{=j\}$ w<sup>c</sup> nfr dj.t smh = wNEG do:PFV=1SG one good give:INF forget:INF =3PL Even if I had committed a million sins, would not one good deed make forget them? pLeiden I 369, 8

2.3 Case 3: *mhj*: to be forgetful

2.3.1 Experienced forgetfulness

2.3.1.1 State of being forgetful

The verb mhj in its primary sense refers to experienced forgetfulness, to the fact of being forgetful (for example because of old age), as is the case in this well-known passage from Ptahhotep45.

ex53 jb mhw.w heart forget:STAT The mind has become forgetful п sh3.n=fsf NEG remember:PFV=3SG.M yesterday It cannot remember yesterday (Ptahhotep, P. BM EA 10509, 1, 5 (§D16)

36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Note that this Middle Egyptian text is not part of the core corpus but has been added for comparison in diachrony.

However, in the New Kingdom, the primary sense "forgetting", "being forgetful" about facts, without any specific connotation relating to interpersonal relationship seems to have gone out of usage and only derived senses are still attested. They are developed in the upcoming section.

*mhj* is relatively scarcely attested from the NK and seems to have been of recessive use even in earlier stages of the language. In its derived senses, it refers to a lack of attention, due to 1) an external trigger or 2) a lack of care.

It thus diverges from hm and smh for it does not express a strong active refusal or denial of previously acquired knowledge. It rather bears the sense of a passive lack of acknowledgement, a passive neglecting attitude. The subject of mhj never seems to acquire a full agentivity, contrary to the one of hm and smh. As appears from the examples below, the semantics of mhj partially overlaps with the one of smh. However, it seems to never express "active forgetfulness"

#### 2.3.1.2 Losing focus because of an external trigger (emotionally charged situation)

This use of *mhj* as being forgetful in the sense of "losing focus" is due to an external trigger, "being troubled and not thinking rationally anymore" for being in the grip of emotion. As a correlate to this, the expression  $sgnn \, dr.wt$  "to weaken hands" refers to agentivity loss. This use of *mhj* does not seem to have an equivalent in the nuances of meaning expressed by *smh*. The closest seems to be the expression *smh*  $d.t \, ds=f$ , which, as seen before<sup>46</sup>, also conveys the idea of losing rationality over an emotional behaviour.

#### ex54

 $km^3=k$  nfr hr s-gnn dr.wtaspect=2SG.M beautiful on CAUS-weak:INF hand-F.PL  $h^3ty.w$  mh.w n  $m^{33}$  n=kheart-PL forget:STAT because see:INF to=2SG.M Your beautiful aspect weakens hands; hearts are forgetful at your sight P. Boulaq 17, VI, 2

In the following example, the verb hm is used in the sense of "being forgetful" and is associated with  $sh^3$  "remember" as antonym. The verb  $sh^3$  has here the sense "remembering" but also carries an emotional connotation of appreciation (in the present case, being in loving admiration of the god).

ex55 imn sh3=j mrw.t=k

<sup>46</sup> cf. supra ex. 40.

```
Amun remember: IPVF=1SG love-F=2SG.M

twj mh.kwj m ptr=k twj m pr=k

PRS-1SG forget: STAT in see: INF=2SG.M PRS-1SG in house=2SG.M

Amun, I remember your love; I was forgetful at your sight; I am in your house

Hymn to Amun-Râ, O. BM EA 41543, r° 1
```

2.3.1.3 Not entertaining the memory of sth.

Finally, a declination of the sense "neglecting" expressed by *mhj* seems to be "being ungrateful" and thus, "grateful" when negated.

ex56

<sup>c</sup>k.kwj  $hr \ bs=f$ zp-tpy п enter:STAT on hidden-form=3SG.M of first-time šs3.kwj m b3.w=fmnh.w be wise in power-PL=3SG.M excellent-PL mh=jhr zp п *š*3.*n*=*f*  $\langle wj \rangle$ п NEG forget=1SG on time of designate:REL=3SG.M 1SG I am initiated in his hidden form of the First Time; I am learned in his excellent power; I am not oblivious about the time of (my) designation (when he designated (me)) Northern obelisk of Hatshepsut, 363, 5

### 2.3.1.4 Passively neglecting, being careless

The next examples illustrate cases of mhj with the sense of "forgetting" for "neglecting", "not paying attention". The nuance expressed is not an active, antagonistic negligence, rather a lack of care and/or of motivation that leads to a neglecting attitude. The subject is less agentive than it is in some uses of hm or smh (see sections 2.1.2 and 2.2.2.). In sum, mhj used in this sense does not refer to actively forgetting but rather not caring enough to remember. In the present examples, mhj conveys a sense very similar to smh in section 2.2.1.3. It is also to note that the object of mhj in this sense is expressed obliquely, introduced by the preposition hr or the preposition m.

ex57

mstnjjb=khrntr(...)mhhr=fPROHdivert:INFheart=2SG.Mongodforget:PTCPon=3SGr $\delta w$ mmnjFUTbe\_free:INFinanchor

Do not divert your attention from the god  $(\dots)$  the one who forgets him will be unanchored

Teaching of a man to his son, leather roll BM 10258, 1, 7

ex58

```
nn ft.n=j

NEG be_disgut:PFV=1SG

n\{n\} mh.n=j mhn.wt hr mwhr t^3

NEG forget:PFV=1SG in duty-F.PL on water on land

I will not get bored, I will not forget/neglect my duties at sea and on land

Nauri Decree, 28
```

### 3 Conclusions

As appears from the data and the different examples that illustrate this study, the semantics of hm, smh and mhj overlap in some aspects and diverge in others. To these three verbs, one shall add the construction neg + rh, which is complementary to hm in the expression of "ignoring", "not knowing" and "not being unable". Here are the conclusions that can be drawn from the present study.

hm and neg + rh are in a complementary distribution: hm preferably refers to general statements of non-knowledge or non-awareness and presents the state of non-knowledge as being inherent to the subject.

Neg + rh on the contrary presents the state of non-knowledge or non-awareness as being transient, tied to specific circumstances and thus context-driven. The same observation applies for neg + rh used in function of modal auxiliary (not being able to do sth.), which is a recent development of the language<sup>47</sup>.

The pattern neg + rh does not seem to be attested in the sense of *actively ignoring/neglecting* acquired knowledge or *not paying attention* to someone. It is specific to the semantics of hm only. When the subject of neg + rh is highly agentive (for ex., with the vetitive), it refers to the process of knowledge acquisition (not getting to know, not acquainting), and not to the one of knowledge restitution.

The inability to perform a task (*not know how*) can be expressed both by hm and neg + rh, at least in later development of the language, when rh becomes used as a modal auxiliary. The system is well established in Late Egyptian and, here again, the opposition between inherent and contextual applies: neg + rh expresses a non-ability that is tied to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> The negation of the epistemic modality is usually expressed in Earlier Egyptian by grammatical means, the most common being the pattern *n sdm.n.f* "he cannot hear": see Malaise-Winand 1999, §903, 923; Winand 2021: 6.1.6 and fn. 143.

specific circumstances (e.g. not being able to work on a given day), while hm appears to have a general validity and depicts the non-ability as being inherently part of someone's qualities. The latter was already attested in Old Egyptian and even became lexicalized in some cases, for example in the compound words *jhmw-wrd* "the ones who ignore tiredness" (Wb 1, 125.15-16) and *jhmw-sk* "the ones who do not perish" (both refer to the circumpolar stars).

It has been observed that *hm* and *smh* may function as quasi synonyms in the expression of what has been named here active ignorance and active forgetfulness. These terms cover 1) the conscious and purposed refusal or denial of retrieving and applying previously acquired knowledge and 2) the conscious and purposed fact of not giving attention to someone.

The semantics of *smh* and *mhj* overlap for some of their uses. They can both express the incapacity of retrieving memorized information in their basic meanings. However, *mhj* primarily refers to a state of forgetfulness while *smh* rather describes an active process. *mhj* is also of recessive use and by far less attested than *smh*. Its usage is restricted to texts that are part of the tradition and early New Kingdom wisdom texts and pertain mostly to the classical language (Egyptien de Tradition). Its primary sense seems to have fallen out of usage in the New Kingdom and *mhj* is rarely attested in Late Egyptian, even in its derived senses. It does not seem to be attested in Coptic anymore. However, Vycichl<sup>48</sup> pointed out a possible link with the Coptic words MOEIZE (S), MAEIZE (AL), MAZEIE (L) meaning "miracle" and the verb phoeize (S) "to be astonished".

Contrarily to *hm* and *smh*, the subject of *mhj* can never be fully agentive. It thus does not seem to ever express a real "active forgetfulness" as a conscious decision of the subject, but can express a neglecting attitude due to lack of care. smh and mhj also share two of their derived senses: not entertaining the memory (of someone, of an event) and being distracted (from the initial focus, by an outside trigger).

Syntactically, some uses of the verbs are recognizable because marked by an oblique expression of the object. The way the oblique construction is used does not follow any consistent pattern as shown in the following summary list:

<sup>48</sup> Vycichl (1983:110).

- $\circ$  *hm hr* + noun (animate): actively ignoring someone of lower or equal status
- $\circ$  *hm r* + noun (inanimate): actively ignoring something (inanimate)
- $\circ$  *smh r* + infinitive: forgetting to do something
- mhj n/m + noun (inanimate): to neglect something

Finally, the relations of the three verbs and neg + rh can be schematically described as resumed in the graph below. One can see that hm and neg + rh are in complementary distribution for the expression of the sense *not know* based on the nature of the lack of knowledge: generally true/inherent (hm) or contingent/contextual (neg + rh). They both express the sense of "not being able", also shared with smh. The semantics of hm and smh partially overlap for the active component of their secondary sense *dismissing actively*; the semantics of *smh* and *mhj* partially overlap for the primary sense *to forget* and for the derived senses of *not entertaining memory* and *being distracted* (from sth., by an external cause). The verb *smh* also colexifies the senses of "forgiving" and "growing out of sth" (e.g. bad habit, addiction, etc). As for *mhj*, it also lexifies the meaning "neglecting, being careless". As can be seen from the graph below, the semantics of *hm* and *mhj* do not seem to overlap since *mhj* does not actualize the sense of *dismissing actively*, and "not being able" shared by *hm* and *smh*. It is thus the verb *smh* that "builds the bridge" between *hm* and *mhj*.

Fig1

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