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Making a Case for Multidimensionality in Ramesside Figurative Language

Gaëlle Chantrain & Camilla Di Biase-Dyson¹

Abstract

In this contribution we consider the interplay of metaphorical language with Ramesside orthographic strategies (particularly classification) in the composition and copying of the London (L) manuscript of *The Teachings of Amenemope*. We argue that this text provides cases in which the classification was changed in order to mark a metaphor and that lexemes seem to have been chosen partly on the basis of their classification strategy. We thus see clusters of metaphors being tied to particular classifiers, which play out across the whole structure of the text, thus underlining the importance of metaphor analyses that consider all dimensions of meaning in a text. A final case study shows that this strategy is complementary with a broader text-based pattern, in which, beyond metaphorical language, classifiers orient themselves towards large-scale themes related to the highs and lows of human interaction.

1 Introduction

In this paper we explore whether figurative language, particularly metaphor,² occurs at all levels of Egyptian texts: the graphemic level (particularly via classifiers),³ the lexical level, the textual level and the (pan-textual) thematic level. To this end, we ask:

1. What kinds of metaphors (denominated at the conceptual level) appear in a text?
2. How do these conceptual metaphors manifest at the lexical level? Since metaphor is a catalyst of semantic change (cf. Traugott and Dasher 2002: 27–34), does the

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2 We define metaphor as a phenomenon that can emerge in thought, in language and in all communicative modes (Steen 2008: 213, 221) in which one ‘speak[s] of something as though it were another’ (Richards 1936: 116). The rendering of metaphors in thought is commonly represented as a ‘conceptual metaphor’, whereby a more abstract concept (the Target Domain) is represented by means of a more concrete concept (the Source Domain), cf. Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Conceptual metaphors are represented in this article, as elsewhere, by means of small caps.

3 The identification of ‘determinatives’ as *classifiers*, defined by Allan (1977: 285) as bound morphemes that classify with respect to semantic features of the classified entity, has been promoted and supported by, amongst others, Kammerzell (1993; 2015), Goldwasser (1995; 1999; 2002), David (2000; 2006), Shalomi-Hen (2002; 2006), Lincke (2011), Lincke and Kammerzell (2012), Goldwasser and Grinevald (2012) and Chantrain (2014).

metaphor reflect a historical tendency or does it rather represent a usage particular to this text?

3. How are the lexemes that express such conceptual metaphors composed orthographically? Do they reflect known patterns of usage at the time?
4. Where do these lexemes occur in the text? Are they tied to specific themes?
5. How does the text structure affect the structure of the conceptual metaphors? Can we see a systematic orientation of classifiers to thematic features of the text? Is this also tied to particular lexical patterns?

We argue that metaphor should be considered as a *multidimensional* phenomenon. Thus all levels of a text (including lexemes and their classifiers) can have metaphorical elements as interdependent but discrete entities.

Our discussion necessitates in the first instance an awareness of the functions of all textual elements. To this end, we feel that the discourse in relation to the functions of classifiers could be reiterated, since we argue for a usage in this text that to date has not been widely recognised. As is already well known, classifiers are in essence multifunctional morphemes: “The identification of a hieroglyph as a classifier is bound to a particular *position and function* within the spelling of a particular word-form” (Lincke and Kammerzell 2012: 60, italics our own). In their role as classifiers, these signs have been shown to fulfil three basic functions: grammatical, encyclopaedic and discourse-pragmatic (Goldwasser and Grinevald 2012: 22). They mark the ends of words as well as the ends of phrase constructions⁴ and can mark out the different lemmata of a lexeme (verbal *shj* ‘to write’ with  (Y1) vs. nominal *shj.w* ‘scribe’ with  (A1) for instance). They can be responsible for the disambiguation of homonymic lexemes (such as *wn* ‘to open’ with  (O31) vs. *wn* ‘to be bald’  (D3) or *wn* ‘to be’ without a classifier, cf. Werning 2015: 16) or of polysemous lexemes (like *h3w* ‘family, lifetime’ cf. Chantrain 2014, also Figure 1 below). They can also refer to foreign lexemes in a meta-textual manner, in other words, marking the lexeme as ‘foreign’ (Allon 2010: 1). It is thus clear that classifiers form part of a complex that determines semantic value (Polis and Winand 2015) and also semantic change (Chantrain 2014; in press). They seem to be sensitive to both genre and writing medium. We are of course particularly interested in the *semantic* functions of classifiers, which are encompassed by the *encyclopedic* and *discourse-pragmatic* functions (for the latter term see Goldwasser and Grinevald 2012: 25; Lincke and Kammerzell 2012: 55, as we represent in Figure 1 below).

4 For instance,    *jr(j) hmw* ‘to use the oar’ with  (Y1-A24). This feature is found in Third Intermediate Period hieroglyphic texts (cf. Jansen-Winkeln 1996: 22), as well as hieratic texts such as *Amenemope* L (cf. this section, below).

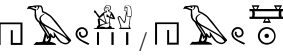
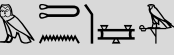
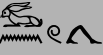
Encyclopedic	They can include a lexeme in a broader category of related lexemes		'oar'
	They can mark a specific semantic value of a word ⁵		'family/lifetime'
	They can classify the <i>referent</i> of a lexeme ⁶		'the doorman' (a god)
	They can classify the experiencer of a lexeme ⁷		'to be angry' (like a crocodile)
Discourse-pragmatic	They can mark foreign phrases ⁸		'shakabur-kabu' (a milestone)
	They can mark implied meaning ⁹		'to know' (carnally)
	They can mark a metaphorical lexeme		'to hurry/to neglect'

Figure 1 | Semantic functions of classifiers

As shown in Figure 1, we would like to propose adding a category to the list of classifier functions in the discourse-pragmatic category: *classifiers as markers of a metaphor*.¹⁰

5 Chantrain (2014).

6 Lincke (2011: 100), also Lincke and Kammerzell (2012: 91–92).

7 Goldwasser (2002: 17–18), following Westendorf (1986: 588), represents the function as 'to behave as such and such an animal', which Lincke (2011: 53) redefines as the 'experiencer'.

8 Allon (2010: 4–5).

9 Goldwasser & Grinevald (2012: 25–26). Goldwasser and Grinevald (2012: 22 n. 27) describe a 'euphemistic' case of *rh* 'to know', normally classified with  (Y1), which, via its classification with  (D52) takes the meaning 'to know (carnally)' (pChester Beatty II, 4.4, *Truth and Falsehood*, in *LES* 32.5). This can be compared with a case in pD'Orbiney (cf. Chantrain 2014: 45), where 'm, 'to swallow' is marked with  (A2) when 'swallowing' is intended (pD'Orbiney 7.9, *Two Brothers*, in *LES* 17.3) and  (D6) when 'being inseminated' is intended (pD'Orbiney 18.5, *Two Brothers*, in *LES* 28.6). The latter connects to the use of *rh* in reference to carnal knowledge, but this case bears the usual classifier  (Y1) (pD'Orbiney 3.6, *Two Brothers*, in *LES* 12.9). Other cases of specific meanings being represented by particular classifiers in specific contexts include writing *jz.t* 'crew' with  (A14) instead of  (A1) (*Biography of Ahmose Son of Abana*, *Urk.* IV, 6.14) and classifying everything from disease to weather patterns with the Seth classifier  (C7) (McDonald 2007; Allon 2007).

10 Brunner (1975: 806–807) is critical of using classification strategies for the study of figurative language in general, given how often classifiers of a frequently used lexeme appear also in conjunction with homonymic lexemes with completely different meanings, such as the classification of *hz(j)* 'to turn back' with the  (A2) classifier that usually accompanies *hz(j)* 'to praise'. We could not agree more with this analysis and for this reason seek out particular classification strategies only

Some classifiers in this function reflect semantic change (e.g. literal > metaphorical) in diachronic perspective more broadly (Chantrain 2014; in press), whereas others are used only in a single text for a specific (type of) metaphor. We are going to show these phenomena by considering classification of metaphorical lexemes in *whole text* perspective.¹¹ In a next step, we will also be able to show that metaphoricity is the tip of the iceberg: that in the *Amenemope* L manuscript there is a connection between themes, lexemes and classification that encompasses the whole text.

The role of metaphorical thinking in classification has already been discussed at length by Orly Goldwasser (1995; 2002) and Arlette David (2000; 2006: 29; 2007: 3). However, the examples posited by the earlier studies do not reflect metaphoricity in the same manner as argued here. Goldwasser (1995: 95), for instance, claims that when abstract lexemes like *snk/skn* ‘to be greedy’ are classified with animals (like the crocodile  (I3)) they imply a simile construction like ‘greedy like a crocodile’. However, it is more likely that the relationship is metonymic, whereby the prototypical experiencer stands for the action/state of being greedy (cf. Lincke 2011: 43–59; Di Biase-Dyson 2017).

David (2007: 2–3) also hypothesises that a “metaphoric relationship” can exist between classifiers and the lexemes they classify, and gives as an example *thj* ‘to transgress (morally)’, which in her corpus of Ramesside Period decrees is classified with  (D54-D56) (David 2007: 3). However, something in this argumentation is unclear to us: Whether *thj* means transgressing physical or moral boundaries, the classifiers in her case study are always tied to the physical (i.e., non metaphorical) domain. The ‘metaphorical relationship’ therefore in our opinion does not extend to the classifiers but is rather inherent to the semantics of the lexeme.

More interesting for our purposes is the later stage of *thj*, in which from the 20th dynasty onwards a new group of classifiers,  (D57-A24), emerges (in legal, oracular and wisdom genres) and marks in this way (via the depiction of ‘force’ in the classifier  (A24)) the more metaphorical aspect of *coercion* that *thj* had come to imply (Chantrain 2014: 42–43). Such cases are key to our study, in which we consider classifiers to have changed and whether this change is historical and/or can be tied in some way to metaphoricity. This requires a stringent empirical approach, with an awareness of semantic change and classifier change as well as sensitivity to genre. Whereas previous approaches to metaphor and classification have focused on the lexical level, it seems very possible that classifiers marking metaphor may be working both compositionally (binding compound words, for instance – *jrj hmw*, ‘to use the oar’ = ‘to steer away’, classified with  (A24)) or even pan-textually. In fact, we hypothesise that an intra- (possibly also inter-) textual relationship exists between classifiers in this text and that this relationship is driven by the metaphorical (and broader thematic) framework of the text. We are thereby not drawing conclusions about the classification system as a whole, but are commenting on how a sin-

1) within a single text and 2) with reference to corpus-based data regarding specific classifier use in diachronic perspective.

11 Our pan-textual approach to classification patterns is influenced by the *Wenamun* study of Frank Kammerzell (2015).

gle manuscript reflects both textual cues as well as systemic orthographic change between the end of the New Kingdom and the Late Period.

1.1 Our method

Our point of departure was a Late Period manuscript of the *Teachings of Amenemope*, pBM EA 10474 (L).¹² This text abounds in lexeme and text-level metaphors and, due to its length and completeness, provides a rich empirical basis for a pan-textual study. Fundamentally, the study was based around Camilla Di Biase-Dyson’s annotation of the text within the Syntax Editor of the *Projet Ramsès* digital corpus. The lexemes in the corpus have been annotated for metaphors following the Metaphor Identification Procedure, VU University Amsterdam (MIPVU, cf. Steen et al. 2010), which defines *basic senses* and *contextual senses* of lexemes (metaphor *vehicles* and *topics* respectively, cf. Richards 1936: 99; 117–118) with reference to corpus-based dictionaries, such as the *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* (*Wb.*). This approach also avails itself of text corpora, such as the *Digitalisiertes Zettelarchiv* (*DZA*), and digital corpora, such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* (*TLA*), as well, of course, as the *Projet Ramsès* database itself. As we can see from Figure 2, the tagging process is not only based around lexical analysis, but instead takes in several other dimensions, such as the conceptual domains to which the lexical metaphors refer (*Source Domain* and *Target Domain*, cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Kövecses 2002) and the textual relationships between the metaphors, based on a typology developed by Elena Semino (2008; cf. Di Biase-Dyson 2016 a/b).

14, 15	nAy	swmn	st	+thr+i (P1)	xsf	m	sthr
	mes	flatter	ils (P1)		s'approcher, répondre	dans	dénigrer, diffamer
MetaphorRelatedWord MetaphorLanguage: indirect MetaphorCognition: conventional MetaphorCommunication: uncertain BasicSense: to oppose ContextualSense: to respond BasicSenseSrcVolume: III BasicSenseSrcNumber: 335.7-9 ContextualSenseSrcVolume: III ContextualSenseSrcNumber: 336.9							
ConceptualGroup TargetDomain: SOCIAL WORLD SourceDomain: PHYSICAL WORLD DomainSimilarity: uncertain Literature: Kövecses 2010: 255							
TextualGroup isRepetition: true isRecurrence: true isClustering: uncertain isExtension: uncertain							

Figure 2 | Tagging of *hsf* inside the modified Syntax Editor in the *Ramsès* Database

12 All page/line references (unless otherwise specified) refer to this manuscript. For the dating, specifically to the reign of Psamtik I, cf. Verhoeven (2001: 291–303). For the latest transcription, see Laisney (2007).

We focused on a single, very prominent conceptual metaphor for this analysis: THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD. This metaphor is lexically realised in both conventional metaphors (tied to semantic change) and novel metaphors (reliant on text-based nuances), predominantly via verbs, but also via nouns and prepositions. For the purpose of this paper, we focused predominantly on the verbal metaphors and the classifiers used for these verbs. This was not only to keep our contribution to a reasonable length but more particularly because we feel that classifiers of different parts of speech can be motivated by different factors (for nouns, for instance, this could be gender, number, etc.).

Firstly, we searched the metaphor annotations of the *Ramsès* version of *Amenemope* for metaphorical lexemes reflecting the domain. We then checked (and compared) the orthography of those lexemes with reference to the *DZA* (cf. Figure 3) and the search tool of the *Ramsès* database. Here we particularly focused on the classifiers, to see if they represented a deviation from conventional usage and/or represented something that is in some way metaphorical. Lastly, we considered these features in context and assessed how these metaphorical lexemes and their classifiers fit in the overall textual structure and in the patterns of lexemes in the text.

The screenshot shows the TLA interface for the lemma 'xsf' (lemma-no. 854535). The interface includes a navigation bar with icons for Home, Introduction, Login, Registration, and Help. The main content area displays the lemma information, including its translation, short reference, word class, and a list of subordinate lemmata. To the right of the TLA interface, there is a handwritten manuscript snippet showing the word 'xsf' in hieroglyphs, with various annotations and markings.

Figure 3 | TLA and DZA references to *hsf*

To take stock for a moment of the empirical aspects of our analysis, the total number of lexemes in the text (calculated on the basis of the data in the *Projet Ramsès* database) is 3.350. Of this, those tagged as ‘metaphor related words’ (MRW) numbered 388. Of this, those marked as the metaphor THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD numbered 152. It is with these lexemes that we built our corpus and conducted the analyses presented below. This being said, an additional sum of non-metaphorical lexemes in the text were also analysed in terms of their classification strategies to provide a control.

2 Findings Part I. Metaphor in classification studies and their role in lexical semantics

The manuscript of *Amenemope* L dates, as we mentioned, from the Late Period, though it is likely that the spelling in many cases reflects what we would have found in the earlier

versions of the text (from the 20th and 21st dynasties).¹³ Moreover, we have noted numerous graphic similarities between *Amenemope* L and oracular texts from the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁴ The principle of forming fixed groups, as well as the use of ligatures, greatly influence the Ramesside reorganisation process of the classifier system. This can be seen as a rationalisation of the system, in order to use it as a real and efficient tool.

In this context, it can be surmised that a pool of prescribed orthographical possibilities was available for each lexeme in various scribal communities and that these changed over time. An orthographical choice was then made based on the situational needs of the scribe: the genre, the script or writing surface, as well as a system or intra- and intertextual influences, as we shall see here.

What seems to be happening in the *Amenemope* L manuscript is that some superordinate-level classifiers¹⁵ mark a metaphorical meaning, though the classifiers are not *per se* metaphorical. Superordinate-level classifiers, in other words, those with the highest degree of abstraction,¹⁶ seem to be the only ones that can have this function. This observation reflects the tendency of superordinate classifiers to become increasingly common and multifunctional in the Ramesside Period. This tendency reflects the reorganisation process at work in the hieratic texts from the Ramesside Period and Third Intermediate Period,¹⁷ which has two main features: a ‘rationalisation’ of the classifiers’ usage, with pride of place given to broad conceptual categories, and an increasing play on the system through metaphor usage and marking.

We will try to show here the second part of this complex phenomenon, by giving three concrete examples of superordinate classifiers working as markers of a metaphorical use of a lexeme within our manuscript. In the first instance, the  (Y1-A2) group emphasises the abstract and vocal denotation of the more metaphorical usage of *wh^c*. Additionally, the  (D54-D55) and  (Y1-A24-D55) groups may, as we argue below, indicate a specific usage of  (D55) of the metaphorical lexemes *wsf* and *hsf*:

13 For example, the spellings of *h.t* ‘body, belly’ and *ns.t* ‘tongue’ take the superordinate classifier  (F51) for body parts in both L and oC (oCairo 1840), as we would expect at the end of the New Kingdom and in the Third Intermediate Period, according to reorganisation process. See for a discussion of this tendency also Verhoeven (2001: 251, also 294–295).

14 On this point, see also Peterson (1966). This similarity supports the argument made by Winand (1998: 42), that there is a “manque de repères fermes pour la datation des documents hiératiques de Basse Époque”.

15 Classifiers are generally divided into three categories: subordinate, basic and superordinate (cf. Goldwasser 2002; Lincke 2011). In Chantrain (2014: 40), a bipartite division is adopted, in order to highlight the role of the superordinate classifiers in the reorganisation process of the system.

16 The underlying theory is the taxonomic system (comprising the levels subordinate-basic-superordinate) used by Rosch (1978: 30). Goldwasser (2002: 30–31) applied it to the system of Egyptian classification, followed by Lincke (2011: 25–26).

17 Chantrain’s study (2014; under review) focused on the reorganisation process until the Third Intermediate Period. Some clues indicate, though, that the same ‘rationalisation’ process is still at work in the Late Period. We will investigate this issue in future research.

- wh^c
'(A man) who  wh^c (unties/explains) by means of a teaching' (27.15)
- wsf
' wsf (be idle/hesitate) before speaking' (5.8)
- hsf
'Your flatteries  hsf (oppose, approach, turn around (Ram.)/are responded to) as insults' (14.15)

2.1 A true metaphor marker: $\blacktriangleleft$ (D55)

Our main example in this study is the 'backwards legs' classifier $\blacktriangleleft$ (D55), which, in our opinion, works as a true 'metaphor marker' in *Amenemope* L. In general, it classifies motion verbs (motion backwards and around), but in this manuscript, it is always used with lexemes with metaphorical meaning and only in relation to the conceptual metaphor THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD.

The classifier is in this case not itself metaphorical but rather marks cases in which a metaphorical meaning with an interpersonal theme is being constructed. $\blacktriangleleft$ (D55) is not an isolated case, as it is part of a system of classifiers used in a similar function in the text (cf. Findings Part II) that contributes to the theme of social interaction at the visual level. It is of course clear that some verbs are indeed naturally classified with $\blacktriangleleft$. On the other hand, the classifier, albeit not in general being a terribly common one, is in our opinion surprisingly frequent in this manuscript. What we think is happening in the text are two particular strategies: *changing the spelling* of the lexeme to exceptionally contain $\blacktriangleleft$ or *choosing* verbs that are ordinarily spelled with $\blacktriangleleft$. These classifiers sometimes appear in clusters in the text, which in our opinion are tied to specific thematic cycles (cf. Findings Part III). These classifiers thus bind the text together on both the lexical and the thematic level and function as 'highlighters' of the thematic structure and visual quality of the text.

	Usually	<i>Amenemope</i> L
<i>wn</i> ‘to hurry/to neglect (to do something, to listen)’	𐎗	𐎗
<i>wsf</i> ‘to be idle/to hesitate’	𐎗 ; 𐎗 ; 𐎗 ; 𐎗	𐎗𐎗
<i>twh</i> ‘to pull back/to hold back (socially)’	𐎗 ; 𐎗 ; 𐎗𐎗	𐎗
<i>ʕn</i> ‘to come back/to respond’	𐎗	𐎗
<i>pšn</i> ‘to separate/to stop communication’	𐎗𐎗	𐎗𐎗𐎗
<i>sh</i> ‘to confound/to defraud’	𐎗 ; 𐎗 ; 𐎗	𐎗
<i>hsf</i> ‘to oppose, to approach, to turn around (Ram.)/to respond’	𐎗 ; 𐎗 ; 𐎗 ; 𐎗𐎗	𐎗𐎗𐎗
<i>gw</i> ‘to attack (physically)/to attack (socially)’	𐎗	𐎗
<i>jnq</i> ‘to reach out (physically)/to reach out (socially)’	𐎗𐎗 ; 𐎗	𐎗

Figure 4 | Attestations of lexemes classified with 𐎗 (D55) in *Amenemope* L in comparison with their conventional classification strategies

Legend: exceptional spelling / spelling restricted to a particular genre

2.1.1 *wsf* 𐎗𐎗𐎗

Our first example of a lexeme taking 𐎗 (D55) as a metaphor marker is *wsf*. This verb usually means ‘to be idle’, but here takes the meaning ‘to hesitate, pause’. The semantic transfer is from personal characteristic to *interpersonal* characteristic: to pause before speaking. It is attested two times (5.8 and 5.12) and, in both cases, the classifiers used are interesting, as we have 𐎗 (D54) and 𐎗 (D55) used together (𐎗𐎗). This spelling, as we shall see below, only appears in this manuscript and in contemporary oracular texts (pBM 10587, 90 𐎗𐎗𐎗), both of which genres use the lexeme to express ‘counteracting a negative action’. In the same chapter of *Amenemope*, we have a semantically parallel case: *sdr r-h3.t md.t* ‘to sleep/pause before speaking’ (5.13). Although the semantic transfer is similar to that of *wsf*, for *sdr*, the classifier is not changed: it keeps the usual group for that time (𐎗𐎗) (V6-A24). Figure 5 shows the evolution of the classifiers in diachronic perspective:

<i>wsf</i> ‘to be idle, to hesitate’	
MK – 18 th dyn.	 ; 
19 th – 20 th dyn.	 ;  ; sometimes + 
21 st – 22 nd dyn. <	 ;  ; 
TIP oracular texts	 
<i>Amenemope</i> (L)	 

Figure 5 | Classification of *wsf* in diachronic perspective

2.1.2 *hsf*

Our second case study is *hsf*. The first meaning of this verb is ‘to oppose, to approach, to turn around (physically)’, which also bears the figurative meaning ‘to respond (verbally)’.¹⁸ The semantic transfer is thus from physical characteristic to interpersonal characteristic. The figure below illustrates the evolution of the classifiers, which parallels patterns of semantic change, such as the shift from concrete to more abstract meaning.

<i>hsf</i> ‘to oppose, to approach, to turn around, to respond’	
MK – 18 th dyn.	 ; 
19 th – 20 th dyn	 ;  ; 
21 st – 22 nd dyn. <	  ;  
TIP oracular texts	  ;  
<i>Amenemope</i> (L)	 

Figure 6 | Classification of *hsf* in diachronic perspective

There are two attestations of *hsf* in *Amenemope* L: *rh hsf wšb.t n dd sy* ‘to be able to respond to the one who said it’ (1.5) and *nȝy=k swnw st hr hsf m shwr* ‘your flatteries are responded to as insults’ (14.15). In both cases, the same group of classifiers    (Y1-A24-D55) is used and once again,  (D55) marks out a verb being used metaphorically.

¹⁸ The polysemy of *hsf* requires more investigation, since both the meanings ‘to oppose’ (*Wb.* III 335.6ff.) and ‘to approach’ (*Wb.* III 337.3–4) are classified with (amongst others) A24/D40, D54 and D55, which perhaps explains the merging of these classifiers in the Ramesside Period (Fig. 5).

As was the case for *wsf*, we have parallel cases in oracular texts (pBM 10587, 95–96, interestingly enough, the same source of our example of *wsf* in 2.1.1).

2.2 The historical context

These conclusions fit well within the phenomenon of systematisation and reorganisation that we can find in the Ramesside Period and continuing in its most advanced stage in the Third Intermediate Period (cf. Chantrain 2014; under review).¹⁹ This reorganisation can be motivated by semantic evolution (e.g. *n^c(j)*), explained in 2.2.2) but can also indicate the inclusion of a lexeme in a broad semantic category (e.g. *grh*), or adaptation to a new orthographic system (e.g. *‘m*). These factors can be influenced by external factors like intertextuality. Chantrain (2014) has listed three main phenomena at work in the reorganisation dynamics:

- 1) Explicit inclusion of a word in a broad conceptual category (*grh* ‘night’)
- 2) Indication of the semantic evolution of a word (*n^c(j)* ‘to sail, to travel, to go’)
- 3) Disambiguation of the meanings of a polysemous lexeme (*‘m* ‘to swallow, to learn’)

2.2.1 Explicit inclusion of a word in a broad conceptual category (e.g. *grh* ‘night’, with the addition of the ⊙ (N5) classifier for the time category)

<i>grh</i> ‘night’	
MK – 18 th dyn.	 ; 
19 th dyn.	 ;  ; sometimes + ⊙
20 th dyn. <	 ⊙ ;  ⊙

Figure 7 | Classification of *grh* in diachronic perspective

Before the 18th dynasty, *grh* takes  (N2) or  (N46) as a classifier. From the 19th dynasty onwards, the superordinate classifier ⊙ for the time category is slowly added and becomes systematically used in the spelling of *grh* during the 20th dynasty.

19 This theory was proposed by Chantrain in response to, and as a synthesis of earlier ideas about the developments in classification taking place in the New Kingdom. Junge (2008: 41) talks about new combinations of classifiers visible in Late Egyptian hieratic texts. Kammerzell (2015: 1401) builds on this idea, identifying a series of factors (not only semantic ones) that drove classifier change. Particularly, the addition of a second, superordinate classifier and a general reduction to a smaller number of classifiers to mirror an ‘overall structuring of the lexicon’ are identified as dominant trends (Kammerzell 2015: 1410, 1415), both of which are manifestly apparent in our data.

2.2.2 Indication of the semantic evolution of a word: $n^c(j)$ ‘to sail, to travel, to go’

$n^c(j)$ ‘to sail, to travel, to go’	
MK – 18 th dyn	
19 th dyn.	 ;  ; 
20 th dyn. <	 

Figure 8 | Classification of $n^c(j)$ in diachronic perspective

The change in classification of $n^c(j)$ reflects its semantic evolution, from the meaning ‘to sail’ () (P1) to the more general meaning ‘to travel, to go’ ( ) (D56-D54).²⁰

2.2.3 Disambiguation of the meanings of a polysemous lexeme: cm ‘to swallow, to learn’

cm ‘to swallow, to learn’	
MK ‘to swallow’	 ;   ; 
18 th dyn. ‘to swallow, to learn’	 ;   ; 
19 th dyn. < ‘to swallow’ ‘to learn’	 ;   ;  
<i>Amenemope</i> (L) ‘to swallow’	

Figure 9 | Classification of cm in diachronic perspective

The primary meaning of cm is ‘to swallow’. From the 18th dynasty on, it takes the new meaning ‘to know, to learn’. This polysemy is systematically reflected at the classifier level from the 19th dynasty onwards.

Diachronically, the reorganisation of the hieratic classifier system can be described as a phenomenon that took place in three stages.²¹ The key moment seems to be the period from the second half of the 19th dynasty (from the reign of Merenptah) to the end of the 20th dynasty. This reorganisation gives pride of place to broad conceptual categories and superordinate classifiers, including more abstract and metaphorical meanings. The role of superordinate classifiers is here of capital importance, as they work in this specific case of *Amenemope* as tools of conscious function marking. The span of these functions and their

20 Grossman, Lescuyer and Polis (2014: 94) also mention that the classifier P1 “probably refers originally to motion over water”.

21 Chantrain (2014: 54–55) describes the three stages as being: the beginning of the reorganisation (Seti I–Merenptah), its achievement (Merenptah–end of the 20th dyn.) and further play on the system (end of the 20th dyn.–Third Intermediate Period).

actual implications seem to be even more developed than what we thought until now, especially in the third phase of the reorganisation process.²² Several of these functions are at work in our text:²³ systematic superordinate level classification, marking semantic change, marking metaphorical meaning, marking intertextual features and marking change in actionality for verbs.²⁴

Another example from our text perfectly illustrates the complexities of the reorganisation process: the polysemous lexeme wh^c ‘to untie, to solve, to go home’ .

wh^c ‘to untie, to stop, to solve’	
MK – 18 th dyn	
All meanings	
‘to solve’ (wisdom texts)	
19 th dyn.	
All meanings	
‘to stop, to untie’ (sometimes)	
20 th dyn.	
‘to untie’	
‘to stop’	
‘to solve’	
21 st – 22 nd dyn. <	
‘to untie’	 ; 
‘to solve’	 ; 
‘to stop’	Has fallen out of use (<i>Ramsès</i> corpus)
<i>Amenemope</i> (L)	
‘to solve’	

Figure 10 | Classification of wh^c in diachronic perspective

As we can see from Figure 10, before the 19th dynasty, wh^c always takes the classifier , except for a few attestations of wh^c ‘to solve’ in wisdom texts, which use the classifier . In the 19th dynasty, wh^c is mostly written with the group  (Y1-A24). The group  (D56-D54) is sometimes attested with the physical meanings ‘to go home’ or ‘to untie’. Things get clearer in the 20th dynasty, with three different groups of classifiers for three different meanings:  (Y1-A24) ‘to untie’;  (D56-D54) ‘to go home’ and  (A2)

22 Cf. Chantrain (2014: 55).

23 In the specific case of superordinate level classifiers.

24 The functional listing of classifiers and the study of their occurrences and implications for diachrony is a work still in progress.

‘to solve’. From the 21st dynasty, only two meanings remain: ‘to untie’, classified with  (Y1-A24) and  (A24) and ‘to solve’, classified with  (Y1-A2) and  (Y1),  (A2). ‘To go home’ seems to have fallen out of use.²⁵

In *Amenemope* L, the three attestations have the meaning ‘to solve, to understand’, and are written with the group   (Y1-A2). Unfortunately, no parallel version has been conserved for these sections (3.10, 27.14, 27.15). But, once again, the spellings we find in our manuscript fit with what we would expect for an earlier version (around the 21st dynasty), in comparison with the contemporary trends. The orthography in *Amenemope* L is thus probably close to an earlier version. This clear case of metaphoricity – fairly conventional – fits classifiers for this meaning, whereby  (A2) is tied to mental (and verbal) processes.²⁶

3 Findings Part II: Text structure, metaphor and classification

Given the demonstrated reorganisation of classifiers between the late New Kingdom and the Late Period, we feel compelled to ask: Can we see a systematic orientation of classifiers to thematic features of the text? Are there dominant metaphors in particular parts of the structure? Are these reflected in the classifiers as well? In our opinion, *Amenemope* L seems to show that this is the case. We focus particularly on occurrences of  (D55) (in its encounters, amongst others, with  (D54)), as well as classifiers like  /  (A24/D40)²⁷ and  (G37) that appear in close connection with metaphorical lexemes, sometimes even in unusual spellings.

The text of *The Teachings of Amenemope* is structured in 30 chapters, plus an introduction. Chapters sometimes change themes abruptly, although some groups of chapters will continue a theme. In these ‘clusters’ of chapters, a chapter may elucidate a general theme, which will be followed in the next chapter by a more specific argument, which can in turn be followed by an example which elucidates this argument: an excellent example of this sequence is in chapters 15–17 (where there is a chain from good behaviour to lying in general to a particular case of fraud) and 18–20 (where we see a development from the nature of god and god’s influence on behaviour to general comments on behaviour in interactions with superiors and finally to specific examples of not pushing one’s luck by falsifying the oracle).

These chapters and chapter clusters are defined by one or more dominant metaphors, which tie closely to the argument of the text. We thus have a connection between theme,

²⁵ On the basis of the data collected from the *Ramsès* corpus.

²⁶ Goldwasser (2002: 5).

²⁷ These classifiers occur in complementary distribution in the Third Intermediate Period manuscript of *Wenamun*, cf. Kammerzell (2015: 1405). There are 43 cases of the  (D40) classifier in *Amenemope* L, many (20) appear in a group below the equally long and thin  (D51), which seems to imply a motivation based around physical ease and layout. It is also the usual hieratic classification strategy for the most frequent lexeme in the set, *l3(jj)* ‘to snatch/to interrupt’. This being said, a very common group (in the corpus generally, but also in this manuscript, with a total of 133 cases) is the more ‘incompatible’ group from a ‘quadrant’ perspective   (Y1-A24).

language, script and metaphor. This will mean that there are often groups of the same classifiers in a cluster, which may be due to two different but complementary strategies (cf. Findings Part I): using an exceptional spelling (a new classifier) or choosing a lexeme based on its being usually spelled with a particular classifier. This (the choice of lexemes and the choice of classifiers) is, we argue, often in line with the theme of the chapter/cluster and with the metaphorical language.

A recent study²⁸ has shown that the thematic structure is closely tied to groups of metaphors, both at the text level and the lexical level. We shall be focusing, however, on the lexical manifestation of THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD metaphor across the text. In this contribution we shall not be looking at all 30 chapters, but rather at significant individual chapters and chapter clusters that have a clear theme, a number of metaphors reflecting the PHYSICAL WORLD, and, in the best case scenario, a high concentration of similar classifiers.

Chapters 2–3: Status and behaviour, personal space

A key theme that develops in Chapters 2 and 3 is the demarcation of personal space in relation to status and behaviour. It is therefore not surprising that there is a high concentration of lexical metaphors representing the conceptual metaphor THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD in these chapters. Specifically, 35 % of these metaphors in the first third of the text come from these two chapters alone. There is also a systematic orientation of classifiers to this theme. In other words, *movement* dominates the classification strategy, both with legs $\wedge$ (D54-D55) and arms 𐤀𐤃 (D40-A24): 50 % (9/18) of metaphors in these chapters are classified with the legs and 33 % are classified with arms. Thus classifiers seem to be binding the text together on both the lexical and the thematic level, which could in turn amplify the *visual* effect of the manuscript.

We have argued above (cf. Findings Part I) how $\wedge$ (D55) plays a role in marking metaphors with an interpersonal element. In these chapters, $\wedge$ (D55) is found in the metaphorical lexemes *twḥ*³ ‘to pull back/to hold back’ (5.16) and *ʿn* ‘to turn around/to return (a response)’ (5.17), $\wedge$ (D54) appears with *h*³ᶜ ‘to throw/to leave (alone)’ (5.4, 5.16) and with *db(db)* ‘to stab/to attack’ (5.11). The combination of $\wedge\wedge$ (D54-D55) is used twice for *wsf(β)*, ‘to be idle/to hesitate’ (5.8, 5.12).

Chapters 6–7: Respect vs. greed

A theme that develops in Chapters 6 and 7 regards behaviour when working on an estate (in other words, in professional life). Specifically, the idea of being respectful of other people and their possessions is emphasised. The metaphorical lexemes and their classifiers highlight the conceptual domain THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD by seeming to prioritise lexemes classified with the superordinate classifiers of force and movement, 𐤀𐤃 (A24) and $\wedge$ (D54). Indeed, 90 % of these lexemes (9/10) are classified in this way. The classifier 𐤀𐤃 (A24) (in one case, the complementary sign 𐤀𐤃 (D40)) is used for both

28 Di Biase-Dyson (talk, 2015).

aggressive acts as well as proactive, defensive acts.  (A24) with the  (Y1) classifier (of which in the manuscript there are a total of 50 cases) is used with verbs expressing a neutral (in other words, less marked) style of interaction. Examples in this chapter complex include *sɔw* ‘to protect/restrain oneself’ (8.9) and *qmɔ* ‘to move/to pursue’ (9.10). On the other hand, the use of  (A24) with  (Z9) is used more specifically for acts of physical, but also emotional violence, including, later in the text, *pjɔɔ* ‘to laugh at someone’ (24.9, 24.11). Examples from these chapters include *sht* ‘to catch/to grasp’ (7.18) and *sph* ‘to lasso/to be caught out’ (7.19). The verb *whn* ‘to overturn/to assault’ (8.3) is classified here with   (O37-A24), like the subsequent non-metaphorical lexeme *wgp* ‘to crush’ (8.6).

Chapters 8–9: Behaviour in different contexts

Whereas Chapter 8 (which is not rich in PHYSICAL WORLD metaphors) gives an introduction to good behaviour in general, the subsequent Chapter 9, which focuses on a particularly difficult interpersonal encounter – that of provocation – is very rich in both PHYSICAL WORLD metaphors and interesting classification strategies. The number of metaphorical lexemes classified with  /  (A24/D40) is particularly noteworthy (11/19) and again we see a division between verbs classified with   (Y1-A24) and   (Z9-A24), in which the general category (with neutral and some negative connotations) is classified with the   (Y1-A24) strategy²⁹ and predominantly negative connotations appear with   (Z9-A24), such as *sph* ‘to lasso/to be caught out’ (11.17), *sht* ‘to catch/to trap’ (12.9) and *jnq* (*sd*) ‘to tuck in (the tail)/to defend (oneself) aggressively’ (13.4).

10–13: Morality and stealing

A theme that develops in Chapters 10 through 13 is morality: from an elucidation of good behaviour in general (10) to a discussion of greed and stealing (11), greed in relation to status (12) and then the specific case of administrative fraud (13). The metaphorical lexemes pertaining to the conceptual domain THE SOCIAL WORLD IS THE PHYSICAL WORLD are written with a quite restricted series of classifiers. In particular, ,  and  together constitute 56 % of the total classification strategy for metaphorical morphemes in this cluster. In fact, most probably because of the thematic focus on bad behaviour,  (G37) completely dominates this cluster, appearing in total 28 times, with 9 of the lexemes thus classified being metaphorical, such as *tnjw* ‘to be weak/to be (socially) weak’ (14.11) and the first two (of six) cases of *sɔdɔ* ‘to ruin/to falsify’ (14.2, 16.3). All 4 lexemes using the classifier  (D55) mark metaphorical lexemes, like *pšn* ‘to separate/to stop communication’ (13.17) and *shɔ* ‘to confound/to defraud’ (14.10). In this case, the interest comes from the fact that these very same classifiers abound at this point in the text, without all necessarily being tied to a metaphor (a feature discussed more at length in Findings Part III). Here we see the intersection of graphemes, lexemes, semantics and text structure.

29 An interesting addition to this list is provided by *msnh* ‘to turn around/to turn against’ (12.19), which is classified with the cluster   (A31-Y1-A24), which in a Third Intermediate Period Copy, S (pStockholm MM 18416), 2.6, is classified with   (A31-Y1-D55).

Chapter 14: Courtesy

Chapter 14 seems to present a thematic departure, concerning itself with the idea of courtesy and the appropriateness of certain behaviours in a social setting. It is perhaps significant therefore that the PHYSICAL WORLD metaphors here coincide with several rather unusual classification strategies that are not common elsewhere in the text.  (A15),  (A16) and  (A29), by representing humans in different postures, may present a fascinating insight into behaviours. For instance, *tnh* ‘to wink/to be familiar’ (16.20) is written in a way not otherwise seen in the entire corpus, with  (A15-D6) (in *Ani* B 16.20 we have just  (D6)). The classifier  (A15) emerges two other times in the text in relation to *hʿb* ‘to bend/to be subservient’ (in Chapter 3, 5.12 and in Chapter 26, 25.11). The cases with *ks* ‘to bow/to be subservient’ (16.20) with  (A16) and *pʿhd* ‘to be prostrate/to be subservient’ (16.21) with  (A29-A24) are unique to this chapter, and the case of  (A16) is also unique within this manuscript.

Chapter 15–17: Doing good

The cluster of Chapters 15, 16 and 17 moves from the general theme of ‘being good’, via the more specific ‘don’t lie or falsify’ to the most specific ‘don’t tamper with the measure’. It is thus concerned with issues of falsification.  (D55) is predominant for metaphorical lexemes in this cluster (5 cases out of 16 PHYSICAL WORLD metaphors), in all cases in relation to the lexeme *shʿ* ‘to confound/to defraud’ (17.11, 17.13, 18.6, 18.11, 19.2 – of 8 identically written cases in the whole text). Interestingly, this lexeme is consistently written with  (D55) instead of  (G37), which classifies the lexeme in other roughly contemporary texts, like Mayer A (vo 9.19) and an oracular text from the third pylon at Karnak (x+4).³⁰  (G37) is also a dominant classification strategy for other ‘falsifying’ lexemes in the corpus.³¹ In any case, falsification seems to be a theme of all key metaphorical lexemes in this chapter. There is a recurrence of *sʿdʿ* ‘to ruin/to falsify’ (17.18, 18.16) with  (G37), followed by *rmn* ‘to carry/to cheat’ (17.18) with  (D41-G37). We also find the lexeme *hbc* ‘to play a game/to play around’ (19.7), which has a unique spelling with  (A2). It is elsewhere, as in pAnastasi I, spelled with  (G37-D50-D50). Finally, another ‘falsification’ lexeme *ʿšq/ʿšg* ‘to oppress/to tamper with’ (which had already appeared in 6.14 and 7.17) reemerges twice in quick succession (18.12 and 18.15). The classification strategy used here is unique to this text, uniformly  (D51-D40) (like that of *tʿ(j)* ‘to take’), and is (perhaps tellingly) only used with this metaphorical meaning.

Chapters 18–20: Behaviour in relation to god and people

Chapter 18 covers the more general idea of expected behaviour in light of the nature and power of god, which is then followed up by two more explicit chapters on not forcing situations based around relationships with superiors (in Chapter 19) and with people of

³⁰ For this text see Vernus (1980: 215–233).

³¹ See David 2000; Goldwasser 2002 and Kammerzell 2015.

different ranks (in Chapter 20). In Chapter 19, we see an interesting verb compound *ṯ-hʒy* ‘to ascend and descend/to be contradictory’ (20.10) classified with  (U40-D54) and  (D54) respectively. The succession of metaphors reflecting up-down movement is followed up by the subsequent *s^ch^c* metonym ‘to stand/to appear in court’ (20.11). The general image is that of verticality in relation to ethics. In Chapter 20, the idea of forcing situations is exemplified by the topic of falsifying the oracle. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that we see the return of several lexemes from the last chapter cluster (with the theme of fraudulence): in Chapters 19 and 20 *s^cdʒ* ‘to ruin/to falsify’ (20.9, 21.13) and in Chapter 20 the lexeme *rmn*, ‘to carry/to cheat’. The latter also brings with it a resurgence of  (D55), carried on by *gwʒ* ‘to attack (physically)/to attack (socially)’ (21.4), a strategy (but also a theme) not apparent in Chapters 18 and 19.

Chapter 26: Behaviour and social status

We have throughout Chapter 26 a focus on consorting with people of one’s own level, but then also of adapting oneself to and being respectful of different kinds of people. Somewhat obscurely, but very fittingly, the text then moves to a small aphorism to make the point of why one should be respectful to people of all ranks: “The skipper who looks off into the distance makes sure that his boat will not capsize” (25.14–15). Up to this point, the lexemes portraying agency have been predominantly marked with  (Y1-A24), such as *ṯ* ‘to tie/to associate socially’ (25.1), *kf(j)* ‘to uncover/to expose (a problem)’ (25.10) and *sʒw* ‘to be broken/to be destroyed (socially)’ (25.11). The aphorism, however, takes a completely different, but very interesting route in relation to classification. The skipper (*jrj-hʒ.t*, classified with  (P1)), who is in his boat ( (P1) with  (N35A) – unusual even for more frequent ‘boat’ lexemes of the New Kingdom like *jmw* or *br*), does not let his boat capsize: ‘*gʒ* ‘capsize’ has no (upturned) boat  (P1A) but rather  (A29) (overturned man) and, so as not to let the nautical motif disappear, water  (N35A).

4 Findings Part III: Classifier cycles and text structure – the big picture

This discussion of classification strategies, though key to our study of metaphorical lexemes, must also be considered in light of the bigger picture, namely, how the classifiers are working in the text as a whole. These are, both with and without metaphors, part and parcel of the broad thematic structuring of the whole text, and they contribute to this work’s rich textual and physical (orthographic) structure.

4.1 Thematic cycles and the visual dimension

It is well known that graphemes can be employed as purely visual elements: beyond experiments in contemporary art and typography,³² many texts from Ancient Egypt prove

32 Some examples of this phenomenon: <https://www.behance.net/gallery/10013607/Collision-of-words-by-Lorianne-Barclay>, also <https://www.behance.net/gallery/Typography-Bird/369386> by Pedro D. Quintero M.

how graphemes can work both ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ the language: in other words, they can create visual effects that support the meaning of the language they represent. We see this, for instance, in the long line of farm animals classifying the lexeme *mmn.t* ‘cattle’ in the Hymn to Re on pBoulaq 17, 6.4 (see Goldwasser and Grinevald 2012: 24). Even more closely to our paper, we see it on page 12 of *Amenemope* L, where the placement of the subject *sw* ‘he’ at the beginning of almost every line creates a striking visual structure (Budge 1923: Pl. VI). Graphemes can also work as para-visual-textual devices, in temples and tombs, for instance, where elements of the picture make up lexemes, particularly names of kings.³³ It may also be possible that classifiers operate on several levels at once. As we have argued, we think that in *Amenemope* L visual metaphors can also be tied to lexical meaning, particularly when a clear theme is involved that unifies a number of lexemes in the text.

4.2 Themes and classification

One of the key concepts in *Amenemope* is the idea of providing the reader with a way of finding balance. This balance is meant to be on several levels, and can be reached by dealing in the right way with other people, with oneself, and with the god. The text is thus structured around a recurring systemic opposition between the behaviours to avoid, and the ones that the good man should adopt in his attainment of wisdom. Several recurrent themes emerge around this. One theme is the interaction between the reader and other people and the prototypical situations in which it may be difficult to keep a social interaction balanced and productive: with people of a higher status, with people of lower status or in weaker condition (a widow, an old man) and with irascible people (the ‘hot’ man). It is argued that the wise man should be always mindful of his own condition, giving respect to everybody, and always taking status into consideration. When dealing with an irascible person, it is advised not to stoop to his level, but instead to exercise caution, thereby ensuring that he is the more balanced of the interacting pair.

Another theme is honesty, particularly not being greedy, and not trying to get more than what the god has decided to allow. The good man should be able to content himself with what he gets from life, and not try to get more of anything than necessary. Once again, balance is the focus. If somebody tries to get more by lying, falsifying or conducting themselves dishonestly, then they are not going to keep what they acquired in this fashion. It will be taken back. But the good man who acts in a balanced and wise way will be rich from what is due to him and will find peace of mind.

The clusters of classifiers highlight the structure of the text. They make clear on a visual level this underlying opposition between ‘balanced’ and ‘unbalanced’ behaviour. Causing trouble, in a physical or metaphorical way, leads to having a troubled mind as well. Trouble is controlled by wisdom and by good behaviour. This structure, visible at the textual level, is what happens on a visual level in the text too. In keeping with the textual structure, ‘neutral’ classifiers, corresponding to non-aggressive, peaceful and wise behaviours, ‘bracket’ clusters of ‘bad’ classifiers, tied to bad or aggressive behaviours, by

33 For rebus names, cf., amongst others, Teeter (1997: 28–31).

appearing on both ends (or just at the end) of a cluster of ‘bad’ lexemes and corresponding ‘bad’ classifiers. We thus have a series of recurring classifiers that give a structure to the text and indicate the unfavourable behaviours to avoid, as well as their negative consequences. They are represented in reference to major semantic categories: motion, action and negative ideas.

	Motion	Action	Negativity
+ Recurrent			
- Recurrent			

Figure 11 | Components of classifier groups

For each category, a duo or trio of classifiers is used, including a very recurrent one, and a rare one (on the scale of the manuscript). The sequence of the classifiers is based on well-known ordering strategies.³⁴ The final classifier in a group allocated to a verb shows the semantic category of the verb and for nouns often marks the grammatical category.³⁵ Thus, in a study of broader semantic cycles it is clear why the *final* classifier of verbs and the most *significant* classifier of nouns must be taken into consideration.

Besides them, we have other recurring classifiers, in charge of contrasting with the negatively connoted sections of the text of the text: mostly  (Y1) and  (A2), and sometimes other ‘neutral’ recurrent signs like  (D6),  (V12),  (O1) or, simply, no classifier.

It is the visual actualisation of a troubled situation turning into peace. There is a core of negatively-connotated classifiers, with clusters of variable length of each major classifier  (D54),  (A24),  (G37) across a series of chapters (usually spanning groups of 2 or 3 consecutive chapters). In addition to that, there is a recurrent presence of more ‘minor’ classifiers, such as  (D55),  (D40),  (I3) or  (E21), adding to the general composition of the picture.  (D55), with its specific function in this text of ‘metaphor marker’, also plays a mediating role in the dialectics between (+) and (-) connoted sections and classifiers.

Working as a frame, or as barriers between the clusters (of the same classifier, or bigger heterogenic ones), we find the ‘neutral’ classifiers  and  (and often the absence of classifiers). This distribution often follows the division in chapters. A (large) group of ‘negative’ classifiers confined by (smaller) groups of ‘neutral’ classifiers can also run through several chapters, as the chapters in *Amenemope* often work in groups of 2 or 3 (cf. Findings Part II). We have also smaller clusters, inside a chapter. They generally follow one of these patterns:

34 Lincke (2011: 76 n. 222); Goldwasser and Grinevald (2012: 33–35), though for hieroglyphic texts of the Third Intermediate Period, cf. Jansen-Winkel (1996: 21).

35 For example, in 5.12 *th*’ ‘the one who transgresses’ is classified with  (D57-A24) (coming from the verb) plus  (A1), showing that the lexeme in question is a deverbal noun.

- neutral/trouble/neutral
- trouble/neutral
- neutral/trouble

Example of a small cluster (smaller than a chapter) , representing the pattern neutral/trouble/neutral:

- (6.13) *m jr(j) ṣṣq*  *dnj.wt n ḥw.t-ntr*
 ‘don’t falsify the shares of the temple’
m jr(j) ṣṣc 
 ‘don’t be greedy’
gm  *=k pṣ ḥṣw* 
 ‘and you will find abundance’

The example above is also the first pole of a chapter length cluster, and sets up the structure of the chapter. Here is the other pole, closing the chapter, which shows that this grouping is actually a chapter-length compartment, taking up all of Chapter 5:

- (7.9) *j.mḥ*  *tw n grw* 
 ‘cling to the silent man’
gm  *=k pṣ ṣnh*
 ‘and you will find life’
wdṣ  *=k ḥr-tp tṣ*
 ‘and your body will prosper on earth’

Chapter 5	 	6.14 / 6.15
	   	6.15 ; 6.17 ; 6.19 / 6.19 ; 7.2
	 	7.3 ; 7.6
	 	7.4
	   	6.16 / 7.1 / 7.1
		7.3
		7.9 ; 7.9 ; 7.10
	    	7.5 ; 7.8 / 7.7 / 7.9

Figure 12 | Schema of classifier patterns for Chapter 5
 Key: The “/” separates the attestations of different groups of signs
 and “;” the attestations of the same group of signs

We also have an example of a barrier of neutral classifiers coming after Chapters 6 and 7, which are predominantly negative in connotation and bear many ‘negative’ classifiers, as we can see in Figure 13. At both the semantic and graphemic level, at the very end of

Chapter 7, there is a reprieve. First, the content of the two chapters is resumed:

- (10.10) *skty n* ^c*wn*  *h*³*c*  *m* *h*^c*y.t*
 ‘the boat of the greedy man is abandoned in the mud’

Then comes the ideal situation and the contrast in the content is reflected by exclusively neutral classifiers:

- (10.11) *jw kr n grw*  *hr m*³*c*
 ‘while the skiff of the silent man sails on’
 (10.12) *j.jr=k sm*³*c*  *n p*³*jtn jw=f hr wbn*
 ‘it is the rising sun disk that you have to pray to’
 (10.13) *r-dd jmy n=j wd*³*snb* 
 ‘saying: ‘give me prosperity and health’
 (10.14) *d(j)=f n=k hr.t*  *=k n p*³*nh* 
 ‘so that he will give you subsistence for life’
 (10.15) *jw=k wd*³*tw*  *r hry.t* 
 ‘and you will be protected from fear’

End of chapter 5		
Chapter 6–7		9.12 ; 10.10 / 9.4 ; 9.14 ; 10.5 ; 10.8 / 7.16 ; 8.15
	 	7.13 ; 7.18 ; 7.19 ; 8.15 ; 8.19 / 7.15 ; 8.9 / 8.4 ; 8.9 ; 8.14 ; 8.18 / 8.6 ; 8.3 / 8.10
	     	7.16 / 7.16 / 7.17 ; 8.7 / 9.6
	     	7.14 ; 8.2 / 7.18 ; 8.2 ; 9.5 / 8.3 ; 8.5 ; 9.8
		8.1
Chapter 7	 	9.14 ; 9.15 / 9.15
	     	10.6 / 9.10 ; 10.8 ; 10.9 / 9.17 ; 10.1 ; 10.3 ; 10.10
	 	9.10 ; 9.16 ; 10.6 / 9.20 ; 10.8
	 	10.7 / 9.11
	  	10.11 / 10.12 / 10.13 ; 10.13 ; 10.14 ; 10.15 / 10.14

Figure 13 | Schema of classifier patterns for Chapters 6–7

Key: The “/” separates the attestations of different groups of signs and “;” the attestations of the same group of signs

Finally, we also find these barriers of neutral classifiers at the very beginning, and the very end of the text, framing the work as a whole.

- (1.1) $h^3.t^c m sb^3y.t \rightleftharpoons \curvearrowright m ^c nh \rightleftharpoons mtr.t \text{ 𐀓 } n wd^3 \rightleftharpoons$
 (1.3) $tp\text{-}rd.w \rightleftharpoons nb.w n ^c q^c q \wedge wr:w$
 (1.4) $nt\text{-}^c.w \rightleftharpoons n smr:w$
- (27.6) $ptr \text{ 𐀓 } n=k t^3y 30 n hw.t \square \curvearrowright$
 (27.8) $st hr sd^3 \times \rightleftharpoons hr \text{ 𐀓 } st hr sb^3 \curvearrowright$
 (27.9) $st m h^c w.tyw \times \text{ 𐀓 } \wedge n šfdw \curvearrowright nb$
 (27.10) $st hr d(j).t rh \rightleftharpoons p^3 hm \rightleftharpoons \text{ 𐀓 }$
 (27.11) $jr ^c š.w sn m\text{-}b^3h p^3 hm \rightleftharpoons \text{ 𐀓 }$
 (27.12) $hr\text{-}jr=f twr \text{ 𐀓 } hr=sn$
 (27.13) $j.mh \rightleftharpoons tw m=w$
 (27.13) $jmy=sn m jb=k$
 (27.14) $mtw=k jr(j) rmt \text{ 𐀓 } n wh^c \rightleftharpoons \text{ 𐀓 }.w$
 (27.15) $jw=f hr wh^c \rightleftharpoons \text{ 𐀓 } m sb^3y.t$
 (27.16) $jr šš jw=f šš^3 \rightleftharpoons \text{ 𐀓 } m j^3w.t \rightleftharpoons f gm=f sw m š^3w \rightleftharpoons smr$

To return to our original theme of metaphors and classification, we must also add here another feature apparent in the foregoing diagram: the spike in the ‘mental’ classifier  (A2), many of which are used for lexemes that convey PHYSICAL WORLD metaphors. Single cases are visible in Chapter 1, 17, 19, 20, 21, 26, three cases appear in Chapter 14, two in Chapters 29 and 30, but a large number, 5, are to be found in Chapter 27. Fundamentally in 30 chapters, 4 appear in the first half and 14 in the second half, which may indicate a focus on verbs of ‘insight’ (as a result of the teaching) in the later chapters.

5 Concluding remarks

We have been able to show in our study that several orthographic strategies are being used, seemingly in tandem, with the metaphorical lexemes in this manuscript. We see that in some cases the classification of a lexeme was changed to contain a specific classifier, perhaps to mark a metaphor. In other cases verbs seem to be (perhaps intentionally) sought out that also use such classifiers. This results in a series of clusters, linked to particular metaphorical lexemes, whereby the classifiers become players in the metaphorical structure of the text, on both the level of *content* and on the *visual* level. The lexical metaphors also seem to be bound to specific themes of the text, which in turn are closely tied to the formal (chapter-based) structure of the text. In other words, it is possible to suggest that the thematic structure is driving metaphors at the lexical level, which in turn drives orthographic strategies at the visual level. In future research we would like to follow up on whether there is a degree of ‘layout’ of these metaphors in the visual domain. In any case, uncovering the multiple ways of creating meaning, particularly figurative meaning, within a single manuscript suggests why multidimensional approaches to metaphor are so important. We hope that this contribution can help constitute a roadmap for further studies of metaphor in Egyptian and lend weight to hypotheses about changes in classification systems.

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