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# Glossing Ancient Egyptian

Suggestions for adapting the Leipzig Glossing Rules<sup>\*</sup>

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# 1 Looking back

As in other linguistic disciplines, which have a strong philological tradition and predominantly aim at individual language studies, interlinear morphemic glossing (IMG) has, for a long time, not been particularly popular amongst Egyptologists. This might seem a bit surprising if one bears in mind that forerunners of IMG<sup>1</sup> were employed quite regularly in the early days of Egyptian language studies. Devices for making a foreign language text accessible to persons not acquainted with the underlying idiom had been developed centuries before<sup>2</sup> and were extensively used by scholars who dealt with languages that were then considered as belonging to the more exotic ones. The implicit categorization of languages in accordance with their assumed accessibility to the audience is mirrored by a distinct treatment in investigations dealing with multilingual sources: A scholar like Athanasius Kircher (\*1602, †1680) felt no urge to support the readers of his Latin tracts with any hints for understanding sections in Greek<sup>3</sup> but usually added translations to passages in Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, German<sup>4</sup> and Italian<sup>5</sup> – and provided transcriptions as well as word-to-word glossings in cases where he used much rarer quotations from texts in Early Semitic letters or in Chinese characters.<sup>6</sup> Figure 1 depicts a copy of what Kircher presented in his *Œdipus Ægyptiacus* (1652) as an inscription from Sinai with five levels of additional analytic information - a rendering in "normalized" letters, "transliterations" into Hebrew and Syriac, a Latin transcription (of the latter) and a word-to-word translation.

<sup>\*</sup> See bibliography The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for Interlinear Morpheme-by-Morpheme Glosses.

<sup>1</sup> For a short sketch of the history and prehistory of IMG see Lehmann (2004: 1835-1836).

<sup>2</sup> The method of identifying meaningful elements in the foreign text by means of numerical indexes and matching numbers in the translation, which has been considered an invention of Wilhelm von Humboldt (cf. Lehmann 2004: 1835), had already been used by Athanasius Kircher (1652: II 263-265; 1667: 13-28), who also presented interlinear word-by-word renderings (e.g., Kircher 1652: II 94-95).

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., Kircher (1652: II 22).

<sup>4</sup> Cf., e.g., Kircher (1652: II 32).

<sup>5</sup> Cf., e.g., Kircher (1652: II 111-112).

<sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., Kircher (1652: II 94-95 and 263-265), Kircher (1667: 13-28).



Figure 1: 17<sup>th</sup> century interlinear analysis of an obscure inscription (Kircher 1652: II 113)

It is almost self-evident that Jean François Champollion (\*1790, †1832) as well as his contemporaries and immediate successors, be they his followers or opponents, used the by then well-known device of glossing in their works on Hieroglyphic Egyptian: The efforts for deciphering the indigenous writing systems of the Nile Valley and the studies following the breakthrough attracted enormous attention within the scientific world. As a consequence, the early Egyptologists could reckon with a widespread audience keen to learn about their work's progress but without a previous knowledge other than that which the few specialists themselves would have provided. To win the recognition of peers and public was obviously an appealing objective and it seems that some (by far not all) Egyptologists strived to make their concepts accessible even to readers outside the small circles of Orientalists. A masterpiece of lucidity in presenting Egyptian language data is Champollion's posthumously published Grammaire (1836-1841). Figure 2 exemplifies his usual manner of data display: the hieroglyphic text is divided into smaller meaningful units, which are then converted either into their Coptic equivalents or into transcriptions by means of Coptic letters. The third line comprises semantic information in form of word-by-word translations. Finally, a running translation is given.



ta majesté éduquer POUR nourrice à toi je suis (devenue).

« je suis devenue ta nourrice pour éduquer ta majesté. »

Figure 2: An early example of interlinear glossing in Egyptology (Champollion 1836-1841: 458)

The same method was employed quite regularly by Heinrich Brugsch (\*1827, †1894), not only in his *Grammaire démotique* (1855) but also in many of his smaller works. That Brugsch's word-for-word renderings were not meant to be read as a (retrograde)

running translation but rather as more abstract tags for the respective morphemes is obvious from the dividers as well as from the fact that elements of more than one language could occur within the same line. For instance, since Latin lacks elements unmistakably matching the definite article and the possessive prefix, these Demotic morphemes were rendered by means of Greek articles (cf. Figure 3).

1821113/A	لح,	127	3	12:13	14	-3
HeRMIS	TA	АА.т	TA	TASINTOT	HiM	TI
<sup>2</sup> Hermiae	ή το	w   major (natu)	)   ή	Tsenthot	femina	Dicit

Figure 3: Demotic phrase with transcription and glossing in Latin and Greek (Brugsch 1855: 54)

The first stage of Egyptian philology has been characterized by Wolfgang Schenkel (1990: 17-19) as the phase of deciphering and early exploration of the sources, and the then widespread use of interlinear glossing fits well to this state of affairs.

Later on, the practice of displaying Egyptian language data drastically changed: The quantity of contributions in the Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde that used one sort or other of interlinear glossing (besides plain transcription) went down from over 90 between 1863 and 1872 to little more than 40 in the years 1873-1882. It further declined to a number of 6 in the period 1883-1892 and reached a minimum of 1 for 1893-1902. The question of whether or not to employ interlinear glossing was significantly related to the respective author's affiliation to a particular generation: Whereas most scholars representing the "first phase" - notably Samuel Birch (\*1813, †1885), Heinrich Brugsch, François Joseph Chabas (\*1817, †1882), and Charles Wycliffe Goodwin (\*1817, †1878) - usually presented their data with glossing, one can hardly find examples of this practice in the works of Adolf Erman (\*1854, †1937), Kurt Sethe (\*1869, †1934), Georg Steindorff (\*1861, †1951), whose names stand for the second period of Egyptological linguistics (cf. Schenkel 1990: 19-21). The case of Erman, the initiator of the "second phase", is especially instructive: Although he started publishing as a student in the 1870s, at a time when his teachers' generation still made use of interlinear glossing, he went without this device from the very beginning. Neither his influential description of Late Egyptian<sup>7</sup> nor the comprehensive or abridged grammars of Earlier Egyptian<sup>8</sup> – and not even the booklet on Egyptian published in the popular "Sammlung Göschen"<sup>9</sup> – provided grammatical information by means of interlinear glosses. Even though we cannot refer to an explicit statement by Erman, one gets the impression that his practice of dispensing with a well established device of facilitating access to Egyptian texts was deliberate and reflected a change of attitude towards Hieroglyphic Egyptian: For Erman this was no longer an exotic language that could only be dealt with by relying on the intuitive knowledge of a small circle of autodidacts, but - not the least thanks to his own works - had become a linguistic system that was to be learnt methodically with the help of grammars and dictionaries like the better known ancient languages. With Egyptology

<sup>7</sup> See Erman (1880, <sup>2</sup>1933).

<sup>8</sup> See Erman (1894, <sup>2</sup>1902, <sup>3</sup>1911, <sup>4</sup>1928), Erman (1919, 1931).

<sup>9</sup> See Erman (1917).

being a well-established academic discipline, it was no longer considered necessary to justify every detail of a translation. Professionals and serious students were expected to be acquainted with the basics of the grammar.

Thus, although exceptions remain, one of the more remarkable being Lesquier (1914: 144-171), who presented not only interlinear transcriptions and glosses but also a transliteration for every single hieroglyph including the classifiers, Erman's dominance in this field set in stone the modus operandi for the description of the Egyptian language utilized by generations of scholars to follow. None of what might be called the standard grammars of any Egyptian chronolect makes use of IMG on a regular basis.<sup>10</sup> With E.A. Wallis Budge's notorious *Easy lessons in Egyptian hiero*glyphs (1901) being for almost a hundred years the most widely distributed publication that contains glossed Egyptian texts, it seems that specialists in the field of Egyptian language studies might have even considered any regular use of IMG an indicator of a lack of professionalism. At any rate, it is difficult to find another explanation for the circumstance that even the authors of works explicitly aiming at a wider readership, like Schenkel's (1990) and Loprieno's (1995) introductions to Egyptological linguistics,<sup>11</sup> have not felt the need to facilitate understanding by means of adding IMG to the text examples. Against this background, it is not surprising that not a single example of Hieroglyphic Egyptian is amongst the 127,306 entries taken from 1,226 languages in ODIN – The Online Database of Interlinear Text, the "repository of Interlinear Glossed Text (IGT) extracted mainly from scholarly linguistic papers."

This situation began to change only slowly when Egyptologists writing for an audience of linguists<sup>12</sup> or a wider public<sup>13</sup> began to feel the necessity of making their analyses of Egyptian texts more comprehensible – or were coerced into it by linguist editors.

As this volume makes evident, however, it is not only the wish of contemporary scholars of the Egyptian language to make their studies accessible to the broader linguistic community that has turned the tide again. There is also a strong belief amongst many Egyptologists that our discipline will gain a significant amount if the grammatical analyses of Egyptian texts are presented in a more transparent manner than what can be achieved by transcription and translation only.<sup>14</sup> Given this new interest in describing the language through the use of interlinear morphemic glossing, the issue then arises as to the most accurate or faithful means of representing features, in this case, of Earlier and Late Egyptian.

<sup>10</sup> See Edel (1955/64) for Old Egyptian, Gardiner (1957), Borghouts (1993), Malaise & Winand (1999), Allen (2000) for Middle Egyptian, Černý & Groll (<sup>3</sup>1983, <sup>4</sup>1993), Junge (2001) for Late Egyptian, Simpson (1996) for Demotic, Steindorff (1951), Layton (2000) for Coptic.

<sup>11</sup> For the target audiences of these books cf. Schenkel (1990: 4), Loprieno (1995: XI).

<sup>12</sup> See especially the numerous works of Chris Reintges, e.g. (1994, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> See Peust (1997).

<sup>14</sup> Another foreseeable benefit of adopting IMG would be the improvement of the notoriously low quality of many Egyptological translations, which frequently results from the fatal notion that a translation should reflect at any cost the grammatical constructions of the source text. If text examples are accompanied by IMG there is no need to mould the translation to fit the original.

# 2 Theoretical prelude

One decision the user who wants to create a meticulous analysis has to make is whether the morphemes present in the written utterance or the reconstructed elements of spoken language shall form the basis of the glossing. In the case of Hieroglyphic Egyptian, the systemic differences between these two modes of representation are considerable, sometimes amounting to a scale commensurate with two typologically rather distinct languages.<sup>15</sup> The classical hieroglyphic writing system on the one hand rendered explicitly only those morphemes of an utterance of which the spoken counterparts exhibited consonantal elements and on the other hand provided, in the form of the classifiers, graphic morphemes that did not correspond to segmental units of the spoken language. Due to this circumstance, Written Egyptian and Spoken Egyptian are not equivalent on the morphological level and both deviate from the conventional Egyptological transcription. Figure 4 illustrates the situation: Both written sister' and (Old Egyptian) spoken /'sa:nat/ 'sister' consist of three morphs each. The respective sets, however, not only differ with respect to their substance and form but also in terms of their meaning. The vocalic tier  $\{/\_'a:\_a\_/\}^m$ , characterizing a substantive of a particular inflectional class (feminine biradicals in /'a:/ of the consonantal declension), is without correspondent – or corresponds to a zero morph – in Written Egyptian. On the other hand, the classifier  $\sqrt{2}$  {(HUMAN, FEMALE}<sup>cl</sup> has no counterpart in Spoken Egyptian. Neither are taken into account when rendering a hieroglyphic utterance by means of the traditional Egyptological transcription system.

Written Old Egyptian	Spoken Old Egyptian	Transcription	
$\frac{1}{2} \qquad {\text{('sibling')}}^1$	$s_n {(sibling)}^1$	<i>sn</i> - {'sibling'}	1
上 🗅 🖄 'sister'	'ş a: n a t 'sister'	sn.t 'sister'	
	$_{a:a} a_{a} {\rm (SBST,}^{m}$		
$\frown$ {F} <sup>m</sup>	$t {F}^m$	$-t$ {F} <sup>m</sup>	
$\overset{\frown}{\mathbb{M}}$ {human, female} <sup>c1</sup>			

Figure 4: Morphemes in Written Old Egyptian, Spoken Old Egyptian, and conventional Egyptological transcription compared

Glossing written  $\lim_{n \to \infty} n t$ -woman 'sister' would result in something like sister-F-CL or, more precisely, sibling-F-CL, whereas spoken /'sa:nat/ should be sibling:SBST:...-F. Both differ from the glossing on the basis of the transcription – in the case of *sn.t* 'sister': sibling-F or sister-F – that is mostly employed by those Egyptologists who use this device at all (– compare the practical suggestions below).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Kammerzell (1993).

The effort required to steadily observe the systemic distinctions between written language and spoken language will probably not meet with the approval of many Egyptologists, and it is true that in practice it will be often sufficient to take as a departure simply the transcriptions. However, this holds true only in the instance that the IMG aims at nothing more than giving the reader some general hints about the structure of an Egyptian utterance. Whenever one has reason to suppose that the audience might draw conclusions about the morphological structure of Ancient Egyptian or one of its chronolects from the material, one should exercise caution and clarify what is represented in the IMG. Figure 5 demonstrates how crucial this is when dealing with Late Egyptian utterances of all periods in more or less the same (pseudo-) historical way, the discrepancy between our transcriptions and the linguistic reality is often extremely wide.

Written Late Egyptian		Spoken Late Egyptian		Transcription			
			${'sibling'}^{1}$	s _ n	$\{$ 'sibling' $\}^{l}$	sn-	$\{\text{'sibling'}\}^1$
		M	'sister'	's a: n ə	'sister'	sn.t	'sister'
				_ 'a: _ ə _	$\left\{ \text{SBST,, F} \right\}^{m}$		
	Ω		${\{F\}}^m$			- <i>t</i>	${F}^{m}$
		M	${HUMAN, FEMALE}^{cl}$				

Figure 5: Morphemes in Written Late Egyptian, Spoken Late Egyptian, and conventional Egyptological transcription compared

The spoken correspondent of Late Egyptian  $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{s_n - t - woman}{s} \cdot sister', / same/ consists of only two morphemes. These are either the lexical root {/s_n/, 'sibling'}<sup>1</sup> and the vocalic tier {/_'a:_o_/, 'sBST, ..., F'}<sup>m</sup>, marking part of speech and gender, as in Figure 5 or, alternatively, a lexeme {/'san/, 'sibling'}<sup>1</sup> plus a feminine ending {/o/}<sup>m</sup>. Irrespective of which analysis one prefers it is quite obvious that the IMG based on the standard Egyptological transcription must not be taken as an indicator of the morphological conditions in Late Egyptian.$ 

A similar caveat is appropriate with respect to the phonological form of Egyptian lexical and grammatical elements. It is by now well established that the symbols of the transcription alphabet do not match the sound shape of Earlier Egyptian but rather reflect the inventory of consonantal phonemes in Late Egyptian.<sup>16</sup> In addition, historical sound changes have resulted in changes to grapho-phonemic correspondence rules so that a particular (group of) hieroglyph(s) in Later Egyptian may have a different function than in earlier times. Thus, the usual transcriptions of several frequent grammatical morphemes of Late Egyptian – e.g.,  $p_3$ ,  $t_3$ , jw, tw, sw – do not imply that the respective spoken morphs comprised two consonants each. For this reason,

<sup>16</sup> See Kammerzell (1998a, 2005: 172-182).

transcriptions of Later Egyptian cannot mechanically be "translated" into their spoken correspondents by simply providing a list of the younger equivalents of the letters of the transcription alphabet. Instead, every single written form has to be interpreted. This is of minor importance for philological studies focussing on nothing but the content of a text but becomes more virulent if matters of poetic form, language change, language contact and etymology are within the scope of interest.

Consequently, it may be appropriate, on a case by case basis, not to base IMG simply on transcriptions but to choose another level of representation. Especially when texts tagged by means of IMG are made searchable, one should take into consideration from the very beginning that information that is standard in databases of modern languages will be untraceable if only conventional Egyptological transcriptions are being used. Figure 6 illustrates the situation – but also points out the amount of effort necessary to build a sophisticated database of Egyptian text (and we have not even begun to discuss linguistic units beyond the level of morphemes and words!).

Normalized hieroglyphs:				
Transliteration:	MD- <sup>d</sup>	st-jr	p-w	wn- <sup>n</sup> -j-s-
Conventional transcription:	mw <u>d</u> w	$(W)sr(.w)^{17}$	-pw	Wnjs
Phonological interpretation:	mwc'w	wsrw	pw	wnjş
Vocalisation:	mawc'aw	wu'şi:luw	?	'wanjaş
Written language morphemes:	recite:INF	be_strong[-PTCP]	DEM	PROP-BASIL
Spoken language morphemes:	recite^INF	be_strong:PTCP	DEM	PROP
Written language parts of speech:	VB	VB (PROP)	DEM	PROP-CL
Spoken language parts of speech:	VB	VB (PROP)	DEM	PROP
Lemmata:	mw <u>d</u> w	Wsjr / (W)sr(w)	pw	Wnjs
Inflectional class:	IV. inf., ult. w	3-rad.	DEM	?
Interlinear translation:	recite	Wushiiluw	that	Wanjash

Figure 6: Different levels of representation for a Hieroglyphic Egyptian utterance (Pyr. 308b<sup>W</sup>)

Given this complicated state of affairs, the system of IMG to be used for Ancient Egyptian should not force its users to stick to one particular level of representation only, but rather be flexible enough to cope with a variety of purposes.

## 3 Practical suggestions

3.1 The approach we suggest in this paper is based on the *Leipzig Glossing Rules* but differs from them in two main particulars. It attempts firstly to represent certain morphophonological features of the language (see, for instance, the use of the backwards slash rather than hyphen in connection with verb forms) and secondly to represent meaning as occurring across a verbal complex rather than in a specific unit, as we see particularly with the representation of the Future III. We have also suggested some additions to the terminology, which appear here in the glossing abbreviations.

<sup>17</sup> For this interpretation of the name of the god Osiris cf. Zeidler (2000).

# 3.2 Glossing abbreviations relevant to Ancient Egyptian

Additions to Leipzig Glossing Rules are marked in bold; glosses defined in the LGR not immediately relevant to Ancient Egyptian are given in brackets.

1	first person	D	(abbreviation after number:) DU
1S/1P/1D	(abbreviation:) 1SG/1PL/1DU	(DAT	dative)
2	second person	DECL	declarative
- 2S/2P/2D	(abbreviation:) 2SG/2PL/2DU	DEF	definite
3	third person	DEM	demonstrative
3S/3P/3D	(abbreviation:) 3SG/3PL/3DU	DET	determiner
(A	agent-like argument of a canonical	DIST	distal
(	transitive verb)	DISTR	distributive
(ABL	ablative)	DO	direct object; Shopen (2007: xviii)
(ABS	absolutive)	DU	dual
ABSTR	abstract	(DUR	durative)
(ACC	accusative)	(ERG	ergative)
APLI	accompli; Winand (2006a: ch.4-5;	(EXCL	exclusive)
	2006b: 458-460): 'accompli'	EXLM	exclamative
	(form)/'perfective' (semantics)	F	feminine
ACT	active	FOC	focus
ADJ	adjective	FOCZ	focalizer(/focalization)
ADJZ	(adjectivizer/)adjectivization;	FUT	future; Dahl (1985: 103-108)
	Shopen (2007: xvii): ADJ	(GEN	genitive)
ADV	adverb(ial)	GRND	ground; Shopen (2007: xix): G
ADVZ	(adverbializer/)adverbialization	IAPLI	<i>inaccompli</i> ; Winand (2006a: ch.6)
AGR	agreement	IMP	imperative
AGT	agent marker	IMPRS	impersonal; Shopen (2007: xix):
ALL	allative		IMP; Bybee et al. (1994: xxi)
ANT	anterior; Binnick (2001: 559);	(INCL	inclusive)
	Bybee et al. (1994: xxi, 54, 61, 78);	INCHO	inchoative; Bybee et al. (1994: xxi)
	Shopen (2007: xviii)	IND	indicative
ANTIP	antipassive	INDF	indefinite
(APPL	applicative)	INF	infinitive
ART	article	INS	instrumental
ATTN	attention marker	INTR	intransitive
AUX	auxiliary	IPFV	imperfective; Comrie (1976: 25,
(BEN	benefactive)		39); compare also: Werning (2008:
BS	base		275); Bybee et al. (1994: xxi):
CAUS	causative		IMPF
CJVB	conjunctional verb; Kammerzell (in	IRR	irrealis
	preparation)	(LOC	locative)
CLF	classifier (phonological)	М	masculine
CNSV	consecutive	MELL	mellic; compare PROS
CNJ	conjunction; Bybee et al. (1994:	MCM	main clause marker
	xxi)	MOD	modal; Bybee et al. (1994: xxii)
COLL	collective	MODP	modal particle
(COM	comitative)	(N	neuter)
COMP	complementizer (used here in the	N	non- (e.g.NPST non-past)
	narrow sense as object clause	NEG	negation, negative
	marker)	NMLZ	(nominalizer/)nominalization;
COMPL	completive; Bybee et al. (1994: xxi,		Shopen (2007: xx): NOMIN
	57): COMP; compare also: Boland	(NOM	nominative)
	(2006: 48)	OBJ	object
COND	conditional	(OBL	oblique)
(COP	copula)	OBLV	obligative; Bybee et al. (1994:
CORD	coordinating particle		xxii): OBL[igation]
CVB	converb	ORD	ordinal number

(P	patient-like argument of canonical	PS
	transitive verb)	PT
Р	(abbreviation after number:) PL	P
PA	(abbreviation:) PTCP.ACT	
PALL	(abbreviation:) allative preposition	
PASS	passive	(P
PATT	(abbreviation:) attachment prepos.	Q
PCOM	(abbreviation:) comitative prepos.	Q
PDA	(abbreviation:) PTCP.DISTR.ACT	(R
PDAT	(abbreviation:) dative preposition	RI
PDP	(abbreviation:) PTCP.DISTR.PASS	RI
PF	(abbreviation:) PTCP.FUT	RI
PFV	perfective; Bybee et al. (1994: 54-	(~
	55, 83): PERF; Dahl (1985: 78);	(S
DODY	Timberlake (2007: 304)	~
PGEN	(abbreviation:) genitive preposition	S
PIA	(abbreviation:) PTCP.IPFV.ACT	SE
PINF	(abbreviation:) inferior preposition	SE
PINS	(abbreviation:) instrumental prepos. (abbreviation:) interior preposition	SI
PINT PIP	(abbreviation:) PTCP.IPFV.PASS	
PL	plural	SI
PD	posterior; Binnick (2001: 559).	51
POSS	possessive	
POSS	potential; Shopen (2007: xxi);	SI
101	Bybee et al. (1994: xxi)	51
РР	(abbreviation:) PTCP.PASS	SC
PPO	(abbreviation:) PTCP.POST	ST
PRED	predicative	51
PREP	preposition; Bybee et al. (1994:	ST
IREI	xxii)	51
PRF	perfect; Dahl (1985: ch.5): PFCT;	
114	Timberlake (2007: 304): PF	ST
PROG	progressive	
PROH	prohibitive	ST
PROS	prospective; Binnick (2001: 564);	
	Comrie (1976: 64-65); Dahl (1985:	T
	111-112): PROSP ["be going to"].	T
	Synonymously to MELL: Boland	Т
	(2006: 46), Klein (1994: 108)	TI
PROX	proximal/proximate	(V
PRS	present; Bybee et al. (1994: xxi):	V
	PRES	
PST	past, preterite; Bybee et al. (1994:	
	55, 82); Dahl (1985: 116-117):	
	PAST; Timberlake (2007: 315)	
	,	

PSUP PTCP PTCL	(abbreviation:) superior preposition participle particle; Shopen (2007: xx): PART, PCL; Bybee et al. (1994: xxii):
	PARTCL
(PURP Q	purposive) question particle/marker
QUOT	quotative
(RECP	reciprocal)
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RES	resultative; Nedjalkov (2001: 928,
	930); Bybee et al. (1994: 54, 63).
(S	single argument of canonical
	intransitive verb)
S	(abbreviation after number:) SG
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SBRD	subordinating particle; Shopen
	(2007: xxi): SUBORD; Bybee et al.
	(1994: xxii): SUB
SIM	simultaneous; Relative tense;
	Shopen (2007: xxi); Bybee et al.
CD	(1994: xxii)
SP	sentence particle; Bybee et al. (1994: xxii)
SG	singular
STABS	status absolutus (Schenkel
STADS	2005: 109/110, ch. 5.1.1.4)
STAT	stative; Nedjalkov (2001: 928);
51111	Bybee et al. (1994: xxii); Shopen
	(2007: xxi): STV
STC	status constructus
	(Schenkel 2005: 109/110)
STPR	status pronominalis
	(Schenkel 2005: 109/110)
THMZ	thematizer/thematization
TOP	topic
TOPZ	topicalizer(/topicalization)
TR	transitive
(VOC	vocative)
VCJT	vocative adjunct; Halliday&
	Matthiessen (2004: 133-134)

## 3.3 Punctuation according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (with some additions)

... used in the transcription and the gloss (number and type must be <u>exactly the</u> <u>same</u> in the transliteration and the gloss!):

- connects segmentable morphemes
- = marks clitic boundary
- ~ indicates reduplication morpheme

#### ... used in the gloss only:

- \_ is used instead of space in translations, e.g. "come\_out"
- separates several metalanguage elements rendered by a single object-language element (used

with this meaning in the gloss only; compare the different definition in Egyptological transliteration below)

- means "segmentable, but the author does not want to show the formal segmentation" :
- \ marks a grammatical property in the object-language signaled by a morphophonological change (*ablaut*, mutation, tone alternation, etc.)
- marks inherent, non-overt categories, such as gender in e.g. engl. brother(M) ()
- means "gloss contains an element that does not correspond to an overt element in the example" []
- marks grammatical or lexical elements that consist of two parts (our addition) which are treated { } as distinct morphological entities,

pas. e.g. fr. Je ne le sais 1SG NEG{ 3SG.M know:1SG } Alternatively one might want to use ':' with a repetition of the gloss, e.g. 1SG NEG: 3SG.M know:1SG :NEG

# 3.4 Traditional Egyptological transliteration transcription punctuation used in the transliteration only (compare: Schenkel 2005: 39)

- separates several successive object-language elements rendered by a single metalanguage ele-. ment; can be left out without effect on the gloss (used with this meaning in the transliteration only; compare the different definition in glosses above)
- encloses non-overt phonemes, scholarly reconstruction ()
- encloses a lacuna, potentially with reconstructed content []
- encloses the emendation of a scribal error (deletion), or certain orthographical conventions { }
- <> encloses the emendation of a scribal error (addition)

## 3.5 Punctuation employed to indicate the substance of linguistic elements (not used in glosses)

- encloses morphological units { }
- encloses a classifier
- $\left\{ \right\}^{cl}$ encloses a lexeme
- $\{ \}^m$ encloses a (grammatical) morpheme
- encloses strings of spoken language, phonological units / /
- encloses phonetic units []
- encloses strings of written language  $\langle \rangle$

#### 3.6 'Weak consonants'

Morphological forms with 'weak consonants' (that is glides) as a distinct morphological feature must be glossed differently depending on whether they are spelled with or without the glides:

s <u>d</u> m		(specific form signaled by transfix only)	hear:sBJV
gm.y	or gmy	(specific form signaled by transfix and glide)	find:SBJV
gm(.y)	or $gm(y)$	(specific form signaled by transfix and non-overt glide)	find:SBJV

One can choose to indicate the glide as separate morpheme ('-'). However, in cases where the glide is not spelled out, the 'non-overt' maker ('[]') needs to be used. Consequently, the gloss makes it appear as if the semantic category is actually missing:

sdm	hear:SBJV
gm-y	find-sbjv
gm(-y)	find SBJV

## 3.7 Morphology of Earlier and Late Egyptian

Opinions differ amongst scholars of Ancient Egyptian as to how certain morphemes should be (typologically) classified. Therefore, where many such cases occur, list the different analyses proposed thus far and demonstrate how these analyses manifest themselves in a glossing format. Of course it is impossible to cover all of them, just as it is impossible to cite all the scholars who have expressed their opinion. Naturally, it goes without saying that with such a choice of representations comes also the necessity to maintain consistency within each scholarly contribution.

Suffix pronouns		
-j or =j	-1SG or $=1$ SG	(abbreviation: -1s)
-k or $=k$	-2SG.M or $=2$ SG.M	(abbreviation: -2s.M)
$-\underline{t}$ or $=\underline{t}$	-2SG.F or $=2$ SG.F	(abbreviation: -2s.F)
-f or =f	-3SG.M or $=3$ SG.M	(abbreviation: -3s.M)
-s or $=s$	-3SG.F or $=3$ SG.F	(abbreviation: -3s.F)
-n or $=n$	-1PL or $=1PL$	(abbreviation: -1P)
- <u>t</u> n or = <u>t</u> n	-2PL or $=2PL$	(abbreviation: -2P)
-sn or $=sn$	-3PL or $=3PL$	(abbreviation: -3P) [Earlier Egyptian]
-nj or =nj	-1DU <i>or</i> =1DU	(abbreviation: -1D) [Old Egyptian]
- <u>t</u> nj or = <u>t</u> nj	-2DU or $=2DU$	(abbreviation: -2D) [Old Egyptian]
-snj or =snj	-3DU or $=3DU$	(abbreviation: -3D) [Old Egyptian]
$-w$ or $=_W$	-3PL or $=3PL$	(abbreviation: -3P) [Late Egyptian]
	stem (e.g. with the infin morphemes (with '-') rat possibility to attach to ver in favor of marking them a Instead of PL or P 'pl	ural', NSG (or NS) 'non-singular' may be used for Il exhibit the category of dual on nouns but do not
-tw	-3SG.C or $=3$ SG.C	(abbreviation: -3s.c)
	-IMPRS or =IMPRS	
Enclitic/Dependent	tpronouns	
$=_{Wj}$	=1SG	
=tw	=2SG.M	
=tn	=2SG.F	
$=_{SW}$	=3SG.M	
=sj	=3SG.F	
=n	=1pL	
=tn	=2PL	
$=_{Sn}$	=3pL	
$=_{St}$	=3SG.C	
$=t_W$ , $=t_j$	=2sg [Late Egyptian]	
=st	=3SG; $=3PL$	
-	,	

*Form/morpheme* Suggestion for gloss (with a few Egyptological references)

Independent pronou	ns
jnk	1sg
$nt.k \rightarrow mnt.k$	2sg.m [Earlier Egyptian $\rightarrow$ Late Egyptian]
$nt.\underline{t} \rightarrow mnt.t$	2sg.f
$nt.f \rightarrow mnt.f$	3sg.m
$nt.s \rightarrow mnt.s$	3sg.f
nt.n , jnn	1PL (for $nt.n$ see: Quack 2002)
$nt.\underline{t}n \rightarrow mnt.tn$	2pl
$nt.sn \rightarrow mnt.w$	3pl
<u>t</u> wt	$2$ SG.M [Old Egyptian] $\rightarrow 2$ SG [Middle Egyptian]
<u>t</u> mt	2sg.f [Old Egyptian]
swt	3sg.m [Old Egyptian] $\rightarrow$ 3sg [Middle Egyptian]
stt	3sg.f [Old Egyptian]
Object pronouns [L	
=tw.j	=1SG
=tw.k	=2SG.M
=tw.t	=2SG.F
=tw.f	=3sg.m
=tw.s	=3sg.f
=tw.n	=1 PL
=tw.tn	=2PL
=tw.w	=3pL
Proclitic pronouns [	
tw-j	prs-1sg
tw-k	PRS-2SG.M
tw-t	PRS-2SG.F
SW	3sg.m(prs)
st	3sg.f(prs)
tw-n	PRS-1PL
tw-tn	PRS-2PL
st	3pl(prs)
tw-tw	prs-3sg.c
	PRS-IMPRS
Demonstrative pron	ouns [Earlier Egyptian]
pn	DEM:M.SG
tn	DEM:F.SG
nn	DEM:C
jpn	DEM:M.PL
jptn	DEM:F.PL
pw	DEM:M.SG
tw	DEM:F.SG
nw	DEM:C
jpw	DEM:M.PL
jptw	DEM;F.PL

DEM.DIST:M.SG		
DEM.DIST:F.SG		
DEM.DIST:C		
DEM.DIST:M.PL		
DEM.DIST:F.PL		
DEM:M.SG		
DEM:F.SG		
DEM:C		
otian]		
ART:M.SG	(long: DEF.A	RT:M.SG)
ART:F.SG	(long: DEF.A	RT:F.SG)
ART:PL	(long: DEF.A	RT:PL)
Alternatively, one ca	an gloss the artic	le as a preclitic ( $p^3=, t^3=, n^3=$ ).
INDF.ART.SG		
INDF.ART.PL [Lat	er Egyptian II	]
ouns [Late Egyptia	in]	
DEM:M.SG	_	
DEM:F.SG		
DEM:PL		
Late Egyptian]		
POSS:M.SG	(long: ART.P	POSS:M.SG)
POSS:F.SG	(long: ART.P	
POSS:PL	(long: ART.P	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
	·	
M.SG:POSS=		
brother(M SG)	(short broth	ner)
· · · ·	(Short: Grou	
F.PL forms with w a		n Earlier Egyptian. We therefore recom- ith a 'virtual' $w$ i.e. with $u$ as in the case
_	-	
••••		(short: circumference)
royal entourage-	·COLL:F	(short: royal entourage-F)
favour-ABSTR:F		(short: favour-F)
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
good(M.SG)	(short: good	1)
• • •	( 8004	,
•		
200 <b>u</b> -M.D.U		
good-F		
	DEM.DIST:F.SG DEM.DIST:C DEM.DIST:M.PL DEM.DIST:F.PL DEM.M.SG DEM:F.SG DEM:F.SG DEM:C otian] ART:M.SG ART:F.SG ART:PL Alternatively, one ca INDF.ART.SG INDF.ART.SG INDF.ART.PL [Lat nouns [Late Egyptian] DEM:F.SG DEM:F.SG DEM:PL Late Egyptian] POSS:M.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:F.SG POSS:PL M.SG:POSS= F.SG:POSS= F.SG:POSS= PL[:POSS]= brother(M.SG) brother-M.PL brother-M.PL brother-M.PL brother-M.PL sister-F sister-F.PL sister-F.PL sister-F.DU F.PL forms with w a mend transcribing th of <i>ultimae infirmae</i>	DEM.DIST:F.SG DEM.DIST:C DEM.DIST:M.PL DEM.DIST:F.PL DEM:M.SG DEM:F.SG DEM:C tian] ART:M.SG (long: DEF.A ART:F.SG (long: DEF.A ART:F.SG (long: DEF.A ART:PL (long: ART.P DEM:M.SG DEM:F.SG DEM:F.SG (long: ART.P POSS:F.SG (long: ART.P POSS:F.SG (long: ART.P POSS:F.SG (long: ART.P POSS:F.SG (long: ART.P POSS:F.SG (long: ART.P POSS:PL (long: ART.P POSS:PL (long: ART.P DEM:M.SG) (short: broth brother-M.PL brother-M.PL brother-M.PL brother-M:DU sister-F sister-F.PL sister-F.DU F.PL forms with w are uncommon in mend transcribing the plural form with of ultimae infirmae verbs. circumference:M(SG) royal_entourage-COLL:F favour-ABSTR:F good(M.SG) (short: good good-M.PL

Adverbs		
jm	there(ADV)	
$c_{j} \rightarrow d\ddot{i}$	here(ADV) [Earlier Egyptian $\rightarrow$ Late Egyptian]	
wr-t	very-ADVZ	
Ordinal number affi	х	
<i>-nw</i> (e.g. <i>4-nw</i> )	-ORD (e.g. 4-ORD)	[Earlier Egyptian]
mḥ-	completing-	[Late Egyptian]
	ORD-	
Existential adjective	S	
wn	existant	
nn	not existant [Ear	lier Egyptian]
$nn.wn \rightarrow mn$	not_existant [Lat	
Auxiliary verbs (use	d in different verba	l forms)
tm	not do	(long: not_do(AUX))
wn	was	(long: was(AUX)) [Late Egyptian]
jr	do	(long: do(AUX)) [Late Egyptian]
'Nisbes' / Secondary		
jmnt-ï	west-ADJZ.M.SG	
jmnt-w	west-[ADJZ:]M.PL	
jmnt-t	west-[ADJZ:]F	
0		minative pronoun [Earlier Egyptian]
n(-i)	of[-M.SG]	(long: of[-ADJZ:M.SG])
n(v) n-w	of-M.PL	(long: of[ADJZ:]M.PL)
n-t	of-F	(long: of [ADJZ:]F)
n		Earlier Egyptian]
		Late Egyptian]
Relative pronoun/'n		
nt-ï (nt(-ï))	REL-M.SG (REL[-N	-
nt-w	REL-M.PL	
nt-t	REL-F	
jwt-ï (jwt(-ï))	•••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••••	EG.REL[-M.SG])
jwt-w	NEG.REL-M.PL	
jwt-t	NEG.REL-F	
Infinitive		
sdm	hear:INF	
s- <sup>c</sup> nh	CAUS-live:INF	
gm-t (gm.t)	find-INF (find: INF	F) [Earlier Egyptian]
gm.t, gm(.t)	find:INF	[Late Egyptian]
gm-tw	find-INF	[Late Egyptian]
'Complement infinit	tive'	
sdm-t	find-ADV.INF	
'Negative compleme		
gm.w	find:ADVZ	
	1119.11212	

Imperative [Earlier I	Egyptian]		
gm	find:IMP		
gm-w	find:IMP-PL		
т	PROH		
	do_not(IMP)		
Imperative [Late Eg	yptian]		
sdm	hear:IMP		
j.gm	find:Rel.IMP		
m-jr	proh-do		
m.jr	PROH		
m-dy	PROH-give		
m.dy	PROH:CAUS		
'Pseudoparticiple' /	'Parfait ancien' / Stative / Resultative		
gm-k	-		
gm-kw	find:res-1sg		
gm-tj	find:RES-2SG [Earlier Egyptian]		
gm-tw , gm-tj	find:RES-2SG [Late Egyptian I]		
gm-ø, gm-w	find:RES[-3SG.M]; find:RES-3SG.M		
gm-tj	find:RES-3SG.F [Earlier Egyptian]		
gm-tw , gm-tj	find:RES-3SG.F [Late Egyptian I]		
gm-wïn , gm-n	find:res-1pL		
gm-twnï, gm-tn	find:RES-2PL		
gm-ø, gm-w	find:RES[-3PL] ; find:RES-3PL [Middle Egyptian]		
	find:RES[-3PL.M] ; find:RES-3PL.M [Old Egyptian]		
gm-tj	find:RES-3PL.F [Old Egyptian]		
mn-kw	remain:STAT-1SG		
mn-tj	remain:STAT-2SG		
	 Note that CTAT could a DEC does not imply could a sting. One wight		
	Note that STAT – unlike RES – does not imply earlier action. One might prefer not to distinguish RES and STAT and to gloss all Pseudoparticiple		
	forms with RES.		
gm-tw , gm-tj	find-RES [Late Egyptian II]		
gm	find:RES [Late Egyptian II]		
0	orms / Adverbial verb forms [Earlier Egyptian]		
	! Different analyses have been put forward for most of the ver-		
	bal forms:		
gm	find:IPFV (Werning 2008: 275; Allen 2000: ch.20)		
0	find:IAPLI (Winand 2006a: ch.6)		
	find:PRS (Schenkel 2005: 192)		
	find:SIM (Zonhoven 1997: 69)		
gm.y	find:SBJV		

gm.w	find:post	(Werning 2008: p.288-289)	
	find:FUT	(Schenkel 2005: 196, 1990: 102)	
	find:pros		
		t linguistic publications, the label 'prospective' is often nellic aspect proper ("to be just about to go?") Earlie	
	taken to refer to mellic aspect proper ("to be just about to go"). Earlier studies took it as a kind of counterpart to PRF, i.e. a form – often paraphrased by "to be going to do" – that can have both mellic or (non epistemic) poste-		
		npare the bibliography in the list of glossing abbrevia	
	tions.)		
gm-n	find-ant	(Werning 2008: ch.5-6 '(perfective) Anterior'; Zonhoven 1997: 69)	
	find-APLI	(Winand 2006a: ch.4-5; 2006b: 458-460)	
	find-prf	(Allen 2000: ch.18; Loprieno 1995: 80-81; Schenkel 1990: 102 "präsentisches Perfekt")	
	find-pst	(Kammerzell 1998b)	
	find-PFV	(Hannig 1991: 280)	
	For the different c	conceptions and general terminological issues compare	
	Werning (2008: ch.		
gm	find:ANT	(Werning 2008: ch.6.2, 8 'Old Anterior')	
	find:RES	(Winand 2006a: 199, 250 "résultatif disjoint"	
	find:PFV	(Allen 2000: ch.20; Loprieno 1995: 77)	
	find:prf	(Schenkel 1990: 102 "historisches Perfekt")	
gm.w	find:ANT.PASS	(for alternatives for ANT here and below	
		compare <i>gm-n</i> above)	
s <u>d</u> m-t	hear-COMPL	(D.W.; compare <i>sdm-tw</i> below)	
	hear-RES	(Winand 2006a: 255-259, 373)	
	hear-post	(Zonhoven 1997: 133-136)	
	hear-PFV	(Loprieno 1995: 76)	
gm.w	find:POST.PASS	(for alternatives to POST here and below	
		compare the 'prospective' gm.w above)	
s <u>d</u> m~m	hear~POST.PASS		
'Predicative' verb f	orms [Late Egyptia	an]	
gm.y	find:prv	(Werning 2008: 286-287)	
	find:PST	(Junge 2001: 153; Loprieno 1995: 92-94;	
		compare: Černý&Groll, <sup>4</sup> 1993: 154, 156)	
gm.y	find:SBJV		
	find:FUT		
	Compare the remarl	ks of Junge 2001: 139.	
gm.w	find:prv.pass		
	find:PST.PASS		
sdm-tw	find-COMPL	(compare Schenkel 1990: 100, 186)	
(jr.tw)	(do:COMPL)		
Passive suffix -tw	-PASS		
	-IMPRS		

Nominal verb forn	ns [Earlier Egyptian]	
gm-n	find:NMLZ-ANT	
gm~m	find:NMLZ~IPFV	
sdm	hear:NMLZ.IPFV	
gm.y	find:NMLZ	
Nominal verb form	ns [Late Egyptian]	
sdm	hear:THMZ	
j.gm	find : THMZ	
'Contingent verb f	orms' / Modal forms	
gm-jn	find-CNSV	
gm-jn	find:ANT-CNSV	
gm-jn	find: IPFV-CNSV	(compare: Zeidler 1999: 136-138)
gm.w-jn	find:POST-CNSV	(compare: Westendorf 1962: §280)
gm-k3	find-CNSV.POST	
	find-CNSV.POT	(Kammerzell 1998b)
gm.w-k3		ST ; find:post-cnsv.pot
gm.y-k3	find:SBJV-CNSV.POS	ST ; find:SBJV-CNSV.POT
gm-hr	find-OBLV	(Malaise & Winand 1999: §624)
gm-ḫr	find:IPFV-OBLV	
gm.y-ḫr	find:SBJV-OBLV	
Relative forms [Ea	rlier Egyptian]	
gm-n	find:rel(M)-ANT	(short: find:REL-ANT)
gm-t-n	find:rel-f-ant	
gm~m	find:REL~IPFV(M)	(short: find:REL~IPFV)
sdm	hear:REL.IPFV(M)	(short: hear:REL.IPFV)
gm~m-t	find:rel~ipfv-f	
sdm-t	hear:REL.IPFV-F	
gm.y	find:rel(M)	(short: find:REL)
gm.y-t	find:rel-f	
Relative forms [La	te Egyptian]	
sdm	hear:REL	
	hear:REL.PFV	
j.gm	find:rel	
	find:rel.pfv	
j.jr gm.t	do:rel find:inf	
Participles [Earlier	Egyptian]	
gm	find:ptcp(M.SG)	(abbreviation: find:PA)
gm-w	find:ptcp-m.pl	(abbreviation: find:PA-M.PL)
gm-t	find:ptcp-f	(abbreviation: find:PA-F)
gm.y	find:ptcp.pass(m.s	
gm.y-w	find:ptcp.pass-m.p	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
gm.y-t	find:ptcp.pass-f	(abbreviation: find:PP-F)

gm~m-ï	find:PTCP~DISTR-M.SG	(abbreviation: find~PDA-M.SG)
gm~m-yw	find:PTCP~DISTR-M.PL	(abbreviation: find~PDA-M.PL)
gm~m-t	find:ptcp~distr-f	(abbreviation: find~PDA-F)
sdm-ï	hear:ptcp.distr-m.sg	(abbreviation: hear.PDA-M.SG)
sdm-yw	hear: PTCP. DISTR-M.PL	(abbreviation: hear.PDA-M.PL)
sdm-t	hear:PTCP.DISTR-F	(abbreviation: hear.PDA-F)
	PTCP~DISTR.	P~IPFV (abbreviation: PIA) instead o
gm~m-w	find:PTCP~DISTR-PASS.M(SG)	(abbreviation: find~PDP-M)
gm~m-w	find:PTCP~DISTR-PASS.M[-PL]	(abbreviation: find~PDP-M[-PL])
gm~m-t	find:ptcp~distr[-pass]-f	(abbreviation: find~PDP-F)
sdm-w	hear:PTCP.DISTR-PASS.M(SG)	(abbreviation: hear.PDP-M)
sdm-w	hear:PTCP.DISTR-PASS.M[-PL]	(abbreviation: hear.PDP-M[-PL])
sdm-t	hear:ptcp.distr[-pass]-F	(abbreviation: hear.PDP-F)
		IPFV-PASS (abbreviation: PIP) instead o
~~~ <i>t</i> " f	PTCP~DISTR-PASS.	(abbraviation: find ppo 14 cc)
gm-tï-f	find-PTCP.POST-M.SG	(abbreviation: find-PPO-M.SG)
gm-tï-s	find-PTCP.POST-F.SG	(abbreviation: find-PPO-F.SG)
gm-tï-sn	find-PTCP.POST-PL	(abbreviation: find-PPO-PL)
	PTCP.POST.	CP.FUT (abbreviation: PF) instead o
gm-y	find-ptcp.post.m	(abbreviation: find-PPO.M)
gm-tj	find-ptcp.post.f	(abbreviation: find-PPO.F)
Participles [Late Eg		
sdm	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT	
j.gm	find:ptcp ; find:ptcp.ant	
j.gm j.jr gm.t	find:ptcp ; find:ptcp.ant	tian]
j.gm j.jr gm.t	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egyp MCM	-
<i>j.gm</i> <i>j.jr gm.t</i> Selected particles an	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egyp	-
<i>j.gm</i> <i>j.jr gm.t</i> Selected particles an	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199	-
<i>j.gm</i> <i>j.jr gm.t</i> Selected particles an	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199	94: 81)
<i>j.gm</i> <i>j.jr gm.t</i> Selected particles an <i>jw</i>	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT         do:PTCP find:INF         nd function words [Earlier Egyp         MCM         GRND       (Collier 199         BS       (Loprieno 1)	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "])
<i>j.gm</i> <i>j.jr gm.t</i> Selected particles an <i>jw</i> <i>jwt</i>	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT         do:PTCP find:INF         nd function words [Earlier Egyp         MCM         GRND       (Collier 199         BS       (Loprieno 199         COMP.NEG	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3)
<i>j.gm</i> <i>j.jr gm.t</i> Selected particles an <i>jw</i> <i>jwt</i>	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANTdo:PTCP find:INFnd function words [Earlier EgypMCMGRNDGRNDCOMP.NEG=FOCZ(Oreal 2009)	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3)
j.gm j.jr gm.t Selected particles an jw jwt =js wnt	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANTdo:PTCP find:INFnd function words [Earlier EgypMCMGRNDGRND(Collier 199BSCOMP.NEG=FOCZ=SBRD(Gilula 197	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3)
j.gm j.jr gm.t Selected particles an jw jwt =js	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egypt MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm j.jr gm.t Selected particles an jw jwt =js wnt pw	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egypt MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm j.jr gm.t Selected particles an jw jwt =js wnt pw m-k (m-t̄, m-t̄n)	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF d function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm j.jr gm.t Selected particles an jw jwt =js wnt pw m-k (m-t, m-tn) nj-	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF ad function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG-	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm $j.jr gm.t$ Selected particles an jw $jwt$ $=js$ $wnt$ $pw$ $m-k (m-t, m-tn)$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $m-s$	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG- NEG{ } or NEG =NEG	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm $j.jr gm.t$ Selected particles an $jw$ $jwt$ $=js$ $wnt$ $pw$ $m-k (m-\underline{t}, m-\underline{t}n)$ $nj-$ $nj =js$ $nj-zp$	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG- NEG{ } or NEG =NEG NEG-happened	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm $j.jr gm.t$ Selected particles an $jw$ $jwt$ $=js$ $wnt$ $pw$ $m-k (m-t, m-tn)$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG- NEG{ } or NEG =NEG NEG-happened COMP	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm $j.jr gm.t$ Selected particles an jw $jwt$ $=js$ $wnt$ $pw$ $m-k (m-t, m-tn)$ $nj-$	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF nd function words [Earlier Egypt MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG- NEG{} or NEG=NEG NEG-happened COMP OBLV	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59)
j.gm $j.jr gm.t$ Selected particles an $jw$ $jwt$ $=js$ $wnt$ $pw$ $m-k (m-t, m-tn)$ $nj-$ $nj-zp$ $ntt$ $hr$ $k^{3}$	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF ad function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG- NEG{} or NEG=NEG NEG-happened COMP OBLV CNSV.POST	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59) TTN-2PL) -2PL)
j.gm $j.jr gm.t$ Selected particles an jw $jwt$ $=js$ $wnt$ $pw$ $m-k (m-t, m-tn)$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $nj-$ $mj-$ $nj-$ $mj-$	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF and function words [Earlier Egypt MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG- NEG{} or NEG=NEG NEG-happened COMP OBLV CNSV.POST and function words [Earlier $\rightarrow$ La	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59) TTN-2PL) -2PL)
j.gm $j.jr gm.t$ Selected particles an $jw$ $jwt$ $=js$ $wnt$ $pw$ $m-k (m-t, m-tn)$ $nj-$ $nj-zp$ $ntt$ $hr$ $k^{3}$	find:PTCP ; find:PTCP.ANT do:PTCP find:INF ad function words [Earlier Egyp MCM GRND (Collier 199 BS (Loprieno 1 COMP.NEG =FOCZ (Oreal 2009 =SBRD (Gilula 197 COMP DEM ATTN-2SG.M (ATTN-2SG.F , AT VCJT-2SG.M (VCJT-2SG.F , VCJT NEG- NEG{} or NEG=NEG NEG-happened COMP OBLV CNSV.POST	94: 81) 1995: 167-168 ["void <i>jw</i> "]) 9: ch.3) 2: 55, 59) TTN-2PL) -2PL)

iv	TOPZ or COND	
$\frac{jr}{ch^c.n}$	CJVB:ANT	
$\frac{\dot{n} \cdot n}{-w\ddot{i} \rightarrow -ws\ddot{i}}$		
wn.jn	-EXLM	
hwï	CJVB:CNSV	
$h^{3} \rightarrow hl, hn$	MODP	
-	MODP	
<u>sk , jst</u> ,	SBRD	
<u>tj</u>	SBRD	
-	d function words [Late Egyptian]	
j.jr	THMZ	
jw	SBRD	
jw [in NIMS]	CORD	
jw r	$FUT\{\dots\}$ or $FUT-\dots$ : FUT	
jw (r)	Given this syntagm's Coptic successor $\epsilon$ $\epsilon$ , we suggest taking the two morphemes as already being two parts of a single discontinuous morpheme FUT in Late Egyptian.	
jnn	COND	
bw-	NEG-	
bw.pwy	NEG:did	
mk, ptr	ATTN	
	VCJT	
mtw-	CORD.MOD-	
$nn \rightarrow bn$	NEG	
bn jwn3	NEG{ } <i>or</i> NEG: :NEG	
ntï	REL	
r.ntt, r.ntï	QUOT	
r.dd	СОМР	
hn	COND	
hr	CORD	
Selected clause patte	erns [Earlier Egyptian]	
	NEG- hear-ANT-3SG.M	
5 2 2 3 5	Note that despite the fact that the meaning is 'imperfective' the form is still	
	to be glossed according to its morphology (compare e.g. Miestamo 2005:	
	127), i.e. as ANT (Werning 2008: ch.6.2), APLI (Winand 2006a: 350-352),	
. 1 .	PRV (Hannig 1984; 1991: 281-283), or otherwise.	
sn-t hr=gm-t	sister-F on= find-INF	
jw sn-t ḥr=gm-t	MCM sister-F on= find-INF	
	GRND sister-F on = find-INF GRND can be used instead of MCM in any of the examples below.	
jw-f hr=gm-t	MCM-3SG.M $on = find-INF$	
jw-f hr=gm-t	BS-3SG.M  OI = find-INF	
	BS-58G.M OII— IIIId-INF BS can be used instead of MCM (or GRND) before a suffix pronoun in any of	
	the examples below.	
sn-t $m=qd$	sister-F in= build:INF	
sn-t $m=jy-t$	(sister-F in= come-INF)	
sn-t $r=$ $gm-t$	sister-F to= find-INF	
jw sn-t r= gm-t	MCM sister-F to= find-INF	
jw-f $r=gm-t$	MCM-3SG.M to= find-INF	
<u> </u>		

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$tw-j$ $hr=gm.t$ PRS-1SGon=find:INF $sw$ $(hr=)$ gm.t3SG.M(PRS) $[on=]$ find:INF $p^{j}$ sn $(hr=)$ gm.tthe brother $[on=]$ find:INF $tw-j$ gm-kwPRS-1SGfind:RES[-3SG.M] $p^{j}$ sn $gm-\theta$ 3SG.M(PRS)find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^{j}$ sn $gm-\theta$ the brotherfind:RES[-3SG.M] $p^{j}$ sn $gm-\theta$ the brotherfind:RES[-3SG.M] $p^{j}$ sn $gm-\theta$ the brotherfind:RES[-3SG.M] $marker of the present tense. The preposition hr, when used, is then a markerof the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm mtw-fhr-gm.tPRS-1SGPRS=fhrd:INFfmd:INFtw-j(hr=) gm.tPRS-1SGpr=gm.tPRS-1SGPRS=swhr=gm.t3SG.M(PRS)p^{j} sn hr=gm.tthe brotherp^{j} sn (hr=) gm.tthe brotherp^{j} sn (hr=) gm.tthe brotherp^{j} sn gm-\thetathe brotherp^{j} sn gm-\thetathe brotherp^{j} sn gm-\thetathe brotherfind:RES[-3SG.M]p^{j} sn gm-\thetap^{j} sn gm-\thetap^{j} sn gm-\thetap^{j} sn gm-\thetap^{j}$	Selected clause patte	erns [Late Egyptian]	
$p_{j}^{j} sn(hr=) gn.t $ the brother [on=] find:INF $tw-j gm-kw = PRS-1SG = find:RES-1SG$ $sw gm-\theta = 3SG.M(PRS) = find:RES[-3SG.M]$ $p_{j}^{j} sn gm-\theta = the brother = find:RES[-3SG.M] = This first style of glossing is based on taking the proclitic pronoun as the sole marker of the present tense. The preposition hr, when used, is then a marker of the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm mtw-fhr-gm.t = gm.t = RSS = find:INF tw-j = (hr=) gm.t = PRS-1SG = PRS = find:INF sw = hr=gm.t = 3SG.M(PRS) = PRS = find:INF sw = hr=gm.t = 3SG.M(PRS) = RSS = find:INF p_{j}^{j} sn(hr=) gm.t = SG.M(PRS) = find:INF p_{j}^{j} sn(hr=) gm.t = the brother = PRS = find:INF tw-j = gm.t = the brother = PRS = find:INF tw-j = mr.t = SG = find:INF tw-j = mr.t = SG.M(PRS) = find:INF = find:INF \frac{find:RES[-3SG.M]}{This second style of glossing sees the preposition hr not as an infinitive marker but as a part of a present tense complex. \frac{jw-f}{hr=gm.t} = SBRD-3SG = 0n= = find:INF = fi$	tw-j hr=gm.t	PRS-1SG on=	find:INF
$tw-j$ $gm-kw$ PRS-1SGfind:RES-1SG $sw$ $gm-\theta$ $3SG.M(PRS)$ find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^3$ sn $gm-\theta$ the brotherfind:RES[-3SG.M]This first style of glossing is based on taking the proclitic pronoun as the sole marker of the present tense. The preposition $hr$ , when used, is then a marker of the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm $mtw-f$ $hr^-gm-t$ (compare Junge 2001: 104). $tw-j$ $hr=gm.t$ $PRS-1SG$ $PRS=$ $tw-j$ $(hr=)$ $gm.t$ $PRS-1SG$ $PRS=$ $sw$ $hr=gm.t$ $SG.M(PRS)$ $PRS=$ find:INF $sw$ $hr=gm.t$ $SG.M(PRS)$ $PRS=$ find:INF $sw$ $(hr=)$ $gm.t$ $BrS=M(PRS)$ find:RES-1SG $sw$ $gm-\theta$ $3SG.M(PRS)$ find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^3$ sn $(hr=)$ $gm.t$ the brother $PRS=1SG$ $p^3$ sn $gm-\theta$ $BrS=M(PRS)$ find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^3$ sn $gm-\theta$ $BrS=M(PRS)$ find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^3$ sn $gm-\theta$ $SBRD-3SG$ $on=$ find:INF $tw-j$ $gm.t$ $BRD-3SG$ $on=$ find:INF $jw-f$ $hr=gm.t$ $GORD$ $SGM.FW$ find:INF $jw-f$ $rgm.t$ $GORD$ $find:INF$ $find:INF$ $jw-f$ $rgm.t$ $GORD$ find:INF $find:INF$ <tr< td=""><td>sw (hr=) gm.t</td><td>3SG.M(PRS) [on=]</td><td>find:INF</td></tr<>	sw (hr=) gm.t	3SG.M(PRS) [on=]	find:INF
sw gm-θ       3SG.M(PRS)       find:RES[-3SG.M]         p3 sn gm-θ       the brother       find:RES[-3SG.M]         This first style of glossing is based on taking the proclite pronoun as the sole marker of the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm mtw-f hr-gm-t (compare Junge 2001: 104).         tw-j       hr= gm.t       PRS-1SG       PRS=       find:INF         sw       hr=gm.t       PRS-1SG       [PRS=]       find:INF         sw       hr=gm.t       SG.M(PRS)       PRS=       find:INF         sw       hr=gm.t       3SG.M(PRS)       PRS=       find:INF         sw       (hr=) gm.t       the brother       PRS=       find:INF         sw       (hr=) gm.t       the brother       PRS=       find:INF         sw       (hr=) gm.t       the brother       [PRS=]       find:INF         p3 sn (hr=gm.t       3SG.M(PRS)       [FRS=]       find:INF         p3 sn (hr=gm.t       SG.M(PRS)       find:RES[-3SG.M]       find:RES[-3SG.M]         p3 sn gm-θ       3SG.M(PRS)       find:INF       find:RES[-3SG.M]         p3 sn gm-θ       SBD-3SG       on=       find:INF       find:RES[-3SG.M]         p3 sn gm-θ       SBD       SBD-3SG       on=       find:INF       find:INF	p3 sn (ḥr=) gm.t	the brother [on=]	find:INF
$p^{3} sn gm \cdot \theta$ the brother find:RES[-38G.M] This first style of glossing is based on taking the proclitic pronoun as the sole marker of the present tense. The preposition $hr$ , when used, is then a marker of the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm $mtw$ -f $hr$ - $gm$ -t (compare Junge 2001: 104). $tw-j  hr= gm.t  PRS-1SG \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF$ $tw-j  (hr=) gm.t \qquad PRS-1SG \qquad [PRS=] \qquad find:INF$ $sw  hr= gm.t \qquad 3SG.M(PRS) \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF$ $sw  (hr=) gm.t \qquad 3SG.M(PRS) \qquad [PRS=] \qquad find:INF$ $p^{3} sn  hr= gm.t \qquad the brother \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF$ $p^{3} sn  (hr=) gm.t \qquad the brother \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF$ $tw-j  gm-t  the brother \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF$ $tw-j  gm-t  the brother \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF$ $tw-j  gm-t  WPS-1SG \qquad find:RES[-3SG.M]$ $p^{3} sn  hr= gm.t \qquad He \ brother \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF$ $tw-j  gm-t \qquad WPS-1SG \qquad find:RES[-3SG.M]$ $p^{3} sn  gm-\theta \qquad 3SG.M(PRS) \qquad find:RES[-3SG.M]$ $p^{3} sn  gm-\theta \qquad SBD.93SG \qquad on= \qquad find:INF \qquad [circumstantial present]$ $jw-f  hr=gm.t \qquad SBRD-3SG \qquad on= \qquad find:INF \qquad [VIT-3SG.M : FUT \qquad find:INF \qquad FUT-3SG.M : FUT \qquad find:INF \qquad FUT-3SG.M : FUT \qquad find:INF \qquad FUT-3SG.M : FUT \qquad find:INF \qquad SBRD-3SG.M : FUT \ find:INF \qquad SBRD-3SG.M$	tw-j gm-kw	prs-1sg	find:res-1sg
This first style of glossing is based on taking the proclitic pronoun as the sole marker of the present tense. The preposition $hr$ , when used, is then a marker of the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm $mtw-f$ $hr-gm-t$ (compare lunge 2011: 104). $tw-j$ $hr=gm.t$ PRS-1SGPRS=find:INF $tw-j$ $(hr=)$ $gm.t$ PRS-1SG[PRS=]find:INF $sw$ $hr=gm.t$ 3SG.M(PRS)PRS=find:INF $sw$ $hr=gm.t$ 3SG.M(PRS)[PRS=]find:INF $p^3$ sn $hr=gm.t$ the brotherPRS=find:INF $p^3$ sn $hr=gm.t$ the brother [PRS=]find:INF $p^3$ sn $hr=gm.t$ the brother [PRS=]find:INF $p^3$ sn $hr=gm.t$ the brother [PRS=]find:RES-1SG $sw$ $gm-\phi$ 3SG.M(PRS)find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^3$ sn $gm-\phi$ 3SG.M(PRS)find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^3$ sn $gm-\phi$ 3SG.M(PRS)find:INF $iw - f$ $hr=gm.t$ SBRD-3SG $marker but as a part of a present tense complex.jw-fhr=gm.tCORD sister-Fjw - fhr=gm.tGORD Sister-Fjw - frgm.tfind:INFjw - frgm.tGORD find:INFjw - f(r)gm.tSBRD FUT find:INFjw - f(r)gm.tSBRD FUT find:INFjw - f(r)gm.tSBRD FUT find:INFjw - f(r)gm.tCORD find:INFjw - f(r)gm.tCORD.mtw-kgm.t$	sw gm-ø	3sg.m(prs)	find:res[-3sg.m]
$\begin{array}{c} marker of the present tense. The preposition $hr$, when used, is then a marker of the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm $mtw-f$ $hr-gm.t$ PRS-1SG PRS= find:INF tw-j (hr=)gm.t$ PRS-1SG [PRS=] find:INF $sw$ $hr=gm.t$ 3SG.M(PRS) PRS= find:INF $sw$ $(hr=)gm.t$ 3SG.M(PRS) [PRS=] find:INF $sw$ $(hr=)gm.t$ the brother PRS= find:INF $pi$ $sn$ $hr=gm.t$ the brother PRS= find:INF $tw-j$ gm-k$ $w$ $gm-$\varepsilon$ $n$ $hr=gm.t$ the brother PRS= find:INF $tw-j$ gm-$kw$ $PRS-1SG find:RES-1SG $sw$ $gm-$\varepsilon$ $gm.$\varepsilon$ $mtw$ $fmd:RES[-3SG.M]$ This second style of glossing sees the preposition $hr$ not as an infinitive marker but as a part of a present tense complex. $fmd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $GRD $sister-$F$ $on= find:INF [Circumstantial present] $jw$ $sr$ thr=$gm.$t$ $GRD $sister-$F$ $on= find:INF $fur-3SG.M $find:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $do:FUT $find:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $do:FUT $find:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $do:FUT $find:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $GRD $fur-$GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $fur-$GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $fur-$GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $fur-$GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $fur-$GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $fur-$GRD $furd:INF $fur-$gm.$t$ $furd:INF $f$	p3 sn gm-ø	the brother	find:res[-3sg.m]
of the infinitive, as one observes above in the unetymological syntagm $mtw-f_{hr} - gm-t$ (compare Junge 2001: 104). tw-j $hr = gm.t$ PRS-1SG PRS= find:INF tw-j $(hr=)$ $gm.t$ PRS-1SG [PRS=] find:INF sw $hr = gm.t$ 3SG.M(PRS) PRS= find:INF sw $(hr=)$ $gm.t$ the brother PRS= find:INF $p^{j}$ $sn$ $hr = gm.t$ the brother PRS= find:INF tw-j $gm-kw$ PRS-1SG find:RES-1SG $sw$ $gm-\theta$ 3SG.M(PRS) find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^{j}$ $sn$ $gm-\theta$ the brother [PRS=] find:INF tw-j $gm-kw$ PRS-1SG find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^{j}$ $sn$ $gm-\theta$ the brother find:RES[-3SG.M] $p^{j}$ $sn$ $gm-\theta$ the brother $mters$ find:INF [Circumstantial present] jw-f $hr=gm.t$ SBRD-3SG on= find:INF [Circumstantial present] jw-f $hr=gm.t$ CORD sister-F on= find:INF [NIMS] $jw-f$ $r$ $gm.t$ $GRT$ $3SG.M \}$ find:INF $fUT-3SG.M :FUT find:INF jw yw-f(r) gm.t SBRD FUT{ 3SG.M } find:INFmtw-k$ $gm.t$ CORD mother find:INF $jw$ $yw-f(r)$ $gm.t$ SBRD FUT{ 3SG.M } find:INF $jw$ $jw-f(r)$ $gm.t$ SBRD FUT{ 3SG.M } find:INF jr $sn$ $gm.t$ do:FUT brother find:INF jr $mtw-k$ $gm.t$ CORDMOD find:INF jr $mtw-k$ $gm.t$ CORDMOD find:INF j.jr-n $gm.t$ THZ-1PL find:INF r-jr $tw-fgm.t$ to-do:COMPL-3SG.M find:INF $s^{3}c$ $j.jr$ $tw-fgm.t$ until to:do:COMPL-3SG.M find:INF $s^{3}c$ $j.jr$ $tw-fgm.t$ until to:do:COMPL-3SG.M find:INF			
$\begin{aligned} hr - gm - t \ (compare Junge 2001: 104). \\ tw - j  hr = gm . t  PRS-1SG \qquad PRS= \qquad find:INF \\ tw - j  (hr =) gm . t  PRS-1SG \qquad [PRS=] \qquad find:INF \\ sw  hr = gm . t  3SG.M(PRS)  PRS= \qquad find:INF \\ sw  (hr =) gm . t  3SG.M(PRS) \qquad [PRS=] \qquad find:INF \\ p^{3} sn  (hr =) gm . t  the brother  PRS= \qquad find:INF \\ tw - j  gm - kw \qquad PRS-1SG \qquad find:RES-1SG \\ sw  gm - \phi \qquad 3SG.M(PRS) \qquad find:RES[-3SG.M] \\ p^{3} sn  gm - \phi \qquad 3SG.M(PRS) \qquad find:RES[-3SG.M] \\ marker but as a part of a present tense complex. \\ jw - f  hr = gm . t \qquad SBRD-3SG \qquad on= \qquad find:INF \ [NIMS] \\ jw - f  hr = gm . t \qquad SBRD-3SG \qquad on= \qquad find:INF \ [NIMS] \\ jw - f  r  gm . t \qquad FUT  find:INF \ FUT-3SG.M : FUT \qquad find:INF \ FUT-3SG.M : FUT \qquad find:INF \ FUT-3SG.M : FUT \qquad find:INF \ Jr sn  gm . t \qquad do:FUT  brother \ find:INF \ Jr sn  gm . t \qquad GORD.MOD \qquad find:INF \ Jr sn  gm . t \qquad CORD.MOD \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f  gm . t \qquad NEG-do:PFV-1SG \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f  gm . t \qquad NEG-do:PFV-1SG \qquad find:INF \ r - fr . tw - f gm . t \qquad to:do:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ r - fr . tw - f gm . t \qquad to:do:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad to:do:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until to:do:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until :COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad until:COMPL-3SG.M \qquad find:INF \ Jr - f gm . t \qquad$		-	
$ \begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$			
$ \begin{array}{c} tv-j \ (h=) \ gm.t \ \mbox{PRS-1} SG \ \ \mbox{PRS=} \ \ \ \mbox{find}: \mbox{INF} \\ sw \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ $	twi hr= am t		
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$p^{3} sn hr = gm.t  ext{ the brother PRS} find:INF p^{3} sn (hr = ) gm.t  ext{ the brother [PRS} = ] find:INF tw-j gm-kw  ext{ PRS}-1SG  find:INF tw-j gm-kw  ext{ PRS}-1SG  find:INF tw-j gm-kw  ext{ PRS}-1SG  find:INF p^{3} sn gm-\varnotheta  find:SGM  find:INF[-3SG.M] p^{3} sn gm-\varnotheta  find:second style of glossing sees the preposition hr not as an infinitive marker but as a part of a present tense complex. jw-f  hr = gm.t  SBRD-3SG  on=  find:INF [circumstantial present] jw sn-t hr = gm.t  CORD  sister-F  on=  find:INF [NIMS] jw-f  r gm.t  CORD  sister-F  on=  find:INF [NIMS] jw-f  r gm.t  GO:FUT  sortheta  find:INF FUT-3SG.M :FUT  find:INF jw jw-f (r) gm.t  SBRD  fut{3SG.M}  find:INF mtw-k gm.t  CORD.MOD  find:INF bw-jr-j gm.t  NEG-do:PFV-1SG  find:INF j.jr-n gm.t  THMZ-1PL  find:INF j.jr-n gm.t  to:do:COMPL-3SG.M  find:INF j.jr.tw-f gm.t  to:do:COMPL-3SG.M  find:INF j.jr.tw-f gm.t  until to:do:COMPL-3SG.M  find:INF si^{5}c.w-f gm.t  until:COMPL-3SG.M  find:INF$	• 0		
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56	š³ <sup>c</sup> j.jr.tw-f gm.t	until to:do:COMPL-3SG.M	find:INF
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	bw-jr.tw-f gm.t	NEG-do:COMPL-3SG.M	find:INF

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NB: The sequence of glossed categories in personal pronouns (person-numbergender) is different from that in other nominal morphemes (gender-number). This usus is due to the fact that in the case of personal pronouns the markedness for gender is not obligatory - so here gender comes last in sequence - while with other nominal forms gender is often implicit, but number is optional and often marked by an additional morpheme – so here gender comes first.

### Examples

The following examples shall exemplify the suggestions above. Personal preferences of the authors may show the variety of adaptations.

New Kingdom Middle Egyptian (Daniel Werning)

 $|^2 m = tn$  $=_{Wj} c_q \langle =_j \rangle$  $m = t^3 =$ jmn-t ATTN=2PL =1SG go in:IPFV[=1SG] in= land(M.SG).STC= west-F.SG I am entering the land of the west. =wj $^{c}u$ -wj=tn šzp r=j recieve:IMP =1SG arm-M:DU=2PL to=1SG Receive me! (Give) me your hands!  $=wj \langle r \rangle h\{r\}-kw$ hnt-(ï)t dw3-t m=tn s-t=tn ATTN=2PL =1SG get to know:RES-1SG seat-F.SG=2PL in front-ADJZ.F underworld-F.SG I know your place in the underworld. ...  $|^3 sdm=t|^4n$ mdw-w=(W)sr(w)hear:NMLZ.IPFV=2PL word-M.PL.STC= Osiris(M.SG) You will hear the words of Osiris, m=ht  $c_{pi-n=j}$ dw3-t =js

m=ht = Js  $p_1-n=J$   $dw_3-t$ in=following =FOCZ pass:NMLZ-ANT=1SG underworld-F.SG even after I have passed the underworld.

> Book of Caverns, 1st Cav.; 13th cent. BCE [tomb of Ramesses VII; approx. 1130 BCE] (Piankoff 1946: pl. III)

#### Late Egyptian (Camilla Di Biase-Dyson)

hr (*i*)*n* bn *iw=w* (*r*) d*i*.*t=s* n=k CORD Q NEG FUT=3PL [:FUT] give:INF=3SG.F PDAT=2SG.M But will they not give it to you?

*m.*ir iyi r = pti  $t^3$  hr-yt  $n = p^3$  ymPROH come:INF PALL= see:INF ART:F.SG terror-F PGEN= ART:M.SG sea Don't come in order to see the terror of the sea.

*wnn* iw=k (hr=) pti  $t^3$  hr-yt  $n=p^3$  ymwhen BS=2SG.M [PSUP=] see:INF ART:F.SG terror-F PGEN= ART:M.SG sea *Whenever you see the terror of the sea,* 

iw=k (r) pti  $t_3y=i$   $h^c-t=i$ FUT=2SG.M [:FUT] see:INF POSS:F.SG=1SG body-F=1SG you shall see my own.

 $y^3$  bw.pw=i iry n=kEXLM NEG:did=1SG do:INF PDAT=2SG.M Indeed, I have not done to you

 $p^3$  iri=w (n=)  $n^3$  wp.wty-w n=  $H^{c}i.m.w^3s.t$ ART:M.SG do:REL.PFV [PDAT=] ART:PL envoy-M.PL PGEN= Khaemwaset that which they did (to) the envoys of Khaemwaset.

The Misfortunes of Wenamun; pMoscow 120, 2, 49; approx. 10th cent. BCE (LES 72, 2)

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