

### The diachrony of polysemy networks

The semantic extension of time-related lexemes in Ancient Greek and Ancient Egyptian

# + Outline of the talk

#### Introduction

- Le Diasema (LExical DIAchronic SEmantic MAps)
- Polysemy networks vs. semantic maps
- The semantic extension of time-related lexemes in Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Greek
  - Plotting a synchronic semantic map based on crosslinguistic colexification patterns
  - Adding a diachronic dimension to the semantic map
    - The database of semantic shifts
    - What does the Ancient Greek and Ancient Egyptian diachronic material bring into the picture?

#### Conclusions

- Towards a more fine-grained semantic map of time-related lexemes
- Cognitive and cultural motivations for semantic extensions

#### Introduction

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Introducing 'Le Diasema' and the distinction between polysemy networks and semantic maps





- Duration: December 2016 December 2018
- Main research question: how semantic maps make significant predictions about language change at the lexical level?
- Funding schemes











PROJECT ~

HOW TO PLOT SEMANTIC MAPS?

C MAPS? DISSEMINATION ACTIVITIES V

DIASEMA EVENTS V Q



http://web.philo.ulg.ac.be/lediasema/

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To incorporate the diachronic dimension into semantic maps of content words





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- To extend the method so as to also include information about the cognitive and cultural factors behind the development of the various meanings



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Specific objectives for today

- To incorporate the diachronic dimension into semantic maps of content words
- To extend the method so as to also include information about the cognitive and cultural factors behind the development of the various meanings
- To create an online platform for automatically plotting diachronic semantic maps based on polysemy data from the languages of the world

Polysemic networks	Semantic maps
<b>Polysemy</b> sense distinctions are attributed to speakers' mental	<b>Multifunctionality</b> (Haspelmath 2003) No commitment to a particular claim about conventionalization of senses.
representations.	<b>Colexification</b> "A given language is said to colexify two functionally distinct senses if, and only if, it can associate them with the same lexical form" (François 2008: 170)

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Language specific In some cognitive approaches, certain criteria are applied to distinguish between distinct senses and context dependent usages. (e.g. Tyler & Evans 2003; cf. Lakoff 1987)	<b>Cross-linguistic</b> Sense distinctions are based upon the empirical observation of contrasts between languages "A function is put on the map if there is at least one pair of languages that differ with respect to this function" (Haspelmath 2003: 217; cf. François 2008: 168-169)



Fig. 1. The polysemic radial network for *over* (Tyler & Evans 2003: 80)

- There is a **prototypical meaning** from which other senses are derived in radial fashion.
- The **arrow** shows derivation of a sense from an another sense (not directionality)
- The **semasiological** approach is mainly adopted
- They are designed to have **language-specific** validity (but rely on established principles of language processing)



Fig. 3. A semantic map of typical dative functions / the boundaries of English to and French  $\dot{a}$  (based on Haspelmath 2003: 213, 215)

- They do not require the identification of a prototypical sense. One may choose a single meaning as a pivot
- They combine the **onomasiological** and the **semasiological** perspective
- They are based on crosslinguistic evidence and designed to have cross-linguistic validity



Fig. 4. Dynamicized semantic map of dative functions (Haspelmath 2003: 234)

• The **arrows** do designate directionality of change



Fig. 5. Overlapping polysemies: Eng. straight *vs.* Fr. droit. (François 2008: 167)

"A function is put on the map if there is at least one pair of languages that differ with respect to this function" (Haspelmath 2003: 217; cf. François 2008: 168-169)

### The semantic extension of time-related lexemes

Inferring a semantic map based on cross-linguistic colexification patterns

#### The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Plotting a synchronic semantic map

- For the purpose of universality and stability, we chose the entries for time-related concepts in the Swadesh 200-word list (Swadesh 1952: 456-457)
  - DAY/DAYTIME

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- NIGHT
- YEAR

#### THE TEST VOCABULARY

The lexical test list used for studying rate of change consisted of 215 items of meaning expressed for convenience by English words. In some cases, where the English word is ambiguous or where the English meaning is too broad to be easily matched in other languages, it is necessary to specify which meaning is intended, and this is done by means of parenthetic additions. If it is understood that normal everyday meanings rather than figurative or specialized usages are to be thought of, complicated notes are not necessary. The list, minus 15 items recommended for omission and with one other change, is as follows :

all (of a number), and, animal, ashes, at, back (person's), bad (deleterious or unsuitable), bark (of tree), because, belly, berry (or fruit), big, bird, to bite, black, blood, to blow (of wind), bone, breathe, to burn (intrans.).

hild (young person rather than as relationship term, cloud, cold (of weather), to come, to count, to cu, day (opposite of night rather than time measure), to die, to dig, dirty, dog, to drink, dry (substance), dull (knife), dust, ear, earth (soil), to eat, egg, eye.

to fall (drop rather than topple), far, fat (organic substance), father, to fear, feather (larger feathers rather than down), few, to fight, fire, fish, five, to float, to flow, flower, to fly, log, foot, four, to freeze, to give.

good, grass, green, guts, hair, hand, he, head, to hear, heart, heavy, here, to hit, to hold (in hand), how, to hunt (game), husband. I, ice, if. in, to kill, to know (facts), lake, to laugh, leafleft (hand), leg, to lie (on side), to live, long, louse, man (male human), many, mother, mountain, moth, anne

narrow, near, neck, nev, night, rose, not, old, one, other, person, to play, to push, to push, to rain, red, right (correct), right (hand), river, road (or trail), root, rope, rotten (especially log), to rub, salt, sand, to say, to scratch (as with fingernails to relieve itch), sea (ocean), to see, seed, to sew, sharp (as knife), short, to sing, to sit, skin (person's), sky, to skeep, small.

to smell (perceive odor), smoke (of fire), smooth, stake, snow, some, to split, to split, to squeeze, to stab (or stick), to stand, star, stick (of wood), stone, straight, to suck, sun, to swell, to swim, tail.

that, there, they, thick, thin, to think, this, thou, three, to throw, to tie, tongue, tooth (front rather than molar), tree, to turn (change one's direction), two, to vonit, to walk, warm (of weather), to wash, water, we, wet, what? when? where? white, who? wide, wife, wind, wing, to wine, with (accompanying), woman, woods, worm, yp, year, ypllow.



year

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- For the purpose of comparability, these three concepts are adequate (cf., e.g., Youn et al. 2016)



#### On the universal structure of human lexical semantics

Hyejin Youn<sup>«,b,c,1</sup>, Logan Sutton<sup>d</sup>, Eric Smith<sup>c,«</sup>, Cristopher Moore<sup>c</sup>, Jon F. Wilkins<sup>c,f</sup>, Ian Maddieson<sup>g,h</sup>, William Croft<sup>9</sup>, and Tanmoy Bhattacharya<sup>c,i,1</sup>

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The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Plotting a synchronic semantic map

- We identified in the database of Crosslinguistic Colexifications (CLICs; <u>http://clics.lingpy.org/main.php</u>; List et al. 2014) the main polysemy patterns attested for these three meanings (subgraph approach) [16 meanings]
  - DAY/DAYTIME: CLOCK/TIMEPIECE, HOUR, SEASON, SUN, TIME, WEATHER
  - NIGHT: DARK (in color), DARKNESS, BLACK, OBSCURE
  - **YEAR**: AGE, SPRING, SUMMER



The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Plotting a synchronic semantic map

 All the colexification patterns attested for these 16 meanings were gathered in the CLICs source files (<u>http://clics.lingpy.org/download.php</u>), ending up with 381 colexification patterns

	A	В	C
119	day	afternoon	hau_std:rana//ket_std:i <sup>?</sup> //plj_std:piidi//rus_std:den//tli_std:yakyee
120	day	again	kha_std:sngi
121	day	age	gui_std:'ara//yad_std:hnda
122	day	anger	tzz_std:k'ak'al
123	day	bright	tzz_std:k'ak'al
124	day	clock, timepiece	gue_std:wuringarn//sei_std:šä?
125	day	cloud	haw_std:ao
126	day	country	cbr_std:niti//shp_std:niti
127	day	dawn	haw_std:ao//waw_std:enmari
128	day	doubt	haw_std:lä
129	day	earth, land	cag_std:nału//haw_std:ao//mri_std:ao//tzz_std:osil
130	day	east	tob_std:na?a?k
131	day	fever	tzz_std:k'ak'al
132	day	fin (dorsal)	haw_std:lä
133	day	fire	jpn_std:hi
134	day	go	ote_std:pa//oym_std:aa
135	day	go away, depart	ote_std:pa
136	day	hour	sap_Standard:aknim//shb_std:them
137	day	lamp, torch	ito_std:uwayo
138	day	lick	cmn_std:tian
139	day	light (in color)	mri_std:ao
140	day	light (noun)	con_std:a?ta//crt_std:xloma//haw_std:ao//hdn_Northern:%kat%káa//ito_std:uwayo//mzh
141	day	live, living, life	shp_std:niti
142	day	Monday	shp_std:niti
143	day	morning	crt_std:xloma//guq_std:kreibu
144	day	noon, midday	ind_std:siang//plj_std:piidi

# The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Plotting a synchronic semantic map

- All the colexification patterns attested for these 16 meanings were gathered in the CLICs source files (http://clics.lingpy.org/download.php), ending up with 381 colexification patterns
- These synchronic polysemy patterns were converted into a lexical matrix

	A	B	C	D	E	F
1			age	acid, sour	city, town	day
2	yad_std	hnda	1	1	0	1
3	vec_std	edat	1	0	0	0
4	jpn_std	toshi	1	0	1	0
5	gui_std	'ara	1	0	0	1
6	nog_std	йуз	1	0	0	0
7	mri_std	pakeke	1	0	0	0
8	pbb_std	hi?ph	1	0	0	0
9	khv_Khvarshi	замана	1	0	0	0

Python script  $\alpha$ 

Lexical matrix

#### The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Plotting a synchronic semantic map

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- All the colexification patterns attested for these 16 meanings were gathered in the CLICs source files (http://clics.lingpy.org/download.php), ending up with 381 colexification patterns
- These synchronic polysemy patterns were converted into a lexical matrix
- From this lexical matrix, we inferred a weighted semantic map, based on an adapted version of the algorithm suggested by Regier et al. (2013)

```
# CREATE INITIAL GRAPH
# graph G: add each term's nodes, no edges in graph yet.
G = nx.Graph() # create empty graph (undirected)
PossE = []
                # list of possible edges, filled below
for t in T:
        # add all nodes in t, if not already in graph
        for n in t:
                if (not G.has_node(n)):
                                                                         Python script \beta
                        G.add_node(n)
        # add to PossE a link between each pair of nodes in t
        # adding a link between every node in G is needless and slower
        for pair in allpairs(t):
                u = pair[0]
                v = pair[1]
                if (not (((u,v) in PossE) or ((v,u) in PossE))):
                        PossE.append((u,v))
```



#### The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Plotting a synchronic semantic map

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- These synchronic polysemy patterns were converted into a lexical matrix
- From this lexical matrix, we inferred a weighted semantic map, based on an adapted version of the algorithm by Regier et al. (2013)
- The weighted edges on the semantic map allow us to get rid of poorly attested patterns of polysemy (keeping only those attested in 2<sup>+</sup> languages)





# The semantic extension of time-related lexemes

Dynamicizing the map based on diachronic data

The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Towards a dynamicized semantic map

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 In order to investigate directionality of change, 13 meanings that are connected on this map in a least 8 different languages were kept as a basis for diachronic investigation



The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Towards a dynamicized semantic map

#### Diachronic data

DatSer	DatSemShifts								
Home	Seman	tic shifts <del>-</del>	Meanings Langua	ages Particip	ants Publication	s Contact us Log in			
ID	Source	Direction	Target	Status	Contributed by	Accepted realization	Show		
53	time	-	weather	Accepted	DG	4	Show		
109	time	_	opportunity	Accepted	IG	2	Show		
395	time	_	hour	Accepted	DG	2	Show		
406	time	_	24 hours	Suspended	DG	0	Show		
795	time	$\rightarrow$	one time, once	New	MB	0	Show		
1446	time	$\rightarrow$	journal, magazine	Accepted	IG	3	Show		

The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Towards a dynamicized semantic map

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The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Towards a dynamicized semantic map

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	DatSemShifts								
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The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Towards a dynamicized semantic map

#### Diachronic data

ID Source		Direction	Target	Status	Contribu			
1446	time	$\rightarrow$	journal, magazine	Accepted	IG			
Comments:								
Ср. греч. хро	нограф, откуда м	югут быть кальки.						
Confirmed by	3 Guru(s)							
Derivation: German Zeit $\rightarrow$ Zeitung, Zeitschrift 'newspaper, journal'								
Derivation: Karaim вахт 'time' → вахтлых 'journal'								
Polysemy: Polish czas 'time' – 'journal'								

#### The semantic extension of time-related lexemes Towards a dynamicized semantic map

#### Diachronic data

- The Catalogue of Semantic Shifts in the Languages of the World (Zalizniak, 2006; Zalizniak et al., 2012; http://semshifts.iling-ran.ru/)
- Ancient Greek (8<sup>th</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC; in a few cases till 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC)
  - Perseus digital library (<u>http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/</u>), TLG (<u>http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu</u>)
  - Cunliffe (A lexicon of the Homeric Dialect), LSJ
- Ancient Egyptian (26th c. BC 10th c. AD)
  - Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae (<u>http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/</u>)
  - The Ramses corpus (<u>http://ramses.ulg.ac.be</u>),
  - Lexical resources (Coptic etymological dictionaries)



 Our diachronic material allows us to add diachronic information (graphically, oriented edges) between frequent colexification patterns





 $h\bar{e}lios$  'sun'  $\Rightarrow$  'day'

ď pherómēn, háma d'(1)pân êmar ADV PTC carry:IMPF.1PL.M/P whole:ACC.SG.N ptc day:ACC.SG.N en Lémnōi ēelíōi katadúnti káppeson sun: DAT.SG.M set: PTCP.AOR.DAT.SG.M fall: AOR. 1 PL in Lemnos:DAT.SG

'the whole day long I was carried headlong, and at **sunset** (lit. the sun setting down) I fell in Lemnos' (Homer, *Iliad* 1.592-593)

te sé: (2)ékheis. egó hēlíous dè muríous have:PRS.2SG lSG.NOM PTC 2SG.ACC SUN: ACC.PL.M PTC infinite: ACC.PL.M mólis dielthồn ēisthomēn tà tês theoû ADV pass:PTCP.AOR. perceive:AOR. ART.ACC.PL.N ART.GEN.SG.F qod:GEN.SG NOM.SG.M lsg.mid

'You have me, and I have you; although it was hard to live **through so many days**, I now understand the actions of the goddess' (Euripides, *Helen* 652-653)









#### 

Coptic Naγ (Crum 1959: 256-257)

- hour
- time

day(light) [rare]









- Our diachronic material allows us to add diachronic information (graphically, oriented edges) between frequent colexification patterns
  - **SUN**  $\Rightarrow$  DAY
  - HOUR  $\Rightarrow$  **TIME**
  - **TIME**  $\Rightarrow$  DAY(LIGHT)

	Stage A	Stage B	Stage C
Duration	1	1	1
Moment	-	1	1
Event	-	1	1
Matrix	-	1	-
Agentive	-	1	1
Commodity	-	1	1
Measurement- system	-	-	_
Grammatical	-	-	1



1: The Duration Sense	3: Moment Sense
2: Matrix Sense	3.1: Event Sense
2.1: Agent Sense	4: Commodity Sense
	5: Grammatical Sense

Figure. The radial structure of khrónos in AG

(Georgakopoulos & Piata 2012)





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#### hốra 'season/time/moment'

- (5) hóssá te phúlla kaì ánthea
   REL.NOM.PL.N PTC leave:ACC.PL.N CONJ flower:ACC.PL.N
   gígnetai hốrēi
   become:PRS.3SG season:DAT.SG.F
   'as are the leaves and the flowers in their season' (Homer, Iliad 2.468)
- Poseidáōni állois athanátoisin (6) *óphra* kaì CON Poseidon:DAT.SG.M CONJ other:DAT.PL immortal:DAT.PL medốmetha: speísantes koítoio pour.libation:PART.AOR.NOM.PL.M bed:GEN.SG.M think.of:PRS.lPL.SUBJ.M/P hốrē toîo qàr PTC dem.GEN.SG time:NOM.SG.F

'that when we have poured libations to Poseidon and the other immortals, we may bethink us of sleep; for it is the **time** thereto' (Homer, *Odyssey* 3.333-334)





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#### $h \acute{o} ra$ 'season/time/moment' $\Rightarrow$ 'hour'

(7) anastàs dè prồi pseustheis
 raise.up:PTCP.AOR.NOM.SG.M <sup>PTC</sup> early deceive:PTCP.AOR.PASS.NOM.SG.M
 tês hốras badízein
 ART.GEN.SG.F time:GEN.SG.F walk:PRS.INF

'He arose early, mistaking the **time/hour**, and started off on his walk' (Andocides, *On the Mysteries* 1.38)

(8) oukhì dốdeka hôraì eisin tês hēméras;
 NEG twelve hours of daylight?' (New Testament, John 11.9.2)





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- Our diachronic material allows us to add diachronic information (graphically, oriented edges) between frequent colexification patterns
  - SUN  $\Rightarrow$  DAY
  - HOUR  $\Rightarrow$  TIME
  - TIME  $\Rightarrow$  DAY(LIGHT)
- Opposite pathways through pivot-meanings
- Highlighting rare colexification patterns and pathways





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#### + Ancient Egyptian $i \gg i \le w$ 'light/sunlight' $\Rightarrow$ 'sun'

(9)  $iw \quad hwi-f \quad (n) \quad sw \quad hade$ '(...) after it (i.e., the wood) had been exposed (lit. thrown) to **light** and shade' (= Quack 1996: 337)

(10) 
$$r - tnw$$
 wbn p3  $\delta w$   $hr$  p3  $dw$   
SBRD rise **ART.M.SG sun** on ART.M.SG mountain  
'(...daily,) each time the sun rises over the mountain' (= KRI VI, 336)







Found 4 colexifications for "light (noun)" and "sun". ? Note that the number of attested colexifications may differ from the number of languages in which the colexifications were attested.

Nr.	Language	ISO	Family	Source	Form
1	Kaingang	kgp	Macro-Ge	IDS	rãrĩr
2	Kaingang	kgp	Macro-Ge	IDS	rẽrĩr
3	Wichí Lhamtés Güisnay	mzh	Mataco-Guaicuru	WOLD	fwala
4	Selkup	sel	Uralic	IDS	č <sup>y</sup> el <del>i</del>



Foun Note colex	Found 4 colexifications for "light (noun)" and "sun". ? Note that the number of attested colexifications may differ from the number of languages in which the colexifications were attested.								
Nr.	Language	ISO	Family	Source	Form				
1	Kaingang	kan	Maoro Go	IDC	rõrĩr				

1	Kaingang	kgp	Macro-Ge	IDS	rãrĩr
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14.410	day	Time	kurã	Phonemic

#### Conclusions

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and avenues for future research

# + Conclusions

- We incorporated the diachronic dimension into semantic maps of content words, which is an important extension to the semantic maps research
- We emphasized the need to inform semantic maps with data from diachronic semantic change (cf. the Catalogue of Semantic Shifts)
- Our case study: the semantic extension of time-related lexemes
  - Replicable methodology
  - Balance between large-scale typological works and small-scale linguistic studies, focusing on few languages
  - Language-specific studies lead to more fine-grained semantic maps (correlated with contextualized meaning)
    - These do not cancel the maps which are constructed using data from large databases, but rather complement and enrich them

• (Ancient) culture specific colexification patterns

#### • (Ancient) culture specific colexification patterns

Summer?

There are 17 links involving the concept "summer": ?							
Concept	IDS-Key	Occurrences	Families	Languages	Network	Forms	
year	14.73	233	10	16	COM SUB	FORMS	
age	14.12	257	2	3	COM SUB	FORMS	
bow	20.24	231	2	2	COM SUB	FORMS	
spring	14.75	174	2	3	COM SUB	FORMS	
autumn	14.77	167	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
cave	1.28	256	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
cousin	2.55	346	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
hang up	9.341	280	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
hot	15.85	303	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
put	12.12	306	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
rain (noun)	1.75	257	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
reach, arrive	10.55	329	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
rise	10.21	334	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
season	14.78	193	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
sun	1.52	245	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
wall	7.27	239	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	
wine	5.92	162	1	1	COM SUB	FORMS	



#### *théros* 'summer' ⇒ 'harvest'

(11)autàrepềnélthēisithérostethaluîáPTCwhencome:AOR.SUBJ.3SGsummer:NOM.SG.Mthrive:PART.PERF.NOM.SG.Ft'opốrēPTCautumn:NOM.SG.F

'But when summer comes and rich autumn' (Homer, Odyssey 11.192)

kâit' anềrédokseneînai,tallótrionADVman:NOM.SG.Mseem:AOR.3SGbe.INFanother:GEN.SGamônthérosreap.corn:PTCP.PRS.NOM.SG.Msummer:ACC.SG.N'he has only made himself a name by reaping another's

harvest' (Aristophanes, Knights 392)

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#### + Ancient Egyptian $\overline{\mathbb{S}}_{\odot}$ šmw 'summer' $\Rightarrow$ $\overline{\mathbb{S}}_{s}^{\otimes}$ šmw 'harvest'



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• (Ancient) culture specific colexification patterns

• Summer  $\Rightarrow$  Harvest

- (Ancient) culture specific colexification patterns
  - Summer  $\Rightarrow$  Harvest
- Languages and constructions shaping specific polysemy patterns
  - Time  $\Rightarrow$  Proximity



in time Majesty-3SG.M King of U. and L. Egypt Nebkaure

'(Now, the peasant spoke these word) **during the time** of his Majesty, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebkaure (the justified)' (= Parkinson 1991: 19)

(14) sbty dr m rk  $ms^{c}-f$  (= KRI II, 6,8) rampart strong **in proximity** army-3SG.M (speaking of the King who is) 'A strong rampart around his army, (their shied in the day of fighting)'



Biography of Ahmose, 5

in time lord land-DU Nebphtire (And then I became a soldier (...),)

*m h3w nb t3-wj nb-ph.tj-r*<sup>c</sup>

'during the time of the lord of the Two Lands, Nebpehtire (justified, when I was a young man, not having a wife yet)' (= Urk. IV, 2,13)



(16) *m h*3*w nh.t* 

(15)



'(I crossed the place called The Two Truths,) **in the vicinity** of The Sycamore'' (and I landed at The Island of Snefru)' (= Koch 1990: 14)

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#### Thanks!

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