TWO BRIEF LINGUISTIC REMARKS
ON P.JARF B I, 26A-29B (C. 2566 BC)

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Para Elena y Nico, con amor

The papyri Jarf A-B[1], possibly the oldest logbook known to date (from c. 2566 BC), provide an information in many ways precious—the linguistic being not the lesser.

They were found by Pierre Tallet in the homonym wadi, near to the Red sea and a few distance south from the great wadi Araba that connects that sea with the Nile valley at Heracleopolis Magna. These papyri are part of a group of documents[2]—the oldest papyri known to us so far[3]—which were kept in stable settlements associated with a sea harbour which was active through the reign of Khufu[4]. The value of this

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[1] P. Tallet, *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I: le Journal de Merer (P. Jarf A et B)*, MIFAO136, Cairo 2017 (publication).

[2] Which includes the great papyrus H as well, of interest for the study of economy: see P. Tallet, «Du pain et des céréales pour les équipes royales : le grand papyrus comptable du ouadi el-Jarf (Papyrus H)», *NeHet* 5, 2017, 99-117.

[3] Compare now, for instance, Ph. Collombert, «Les papyrus de Saqqâra: enquête sur un fonds d'archives inédit de l'Ancien Empire», *BSFE* 181, 2011, 17-30.

[4] P. Tallet – G. Marouard – D. Laisney, «Un port de la IVe dynastie au Ouadi al-Jarf (mer Rouge)», *BIFAO* 112, 2012, 399-446; P. Tallet – G. Marouard, «The harbor facilities of king Khufu on the Red sea shore: The Wadi al-Jarf / Tell Ras Budran system», *JARCE* 52,

archaeological site is extraordinary for the history of marine navigation and extra-Mediterranean trade activity eastwards as well, because the site is proof of both. The harbour was part of a very old marine communication network connecting the Egyptian coast to the Sinai peninsula, which had stable Egyptian settlements, and perhaps to a southern area known to the Egyptian sources as 'Punt', which is thought to refer to somewhere in the zone of the Gulf of Aden[5].

In addition to this, the papyri Jarf A-B are the main part of the logbook by an inspector (*sḥḏ),* Merer his name, who wrote down the everyday works relative to the extraction and transport of materials for one of the most famous buildings ever: the pyramid of Khufu. One may guess that the logbook was in said harbour by the Red sea because Merer's work brought him there at some point of his life, being the papyri a part of whether his personal archive or an archive belonging to the harbour[6]. Be this as it may and thanks to this logbook, we have precise details about inland navigation[7] and the work trips from quarries to building places, which are as important as those provided by the harbour about marine navigation.

This article discusses two linguistic points regarding the space-time setting in which inspector Merer's and his gang of workers navigate across the Nile as per on a fragment of papyrus Jarf B (P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b). Particularly, it will explored how the temporal and

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2016, 136. See also P. Tallet, «Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf: Two newly discovered pharaonic harbours on the Suez Gulf», *BMSAES* 18, 2012, 147-168; P. Tallet, «Les papyrus de la mer Rouge (Ouadi el-Jarf, golfe de Suez)», *CRAIBL* 2013/II, 1015-1024; P. Tallet, «Des papyrus du temps de Chéops au ouadi el-Jarf», *BSFE* 188, 2014, 25-49.

[5] P. Tallet – G. Marouard, *art. cit.*, 136; P. Tallet, «The Egyptians on the Red sea shore during the pharaonic era», in M.F. Boussac et al. (eds.), *Ports of the ancient Indian ocean*, Delhi 2016, 3-19; P. Tallet, «D'Ayn Soukhna à la péninsule du Sinaï: le mode opératoire des expéditions égyptiennes à la fin de la 12e dynastie», in G. Andreu-Lanoë – F. Morfoisse (eds.), *Sésostris III et la fin du Moyen Empire*, CRIPEL 31, Lille 2016-2017, 179-198; P. Tallet, «Des serpents et des lions: la flotte stupéfiante de Chéops en mer Rouge», in N. Favry et al. (eds.), *Du Sinaï au Soudan, itinéraires d'une égyptologue: mélanges offerts au professeur Dominique Valbelle*, Orient & Méditerranée – Archéologie 23, Paris 2017, 243-253.

[6] The latter is most probable according to P. Tallet – G. Marouard, *art. cit.*, 135.

[7] C. Somaglino, «La navigation sur le Nil: Quelques réflexions autour de l'ouvrage de J. P. Cooper, The Medieval Nile. Route, Navigation, and Landscape in Islamic Egypt, Le Caire – New York, 2014», in B. Argémi – P. Tallet (eds.), *Entre Nil et Mers: la navigation en Égypte ancienne*, *NeHet* 3, Paris – Brussels 2015, 123-161 (with several previous references).

spatial framework of these journeys is set up through the verbs and prepositions that occur in the text, and their possible implications for some issues on diachrony in Old Egyptian.

1. Text and analysis of P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b

The text under study belongs with a group of papyri that was found in the front part of galleries G1-2 in the wadi El-Jarf port complex. The papyri may have been part of the archives of a thousand-workers team (ꜥ*pr*) named *m3.<s> wrr.t Ḫnm-ḫw.f-wi* ('<Its> bow is Khufu's uraeus'), and were written at the end of Khufu's reign. The archive consists of two kinds of documents, at approximately equal parts: on one side, provisioning records for the team in a list layout; on the other side, a logbook of tasks performed by the team which is arranged in tables composed, from top to bottom, by a horizontal line per month, thirty boxes for every single day in the month each, and two columns in which to write the tasks performed each day[8].

The text under discussion belongs with the second group and collects the activity of a two-hundred-workers gang (*s3*)[9] under the direction of inspector Merer. The passage of interest (P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b) covers four days only of the three to six months of work which are documented by the El-Jarf papyri, depending on how the chronological data in the documents are interpreted, which is controverted because of the poor state of some fragments. The specific context of the documented tasks is the lining of Khufu's pyramid with limestone from the quarry of Tura South[10].

What follows is the transliterated text on P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b with a linguistic gloss[11] and translation:

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[8] P. Tallet, «Les journaux de bord du règne de Chéops au ouadi el-Jarf (P. Jarf A-F): état des lieux», *BSFE* 198, 2018, 13-14 & fig. 15.

[9] This term is usually translated with the Greek term *phyle* in the Egyptological literature.

[10] For the text, see P. Tallet, «Un aperçu de la région Memphite à la fin du règne de Chéops selon le "journal de Merer" (P.Jarf I-III)», in S. Dhennin – C. Somaglino (eds.), *Décrire, imaginer, construire l'espace: Toponymie égyptienne de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'Histoire 30, Cairo 2016, 17; P. Tallet, *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I: le Journal de Merer (P. Jarf A et B)*, MIFAO136, Cairo 2017, 150.

[11] For the linguistic glosses, see *Leipzig Glossing Rules* (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>).

(I,26)

a **[*nꜥ*]-*t***   *sḥḏ*   *Mrr*   *ḥnꜥ*   *s3=f*   *m*   *R3-3w*   [*rs-y*]

cast off-INF.F   inspector   Merer   together with   gang=3SGM   in   Tura   south-ADJ.M

Crossing (by) inspector Merer and his gang from (the inside of) Tura South,

b **[*3*]*ṯp-(w)***   *m*   *in*[*r*]   *r*   *3ḫ.t-Ḥwfw*   **sḏr-t**   *Š-Ḥwfw*

load-PRF.3SGM   of/with   stone   to   Khufu's-Horizont   spend the night-FEM.INF   Khufu's-Lake

laden with stone, to Khufu's-Horizont; **spending the night** (in) Khufu's-Lake.

(I,27)

a **[*nꜥ-t*]***?*   [*m*]*?*   *Š-Ḥwfw*   **sqd-wt**   *r*   *3ḫ.t-Ḥwfw*   **3ṯp-(w)**

cast off-INF.F   in   Khufu's-Lake   navigate-NV.F   to   Khufu's-Horizont   load-PRF.3SGM

Crossing from (the inside of) Khufu's-Lake, **navigating** to Khufu's-Horizont **laden**

b *m*   *inr*   **sḏr-t**   *m*   *3ḫ.t-Ḥwfw*

of/with   stone   spend the night-FEM.INF   in   Khufu's-Horizont

with stone; **spending the night** in Khufu's-Horizont.

(I,28)

a ***nꜥ-t***   *m*   *3ḫ.t-Ḥwfw*   *dw3*   **sqd-wt**

cast off-INF.F   in   Khufu's-Horizont   morning   navigate-NV.F

Crossing from (the inside of) Khufu's-Horizont in the morning, **navigating**

b *m-ḫsf.wt*   *R3-3w*   **sḏr-t**   *R3-3w*   *rs-y*

upstream   Tura   Spend the night-FEM.INF   Tura   south-ADJ.M

upstream (to) Tura; **spending the night** (in) Tura South.

(I,29)

a ***wrš***   *sḥḏ*   *Mrr*   *ḥnꜥ*   *s3=f*   **ḥr**   **s3**   *inr*

spend the day   inspector   Merer   Together with   gang=3SGM   on   carry   stone

Spending the day (by) inspector Merer and his gang **carrying** stone

b *m*   *R3-3w*   *rs-y*   **sḏ[r-t]**   *m*   *R3-3w*   *rs-y*

in   Tura   south-ADJ.M   spend the night-FEM.INF   in   Tura   south-ADJ.M

in Tura South; **spending the night** in Tura South.

2. On the verbs: how to express temporality without temporal verb forms ("tenses")

As previously said, the passage adopts the shape of a table in which the tasks performed are noted in asyndeton. The layout is thus similar to the offering lists', with the crucial difference that the tasks are *temporalised* merely by their arrangement: they are displayed on two columns per day and the latter are arranged into thirty boxes (one per day) below the line for the corresponding month. This spatial arrangement of the text represents in itself a first (and in this case the main) resource of temporal ordering of the tasks performed by Merer and his gang[12]. As for the text in itself, i.e. as a linguistic expression, it represents an impersonal description of actions, at the opposite end of the communicative and text format of narration and first-person report[13]. With regard to impersonality, the quasi-tabular arrangement may explain the absence of the usual preposition *in* 'by' with the agent of the infinitives when this occurs (I 26,a & 29,b), so giving the impression that the sentence is not fully built linguistically: the verbal form cannot be an imperfective *mr.f* on I 26,a because of the *.t* suffix, typical of "feminine" infinitives (*nꜤ.t* in this case); and there seems to be no communicative or semantic good reason for a change in structure on I 29,a where *wrš* is better understood as a "masculine" infinitive.

The list of tasks is presented in linear fashion: tasks are ordered in a sequence of days and parts of the day, and from that very order emanates a temporality which is absent from the offering lists. This is probably due to the fact that offerings are

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[12] To be paralleled with the linguistic use of spatial expressions in the temporal realm, for which see M. Haspelmath, *From space to time: Temporal adverbials in the world's languages*, LINCOM Studies in Theoretical Linguistics 3, München – Newcastle, 1997; for the Egyptian, C. Gracia Zamacona, «Space, time and abstract relations in the Coffin Texts», *ZÄS* 137, 2010, 13-26. For a cursory linguistic account on the verbal forms of the "Merer's logbook", see P. Tallet, *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I: le Journal de Merer (P. Jarf A et B)*, MIFAO136, Cairo 2017, 33.

[13] É. Benveniste, «Les relations de temps dans le verbe français», *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris* 54, 1959, 59-82. In Egyptology, for the narration, see É. Doret, *The narrative verbal system of Old and Middle Egyptian*, COr 12, Geneva, 1986; P. Vernus, «L'instance de la narration dans les phases anciennes de l'égyptien», *DE* 9, 1987, 97-108. For the biographies (first-person report), see now J. Stauder-Porchet, *Les autobiographies de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, OLA 255, Leuven 2017.

recurrent and eternal as it suits to the deceased, who belong in a temporal realm different to the living's[14]. Notwithstanding this, temporality is not reflected in our text at the morphological level, and all verbs come in unmarked[15], imperfective, and, which is more, nominal (atemporal) forms: they are verbal nouns whether "feminine" (*nˁ.t, sḏr.t, sqd.wt*) or "masculine" *(wrš)*. Alternatively, *nˁ.t* and *wrš* may be analysed as infinitives, which would not affect much the general interpretation of the temporality of this text (imperfectivity / atemporality). The structure that predominates is the sentence with adverbial predicate,[16] which is atemporal in principle. The only (relative) exception[17] seems to be *ȝtp.(w),* which should be a stative (pseudoparticiple) in the third person (singular or plural) without the mark *(.w)* as usual.

In this context of imperfectivity / atemporality, occurs (I 29 a) the progressive *ḥr sȝ* 'carrying', of structure *ḥr* + infinitive, to specify a previous general / atemporal imperfective (*wrš* 'spend the day'). The relevance of the date of the text is of essence in respect to the progressive *ḥr* + infinitive, as it is generally admitted that this pattern grammaticalises in Middle Egyptian—not before the First Intermediate Period at any rate—to express the progressive of any kind of verb[18].

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[14] The bibliography on post-mortem temporality (*nḥḥ* recurrence and *ḏ.t* eternity) is substantial (see F. Servajean, *Djet et Neheh: Une histoire du temps égyptien,* Montpellier 2007, with previous references), but there is not, as far as I know, a comprehensive treatment of time including temporal terms of the realm of the living such as *rnp.t* 'year' or of both realms such as *wn.wt* 'hour', just to mention two of them randomly.

[15] M. Haspelmath, «Against markedness (and what to replace it with)», *Journal of Linguistics* 42, 2006, § 2.1.3.

[16] M. Malaise & J. Winand, *Grammaire raisonnée de l'égyptien classique*, AegLeod 6, Liège 1999, chap. XXIV; J. Winand, «La prédication non verbale en égyptien ancien», *Faits de langues* 27, 2006, 73-102; J. Winand, *Temps et aspect en égyptien: une approche sémantique*, PdÄ 25, Leiden – Boston 2006, chap. 3; A. Loprieno – M. Müller – S. Uljas, *Non-verbal predication in Ancient Egyptian*, The Mouton Companions to Ancient Egyptian 2, Berlin 2017, part I.

[17] The syntax of the stative is similar to the non-verbal predicates (subject + verb), which seems to suit with the fact that the Egyptian stative usually expresses a state.

[18] F. Junge, *Studien zum mittelägyptischen Verbum* (PhD diss.), Göttingen 1970; J.P. Allen, *The inflection of the verb in the Pyramid Texts*, BA 2, Malibu 1981; P. Vernus, *Future at issue: tense, mood and aspect in Middle Egyptian; studies in syntax and semantics*, YES 4, New Haven 1990, 158-162; M. Collier, «Grounding, cognition and metaphor in the grammar of Middle Egyptian», en F. Junge – F. Kammerzell – A. Loprieno

A next-to-last note on verbal semantics may be of interest at this point. A detail on the semantics of *nꜥi* which may help explain its use as the auxiliary of the Future I in Later Egyptian transpires in the accurate translation proposed by Tallet for the infinitive *nꜥ.t:* 'appareiller'. The French term expresses the idea of a momentary and telic state-of-affairs (the moment of weighing anchor) with a dynamic post-phase (the ship's run), i.e. an achievement with dynamic post-phase like *šm* 'leave'. The Aktionsart of *nꜥi* would thus explain its preference for the allative *(r)*[19], as shown in the text discussed, and which is reflected in the study on the Future I (auxiliary *nꜥi* + subject + infinitive) by E. Grossmann, G. Lescuyer and St. Polis when they call it *Later Egyptian Allative Future*[20]. This said, the translation 'crossing' I propose here intends to include the dynamic post-phase of *nꜥi,* the verb being detelicised by the imperfective / atemporal form (infinitive or verbal noun).

Finally, a note on lexical semantics to end this section. We have a representation which illustrates how would be spending the night *(sḏr)*[21] by the river, close to a campfire (on the foreground left) and with a ship laden with stone blocks nearby (on the foreground centre-right), as mentioned on I 27 b, 28 b y 29 b:

(eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference on Egyptian grammar: Crossroads III*, *LingAeg* 4, Göttingen 1994, 60-67; P. Vernus, «La grammaticalisation en égyptien ancien: phrase nominale et morphogenèse de l'inaccompli et du futur», *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris (N.S.)* 5, 1996, 66-75; J. Winand, *op. cit.*, 306; C. Gracia Zamacona, *art. cit.* 2010, 15-16.

[19] C. Gracia Zamacona, «The spatial adjunct in Middle Egyptian: data from the Coffin Texts», in K. Lahn & M.G. Schröter (eds.), *Raumdimensionen im Altertum: Zum spatial turn in den Kulturwissenschaften, MOSAIKjournal* 1, Piscataway 2011, 226, 234-237, 240, 243 & table 10.

[20] E. Grossmann – G. Lescuyer – S. Polis, «Contexts and inferences: The grammaticalization of the Later Egyptian Allative Future», in E. Grossman et al. (eds.), *On forms and functions: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Grammar,* LingAeg–StudMon 15, Hamburg 2014, 87-136. The semantic continuum between llative and future is a wide-spread linguistic phenomenon: see D. Gil – E. Grossmann, «Allative-future syncretism in Malayic languages», in *Syntax of the World's Languages 6, Pavia 10-12 September 2014*, Pavia 2014 <https://www.academia.edu/8258619/Allative-future_syncretism_in_Malayic_languages_and_beyond> [accessed on 12.01.2019].

[21] For the ideograms used to write this verb in the Coffin Texts, see C. Gracia Zamacona, «Writing *sḏr* in the Coffin Texts» forthcoming, 30 pages.

Fig. 1. Fragment of relief. Amarna, reign of Akhenaten. Metropolitan Museum (Met 1991.240.11), New York. CC0 1.0 Universal (CC0 1.0) Public Domain Dedication.

The basic meaning of the verb *sḏr* is very precise, with no surprise. Which is surprising is to have this representation depicting that *sḏr* means 'lay down on the side' (literally, 'make side', as *s-* is the causative prefix and *ḏr* 'side'). The verb *sḏr* basically is a verb of position, and the meanings 'sleep' and 'spend the night' are semantic extensions. From the verb stems the noun *msḏr* 'ear' (literally, 'that thing on which to lay down on the side', as *m-* is the instrument prefix[22] before *sḏr*), which points to the same direction. As for the specific context of the text and the representation, spending the night close to (or on) a ship would have been compulsory for the ship crew to protect the cargo from eventual thefts[23].

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[22] Or 'place where to lay down on the side', interpreting *m-* as a possible realisation of *bw* 'place' (see, for Coptic, R. Kasser, «Compléments morphologiques au dictionnaire de Crum», *BIFAO* 64, 1964, 31). For the *m-* of instrument, see C. Ceugney, «Du rôle de *m* préfixe en égyptien», *RT* 2, 1880, 1-9; H. Grapow, *Ueber die Wortbildungen mit einem Präfix m- im Ägyptischen*, AKPAW, Berlin, 1914; G. Jéquier, «Le préfixe *m* dans les noms d'objets du moyen empire», *RT* 39, 1921, 145-154. Both interpretations might be connected: for the continuum of locative/instrumental marks, see Ch. Luschützky & F. Rainer, «Instrument and place nouns from a typological and diachronic perspective», *Linguistics* 51, 2013, 1301-1359.

[23] Compare this case that is documented for the Tigris in Neo-Assyrian times, in F.M. Fales, «River transport in Neo-Assyrian letters», in J. Zabłocka – S. Zawadzki (eds.), *Šulmu IV: Everyday life in Ancient Near East; Papers presented at the International Conference Poznań, 19-22 September, 1989*, Poznań 1993, 81.

3. On the prepositions: how to express static and dynamic spatiality

The crossing described on P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b is not only of the utmost interest for temporal expression but also for spatial expression, as it particularly illuminates the opposition between prepositions *m* ('interiority') and *r* ('limit')[24]. Said crossing may be represented as in the diagram:
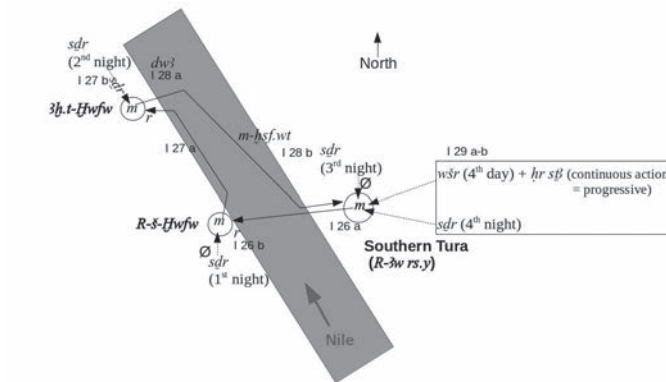

Fig. 2. Diagram of the crossings and stays by Merer and his work gang as described on P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b, with the spatial and temporal expressions in place.
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In the analysis of the spatial and temporal structure of this passage, will be employed some signs for the 'kind of action' (*Aktionsart*) of the verbs, and for the aspects of the verbal forms, which briefly mean[25]: <> 'state-of-affairs' (i.e., the basic action or state that is expressed by the verb); + 'telic moment' (i.e., the moment in which a telic state-of-affairs happens); …. 'dynamic and durative' (may be included in the state-of-affairs <….> or be the pre-phase ….<+> or post-phase <+>…. of telic states-of-affairs); ____ 'static' (may be included in the state-of-affairs

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[24] See C. Gracia Zamacona, « ⸗ *ᶜq* 'enter', but how, and where? Data from the Coffin Texts», *AntOr* 13, 2015, 41-82 (with previous bibliography).

[25] For the signs that are employed to express the Aktionsart, the reader is referred to C. Gracia Zamacona, «Tests on verbal Aktionsart applied to Ancient Egyptian: instruments to determine verbal semantics in an ancient language», *Afrikanistik und Aegyptologie Online* 2015 <https://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archiv/2015/auto1426069292.91/> [Accessed on 13.01.2019], which follows Winand *op. cit.*

<____> or be the post-phase <+>___ of telic states-of-affairs); [ ] 'aspect window' by which the verbal form employed selects a part of the state-of-affairs (basically, aspect oscillates between two poles: 'imperfective' and 'perfective'). With all this in mind, the analysis proposed for P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b is as follows:

(I 26 a) On the first day, Merer and his gang cross (*nꜥi* [<+>….] general imperfective) from (*m* elative)[26] Tura South (I 26 b) to (*r* allative) *R-š-Ḫwfw*, where (Ø = omission *of m* inessive) they spend (*sḏr* [<+>___] general imperfective)[27] the first night.

(I 27 a) On the second day, they cross (*nꜥi* [<+>….] general imperfective) from (*m* elative) *R-š-Ḫwfw* to (*r* allative) *Ꜣḫ.t-Ḫwfw*, (I 27 b) where (*m* inessive) they spend (*sḏr* [<+>___] general imperfective) the second night.

(I 28 a) On the third day, in the morning (*dwꜣ*), they cross (*nꜥi* [<+>….]) from (*m* elative) *Ꜣḫ.t-Ḫwfw* navigating (I 28 b) upstream (*sqd.wt m-ḫsf.wt* <….> adjunct of manner of the previous verb) to (*r* allative omitted whether by haplography, or less probably because *m-ḫsf.wt* works as a prepositional phrase 'upstream to') Tura South, where (*m* inessive) they spend (*sḏr* [<+>___] general imperfective) the third night.

(I 29 a) On the fourth day, Merer and his work gang spend the day (*wrš* [<….>] activity, general imperfective) carrying stone (*ḥr stꜣ inr* <.[…].> progressive of an activity with indefinite massive theme, as an adjunct of manner of the previous verb) (I 29 b) in (*m* inessive) Tura South, where (*m* inessive) they spend (*sḏr* [<+>___] general imperfective) the fourth night.

This analysis entails that the spatial expression follows a conceptually and formally stable pattern (elative – allative – inessive) for each working day, in which the first and second complements of space refer to the crossing (*nꜥ.t*), and the third to the spending the night (*sḏr.t*).

With the purpose of specifying circumstances of importance to the task performed, the crossing is in occasions detailed through adjuncts of time (such as *dwꜣ* 'in the morning') and adjuncts of manner, which may be of verbal nature as was discussed in section 1: the stative of verb *Ꜣtp* (I 26 b) and the progressive of verb *stꜣ* (I 29 a). The latter deserves a few words, as it is built from a semantic extension of the spatial preposition *ḥr* 'on'. The state-of-affairs *stꜣ inr* 'carry stone' is related

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[26] For the terms regarding the complement of space, see C. Gracia Zamacona, *art. cit.* 2011.

[27] For the Aktionsart of *sḏr*, see C. Gracia Zamacona, *Les verbes de mouvement dans les Textes des Sarcophages: Étude sémantique* (PhD diss.), Paris 2008, 1658-1659 & 1677.

to the state-of-affairs *wrš* 'spend the day', and both are in the infinitive (an imperfective and impersonal verbal form), but *stȝ* occurs in the second place and with an introductory element, i.e. the preposition *ḥr* 'on' which, in addition to refer to a specific space, means 'accumulation'[28] as well. This notion 'accumulation' parallels the subject of the clause, the plurality of which is expressed by the comitative preposition *ḥnꜥ*, typical for animates. The sum of the three notions (accumulation of the actions, plurality, and animacy of the subject) creates an effect of temporalisation of *ḥr* + infinitive as a progressive pattern which will grammaticalise. The process seems to be reinforced in this case by the inessive *m Rȝ-ȝw rs-y* 'in Tura South', which delimits the spatial range of the state-of-affairs 'carrying stone' to the inside of the quarry Tura South, so to produce the clear image of 'repetition' in spending the day carrying stone, which is expressed by the progressive: i.e., an accumulation of occasions of the same state-of-affairs (*ḥr stȝ inr*) inside a temporal limit (*wrš*) and a spatial limit (*m Rȝ-ȝw rs-y*). The main elements in the semantics of the progressive in this passage are collected in the next table:

(I,29 a-b)

wrš *sḥd Mrr*	*ḥnꜥ* *sȝ=f*	*ḥr* *stȝ inr*	*m Rȝ-ȝw rs-y*
Temporal limit	Accumulation of agents (animate)	Accumulation of actions (repetition → progressive)	Spatial limit (inessive)

Spending the day (by) inspector Merer **and** his work gang **carrying** stone **in** Tura South

4. Concluding remarks

The spatial and temporal situation that is expressed on P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b is a description of tasks in a quasi-tabular fashion, with imperfective and mainly impersonal verbal forms which stand in the pole opposite to narration. To highlight the importance of the analysis and interpretation of the text as a *description*, it may be useful to compare this kind of description (*neutral description*) with another kind of description (*rhematised description*) that occurs in the Coffin Texts (CT)[29]. In it,

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[28] For 'accumulation' as an operative notion in linguistics, see G. Lazard, *L'actance*, Paris 1994, 70 (discussing *adjets*, i.e. arguments of the third zone, the first zone being the subject's, and the second zone the object's—the notion 'accumulation' far from exhausts its explanatory power with arguments).

[29] A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* I-VII, OIP 24, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81 & 87, Chicago 1935-1961.

typical narrative verbal forms (perfective and personal) are moved to the communicative background by using second tenses so to emphasise the topography of a crossing the deceased one makes in the Field of Hotep as per CT V 386 d – j (B1Bo):

(CT V 386 d-e)

N	*pn*	*k3*	*ntr-w*	*nb*	*mfk3-t*	*nb*	*s3-wy*	*m-hn-w*	*Htp*
Deceased's name	this~SGM	bull	god-PLM	master	turquoise-SGF	master	electrum-DM	in-inside-PRF.3SGM	Hotep

This N (is) the bull of the gods, master of turquoise (and) electrum[30] in (the Field of) Hotep[31]:

(CT V 386 f-g)

hd(i)-n	*N*	*pn*	*m*	*Htp*	*hsf(i)-n=f*
Navigate downstream-PFV.EMPHATIC	Deceased's name	this~SGM	in	Hotep	Navigate upstream-PFV.EMPHATIC=3SGM

through (the Field of) Hotep has this N navigated downstream (and) upstream;

(CT V 386 h-i)

f3(i)-n=f	*t3w-w*	*Hn-wt-nb-t-ʿb-w*	*t3w=f*	*m*	*š*	*ntr-w-wr-w*
expand-PFV.EMPHATIC=3SGM	sail-3SGM	horn-PLF-master-SGF-purity-SGM	wind=3SGM	in	lake	god-PLM-great-PLM

With the wind of Lake-of-the-Great-Gods has he sailed (to?) Horns-of-the-Lady-of-Purity;

(CT V 386 j)

hwi-n=f	*mni-t*	*m*	*š*	*hr-w*	*tz(i)*	*šni-t*
hit-PFV.EMPHATIC=3SGM	peg-SGF	in	lake	on-SGM	rise	storm-SGF

(and), after a storm burst, he docked in the upper lake.

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[30] The meaning of this word is just conjectural.

[31] Although the term 'field' (*sh.t*) is absent, there is no doubt that the text refers to the Field of Hotep (or of the Offerings) because, throughout the whole spell this text belongs with (CT 468), toponyms are referred to as divinities: for instance, some cities occur such as *Wsr.t* 'The Mighty-One (feminine)' (CT V 385 l), *Nb.t-t3.wy* 'The lady of the Two Lands' (CT V 383 b), passim, that have no city-determinative (O49). In addition to this, an eventual confusion of 'Hotep (the god)' with '(the Field of) Hotep' is impossible because of the usage of different prepositions for the comitative animate, *hnʿ* (for example, on CT V 381 l & m), and the locative inanimate and/or divine, *m* (as on CT V 386 f, in the text under discussion).

The sequence (and emphasis) of the complements of space is a stylistic resource to highlight the absolute dominion the deceased one has on the Field of Hotep over any other god, as is stated from the beginning (CT V 386 d-e): the deceased one is the champion (lit. 'bull') of the gods. Therefore, since his/her start by navigating upstream and downstream (CT V 386 f-g), the deceased one makes explicit his/her control over the whole navigable space in the Field of Hotep as well as his/her freedom of movements within it. Then comes the beginning of the crossing (CT V 386 h-i) with only the planned point of arrival mentioned—the starting point of the crossing is not said. Finally, a realistic detail is added to the very ideal picture which is provided by this emphatic description: due to a storm, an alternative point of arrival is improvised (CT V 386 j). The latter is not just a colourful anecdote—although it certainly enlivens the story—but confirms the absolute dominion of the deceased one over the space in which(s)he moves: the deceased one is able to choose his/her own destination.

Notwithstanding all the previous, the spatial and temporal order of the crossing is easy to reconstruct and to be encapsulated as in the next table:

N = Bull of the gods… inside (the Field of) Hotep								
Wind from		*Set sail (from)*		*Sail north & south (within)*		*Moor*		*Failed destination*
Lake of the great gods	〰	(Field of Hotep)?	|→	(Field of) Hotep ⇄	→|	The upper lake	✗	Horns-of-the-Lady-of-Purity
(Field of) Hotep								

In this case, the purpose is obviously not to give an account on a series of tasks performed, as was the case of the logbook of Merer, but to justify the presence of the deceased one in a world which is not his own—the world of the gods[30]. The function and layout of both texts is very different regarding genre and use, although they share the descriptive feature that derives from emphasis in the case of the mortuary text or from a neutral exposition in the case of the logbook.

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[32] On this, see C. Gracia Zamacona, «Textos de los Ataúdes», in A. J. Morales (ed.), *Cultos, mitos y prácticas mágicas en el antiguo Egipto: textos religiosos (2800 a. C.-1000 d. C.)* (57 pages, in press).

May thus the study case P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b serve to exemplify how the inter-action between linguistic resources (imperfective temporality through infinitives and a progressive, and a very specific spatiality through dynamic and static complements of space), text layout (quasi-tabular) and text type (neutral description) is carefully intertwined and thought to accomplish the specific communicative function of giving an account on a series of tasks performed[31].

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[33] On the essential link between "content" and "form" of Egyptian texts, see A. Loprieno, *La pensée et l'écriture,* Paris 2001, 6.

Dos breves comentarios lingüísticos sobre P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b (h. 2566 a. C.)

RESUMEN: Este artículo analiza dos cuestiones lingüísticas relacionadas con la situación espacio-temporal en la que se desarrollan las travesías fluviales del inspector Merer y su cuadrilla de trabajadores en un fragmento del papiro Jarf B (P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b). En particular, se estudiará cómo se construye el entramado temporal y espacial de la descripción de esas travesías por medio de los verbos y preposiciones empleados *y sus posibles implicaciones sobre algunas cuestiones de diacronía de la lengua egipcia del Reino Antiguo.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: Papiro Jarf B, Semántica del Antiguo Egipcio, Verbos, Preposiciones, Navegación fluvial

Two brief linguistic remarks on P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b (c. 2566 BC)

ABSTRACT: This article discusses two linguistic points regarding the space-time setting in which inspector Merer and his gang of workers navigate across the Nile as per a fragment of papyrus Jarf B (P.Jarf B I, 26a-29b). Particularly, it will be explored how the temporal and spatial framework of the crossings is set up through the verbs and prepositions which occur in the text, and their possible implications for some issues on diachrony in Old Egyptian.

KEYWORDS: Papyrus Jarf B, Old Egyptian semantics, Verbs, Prepositions, River navigation