Identification and Annotation of Body Part Multiword Expressions in Old Egyptian

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Abstract

This paper presents the preliminary results of an ongoing study on the diachronic and synchronic use of multiword expressions (MWEs) in Egyptian, begun when I joined the COST Action *Universality, Diversity and Idiosyncrasy in Language Technology* (UniDive, CA21167). It analyzes, as a case study, Old Egyptian body part MWEs based on lexicographic and textual resources, and its aim is both to open up a research line in Egyptology, where the study of MWEs has been neglected, and to contribute to Natural Language Processing studies by determining the rules governing the morpho-syntactic formation of Old Egyptian body part MWEs in order to facilitate the identification of other types of MWEs.

Keywords: Old Egyptian, Multiword Expression, Body Part

1. Introduction

Egyptian is one of the longest lived languages in history. This Afroasiatic language knew the following phases:

- Old Egyptian (ca. 2700–2000 BC).
- Middle Egyptian (ca. 2000–1400 BC).
- Late Egyptian (ca. 1300–700 BC).
- Demotic (7th century BC to 5th century CE).
- Coptic (4th century to 14th century CE).

This paper shows the existence of MWEs in one of the oldest known languages in human history, as they are attested in texts dating from the early third millennium BC (see example 15, below).1 It focuses on the use of body part MWEs in Old Egyptian, analyzes their typology and identifies rules for their formation. This paper has seven parts. It begins with a brief introduction to the topic (§ 1) and a definition of "body part multiword expression" (§ 2). The methodological approach applied to the identification and annotation of Old Egyptian body part MWEs (§ 3) is followed by examples of each body part noun used in Old Egyptian MWEs (§ 4). A typology of Old Egyptian body part MWEs (§ 5) and an explanation of the rules governing their formation (§6) are developed on the basis of the examples collected during the research. Finally, the next phases of this research are outlined in the conclusion (§ 7).

2. A Definition of a Body Part Multiword Expression

It is assumed that "body" and "body parts" are universal concepts (Wierzbicka, 2007) which can be used with a metonymic and metaphoric meaning (Ganfi, Piunno and Mereu, 2023). A body part MWE may be defined as a sequence of at least two lexicalized components, one of which is a body part name, whose semantic idiosyncrasy results from the association between the body part with a figurative meaning and another component(s) (*cf.* the definition of MWE in Savary *et al.*, 2018; Baldwin and Kim, 2010). Body part MWEs are common in modern and ancient languages, e.g.:

1. English:

LM: "Listen to your heart."2

FT: "Act according to your feelings."

2. Latin (Plaut., *Asin.* 729): nec caput nec pes neither-neg head nor-neg foot LM: "Neither head nor foot." FT: "Completely wrong."

3. Arabic:

القلب	ضعيف
al-qalb	,d`īf
the heart-M.SG.DET	weak-M.SG
LM: "A weak one of heart."	
FT: "A coward."	

3. Methodology

Although multiple forms of figurative language, such as simile and metaphor have been extensively studied in Egyptology,³ the study of MWEs remains unexplored. Old Egyptian body part MWEs was chosen as a case study for this work because of the occasional metonymic and metaphoric use of body part nouns (see § 2, above)—a factor that facilitates the identification of MWEs in any language (see examples 1–3, above). Lexical compounds with an idiosyncratic meaning consisting of a body part noun in a close relationship with its head word were considered as MWEs, as for example:

¹ Earlier instances of MWEs may be found in Sumerian texts from the Early Dynastic Period (ca. 2900 BC).

 $^{^{\}rm 2}$ LM stands for "literal meaning" and FL for "free translation".

³ For the state of the art in Egyptian figurative language, see Hsu 2023.

4. CG 20543, 5:

	1 1		×
ķ	ťb	nb.t	=f

enter:PTCP(M.SG) heart-M.SG mistress-F.SG =3SG.M LT: "One who enters the heart of his mistress."

FT: "A confidant of his mistress."

Metaphorical expressions used to establish a figurative comparison of two entities by means of a "comparison marker", such as mr "like" in Old Egyptian were disregarded in this research, for example:

5. Pyramid Texts § 293a:

LM: "You shall soar (skyward) as a heron."

FT: "You shall fly over the clouds."

A fuzzy boundary represents the case where the body part noun has a metonymic meaning, while the head word retains its literal meaning. Such cases were included as MWEs in this research (see identification tests 2 and 3, below), as for example:

6*. Pyramid Texts § 1592e:

0 Å	6	*		
mrr	ťb	≠f	im	(=f)

love:REL.PRS heart-M.SG =3SG.M in:PREP (=3SG.M) LM: "(... any place) which his heart (i.e. will) loves." FT: "(... any place) which he desires."

Body part MWEs are clearly identified when its figurative meaning results from the close association of the body part noun with its head word, as for example:

7. Pyramid Texts § 22b:

⊿ ں ا	6	\bigcirc
ķb	ib	=k
be cool:SBJV	heart-M.SG	=2SG.M

LM: "Your heart may be cool."

FT: "You may be calm (i.e. satisfied)."

In Egyptian the figurative meaning of a body part MWE is often related to the idiosyncrasy of this language, as the following example shows:

8. Pyramid Texts § 417b:

 $l = \int im(.i) rt$ "one who is in the foot"

The figurative meaning of this expression is "enemy", for it derives from the Egyptian custom of decorating sandals with the image of foes:



Fig. 1: Foot-end of mummy cartonnage (Veldmeijer, 2014)

Although MWEs are not identified in Hannig's Old Egyptian dictionary, it provides extensive references to the meaning of each Egyptian word and lexical compound:

> wohlbehalten, unverletzt, unversehrt sein $\{9017\}$ ~-jb=k [epist] möge es dich freuen (*Briefformel*) $\{9025\}$ 9025 Belege des AR: $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ mCairo JE 25975 • LettDead P. 1, T. 1, L. 13; Roccati, Littérature P. 296-7; [*6.5] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 336) 548b • AEPT P. 108; PM 3:2, P. 396 [6.1] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 570) 1448c • AEPT P. 108; PM 3:2, P. 396 [6.1] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 570) 1448c • AEPT P. 108; PM 3:2, P. 396 [6.1] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 570) 1448c • AEPT P. 224; [ähnlich]; PM 3:2, P. 423 [6.3] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 570) 1447b • AEPT P. 224; [ähnlich]; PM 3:2, P. 423 [6.3] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 570) 1445b • AEPT P. 223; [ähnlich]; PM 3:2, P. 423 [6.3] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 570) 1444c • AEPT P. 223; [ähnlich]; PM 3:2, P. 423 [6.3] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ PT (Sp 570) 1444c • AEPT P. 223; [ähnlich]; PM 3:2, P. 423 [6.3] $\blacksquare 2 \cdot$ LD II, T. 74.b; PM 3:2, P. 88 [5.9]

Fig. 2: Textual references to the MWE *wč₃ ib* "be happy" (Hannig 2003: 398-399)

I checked the references of body part nouns potentially used in MWEs against the editions of hieroglyphic texts. Instances of body part nouns with a literal meaning have been disregarded (see validation test 1, below), while instances of body part nouns in figurative association with other words have been considered body part MWEs according to the definition given in section 2 (see above). In addition, I used the textual database of the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* to find further instances of body part MWEs in Old Egyptian texts. After selecting and entering them into an Excel list, I manually annotated the most 25 eloquent examples of Old Egyptian body part MWEs in a Word file for lack of a digital resource.⁴ Such examples have a clear meaning and syntactic structure. As it can be seen here, they were annotated with the reference source and following the Leipzig Glossing Rules.⁵ They are provided with a literal meaning (LM) and a free translation (FT), for example:

9. Pyramid Texts § 293a:

be

a r	6		
nčm	ťb	n(.ỉ)	[Wniś]
sweet-SBJV	heart-M.SG	of-M.SG	Unas-KN

LM: "The heart of [Unas] shall be sweet." FT: "[Unas] shall be kind."

The selection and identification of Old Egyptian body part MWEs was carried out using a series of verification tests:

Test 1. Does the body part noun have a literal meaning?

— Yes ⇒ It is not an MWE, for example:
10. Pyramid Texts § 49 Nt:

	,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	\bigcirc	l	×
nčr	п	=k	¢	=f
	for:DDED	-260 M	orm M SC	-300 M

seize:IMP for:PREP =2SG.M arm-M.SG =3SG.M LM: "Seize for yourself his arm." FT: "Seize his arm!"

— No \Rightarrow Test 2.

Test 2. Does the body part noun have a metonymic meaning?

— Yes \Rightarrow It is a potential MWE \Rightarrow Test 3. Ex.: 11. Pyramid Texts § 1675b:

	£ ==	5	\bigcirc
śšm	ČW	ib	=k
guide:SBJV	=2sg.M	heart-M.SG	=2sg.m

LT: "Your heart shall quide you."

FT: "Your will shall guide you."

− No \Rightarrow It is not an MWE, see test 1.

Test 3. Is the body part noun used with an idiosyncratic meaning in close syntactic relationship with a head word?

— Yes \Rightarrow It is an MWE, for example:

12. Pyramid Texts § 116a:

		Ţ	Š
inč	(=i)	<u></u> hr	=k
ask:SBJV	=1sg	face-M.SG	=2SG.M
LT: "May (I) as	"		
FT: "Hail to you	ı!"		

⁴ I am working on the first treebank of Egyptian sentences syntactically analyzed in Universal Dependencies. Its initial release is planned for Mai 2024. This treebank will include MWEs to be published as a corpus in PARSEME.

in a poster I presented at the second general meeting of 26

 No. It is a fuzzy MWE consisting of a body part noun with a metonymic meaning (see test 2). It has been marked with an asterisk in this paper, see ex. 6*, 16*, 27*, 32* and 43*.

Test 4. Is the body part noun used in a lexicalized expression with an idiosyncratic meaning?

- Yes \Rightarrow It is an MWE. This is the usual case for complex prepositions (CPs), for example:

13. Pyramid Texts § 54b:

$\mathbb{A} \rightarrow$	\$ \$	Ŷ	*
ß	hft	<u></u> hr	=f
lift up:IMP	in front of:PREP	face-M.SG	=3sg.m

LM: "Lift up in front of his face."

FT: "Lift up before him"

It should also be noted that body part MWEs are occasionally attested in some scenes, which are annotated here in order to illustrate their meaning, for example:

14. Davies, 1900, pl. III, cf. fig. 3:

A B	6	\bigcirc	0	$\Box = \big(\big($	
w <i>Č</i> '	ib	=k	(<i>i</i>)r	šу	
be	heart-	=2sg.m	concerning:PREP	crocodile-	
hale:SBJV	M.SG			M.SG	
	-				

LM: "Your heart shall be hale concerning the crocodile."

FT: "You shall be happy of having escaped from the crocodile."



Fig. 3: A cow escapes from the crocodile In Old Egyptian the frequency of body part MWEs varies depending on the body part noun—the commonest body part MWEs are those consisting of *ib* "heart" (no less than 63 types of MWEs)⁶ and ' "arm" (no less than 24 types of MWEs), while the less common body part MWEs are those consisting of *ir.t* "eye", '*n.t* "nail" and *hpš* "biceps" which are attested in less than five types of MWEs. The following Old Egyptian body part nouns are used in MWEs (see examples in § 4, below):

UniDive (Università di Napoli "L'Orientale", 8–9 February 2024). The 63 types of Old Egyptian MWEs containing *ib* are analyzed one by one in my forthcoming article "Old Egyptian Multiword Expressions consisting of a head word and *ib* 'heart'".

 ⁵ Di Biase-Dyson, Kammerzell and Werning (2009) adapted the Leipzig Glossing Rules for the study of Egyptian texts.
⁶ I discussed the use of Old Egyptian MWEs containing *ib*

Spelling	Transcription	Literal meaning
10	iwf	flesh
8	ib	heart
Ø	ir.t	еуе
	¢	arm
	'n.t	nail
0	r	mouth
	rmn	shoulder
ſ	rţ	foot
Ŷ	<u></u> hr	face
A	<u></u> h³.t	forehead
A P	<u></u> h³.tť	heart
	<u>h</u> pš	strong arm (biceps)
0	<u>h</u> .t	belly
	Ś	back
	šni	hair
Ð	ţp	head
7	č.t	body
5	čb'	finger
No	čr.t	hand

Table 1: Body part nouns used in Old Egyptian MWEs

4. Evidence

The earliest instances of body part MWEs in Egyptian date from the Early Dynastic Period (ca. 2900–2730 BC), for example:

15. Petrie, 1901 (vol. 2, pl. III), cf. fig. 4:

۴	6
im ³	ib

be kind:PTCP (M.SG) heart-M.SG

LM: "One who is kind of heart."

FT: "A well-liked one."



Fig. 4: An Abydos tablet

As the following examples show, body part nouns listed in table 1 (see above) are used to form Old Egyptian MWEs.

16. Example of *iwf* (Sethe, 1933, 14,5):



17. Example of *ib* (Brunner, 1937, 62,79):

	÷ 5	\bigcirc
<u>h</u> ³ k	ib	nb

be hostile-PTCP(M.SG) heart-M.SG every-M.SG LM: "Everyone who is hostile of heart." FT: "Any evil-minded person."

18. Example of *ir.t* (Černý, 1961, 7):

-^-	Â			$\left\langle \begin{array}{c} a \\ b \\ c \\ c$,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	
n not: NEG	<i>psg</i> spit:PST	(/	<i>m</i> in: PREP	<i>ỉr.tỉ</i> eye- F.DU	<i>n(.t)</i> of-F	<i>nfr</i> good- M.SG

LM: "(I) did not spit in the two eyes of a good one." FT: "(I) did not spit on the eyes of a good man (i.e. I did not humiliate a good man)."

19. Example of '(Pyramid Texts, § 213a):

) Mo		\bigcirc
т	<u>h</u> nw	¢	=k
in:PREP	interior-M.SG	arm-M.SG	=2sg.m
LM: "() in the interior of your arm."			

FT: "(...) within your embrace."

20. Example of *n.t* (Moussa/Altenmüller, 1977, 79 and fig. 10), *cf.* fig. 5:

~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~~	
ir[.t]	'n.(w)t
make:INF	nail-F.PL

LM: "Making the nails."

FT: "Cutting nails (or manicure/pedicure)."



Fig. 5: A man pedicuring another man

21. Example of r' (Pyramid Texts, § 1299a):



LM: "You will give your mouth to Ra."

27 FT: "You will speak with Ra."

22. Example of *rmn* (Pyramid Texts, § 813a):

 $\nabla [a]$ Ţ ×____ ×~ hmś.v =f =f rmn(.wi) hr sit:EUT shoulder-M.DU =3SG.M on:PREP =3SG.M LM: "He will sit on his two shoulders." FT: "He will sit himself beside him."

23. Example of *rt* (Kanawati 1997. fig. 41):

Lo. Examp		anamad ro	or, ng. 11).	
		$\sim$		Ş
ič	n	=k	rț(.wi)	=k
take:IMP	for:PREP	=2SG.M	foot-M.DU	=2sg.m
LM: "Take	for you yo	ur two feet		
FT: "Move	"			

24. Example of hr (Pyramid Texts, § 613a):

		-	-	
ΠŶ	<u> </u> ]	₽ I	$\bigtriangledown$	

ś: <u></u> hč	=śn	hr	=k	
make bright:SUBJV	=3PL	face-M.SG	=2sg.m	
LM: "They shall make your face bright."				
CT, "They shall make you glad "				

FT: "They shall make you glad."

25. Example of  $h^{3}$ . t (Pyramid Texts, § 407d):

B				Â
łw	mk.t	Wniś	т	<u></u> h³.t

PTCL place-F.SG Unas-KG at:PREP forehead-F.SG LM: "The place of Unas is at the forehead." FT: "Unas' place is ahead."

26. Example of  $h^{3}$ .ti (Pyramid Texts, § 2024a):

$\Leftrightarrow =$	 _ *	$\bigtriangledown$		
9	<u>h</u> ³.ti	=k		
be great:SUBJV	heart-M.SG	=2sg.M		
LM: "Your heart shall be great."				

FT: "Be proud!"

27*. Example of *hpš* (Fischer, 1961, 47):

$\Diamond$			*~~
ir	т	<u>h</u> pš	=f
	with	bicone M SC	-300 M

act-PTCP(M.SG) with:PREP biceps-M.SG =3SG.M LM: "One who acted with his biceps." FT: "One who acts on his own."

28. Example of h.t (Pyramid Texts, § 1c):

29. Example of *ś*³ (Sethe, 1933, 111,8):

Ŷ			
hr	Ś	$h^{3}$ ś.t	
on:PREP	back-M.SG	foreign land-F.SG	
LM: "() on the back of the foreign land."			
FT: "() at the far end of the foreign land."			

30. Example of *šni* (Petrie, 1900, pl. XXVB):

šni	ť	
hair-M.SG	earth-M.SG	
LM: "Hair of the earth."		

FT: "Vegetation."

31. Example of *tp* (Pyramid Texts, § 989a):

Ser.	R	٢
т	ţp	hrw
in:PREP	head-M.SG	day-M.SG
.M: "() in the he	ead of the day."	

FT: "(...) at dawn."

32*. Example of *č.t* (Pyramid Texts, § 762b):

$A \simeq A$	$\smile$	2	$\bigcirc$
m <u>t</u> w	=k	Č.t	=k
speak:SUBJV	=2SG.M	body-M.SG	=2sg.M

LM: "You shall speak (of) your body."

FT: "You shall speak (of) yourself."

#### 33. Example of $\xi b'$ (Pyramid Texts, § 372a):

jn / (	*~~			
čb'(.wi)	=f			
finger-M.DU	=3sg.m			
M: "() to his two fingers."				
	<i>čb'(.wi)</i> finger-M.DU ro fingers."			

FT: "(...) at his side."

L

34. Example of *čr.t* (Brunner, 1937, 42,3):

oĵ		to s
ink	pg'	čr.t
1sg	open-PTCP(M.SG)	hand-F.SG
LM: "I am one who		

FT: "I am a generous one.

# 5. Typology

Old Egyptian body part MWEs can be classified according to universal typology as nominal, prepositional and verbal.⁷ In nominal multiword expressions (NMWEs) the head word accompanying the body part noun can be a noun, an infinitive, an adjective or a participle. The head word of prepositional multiword expressions (PMWEs) can only be a preposition. In verbal multiword expressions (VMWEs) the head word must be a verb form (except if it is a nominalized verb form which is considered an NMWE).

# 5.1 Nominal Multiword Expressions

A body part noun can be the head or the modifier of an NMWE. If it is the former, it usually means a physical object, for example:

⁷ See Baldwin and Kim, 2010, 274–279.

35. Goedicke, 199	94, 73, I.9, <i>cf.</i> fig. 6	
. <u></u> ]	See.	
¢	т	<i>ht</i>
arm-M.SG	of:PREP	wood-M.SG

LM: "An arm (made) of wood."

FT: "An incense burner (in the shape of an arm)."



Fig. 6: A ritualist holding an incense burner (Walters Art Museum 22216)

If the body part noun is used as a modifier, the head of the NMWE can be a noun, an infinitive, and an adjective or a participle:

36. Example of a noun as the head of an NMWE (Junker, 1943, fig. 43):

X ¥		7
č³(.w)	śrf	ib
man-M.SG	warm-M.SG	heart-M.SG

LM: "A warm man of heart."

FT: "A hard-working man."

37. Example of an infinitive as the head of an NMWE (Paget, 1898, pl. XXXVIII), *cf.* fig. 7:

	ſ
in.t	rţ
bring:INF	foot-M.SG

LM: "Bringing the foot."

FT: "Erasing the footprint (a ritual ceremony)."



Fig. 7: A ritualist "erasing the footprint"

38. Example of an adjective as the head of an NMWE (Pyramid Texts, § 195c):

	A	\$ \$	:
nfr	w(i)	hr	≠Č
beautiful-M.SG	PTCL	face-M.SG	=2sg.f
LM: "How beautiful is your (f.) face."			

FT: "How nice is to see you."

39. Example of a participle as the head of an NMWE (Pyramid Texts, § 1a):

	$\bigvee_{\Box}$	<b>~</b>	
<i>Ttt</i>	wp	<u>h</u> .t	<i>(≠ỉ)</i>
Teti-км	open-PTCP(M.SG)	belly-F.SG	=1sg

LM: "(...) Teti who opened (my) belly."

FT: "(...) Teti, (my) first-born.'

#### 5.2 Prepositional Multiword Expressions

Body part nouns are used as modifiers in prepositional multiword expressions. Two types of PMWEs can be found in Old Egyptian: prepositional idioms (PIs) and complex prepositions (CPs).

40. Example of a prepositional idiom (Sethe, 1933, 162,11):

$\square$		S X		ĽA
<u>h</u> r	¢	Ś	(=i)	śmś.w
under:PREP	arm-M.SG	son-M.SG	=1sg	eldest-M.SG
_M: "() und	er the arm	of (my) elde	est son."	
<b></b> <i>"````</i> ```				

FT: "(...) under the care of (my) eldest son."

41. Example of a complex preposition (Sethe, 1933, 126,2):

See.	<u>_</u>	*
т	Ś	=f
in:PREP	back-M.SG	=3sg.m
1: "() in his ba	ack."	

LM: "(...) in his back." FT: "(...) behind him."

# 5.3 Verbal Multiword Expressions

Body part nouns are also modifiers in VMWEs. Old Egyptian body part VMWEs are usually verbal idioms (IDs) consisting of a verb as a head and a body part noun with a figurative meaning, for example:

42. Pyramid Texts, § 425a:

	*	0	<i>,</i> ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	
m <u>h</u> .n	≢ſ	r	n(.i)	Wniś
fill:PST	=3sg.m	mouth-M.SG	of-M.SG	Unas-KN
LM: "() he filled the mouth of Unas."				

FT: "(...) he fed Unas."

Light Verb Constructions consisting of a "light" verb and a noun denoting an event or a state, such as "make a speech"⁸ are hardly found in Old Egyptian body part VMWEs. However, the metonymic meaning of body part nouns occasionally refers to an action which modifies the meaning of the expression, for example:

⁸ *Cf.* Savary *et al.*, 2018, 99 and 102; Baldwin and Kim, 2010, 277.

43*. Duell, 1938, pl. 162, *cf.* fig. 8:



LM: "(I) shall do according to your will (lit.: heart)." FT: "(I) will do what you want."



Fig. 8: A boy following the instructions of his friends

# 6. Formation Rules

The formation of Old Egyptian body part MWEs follows strict morpho-syntactic rules, which are useful not only for understanding how an MWE was used in Old Egyptian, but also for identifying other types of MWEs. Five formation rules are derived from the morpho-syntactic analysis of Old Egyptian body part MWEs:

**1)** A verb stem in a VMWE can be transformed into an infinitive in an NMWE, *cf*.:

44. Example of a VMWE consisting of the subjunctive  ${}^{3}w + ib$  (Pyramid Texts, § 715c):

Æ	6	<i>~~~~</i>	999	A.		
³ W	ỉb	n(.ỉ)	nčr(.w)	т	Ttť	
be	heart-	of-	god-	in-PREP	Teti-	
long:SBJV	M.SG	M.SG	M.PL		KN	
I M [.] "The heart of the gods shall be long in Teti "						

LM: "The heart of the gods shall be long in Teti. FT: "The gods shall be glad over Teti."

45. Example of an NMWE consisting of the infinitive  ${}^{3}w.t + ib$  (Pyramid Texts § 1175a):

	See .	Ä	6		
ť	т	³ w.t	ib		
earth-M.SG	in:PREP	length-F.SG	heart-M.SG		
M: "The earth is in length of heart "					

LM: "The earth is in length of heart. FT: "The earth is in joy."

**2)** A verb stem in a VMWE can be transformed into a participle in an NMWE, *cf*.:

46. Example of a VMWE consisting of the verb form *i:wn* + *hr* (Pyramid Texts, 391c):



open:PASS.FUT face-M.SG god-M.SG to:PREP Unas-KN LM: "The face of the god will be open to Unas." FT: "The god will view the king with favour."

47. Example of an NMWE consisting of the participle wn + hr (Sethe, 1933, 149,1):

SSA Minin	Ŷ	<i></i>	ttt a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a a
wn	<u></u> hr	n	${h} < \check{c} > m(.w)$
open-PTCP(M.SG)	face-F.SG	to:PREP	troops-M.PL

LM: "One who opens the face to the troops." FT: "One who views the troops with favour."

Note that deverbal constructions resulting from a VMWE into an NMWE are also found in other languages, such as English:

"She makes decisions quickly" > "She is a quick decision maker" (see Savary *et al.*, forthcoming).

**3)** A preposition in a PMWE can be transformed into a nisba adjective in an NMWE,⁹ *cf.*:

48. Example of a PMWE consisting of the preposition hr + c (Sethe, 1933, 162,11):

$\square$		r d		ĽA:
<u>h</u> r	¢	Ś	(=i)	śmś.w
under:PREP	arm-M.SG	son-M.SG	=1sg	eldest-M.SG
LM: "() under the arm of (my) eldest son."				
FT: "() under the care of (my) eldest son."				

49. Example of an NMWE consisting of the nisba adjective <u>*hr.(l)*</u> w + ^c (Pyramid Texts, § 1236b):

<u>h</u> r.(i)w	¢	Wśr(.w)
those who is under-M.PL	arm-M.SG	Osiris-GN

LM: "Those who are under the arm of Osiris." FT: "Those who are under the care of Osiris."

**4)** The nisba adjective resulting from a preposition can be used as a noun in an NMWE, for example: 50. Goedicke, 1968, 27.

J. GOEdicke, 1968, 27:	
$\square$	
<u>h</u> r.(i)	¢
one who is under-M.SG	arm-M.SG

LM: "One who is under the arm."

FT: "One who is under the care (i.e. assistant)."

Note that the usual transformation of a preposition in a PMWE into a nisba adjective or a noun in an NMWE is an idiosyncratic feature of Old Egyptian hardly found in other languages. This is a common way for the formation of Egyptian titles, for example the title hr(.t) tp "great chief" is derived from the PMWE hr tp"on the head", *cf*.:

Schulz 2010, 86). The addition of the nisba ending to prepositions to form adjectives and nouns is a common 0 feature in Egyptian.

⁹ In Semitic languages, such as Arabic, "nisba" is used to label an ending added to nouns, and rarely to prepositions prepositions to form and pronouns, to form (relative) adjectives and nouns (see 30 feature in Egyptian.

#### 51. Pyramid Texts 1487a:

— T 🖻	$\bigcirc$	Ŧ	2	Š	
ŠW	=k	<u></u> hr	ţp	<i>=k</i>	
shade-M.SG	=2SG.M	on:PREP	head-M.SG	=2sg.m	
LM: "Your shade is on your head."					
FT: "Your shade is over you."					

52. Sethe 1933, 254,4:

♥
₽
*hr(.i)*

one who is on-M.SG head-M.SG of-M.SG nome-F.SG

n(.ť)

.....

śp³.t

 $\Box$ 

LM: "One who is on the head of the nome."

FT: "Great chief of the nome (i.e. nomarch)."

**5)** An NMWE consisting of a noun as its head word can be transformed into a PMWE by adding a preposition before the noun, *cf*.:

53. Example of an NMWE consisting of the nouns  $\dot{s.t}$  + ib (CG 1485):

٩() 10 Ø  $\bigcirc$ hm-nčr ś.t ἰb nb =f priest-TITLE place-F.SG heart-M.SG lord-M.SG =3sg.m LM: "The priest of the place of the heart of his lord." FT: "The priest beloved of his lord (i.e. the favourite priest of his lord)."

54. Example of a PMWE consisting of the preposition  $mr + \dot{s}.t$  *ib* (Sethe, 1933, 56,19):

0	1_	5	~~~~~	0	~	
Å.		6	$\Box$	Х	*	
mr	ś.t	ỉb	n.t	<u>h</u> m	=f	
like:PREP	place-	heart-	of-F.SG	majesty-	=3sg.m	
	M.SG	M.SG		M.SG		

LM: "(I used to act) like the place of the heart of his majesty."

FT: "(I used to act) at the request of his majesty."

#### 7. Conclusion

This research leads to the following preliminary results:

1) The existence of MWEs is indisputable in Old Egyptian, which means that they are as old as the Pyramids of Giza.

2) Body part nouns are used in Old Egyptian to form MWEs, which means that Old Egyptian phrases containing a body part noun with a metonymic meaning are potential candidates to be identified as MWEs.

3) The typology of body part MWEs in Old Egyptian is similar to that applying to MWEs in other languages.

Research on MWEs in Egyptian will be continued in these two phases:

1) Publication of the selected examples in PARSEME after having annotated them manually in the Universal Dependencies treebank "Egyptian-UJaen".

2) Identification and classification of new Old Egyptian MWEs following the rules discussed in this paper and the identification tests suggested in Savary *et al.*, 2018.

Once the synchronic study of MWEs in Old Egyptian is completed, their analysis in later stages of Egyptian will follow in order to detect changes during their historical development. This will contribute not only to the confirmation of the universal categorization of MWEs, based mostly on modern Indo-European languages, but also to the development and refinement of universal rules concerning the formation of MWEs. The end result of this research will be a manually annotated digital corpus of Egyptian MWEs published in PARSEME and a lexicon of Egyptian MWEs.

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