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A.G.M. ABDALLA

MEROITIC PERSONAL NAMES

VOLUME I

DISCUSSION

PART 2

Ph.D. Thesis,UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM,1969

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THE COMPONENT tk(e,ē,i), tkk

I i There are at least two components written tk(e). One of these is the one varying with tki, and on two occasions with tkk and tkē, and the other is known from Ins 135 and the Arminna West versions of Formulae C (or D), D and J to vary with tx.[1] Since it is impossible to allocate the names and groups containing this component into the one or the other of these categories, it is best to treat them as all using one and the same component. After all, as will be argued below, tx(e), also th(e,i), and tk(e,ē,i) are perhaps related, if they are not varying ways of writing the same component, and so, whether originally written with k or with k for x(h), the component is assumed to mean approximately the same thing.

Of the texts I have been able to see, tx(e) as a verb occurs 15 times, in the verbal complexes of Formulae C,D,G and J.[2] From what has been said elsewhere[3], it can be understood that a relationship is suggested between tx(e), the verb in some of the above-mentioned Formulae, and the one used as a noun in Ins 94 5 L, suffixed with -ñ, in tx-ñ: Tañ 9 OS and additionally with -ye(i) in tx-ñ-yi: Ins 94 4,6 L and txe-ñ-ye: Ins 94 18 L. In view of the frequent interchange between -x- and -h- [4],

it should not be unlikely that th(e,i)-, which, from the instances known to us, is possibly a noun, might be yet another way of writing this component. If th(e,i) and tx(e) be different writings of the same word, whether used as a noun or a verb, and since the Arminna versions of Formulae D and J have revealed an interchange between x and k, it is not improbable that tk(e,i) might be a variant of these two. Indications of such a probability can perhaps be shown by the comparison of the names and relevant groups employing the above words. Compare the name N-tx @ B 388, presumably a verbal complex formed by -tx and the prefix n- [5], with n-tk-te Tañ 6 OS.[5] The components tx(e)-, in the above examples, and the(i)-, in THE-YE B 588 and thi-y: KO 3 2 L appear to be nouns suffixed with either -ñ- or -y(e), or both of -ñ- and -ye(i), sharing the same part of speech with tke-, in TKE-MRĒ-LI B 593, which seems to be a noun.[6] In yi-ni-txe-lē Ins 101 12 L and y-n-tke-l-w Ins 111 8-9 L, both of which are apparently participles, and the verbal complexes yi-ni-txe-b-tē Ins 101 11 L and y-n-tke Ins 102 3 L, txe and tke are present in virtually identical constructions.[7] In the same way as we find tk(i)- compounded with the verb -d(e), in its different writings, to give varying spellings

of the compound-verb tk-id(e), in Tk-id-ye B 596, also spelt Tki-dē-ye, both of which are versions of the name of the same person, and MHE-TK-IDE (?) B 281, so we also find th- compounded with -(i)de to build the compound-verb -th-(i)de, in Th-de-ye B 587 and Mli-th-ide B 312.[8] The parallelism between these compound-verbs, in ending in -ye and receiving the adjectival substantives mhe- and mli- as prefixes, indicates that they are of an identical usage and that they might express similar, if not the same, idea(s).

From these comparisons, one has the impression that the alternation between tx(e) and tk(e) is probably something that is not peculiar to the Arminna West versions of Formulae D and J, as the existence of yi-tk-b Formula C Ins 135 8-9 LS might demonstrate.[9] There is the possibility that th(e,i) is yet another alternative way of writing these two words.

The use of -tx- in the funerary formulae connects tx(e), as well as th(e,i) and tk(e,i), which are presumed to be related with it, with the idea of "offering", "serving (in a religious sense)".[10] So, when these are used in verbal complexes, one presumes the

meaning of such verbal complexes to be something like "...offer(s), is (are) offered", or optatively, "may....offer, be offered!", and to be "one (those) who offer, is (are) offered", "offerer", "(something) that is offered", " or "...which...offer(s)", 'offered", when used in participles and relative sentences.[10]

Though these renderings seem to give the false impression that Meroitic names are insipid and flavourless, yet they are useful in the sense that they serve as a starting point.

I ii Next is the subject of the compound-verb tk-ide, to use its commonest form.[10a] Comparing pi-tk-, in pi-tk-ke-s Formula D Arm W 3b LA, with -p-tk-ide, in Wēš-p-tk-ide @ B 655, and also -ši-tk-, in, for example, pi-ši-tk-ke-s Formula J Arm W 1b, 3b LS, with ši-tk-, of Ši-tk-id @ B 506, we immediately notice a great similarity, or indeed identity, in content between the respective compounds that facilitates the determination of the functions of the various components in the two names.[11] As the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae clearly indicate, -tk- in the names must be a verb. But -(i)d(e) too is a well-known verb, which Dr Macadam, MacN 60, plausibly renders

as 'to give'.[12] According to this logic, -tk-id(e) in these names must be compounded by two verbs; hence the term compound-verb.[13] The occurrence of the simple verb tke(i) in circumstances similar to those of the compound-verb lends support to the above view and suggests that the latter verb is perhaps a modification of the former. Compare Wēs̆-tke-l @ B 656 with Wēs̆-p-tk-ide, S̆-tki-ñ-ye(i) B 535 with S̆i-tk-id, and wi-tk-, in Wi-tk-rē-r @ B 664, with Wi-tk-ide @ B 663. [14] According to our criteria of parsing Meroitic words, while -p-tk-ide and S̆i-tk-id may be classified as verbal complexes, using -tk-id(e) prefixed with either -p- or s̆i-, the compound -tke-l, in Wēs̆-tke-l, and S̆-tki-ñ-ye(i) may be classified as participles formed from the simple verb -tke(i)-, prefixless or with s̆-, by the addition of -l and -ye(i), the penultimate -ñ- in the latter name being something like an adverbial infix. [14] Furthermore, these comparisons make it less likely that -tke-l in Wēs̆-tke-l will be a defined noun in mere juxtaposition, or direct genitive, with wēs̆-, as might seem to be the case at first sight.[14]

In the light of the above observations, I propose to discuss the names and relevant groups using tke(i), in its different spellings, as a verb, both simple

and compounded, and as a noun.

II i a With the plural dative [15], the verb tk, prefixless or with a prefix, occurs in (tere-ki:)tk-b-xe-lē: Far 21 26-27 TA, e-tk-ḃ-xi: Ak I 14 OS, ye-tk-b-xi: Ak I 13, yi-tk-b: Formula C (or D2) Ins 135 8-9 LS and Ṫk-Ḃ B 592.[15] The compound-verb, in two of its various spellings, is likewise found in different combinations. Prefixless and suffixless, it forms the entire name Tk-id @ B 594, it being suffixed with -ye in Tk-id-ye B 596, also spelt Tki-dē-ye, both of which are writings of the name of the same person, and seemingly in T-w-mk-ṫk[i̇]-dē-ye @ B 639.[16]

II i b Again prefixless, whether in its simple or compounded form, the verb -tke-, alternating with -tkk-, is believed to take x-, its variant axe- [17] and mhe- as adjectival substantives, objects of the participle -tke-lē, in x-tke-lē: Ins 89 12-13 L/TS, and the verbal complexes -tkk-id and -tk-ide, in AXE-TKK-ID B 24 and MHE-TK-IDE (?) B 281.[17] Compare the construction of AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ B 26, mentioned in its right place below [17], in which -tkē, prefixed with -y- and -ñ-, occupies the place of -tkk-id, in the last name but one, and is similar in contents to x-tke- of the group.

A8 II i b - II ii

Attention has already been drawn to the parallelism between x-tke-lē and x-tek-ke: Kar 47 12 LS (=HinD 337).[18] It is not unlikely that x-tke- and x-tek- might mean the same thing and that -tke-lē and -tek-ke might be distinguishable only in so far as the former is a participle and the latter a verbal complex.[18]

II ii In the verbal complexes ye-te-tke Ins 97 9-10 L, y-n-tke Ins 102 3 L b-n-tke: Mer 8 3 L Bl, and the participles y-n-tke-l-w Ins 111 8-9 L, n-tke-l-w: Mer 8 5 L Bl, n-tke-lē Ins 132 6-7 LA/S and N-tki-li B 389, the elements -te- and -n-, with or without y- or b-, alternate as prefixes to the verb -tke(i)-.[19] The component part -n- is evidently the same as the one in n-tk-te: Tañ 6 OS below [20], replaced by -ñ-, again occurring with -y-, in AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ B 26 [20], and -ñ-tke-l, which seems to be a participle added to a noun, in ŠBĒ-Ñ-TKE-L B 473. [20]

On the analogy of -š-xe, šē-ni and š-ke, assumed to be originally verbal complexes functioning as nouns [21], the nominal compound n-tk(e,i), known from the names of N-TK-MNI £ B 390, AMN-N-TK(E,I)-L-B-TE (H) £ and the text n-tke(i) (l-b-x-te) (H) Ins 13,15,16,18, may

be analysed as a verbal complex, formed by the same verb -tke(i) and the prefix n- as in the names and groups above, acting as a noun. Since, as is believed, nouns may be verbalized by prefixes and suffixes, it might well be the case that, conversely, verbal complexes may be used as nouns. From Dr Macadam's interpretation of AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE as 'Amani is the giver of life (?)', Kawa I 128 n.2, one understands that he thinks that n-tk might mean 'life'. Judging from the construction of AMN+N-TK+L-B-TE, using the simplest form of the name, which is evidently N+N+VC, the construction of N-TK-MNI, which is formed by the first two parts of the same name in reversed order, should be N+N; i.e. two juxtaposed substantives.[21]

II iii With or without a prefix, the verb tk, in its variant spellings, may receive either, or both, of the verb suffixes k(e) and -te(ē). In some cases the verbal suffix -s also appears.[22] Prefixless but suffixed with -k alone, the verb is present in tk-k: Tañ 141 OS, Ak I 4,9-11,14,17 OS, Ak II 4 OS, while suffixed with only -te(ē) it occurs in (teri:)tk-tē: Tañ 151 and tki-te-lē-wi: Far 32 5-6 LA, Post 72 10 LS.[23] The last group is obviously identical in sense with yi-tki-te-lē: Ins 132 5-6 LA/S (=HinD 320). Simply transliterating the instance from Faras as 'takite of',

A8 II iii

Griffith, M II 57, considers the descriptive phrase in Ins 132 to contain a place-name, subsequently translating it as 'in Yitake'. Hintze, HinD 320, appears to me right in his treatment of yi-tki-te- as a 'verb', which, in the terminology used in the present work, may be described as a verbal-complex. That yi-tki-te-lē: cannot contain a place-name is supported by its parallelism with n-tke-lē, whatever this may mean, in the next two lines in the same inscription. In the same way we took the latter group for a participle built on the verb -tke- prefixed with n-, so it seems logical that we should treat -tki-, which is after all one of the unquestioned variants of tke, as a verb prefixed with yi- and suffixed with -te-, the ending -lē, in both groups, being participial. [24]

Receiving e-, y(ē,i)-, n-, a-ki- and t- and suffixed with -te(ē), the simple word forms the verbal complexes and participles e-tk-b-x-ṭ Ak I 38 OS, where -b-x- is the plural dative, (amnptes) yē-tk-tē: Tañ 48 OS, yi-tki-te-lē: Ins 132, discussed above, n-tk-te Tañ 6, a-ki-tk-tē Tañ 123 and T-TK-TE-Y B638. [25] On the other hand, prefixed with y- and suffixed with -tē, the compound-verb forms y-tk-ide-tē-wi: Mer 7 6,9,12 LS.[26]

This is evidently a verbal complex despite the final -wi, which normally occurs with -tē when this conceals -s-lē.[26]

It is obvious that Np-tk-k-te @ B 379 has np-, thought to be the name of "Anubis", followed by a verbal complex consisting of the verb tk-, -k- and -te, all of the three elements recurring prefixless in tk-ke-te: Mer 51 3 L S1 and, prefixed with e-, in e-tk-ke-te Tur 15,16 LS.[27]

II iv a In the Arminna West versions of Formula J pi-ši-tk-b-xe-ke-s Arm W 2 LS, p-ši-tke-ke-s Arm W 3a LS, pi-ši-tk-ke-s Arm W 1b,3b LS, pi-ši-tk-<k>e-s Arm W 1a LS and of Formula D pi-tk-ke-s Arm W 3b LS we have tk(e), accompanied by prefixes and suffixes well known to us from the verbal complexes of the other formulae, occupying the place of tx. As was mentioned above [28], these verbal complexes give us insight into the possible contents of Š-tki-ñ-ye(i) B 535, using the simple form of the verb, and Ši-tk-id @ B 506 and -p-tk-ide, in Wēš-p-tk-ide @ B 655, employing the compounded form of the verb.

AB(A-B)-XR-TKE B 6 can only be explained as combining both the verbs -xr- and -tke with ab(a-b)-.[29]

The prefix ab(a-b)- perhaps either consists of two components, i.e. a- and b-, or merely -b- as a verbal prefix with a prothetic a-. With -tke, the element -b- is known from b-n-tke: Mer 8 3 L S1.

Owing to the apparent connexion between the verbal complex pi-tk(-ke-s) Arm W 3b and -p-tk(-ide), in Wēš-p-tk-ide @, the relationship between wēš- and -p-tk-ide must be one between a noun and its following verbal complex. On this analogy, the compound -tke-l, in Wēš-tke-l @ B 656, should be the prefixless participial counterpart of -p-tk-ide, only that it is built on the simple form of the verb.[30]

Replacing wēš- in the last two names with -mni-, making this word follow, rather than precede, the compound -p-tk-ide without its prefix -p-, we obtain TK-IDE-MNI (H) £ B 595 [31], which will be a prefixless, but reversed, parallel of Wēš-p-tk-ide @, and mni-tke-l (H) Ins 1, which will be an exact parallel of Wēš-tke-l @. The obvious conclusion therefore is that -mni is added to a prefixless verbal complex in the first name and to a participle in the group. As a corollary, mni-tke Ins 94 1 L may contain mni- suffixed with a prefixless verbal complex. Though this analysis is very plausible, it should not preclude an alternative interpretation of the group with mni-

A8 II iv a - b

The alternative way of looking at mni-tke(-l) is suggested by the analogy of the construction of N-TK-MNI £ B 390 and AMNI-N-TK-L-B-TE £ [32], mentioned above. It may be recalled that n-tk- in these names was explained as a verbal complex acting as a noun, and that the construction of n-tk+mni- and amni+n-tk- was suggested to be N+N. If mni-tke be considered as a prefixless form of the latter, i.e. a reshuffled version of the former, then the construction of this group may likewise be N+N, -tke-l, in mni-tke-l, being perhaps a noun defined with -l.[33] What the relationship between mni- and -tke(-l) is is something that cannot be easily determined, and it might well be one of a noun (i.e. the proper name mni-) in direct genitive with a defined, or undefined, noun (i.e. -tke(-l)).

Though the component -tk- accepts treatment as a noun defined by -r, in Tk-r @ B 597, defined and in direct genitive with the word for 'ruler' [34], in Qere-tk-r @ B 454, it seems to me best that -tk- should be accorded the same treatment as that of -tke- in Wēs-tke-l @ B 656 above, namely a verb, or a prefixless verbal complex, changed into a participle by -r.[34]

II iv b At this juncture it is perhaps relevant to

mention the name P-q-šē-tx-rē-r @ C 24.[35] Apparently participial in construction, due to the ending -rē-r [35], this name, without -q- and -rē-r, furnishes a suitable version of p-ši-tx Formula G Kar 14 8-9 LS and pi-ši-tx-, in pi-ši-tx-k-te Formula D2 Kar 36 17-18 LA. Its importance lies in the fact that its compound -tx-r(ē-r) corresponds to the form with -tk- as -tk-r(ē-r), found as the name Tk-r @ B 597 and as a part of Qēre-tk-r @ B 454 and Wi-tk-rē-r @ B 664. [36] It is for this reason that -tk-r(ē-r) in these names has been thought to be a participle rather than a defined noun.

II v It has been noticed that, whether used in its simple or compounded form [37], the verb -tk- occurs, in certain verbal complexes and in one instance in a participial construction, prefixed with we(i)-.[37] With the simple verb this element is present in Wi-tk-rē-r @ B 664 [38] and with the compound-verb it recurs in Wi-tk-ide @ B 663, seemingly a verbal complex, and We-tk-id-l-be @ B 648, which appears to be a participle.[38] Itself preceded by š-, it is separated from the compound-verb by -y- [38] in Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE B 539.[38]

III i One has the impression that tke is used as a substantive in juxtaposition with the apparently nouns mrē,

A8 III i - ii

to yield TKE-MRĒ-LI B 593, and tēre, to produce the place-name tke-tēre, known from tke-tēre-te: Far 4 8-9 LS (=HinD 308), tke-tēre-te-li: Far 21 26 TA (=HinD 296) and tke-tēre-ṭe-le-b: Ins 129 14-15 LS (=HinD 292)[39].

III ii In the numerical inscription he is at present studying, Dr Macadam found a word written tk repeated profusely and terminating words. Because of its occurrence more than once in one and the same sentence, and even in adjacent words, and the nature of the inscription in question, he thinks tk here is perhaps itemising.

A8 THE COMPONENT tk(e,ē,i), tkk - FOOTNOTES

1. See JEA 53 168-9. For tkk and tkē see sub-division II i b & n.17 below. According to Zyhlarz, tk has two different meanings. In Kush 4 25 b, he thinks it means 'foot', but there seems to be no reason why it should have such a meaning. If tkk, which he vocalizes as *taka-k and translates as 'dein Leben' (= your (2nd. pers.masc.sing.) life), op.cit. 27c, is the same thing as the group tk-k, studied in II iii, this appears to be no other than a verbal complex. It is difficult to prove or deny that tk means 'life'. See the discussion of n-tk(e,i) in II ii & nn.20,21 below.

2. We have 1 of Formula C (Arm W), 6 of Formula D1 (Kar), 2 of Formula D2 (Kar), 5 of Formula G (1 Kar, 1 Sh, 1 Medik (=Ins 89) and 1 Es-sabua (=Ins 87) and 1 Ins 137.) Excluding Ins 137 (using tx) and Ins 135 (using tk), because of their unknown provenance, all these inscriptions (using tx) as well as the Arminna West versions of FormulaeD and J (using tk(e)), come from the regions between Serra West south and Medik north. Therefore one wonders whether the use of these Formulae, which are essentially the same only differing from one

another in employing different first constants (see All I n.1 for this expression), is peculiar to this particular area in Lower Nubia. As regards Ins 135 and Ins 137, the former was purchased by Borchardt at Luxor and the latter by Schaefer at Aswan. See M II 58.

3. See A12 III iv a, IV vi.

4. See A7 I i, II i b.

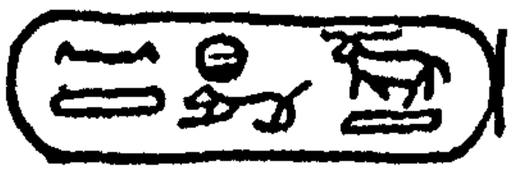
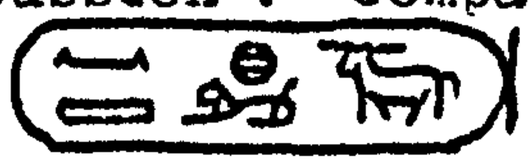
5. See n.7 below on -ni-.

6. See under III i below on tke as a noun, also A12 III ii a & nn.33, III iv a, IV vi & n.76.

7. See A5 V i & n.36 for more on yi-ni-txe-lē. Zyhlarz, ZyM 456, rightly identifying -txe- here with the verb of the above-mentioned funerary formulae, thinks that -ni- points to the 'Southern Hamitic' passive forms prefixed with n- and, op.cit. 461 D 1 c, translates -ni-txe- as 'to be offered'. Though one agrees with Zyhlarz that this verb has something to do with the idea of "offering", in view of the employment of -tx- in the funerary formula, one accepts Hintze's rejection, HinSS 369, of the claim about the function of -ni-, since this does not seem to be anywhere supported in Meroitic. See n.2 above for the instances of -tx- in the funerary formulae

and the end of the present sub-division for more on its meaning.

8. See sub-division I ii below on the subject of the compound-verb tk-id(e), A12 IV vi on the names ending in -ye and A11 IV iv a,b (end) on the names prefixed with, and for the function of, mhe- and mli-.

9. Since the provenance of this inscription is unknown, one acknowledges that this fact is not completely in favour of the above conclusion. See n.2 above. It is not more than a coincidence that, in two of its spellings, the name of AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE should not only have -x- as a writing of -k- but also have it in the same component under discussion ? Compare  JEA 35 pl. xv 9a,  9b, in both of which the name of amn-, being understood, is left out. See sub-division II ii & n.20 on the name.

10. See Zyhlarz's observation about the meaning of txe in n.7 above. For -l(e,ē,i), -r(ē-r) and -y(e,i) as means of forming participles and relative sentences see A3 I, III i a,b, A19 II ii, A12 IV i a ff. For convenience, the groups and names formed by these suffixes and the verb, accompanied or unaccompanied by its verbal prefixes and suffixes, have been treated below as participles, without mentioning their

alternative interpretation, even where this was also possible, as relative sentences. Pointing out both analyses whenever they were possible, in addition to its being cumbersome, would have made the comparisons made below between such constructions and verbal complexes less clear.

10a See the previous sub-division for the comparison of tk-id(e) with th-(i)de. See also A2 I ii a,b for more on the subject of compound-verbs in general and A2 I iii a-c for wi-de in particular and for a standardized way of splitting this as well as similarly compounded verbs.

11. See sub-division II iv a & n.28 for references for p(i)- and ši-.

12. See A2 I i.

13. See A2 I ii a.

14. See sub-division II v below for the names with wi-, A3 III i a,b on l- and -ye as participial endings, also A3 IV vii for more on Wēš-tke-l and A12 IV vi for Š-tki-ñ-ye(i). As an adverbial infix in the last name, -ñ- probably functions like the one studied in A1 I i,iii, IV ii. More is said about these names in sub-divisions III iv a,b.

15. See A7 VI i for the forms with the plural dative.

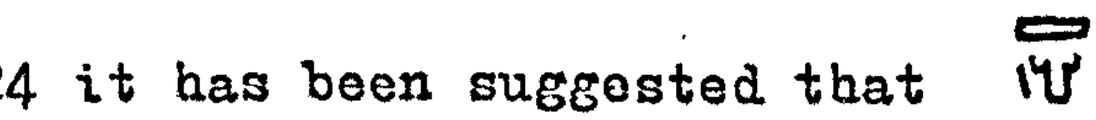
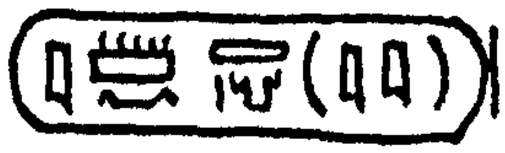
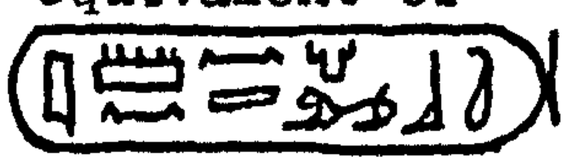
The last name and the group previous to it presumably have the datival postposition suppressed. See A7 VI ii d, A3 II iii for probably the same phenomenon, also A12 II iv for the verbal complexes with ye(i)-. For the conclusion that tere- here is perhaps the name of "Hathor" see sub-division II iii & n.26.

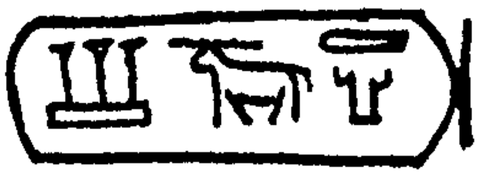
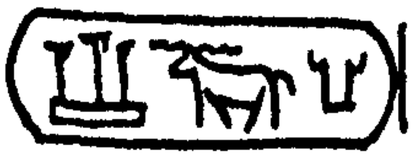
16. See sub-division I ii on the compound-verb. For the names with -ye see A12 IV vi and for the restoration of the last name see A2 III v b.

17. The elements x-, axe- and mhe- may alternatively be the predicates in adjectival sentences, of which the participle -tke-lē and the verbal complexes -tkk-id, -tk-ide and -y-ñ-tkē, these accepting rendering as infinitives or gerunds, may be the subjects. See A7 IV i a, ii, iii for more on the alternative views about the above names and the group. See sub-division II ii below for the name with -y-ñ-tkē, A3 IV vii for more on the participle with -lē, and A11 IV iv c (end) for more on the name with mhe-.

18. See A6 V ii c & n.46 for Griffith's rendering of x-tke-lē. As may be seen under the references in the previous footnote, the view taken of this group disagrees with his interpretation.

19. See A5 IV ii d for the group with -te-, A12 II iv for the groups with y- and A3 IV vii for the participles.

20. See sub-division II iii below for n-tk-te, and sub-division II i b for more on AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ. This name is the only instance of its kind showing -ē as the vowel of -tk-. See also A3 IV vii for the name with šbē-. Under A12 III i & n.24 it has been suggested that  in  Nu 26 might be transcribed into Meroitic as tke or teke and the whole name as Amni-tke-(ye)* or Amni-teke-(ye)*. The parallelism between -tke- and -teke- in x-tke- and x-tek-, to which attention has been drawn in the previous sub-division, seems to me to indicate a relationship between the two words, and consequently to make either of these components a suitable equivalent of . But the transcription of  Nu 10, according to one writing of the name (JEA 35 pl.xv 9c) as AMNI-N-TK-L-B-TE, in which is clearly the equivalent of -tk(e,i)-, is in favour of -tke-, or any one of its variants. For more on this king's name see below and A3 II iii. Since -ñ- in ŠBĒ-Ñ-TKE-L is believed to be a mere prefix and -l a participial ending, if the relationship between šbē- and -tke

in this name is required to be one between a noun and a prefixless verbal complex, one only has to remove these elements to obtain ŠBĒ-TKE *. This sounds very much like the name of King  Ku 18, generally vocalized as SHEBITKU. See JEA 35 147 no.69. The equivalence between the hypothetical and real versions of the name appears to me to deserve consideration. Šbē- itself might be present in Ṣbē-ye @ B 474, it being apparently a variant of šb-, known in Šb-ye B 478, both of which names have been mentioned in A12 III ii a & n.32, and ŠB-L-YE B 475, cited in A12 III iii. But it might be argued that from the comparison of with  Ku 15, the signs and appear to be separable and that does not seem to be a single component. This, admittedly, is a sound objection, but on the other hand one may reply that, while in the former name we might have the probable equivalents of šbē- and -tke, in the latter name we might have the equivalents of šbē- and the adverbial (?) suffix -k(e), the similarity between in both names being perhaps merely graphic. Accordingly, whereas in the former name the same sign might be part of a word, in the latter it might be a component in

its own right. This view suggests ŠBĒ-KE* as a probable transcription of the second name. See A1 II i for the suffix -k(e) with nouns.

21. See A3 II iii & n.10 on AMN—N-TK-L-B-TE and the text with l-b-x-te, also A7 VI iv c, A6 II i a,b on -š-xe, šē-ni and š-ke. Compare Yi-bre-te-y B 689 and Š-BRE-YE B 476 (A12 IV viii & n.79) and Tni-k-r @ B 614 (A14 II iii), in all of which -bre-and tni- are believed to be verbalized nouns. See mni-tke(-l) in sub-division II iv a below.

22. See A1 I ii, iv for -k(e)-, A5 V i for -te(ē) and A3 III i c, A1 I iv on some aspects of this type of -s.

23. See A5 V iv. At first sight tkk might be mistaken for another instance of the first member of the compound-verb -tkk-id, in AXE-TKK-ID, quoted in sub-division II i b above. The existence of tk-ke-te: Mer 51 3 L S1 and e-tk-ke-te Tur 15,16 LS, in my opinion, indicates that tk-k is their variant without -te or e-, where this is employed. For teri possibly being the name of "Hathor" see n.26 below.

24. See A3 IV vii.

25. See A5 V iv. See also A7 VI i for more on the group with the plural dative, A12 II iv for the group with

yē-, sub-division II ii for the names and the groups with -n-, A1 I i 2,6 for the group with a-ki- and A5 IV ii d, and A12 IV vi for the name with t-.

26. See A5 VII i-iii and A3 III i c on the -tē concealing -s-lē. Alternating in the same inscription with ye-s-bē-he-tē-wi: Mer 7 4,7-8, 10-11 LS (see A7 VI iii d for ye-s-bē-he), which terminates sentences beginning with the name of Isis, this group ends sentences beginning with the names of Ḥorus and, in one instance, Amon of Napata. But both groups are the only ones in these sentences that have the semblances of verbal complexes despite the final -wi, the presence of which seems no detriment to their verbal function. The association of a verbal complex containing this compound-verb with a deity's name (Ḥorus and Amon of Napata) compares with that of the simple verb again with Amon of Napata in amnptes yē-tk-tē: Tañ 48. For this reason it seems obvious that the word tere(i), preceding the participle (tere ki:) tk-b-xe-lē:, cited in II i a, and the verbal complex (teri:)tk-tē:, quoted at the beginning of the present sub-division, should be the name of "Hathor". This and the above-mentioned theophorous groups using the simple and

compounded forms of tk are comparable with the theophorous names with wēš- and -mni- discussed in sub-divisions I ii, II ii, Compare the name with np- "Anubis" (?) soon to be quoted.

27. See n.23 above and A5 V iv. Comparing the above name with the theophorous names containing wēš- and mni-, referred to at the end of n.26, and also Np-t-d-le @ B 378 and Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 377 with the theophorous names using the verb -d-, in its different forms, studied in A2 II ii, III iii a,b & n.95, one seems justified in taking np- for the name of "Anubis". Anubis is familiar in the representations on the offering tables sometimes accompanying Isis, Nephthys and Mert (?) (or an inundation figure, described by Griffith as 'the goddess Mert'. See Far 21 'photo'). See Mer 25,27, Meroe pl.lx 1,3, and Mer 49, op.cit. pl. lix 2, CR 16 35 Fig 8.

28. See sub-division I ii on the compound-verb, also A4 II i for the name and the groups receiving p(i)- alone, A4 II iv for those receiving p(i)- with -ši- and A6 IV iv b for those names and groups receiving š(i)- with or without p(i)-. More is said about Š-tki-ñ-ye(i) in A12 IV vi.

29. See A21 III ii on the name and also sub-division II ii above for the group.

30. See sub-division I ii for more on these names and A3 IV vii on the part of speech of -tke-l.

31. The medial -t- in TK-T-ID-MNI & B 598 hinders the complete identification of this name with TK-IDE-MNI. Nevertheless, the names are very closely alike and might be versions of one another. See M I 73. For more on the name and the group with -l see A3 IV vii.

32. See II ii & n.21 above.

33. See A3 III iii.

34. See A1 II i n.18 on qēre, A3 III i a, A19 II i on -r as the definite article or a participial ending and A3 IV vii also A19 III for more on these names.

35. See A3 III i a for -rē-r as a participial ending, A4 II iii, iv and A6 IV iv b for more on the name and the related verbal complexes.

36. See sub-division II iv a & n.34 for Tk-r and the related name and sub-division II v for Wi-tk-rē-r.

37. See sub-division I ii & n.14 on the subject of the compound-verb and for a brief mention of we(i)-. As regards this component, there is every reason to believe that we(i)- is the enigmatic - one might

almost say superfluous - element that is frequently found beginning or terminating certain verbal complexes and participles. See, for example, A12 II ii & n.7.

38. See sub-division I ii & n.14. See also II iv b and A19 III & n.10 for Wi-tk-rē-r and compare WI-TIK-RĒ-R, Hintze's reading of WI-BI-K-RĒ-R B 658, mentioned under A19 III n.11. For Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE see A6 IV iv b & n.32, c, A12 IV v n.74 and for more on We-tk-id-l-be see A3 IV vii.

39. See A3 III iii for the name with -mrē-, and A6 V ii b, A9 II iii, A12 III v a, A5 VIII i & n.70 for more instances of mrē and its possible variant mr(i). For tke-tēre as a place-name see Griffith's rendering of the groups in which it occurs in <u>ReoCh 570, 581</u>; <u>M II 55</u>. The composition of the place-name is very interesting, for the addition of n- and -mni to its first component yields an approximate form of the name N-TK-MNI B 390, studied in sub-division II ii above, while the addition of only mni- to its second part produces the name of his queen Mni-tēre £ B 328. The component -tēre is probably related with, or a variant of, -tr and -t(e)rē- of A22 I.

A9 I i

THE COMPONENTS abr(i), b(e)r, bere(ē,i), bre.

I i Inasmuch as abr(i) and br interchange, so do b(e)r, bere(ē,i) and bre. As will be shown later, though abr(i) and br, meaning 'man', JEA 3 123, differs in meaning from b(e)r, bere(ē,i) and bre, the meaning of which could be 'to remain'...etc., yet there are cases, to be mentioned below in their proper places, when br appears to have both meanings, i.e. when it is seen varying with abr(i) on the one hand and with the rest on the other.

One finds abr: in Ak I 5,10,12 OS, abr-wi Ob II 9, written abri- in ABRI-LH-LI (?) El, "Abri, the elder" or 'the great man (i.e. the master)'[1], and br: Ins 94 14,28,29 L, having a plural form as br-le-b: Ins 94 20 L. An -s is sometimes suffixed to abr- yielding abr-s Serra W 1 1-2 LS, present in abr-s-l Ak I 4,8,11,13 OS, Tañ 4,130 OS, abr-s-l-w Ak I 23,34 OS, abr-s-wi Ak II 3-4 OS. The loss of the initial a- in the forms without it (i.e. br) needs no explanation since it is not unusual in Meroitic to leave the prothetic a- out.[2] However, in the case of the one in Ar-br-ye B66 one may say that it appears to have lost its a- because of its medial position, for the name looks as if it is ABR-YE (?) B8[2] prefixed with ar-.[2] The same thing might be said about it in Are-qe-br @ B71 [2], mhē-br-l Far 21 22-23 TA, Mlē-qēre-br @ £ B294 and

A9 I i-ii

md-qēr-br Far 41 6 L B1 (=HinD 232). In the last three examples, we see -br preceded by the adjective mhē- 'plentiful', in the first instance, and by the word qēr(e) 'ruler' [2], that is itself preceded by the adjective mlē 'good' and md-, apparently related to the word indicating the 'mde-relationship', in the second and third instances respectively.

I ii In the case of Š-WE-(Y)I-BR B 537 and I-br @ B203, the latter one of which seems to be composed of the last two components of the former, one is not sure whether -br here is the same word as, or a derivative of, the one meaning 'man' or the other meaning 'to remain'. Whatever it is, from the comparison of the construction of the first name with that of Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE B 539, where -tk-ide is believed to be a compound-verb prefixed with -y-, the particle -we- and š-, it becomes apparent that -br, in both names containing it, appears to be used as a verb receiving the same elements in the first one of them,[3] Notice that these prefixes find their parallels in š-t-x-ñ-bere-ke:, ẇ-ber-te, w-t-br-te and ye-ber-wi.[3] The compound š-we-(y)i- might then be formed by the occurrence with -br of all the three prefixes. Accordingly, Hintze's view HinSS 360, that -br in

the first name is meant for (a)br 'man', which implies that -br is employed as a noun, does not seem to be wholly correct.

At this juncture one must mention Zyhlarz's conclusion, ZyM 427,459, that Meroitic uses -ye to distinguish the feminine (grammatical) gender, and that, op.cit.427, the addition of this -ye to masculine neames ending in -r, presumed by Griffith, Kar vi 36, to be characteristic of masculine names, weakens -r under its influence, which will be assimilated with it.[4] Zyhlarz uses Š-we-yi-b-ye B 538 as an example in which he thinks such a thing happened, and which he considers to be the feminine counterpart of Š-WE-YI-BR. Though it appears to be true that -r- in this name is weakened and assimilated, such a phenomenon, so far as I can see, is peculiar to this name and is by no means universal. I agree with Hintze's rejection of such a claim, and add to the instances he cites, HinSS 359, the feminine name Ar-br-ye, analysed in I i above as ar- prefixed to ABR-YE (?), which is most likely to be the word abr 'man' and -ye.[5] Although its part of speech in this name is different, since it appears to function as a noun, yet (a)br is essentially the same component here as in Š-WE-(Y)I-BR, and it is unaffected by the addition of -ye.[5]

Br- is the initial word in BR-TĒ-YE B 143, and

A9 I ii

BR-TRE B 145, also written BR-TR-YE and Br-tr ©.[6] Finding abr-s alongside abr, as may be seen in the citations in sub-division I i above, makes one wonder whether or not the form with -s is involved in BR-TĒ-YE, i.e. BR-S-LĒ-YE.[7] Besides, this name and BR-TR-YE are interesting parallels of Kdi-tē-ye B 223 and Kdi-tr-ye B 224[8], for whereas the first pair adds -tē-ye and -tr-ye to the word for 'man', the second pair adds the same elements to the word for 'woman'. But Kdi-tē-ye accepts splitting as Kdi-s-lē-ye and rendering as, literally, "one who is a sister".[8] It therefore sounds logical that BR-TĒ-YE should accept splitting as BR-S-LĒ-YE. Because kdi-s means 'sister', Kar vi 66 n.2, the obvious question one will ask oneself is whether (a)br-s means "brother". This, unfortunately, cannot be answered in the affirmative, since br-s- is nowhere found as a word of filiation in the funerary inscriptions, where it would have been used had it had such a meaning. Nevertheless the constant appearance of abr-s- and kdi-s- in association with each other amongst the descriptive epithets of Akinidad and Tañyideamani strongly suggests that the phrases containing them are perhaps claims to superior royal lineage by brother-and-sister marriage.

The existence of abr-s along with abr compares

A9 I ii - II i

with that of kdi-s with kdi (A10 I i, I ii b), mk-s with mk (A16 I i, II), qēre-s with qēre, also qērē-s with qērē, and mde-s with mde.[9]

So much for (a)br and abri 'man'.

II i In BR-XE-T(S-L) B 141, BER-XI-L B 125, š-ber-xi: (in the context amnp kek: šēr:š-ber-xi:i-ple-te: Tañ 49-50 OS) and -br-x- in w-br-x-mlē Mer 13 1 L Gr, is evidence for the interchange not only of br- and ber-, but also of -xe-, -xi- and -x-.[10] If BR-ḤE-TE(S-LE)-Y B 142, suggestible as a reading by the existence of bre-h 1 ni: Serra 15 LS, be preferred to BR-ŠE-TE-Y one again has the same initial component followed by -ḥe- as a variant spelling of -x(e,i)-.[11] Should -x-mlē in the last group be an undefined form of (a)x-mlē-l(i) of Formula C, the component -x(e,i)-, and consequently -ḥe-, would be treated as a noun meaning "boon, benefit, offering",....etc.[12] Alternatively, it might be the dative, as seems to be suggested by š-ber-xi:, in which the compound š-ber- is perhaps a variant writing of š-bre- in the participle Š-BRE-YE B 476.[13] If so, w-br-x-, in w-br-x-mlē, compares with the verbal complexes using -br- with the particle w-, quoted below and the whole group will be considered as employing -mlē as an

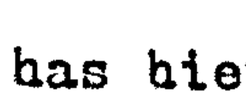
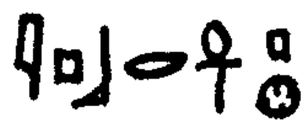
adverbial phrase, while BER-XI-L will appear to be a participle containing a prefixless version of s̆-ber-xi:.[14] But, though one cannot give any logical reason, one has the feeling that it is best still to analyse each one of BER-XI-L, BR-XE-T(S-L) and BR-ḤE-TE(S-LE)-YE as two juxtaposed nouns receiving -l(e) with or without either, or both, of -s- and -ye.[14]

Comparing w-br-x-mlē with ẇ-ber-te: Ibr 33-34 OS, w-t-br-te: Ak I 23,33 OS, t-bre-te: Ak I 22,32, and -t-br-s̆, in Meti-t-br-s̆ @ B 271, one has more instances of br, ber and bre being written for one another.[15] Notice that w-t-br-te contains -br- prefixed with both w- and -t- occurring separately in the rest of the groups and in the name. One might perhaps take the prefix -t- here for -ti- and -te- in teri-ti-bre: Tañ 17-18 OS. and teri-te: Tañ 2.[15] Furthermore, the compound -bre-te in t-bre-te above seems to be present in the participle Yi-bre-te-y B 689, in which -te- is the well-known verb suffix [16], and the compound t-br- in w-t-br-te, slightly varying from t-bre-, might well be preserved in MĒ-T-BR B 277.[16] Mē-, thus left over in the last name, occurs with -beri-, proven below (II iii) as being meant for -b(e)r-, in Mē-ñ-beri-s̆i B 275.[16]

II ii As regards the identity, both graphic and in sense, of ber and bere, this appears to me attestible from studying nl:ber-wi Ins 95 2 L Gr, nl-w:ber-wi: Ins 122 4-5 L, nl-w:ber-ke-lē: Ins 121 2 L, ye-ber-wi: Ins 123 4-5 L, bere-ke-l Ins 51 3-4 O Gr, 52 2-3 O Gr, bere-k-n-wi Ins 94 18 and š-t-x-ñ-bere-ke: Tañ 83-84 OS. [17]

With the exception of the instances Ins 51,52,94 and Tañ 83-84, all the rest of these groups are found following the name of 'Isis of Philae (and the Abaton)'. Griffith, M II 52, thought 'piously' suitable as a rendering of ber-wi. Studying the inscriptions, in which these groups occur, in the light of the Demotic graffiti containing the words rn.f mn m-b3ḥ X(deity) 'his name remain before X (deity)', Zyhlarz, ZyM 433 5 b, thinks that -ber- means 'da sein' (= to be there). Hintze, HinSS 368, thinks it simply means 'here', and Dr Macadam, MacFI 44, points out "that the root ber looks uncommonly like mār 'be, remain, endure', in Saho and 'Afar". From the above instances one has the impression that -ber(e)- may be verbalized such as it is in ye-ber-wi and bere-ke-n-wi, and changed into participles by -l(ē) such as it is in ber-ke-lē and bere-ke-l. Therefore, I think of it as a verb, as it is taken by Zyhlarz and Macadam, and not as a mere adverb, as it is thought

to be by Hintze.

The group ḥ-n-berē-n-w: Ibr 37 OS seems to contain forms of -x- and -ñ- in š-t-x-ñ-bere-ke: and of -n-wi in bere-k-n-wi above, thus permitting the conclusion that -berē- might also be added to the variant spellings of this component. Consequently, one suggests that the component under discussion is at least graphically identical with the one in Aberē-te-h-te @ B1 and BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE B 124[18], written with an initial a- in the former name. But (a)berē-, in these names, especially in the first one, is known as a place-name from the group mni berē-te (H) Ins 31, translated by Griffith, M I 64, as 'Amon in Berē'.[18] The known Meroitic place-name that sounds similar to (a)berē- is abēre-pi-, the name of Musawwarat, known from the text ape-de-mk-i abēre-pi-te-l MS 31, HinLM 20, differing substantially from the above place-name only in having -pi-. This has hieroglyphic versions  , and  , Loc.cit. Hintze wondered whether, for 'aesthetic' reasons, there was a kind of metathesis resulting in the graphic transposition of -p-, and whether ibrp was the correct sequence of the letters. Priese, MIO 14 170, considers the last of the above three hieroglyphic writings of the place-name to be the correct one, explaining

the presence of -p- between i̇- and -b- in it as an oversight on the part of the scribe and the final -p as the correct one. After the comparison of the word abēre with Nubian and Kunama verbs and adjectives meaning 'to be content, rich', 'powerful', 'satisfied', and of abēre-pi- with Nubian ber-bu 'to be rich, live in plenty', he, op.cit. 174-5, renders the place-name as 'Der (an Wasser ?) Reiche' (=the place rich in water) or 'Der Mächtige' (= the mighty one). With the first meaning compare my interpretation of tē-l-k-te made in A7 III iii n.21 and thought of before Priese's article was written.

II iii Lastly one comes to the interchange between ber and bre on the one hand and beri on the other. It may be recalled that in sub-division II i MĒ-T-BR B 277 and Mē-ñ-beri-š̌i B 275 have been quoted as examples of the occurrence of mē- together with -br and -beri-. One here draws attention to the presence, in n-x-bre-s̆: Ins 94 12 L and -ñ-beri-š̌i of the latter name, of the components -n(ñ)-, encountered in sub-division II ii in ḥ-n-berē-n-w: and s̆-t-x-ñ-berē-ke:, and -s̆i- in X-BRE-Š̌I-BLE (?) B 173, assumed to be written -s̆ē- in ber-s̆ē-wi Ins 94 15 L. If it be accepted that -s̆ē(i)- is the same component as s̆- in

Š-BRE-YE B476, which looks like a participle employing š- instead of yi- and omitting the infix -te- of Yi-bre-te-y B689, then one may perhaps consider the compounds -beri-ši, -bre-ši and ber-šē-, on the one hand, and š-bre- on the other as reshuffled variant forms.[19] With yi- in this name compare ye- in ye-ber-wi: Ins 123 4-5 L and for the interchangeability of yi- and š- compare Yi-te-li B708 and Ši-te-li B504.[20] The inclusion here of -bre- warrants the mentioning of Beli-li-bre @ B120 in which beli-li- is believed to be a defined noun.[21] Furthermore, if

Mer la 2, vocalized by Griffith, as 'Bareshakh', Meroe 59 (2), be split as bre-š-x, one obtains a reshuffled version of x-bre-ši-, in X-BRE-ŠI-BLE (?).[22] Should there by any link between these two, this will consequently suggest a relationship between bre-š- (in bre-š-x) on the one hand and -beri-ši and ber-šē on the other.

The comparison of X-BRE-ŠI-BLE (?) and PRE-ŠI-BLE B428 shows that the former name is an extension of the latter by means of x-, and that -bre- and pre- probably mean the same thing, since the interchange between b- and p- is not unfamiliar in Meroitic.[23] The only instance of pre- I know of is in the descriptive word

A9 II iii - III

pre-mn-ṯh(ṣ-lh) Serra W 2 10-11 LS 'a great pre of Amon'.[24]

The interchange between m and b in Meroitic, and indeed in other languages, being possible, one wonders whether there is any relationship between b(p)re-ši- here, beri-ši- and ber-šē on the one hand and mrē-š(ē,i)- in MRĒ-ŠI-K-LI B 340, Mrē-ṣ-mete-ye @ B 341, wte mrē-šē (H) Ka Cone and wte mrē-ši:Tañ 16 OS. [25] If wte is what Monneret de Villard proposes it to be, namely that with mrē-šē it means 'ben vivente' (= well-being), 'felicemente vivente' (= happily-living) [25], Aeg. 17 101-3, i.e. wte has something to do with 'life', as is remarked in Kawa I 102, and the idea of 'endurance, permanence' be accepted as being perhaps expressed by mrē (and also ber(e)), then one sees the plausibility of Dr Macadam's suggestion, loc.cit., that wte mrē-šē may be the equivalent of Egyptian 'nḫ ḏt.

III From the above discussion one realizes that the component br interchanges with abr(i) on the one hand, and with ber(e,ē,i) and bre on the other. These are different entities. Whereas abr(i), br, is a noun meaning 'man', br(e), variant ber(e,ē,i), is a different noun that may be verbalized. As a verb the latter component is assumed to mean 'to be, remain, endure'.

A9 THE COMPONENTS abr(i), b(e)r, bere(ē,i), bre

FOOTNOTES.

1. The first rendering is in line with the Egyptian habit of distinguishing members of one and the same family, having the same name, by adding to their names such adjectives as wṛ(.t), '3(.t) 'elder', ḥry ỉb 'middle', nḏs(.t), nxn(.t), šrỉ(.t), xm 'junior, younger'. RaPN II 10 & nn.3-15,11 & nn.3-4. The alternative rendering is Dr Macadam's which he will point out in his publication of the object upon which this name is found, in RCK VI.

2. On the omission of the initial a- see A4 II ii, A15 I i, and on the analysis of Ar-br-ye and Are-qe-br see A13 V ii & n.15. As is pointed out under the last reference, ar- and are- are variant writings. ABR-YE (?) itself is comparable with the Demotic Ȧbly Kalabsha 4 14, GriD 1 216 477, written Abl Philae 55 3, op.cit. 216 476. Compare this part of the incomplete name ...br-ye @ D with -br-ye of Ar-br-ye. On qēr(e) meaning 'ruler' see MacN 56, 58, also Haycock in CSSH 7 no.4 471 n.34, and for a general discussion of the word see, especially, BIFAO 50 183-7 and MIO 14 188-9. See A11 IV iii, VII i on mhē- and mlē-.

3. See A6 IV iv b & n.32, iv c & n.36, iv d. On w(e)- as a particle see A2 II iii b & n.42, and for the groups containing -b(e)r- and -bere- with s̆-, w- and yi- see II i below.

4. See A12 III i.

5. See I i & n.2.

6. See A22 I i, II ii for -tr(e) and the names, about which more is said in A12 III iii, v a.

7. See A5 VII i, A3 III ii a, A12 III v a.

8. See A10 II ii, A5 VII i, A12 III iii.

9. See A3 III i c & n.48.

10. See A7 II i a, v, A5 VII iv.

11. See II iii & n.22 for the reading with -s̆e- .

12. See n.10.

13. See II iii & n.19 below. For the datival postposition see A7 VI iii c.

14. See A5 VII iv, A3 III iii, A12 III v c. For -mlē as an adverbial phrase see A11 VI i.

15. See I ii & n.3 on w(e)-, A5 IV ii c for -t(e,i)- and A23 III iii for the name with meti-.

16. See A5 V vi for the constructions involving the verb suffix -te- and A12 II vii, IV viii for the name prefixed with yi- and suffixed with -y.

17. See I ii & n.3 for the reference for s̆- and II i & n.15 on -t-.

18. See A5 V i (end), vii, VI for Aberē-te-h-te @ and A5 IV ii d, VIII iii, A18 II for BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE. See also M I 64 n.1 for more on mni berē-te.

19. See A6 IV iv d & n.37, V i, ii c, A12 IV viii.

20. See A5 III i.

21. See A20 I, II i.

22. Griffith, Meroe 59 (2), makes the reservation that the final sign O 'might be merely a punctuation mark for ⁝ '. From the photograph, loc.cit.pl.xxxiv (bottom), this sign appears too big to be a mere punctuation mark. That the elements forming a place-name (or indeed the name of a people because we do not know whether the cartouches Mer la, b mention place-names or peoples) may be present in a personal name is nothing unusual. See what has been said about Aberē-te-h-te @ in II ii & n.18 above and DR (?) B 167 and Aderē @ B 14 in A2 III i a 1. If BR-Ṣ̆E-TE-Y, be read instead of BR-ḤE-TE-Y B 142, the compound br-ṣ̆e- will be a form of bre-s̆-, beri-s̆i- and ber-s̆ē mentioned above. See the alternative reading of the name in II i & n.14.

23. See A20 II iv.

24. MacFI 45.

25. See A6 V ii b & n.43. For more on Mrē-ṣ̌-mete-ye @ see A12 III v a and A23 III ii. The English translation of the Italian is Dr Macadam's.

THE COMPONENT kd, kde, kdi, kdi(-s)

I i Kd and kde are accepted variant forms of kdi, which was first suggested by Griffith, Kar vi 120, JEA 3 123,[1] to be the word for 'woman', sometimes modifying the meaning into 'lady (?)', M II 17. Though he was in two minds about the meaning of kdi-s (this is the same component with an -s), translating it as 'sister' or 'of the harim', Kar vi 120, he consistently used the translation 'sister (?)' throughout the discussion of the inscriptions of Karanog and Shablul.[1] These translations are now accepted by scholars, the latter being modified by Hintze, HinSS 371, HinD p.26, into a verb meaning 'to be sister'.[2]

Though kd(e) and kdi are identical in meaning and usage, so far as the writing of names is concerned, it is remarkable that the interchange between them is restricted to this sphere, for I have not as yet noted the former being used in descriptive phrases, whether meaning 'woman' or, after receiving -s, 'sister'. Such constructions as kd(e)-lē-wi* 'one who is a woman' and kd(e)-s-lē-wi* 'one who is a sister' are nowhere encountered.

Before everything else, in the discussion of this component I will examine the occurrences of kdi- and kdi-s in descriptive phrases.

I ii a Kdi- occurs in epithetic compounds, introducing or following names, and in participial constructions meaning "one who is (a) woman, lady (?)" (of). Since the examples known to us of the latter employment are from funerary inscriptions, the reference in the participle is always to the A-name which is the antecedent. I will study these employments in turn.

I have so far noted two types of such epithetic compounds. One of them is formed by kdi- and the honorific -qē, also spelt aq-, "noble" [3], in the combinations kdi-qē and kdi:aq-, "noble woman, lady", and the other is formed by -kdi suffixed to š-q- (i.e. š-qē-) in the combination š-q-kdi. [3] The difference between these two types of epithetic compounds is that whereas the former (kdi-qē(aq)) seems to employ kdi- as a noun qualified by -qē(aq), the latter (š-q-kdi) appears to contain š-qē-, as a single but compounded noun, qualified by -kdi.[3] Kdi-qē, translated by Griffith, Kar vi 120, as 'noble lady' [3], introduces the feminine A-names (B22) in NGa 14 2 LS, (B68) in Kar 61 1-2 L/TS and (B286) in Ins 87 1 LA, occurs in the course of the inscription Ins 47a O and seems to be present in Kdi-qē-wi-l[≋]-li B218, while kdi:aq- in kdi:aq-tē(s-lē)-ye-s 2 w Ins 94 24 L, in which aq- shows its initial a- owing to the

presence of the word-divider, appears to refer to Xrē-š-ye B181 and Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B706, the two nearest names to it, the feminine gender of which will consequently be determined.[3] For the retention of the initial a- when the word is, and its loss when it is not, separated by the word-divider from the preceding word to which it belongs, compare the behaviour of a- of aqe-, of which -qē and aq- are believed to be variants, in mte:aqe-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 23 4 LS (=HinD 71) and mte-qe-t(s-l)-ke-ni Kar 58a LS.[3]

The epithetic compound š-ṣ-kdi: Ins 15 L, Ins 94 15 L, following Kdi-mlē-ye B213, seems to be a way of writing š-qē-kdi*, in which case it might be the feminine counterpart of š-qē.

As regards the participial construction, this is formed by the addition of the participial suffix -lē- and the particle -wi, producing kdi-lē-wi Far 34 11 LA [4], Kar 79 10 L/TA, which, using the A-name as an antecedent, describes her as 'woman, lady (?) (of)' in relation to the name-bearer or the title-holder whose name or title precedes it, i.e., for example, "one who is a š-t-mde-s woman" or "one who is a ....-ing woman".[4]

I ii b The word kdi-s in the funerary inscriptions occurs in participial constructions of which the A-name is

again the antecedent.[5] The word itself is sometimes undefined as in kdi-[ṣ]-l GebDeb 5 LS (=HinD 259) [6], kdi-s-lē: Kar 124 12,14 LA, kdi-tē(s-lē): Kar 127 18-19 O Stte, kdi-s-lē-wi: Kar 101 10 LA, kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 8 6-7 L/TS, kdi-s-be-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 89 12 LS (=HinD 275), "one who is a sister (of)", or defined, as in kdi-te(s-le)-lē-wi: EKE 26 6-7 LA (=HinD 310) [6] and kdi-te(s-le)-be-tē(s-lē)-wi: Post 72 12 LS,"one who is the sister (of)", and defined but in the plural in kdi-te(s-le)-b-k-wi: Kar 67 14-15 LA '(those) who are the sisters (of)".[6] The fact that the word kdi-s- is defined in the latter examples clearly proves that it is a noun and not, as Hintze believes, a verb.[6] The elements -b-k- (in kdi-te(s-le)-b-k-wi) and -be-s- (in kdi-te(s-le)-be-tē(s-lē)-wi) indicate the plural, but in quite different circumstances. The former, as was observed by Griffith, Kar vi 40, means that the antecedent consists of more than one A-name, described as relatives (in the case of mother and sister[7]) of a single person, whereas the latter, as was shown by Hintze, HinSS 371, HinD p.4, means the opposite[7], i.e. only one A-name, described as relative (mother or sister) of several people. Therefore the groups will respectively mean "those who are the sisters (of)" ,and "one who is the sister(of) X,Y,Z...etc."[7]

II i In this sub-division I will study the names using kd(e,i)- as a noun, defined and undefined. Undefined, the component is suffixed with -ye in Kd(i)-ye B225 and with -yē- and -ñ in Kde-yē-ñ B207.[8] Because Kde-ye̤-t B208 and Kdi-ye are writings of the same name of the same person, one presumes that Kde-yē-te B208 might be yet another variant form thereof.[8] If it does not accept splitting as Kdi-s-lē-n-ye and rendering as "the sister", literally "one who is a sister", the name Kdi-tē-n-ye B222 appears to combine the same, or variant spellings of the component parts of the above names.[8]

If -b- in Kdi-b B210 and Kdi-b-ye @ B211, also spelt [Ḳ]DI-BE-Y (?), is of plurality, the meaning of these names will be "women, ladies", and we will then have a pair in the plural the latter member of which is parallel to Kd(i)-ye in the singular. One does not understand the idea these names express. Had the reading of -be- in [Ḳ]DI-BE-Y (?) not been certain, one would have preferred to read -b- as -tē- and the whole name as Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye so as to make it agree with B223 "the sister", studied in II ii below.[9]

Kdi-l B212 "the woman, lady", also occurs as a group in Tañ 57 OS, being the singular form of the

plural kdi-le-b: Ins 94 20 L.[10]

II ii In accordance with what has been said in I ii b above, Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye B 223 can hardly be expected not to mean "the sister", literally "one who is a sister". The presence of -n- in Kdi-tē-n-ye B222 makes one hesitate before splitting the medial -tē- as -s-lē- and identifying the name with the former.[11] Since they are built on the word for 'woman', compounded with other elements, the first name and Kdi-tr-ye B224 make a pair parallel to BR-TĒ(S-LĒ)-YE B143 and BR-TR-YE B145, built on the word for 'man' compounded with the same elements as those of kdi-.[12]

III i a In this section will be studied the names and groups containing the present component in juxtaposition with nouns, adjectives, verbal complexes and participles, or enclosed in verbal complexes and participles.

Juxtaposed with the nouns mk "god, lord"[13], in mk kdi-lh Ins 123 6 L, and apēt(e,i)- "envoy, commissioner"[13], in Apēt(i)-kde B56 and Apēte-kdi-yi B54, the component -kde(i) is usually thought to be an epithet deriving the feminine counterparts of these nouns, so that 'great goddess (?)', M II 52, and the "female envoy", or the like, might be the

meanings of the group and the name respectively. The same thing can be said about s̆-q̣-kdi, of sub-division I ii a, and Mete-kdi B266.[13] This is the thesis developed by Griffith and applied to descriptive groups followed by kdi-lē-wi, such as s̆-t-mde-s kdi-lē-wi Far 34 11 LA, which he translates as 'the female shatamazes'. This is a suitable translation that takes s̆-t-mde-s as a noun qualified by kdi-; in other words taking both the group and kdi-lē-wi as a compound-word made into a participle by means of -lē-wi 'one who'.[13] It seems to me that, while not rejecting Griffith's translation altogether, an alternative approach, also consistent with Meroitic grammar, is for us to take kdi-lē-wi as a participle, meaning, as is argued above, "one who is a woman" and s̆-t-mde-s as qualifying it, meaning "....-ing"; that means "one who is a ....-ing woman".[13] So it seems to me that s̆-t-mde-s is essentially verbal but is here acting as an adjective or a pseudo-participle and I use the word in the sense in which the Old Perfective was understood to the early Egyptologists but without of course implying similarity with all the shades of meaning of the Old Perfective.

Griffith's principle was believed by Zyhlarz, ZyM 427, 459 4, to be the Meroitic means of distinguishing

the grammatical gender, which argument was adequately refuted by Hintze, HinSS 358-61, who rightly considers this to be only a means of distinguishing the natural gender. At this juncture, it is perhaps relevant to point out that the epithetical role of kdi led Griffith to suggest that names containing this word were feminine. This is supported by the names containing this component the sex of the bearers of which is known. Regarding those names borne by people whose sex is unknown, it seems to me that one should not be too hasty to treat them as feminine. I am under the impression that the abundance of mk and kdi in names, contrasted with the absence of a single certain instance of (a)s̆ēr(e) 'Osiris' [14] and with only five instances of wēs̆ 'Isis'[14] (a very surprising thing, considering the importance of these deities in the lives of men at any rate at the northern end of the kingdom) perhaps suggests that mk(e,i) meaning "god,lord"[14], and kd(e,i), meaning "lady (Mistress)", might refer to, and are used instead of, these deities' names. That such important deities, playing a leading role in the Meroitic funerary rites, as one may gather from their continual invocation in the funerary inscriptions, should fail to appear as frequently in names as they do in these inscriptions,

A10 III i a - b

leads one to believe that mention of them is probably made not by name but in some sort of periphrastic terms. Of these mk(e,i) and kd(e,i) seem to be the most likely. This view, especially about kd(e,i),appears to be supported by the alternation of this word with mš̆ '(the god) Mash'[15] as prefixes to -š̆-ke-, thought to be a verbal complex, or originally a verbal complex but used as a noun, meaning "one who serves, the servant (in a religious sense)"[15], in Kdi-š̆-ke-li B219, "one who serves (the) Lady,Mistress", "the servant of (the) Lady, Mistress", and Mš̆ š̆-ke-l @ B353, "one who serves Mash", "the servant of Mash". Therefore, whether in masculine names and feminine names or in names of unknown gender, the words mk(e,i) and kd(e,i) might on some occasions refer to Osiris and Isis. Hence the conclusion that not all names using the word kd(e,i) should be considered to be feminine, nor should kd(e,i) always mean merely "woman, lady". This point would be the subject of further research, and so, for the moment, I have indicated with @ (i.e. unknown sex) all the names containing kd(e,i) of which the gender is unknown.

III i b One is not sure about the relationship, grammatical or otherwise, between kdi- and the rest of the components in Kdi-mn-li B214, also Kdi-mñ-le, their

reshuffled version Mn-kdi-li B332 and Kdi-šr-te-li B220. As regards mn(ñ) in the first name, one again is not sure whether it is the name of "Amon", which is elsewhere familiar in both spellings[16], or whether it is something entirely different. If it is the name of "Amon" neither "the Amon is a woman", taking the name as a nominal sentence with a nominal predicate, nor "the lady of Amon", taking mn(ñ) as being in direct genitive with kdi, is a possible rendering. The objections to the former are that the name of "Amon", already defined because it is a personal name, does not need the definite article, and that "Amon" cannot be described as a "lady". The latter rendering is unsuitable because it presupposes a direct genitive that would have to work in both directions (mn-kdi-, kdi-mn-), since it is known to us that the Meroitic direct gentive works only when the noun in the genitive precedes the noun governing it. The only analysis that remains perhaps is to consider kdi here as referring to "Isis" and the name as consisting of both "Amon" and "Isis". This suggestion is lent support by the fact that the deities' names are here seen to exchange positions, this being understandable for "Amon and (the ?) Lady (i.e. Isis)" means the same thing as "(the ?) Lady (i.e.Isis) and Amon", and that such a practice is not unusual in Egyptian personal names, with

which the Meroitic seem to have a few things in common. Of such Egyptian names compare Mnw-Imn RaPN 151 15 'Min-Amon', Pṯh-Skr RaPN 141 11 'Ptaḥ-Sokar', Pṯh-Sbk RaPN 141 14 'Ptaḥ-Sobk' and Ḥr-Mnw RaPN 248 19 'Ḥorus-Min'.[16]

Concerning Kdi-šr-te-li, the compound -šr-te-li in it will appear to have a variant form as š-šr-te(-l) if one reads -š- instead of -m- in š-mr-te: Ibr 16,19 OS š-mr-te-l: Tañ 40-41 OS.[17] But, for certain reasons the reading with -m- is preferable.[17] The preference of -š- to -h- in š(h)r:(mh p-ši:wẹ) Formula F Kar 126 8-9 OA,...etc.[17] gives the noun šr which is at least graphically identical with the component in the present name. Šr- again occurs with the component, written kde, in Šr-bi-kde B527,being the same word as in Šr-bi-ye B528, Šr-be-ten-ide @ B526 and, possibly, ŠR-WE-Ñ B529.

III ii Throughout the present work, the component -k(e,i)- has been presumed to be an adverbial infix.[18] According to this view and the suggestion that it might have a durative implication, one supposes that it performs this function with kd(i)- in kd-ke Ins 94 28 L, which seems to be changed into a participle by -l and -r... in kt-ke-l (H) Ins 4, where kt- is a writing of kd-, and the incomplete name Kdi-ki-r... D35.[18] Since the two groups refer to Queens

Amanirenas and Amanitēre respectively, they might mean something like "(a) Lady, Mistress who remains (?)", meaning "(a) Lady, Mistress who remains (?) (as a ruler)".

III iii Of the adjectives with which kdi is in a juxtapositional relationship are -qē, also aq, 'noble' and mlē 'good'. In sub-division I ii a it was shown how -qē, also aq, may act as an epithet of kdi- together with which it forms the epithetic compound kdi-qē and its variant form kdi:aq 'noble woman, lady'. No more than has been said thereunder will be added here. The adjective mlē acts as an epithet of kdi- in Kdi-mlē-ye B213 "(A) good woman,lady" and, written meli̤, it behaves as a predicate thereof in Meli̤-kdi-ye C17 "(the) woman, Lady, is good" or "may (the) Lady be good!".

III iv Juxtaposed with verbs and verbal complexes, kdi is present in kd-we Ins 92 3 0 [19] and Kdi-te-de £ B221.[19] In Š-d-md[ẹ]-kde B481 the component is perhaps suffixed to a verbal complex which qualifies it. The name probably means something like "a ...-ing woman, lady", being obviously identical in construction and sense with š-t-mde-s kdi in the descriptive phrase š-t-mde-s kdi-lē-wi Far 34 11 LS.[20] Note that the comparison of the name with the group shows

A10 III iv - v - vi

that the name, like the group š-de-mde-s-lē Far 20 1-2 TA, employs -d(e)- instead of -t-.[20]

Of the same construction seems to be Tepe-ṇi-wi-kḍi @ B570.[21] One of the alternative analyses of Dē-ki-kdi-s B160 is that it might contain the verbal complex dē-ki- and -kdi-s 'sister'.[22]

III v Kdi-š-ke-li B219, according to one way of looking at it, is about the only name employing kd(i)- in juxtaposition with a participle, but of the groups one may mention, for instance, kd-we-li: Ak I 1 OS, describing Queen Amanirenas, and kd-we-ñ-yi: Ibr 3-4 OS, referring to Queen Amanishakhetē.[23] Like mš- in Mṣ̌-š-ke-l @ B353, kdi- in this name will have to be treated as a noun object of the participle or, alternatively, in direct genitive with -š-ke-, which in this case may itself be nominal in nature.[24]

III vi The other alternative interpretation of Dē-ki-kdi-s B160 is to consider it as a verbal complex ending in -s and enclosing within its confines the noun -kdi- 'woman,lady,Lady'.[25] In ke-de-kdi-li Far 21 23 TA (=HinD 335) De-we-kdi-l @ B153 and Te-mey-kdi-ye B560, again according to one analysis, it is enclosed within participles.[26] It is beyond question that the last name is the feminine

counterpart of TE-MEY-YE B 562, itself identical with te-mey̯ye Ak II 13 OS, from which it might have been derived by the insertion of -kdi-. The masculine name and the group are extended by -s̆- in Š-TE-MEY-YE B532 and te-mey-ye-s̆ Ins 94 12 L, replacing their -ye with -l(i) in TE-MEY-LI B561 and t-mey-l Ak II 3, or with other elements in t-mey-k-wi Ak II 1 and t-meyē-s-wi: Ak II 4.[27] Notice that -mey- interchanges with -meyē- in the last example.

Though accepting parsing as a noun (bele-) suffixed with -ki- and in juxtaposition with the defined noun -kdi-li, Bele-ki-kdi-li @ B117 looks like a prefixless participle enclosing the undefined -kdi-.[28] There is yet a third alternative view about the name, according to which it might contain bele-ki- as a prefixless verbal complex suffixed with the defined noun -kdi-li.[28]

III vii The relationship of kde(i) with the rest of the components in Kdi-pē-lē-yi B216 [29], T-hre-ṭi(ṣ-ḷi)-kde B589 [29], Mm-wi-kdi @ B322 and Kdi-qe-b-ts @ B217 is difficult to determine. Identifying -ts in the last name with the prefix in Ts-mere-h @ B636 [30], one leaves oneself with kdi-qe-b- in which one might see a way of writing kdi-qē(aq) [30] in the plural.

IV As a recapitulation, the above discussion is hoped to have shown that kd(e) and kdi interchange in the writing of the word generally accepted to mean 'woman,lady', from the latter form of which is derived the word for 'sister' by the addition of an -s. Itself a noun, kdi has been demonstrated to act as an epithet, occur in epithetic compounds or in juxtaposition with nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbal complexes and participles. Sometimes it is enclosed within verbal complexes and participles.

A10 THE COMPONENT kd, kde, kdi, kdi(-s) - FOOTNOTES.

1. For the evaluation of the data relating to kdi, leading to the eventual conclusion of its meaning, see Kar vi 38-39, 66 n.2.

2. See sub-division I ii b & n.6 for the rejection of Hintze's suggestion.

3. On -qē, aq-, and (a)qe see A15 I i and on š-qē and for more on š-ṣ-kdi see A15 I iii. 'Honourable lady (?)', Kar vi 64 (= Kar 61),'honoured lady (?)', M II 17, are also given by Griffith as translations of kdi-qē. Griffith, op.cit.31, likewise believes that the two names are probably connected with the numeral 2 in kdi:aq-tē(s-lē)-ye-s.

4. On the interprétation of this particular instance see III i a & n.13 below. See also A3 III i a,b for the use of -lē- as a participial suffix.

5. Outside the funerary inscriptions we have, for instance, kdi-s-wi: Ak II 4 OS, separated from abr-s, the word for 'man' also suffixed with -s, only by the group i-rxe:. On the parallelism between abr-s and kdi-s see A9 I ii and sub-division II ii in the present discussion.

6. See A3 III i b,c, ii a. For the reading kdi-[ṣ]-l see

A18 I i & n.2 and for Hintze's interpretation of kdi-s see I i above. Dr Macadam and Heyler's, CR 11 118-119 views agree with my treatment of kdi-s as a noun. However, the latter scholar, op.cit.119, does not realize that kdi-s- is also defined by -le- in kdi-te(s-le)-lē-wi and that is why he thinks that 'kdite' is the word involved.

7. This is the case when the word of filiation is either kdi-s or šte- 'mother', but when it is -mde- Hintze thinks the infix -qe- precedes -be-s. The compound -be-s- is obviously the -be- of plurality and the genitival -s-. See A3 III i b.

8. See A12 III ii a & n.28. The same phenomenon as in Kdi-ye and Kde-yē-te is noticeable in Wē-rē-te-li-ye B662 and Wi-rē-te-li-tē. See A3 IV x b (end). For more on Kdi-tē-n-ye see II ii & n.11 below and A5 VIII i.

9. Kdi-b and Kdi-b(e)-y(e) accept the alternative splittings as K-di-b and K-di-b(e)-y(e), according to which -k-di- will be treated as the compound in P-k-di B422, a feminine name, and considered as a form of ke-de-, studied in A2 III i a 1. They will then be classified as a verbal complex and a participle containing the verb -di- "to give" and ending in -b- on one occasion and in -b(e)- and -y(e) on another.

Compare Ye-le-b-ye @ B672, presumably containing the verb -le- "to give" and the -b- of plurality and a suppressed datival postposition, with K-di-b(e)-y(e), since both names will be supposed to express similar ideas. See A3 II iii, A12 II iv & n.12.

10. See A3 III ii a. The text preceding kdi-l Tañ 20 is lost and one therefore has to allow for the possibility that the group might be a part of a longer one. See A21 I i n.2 on kdi-le-b.

11. See II i & n.8, A3 III ii a, A12 III iii.

12. See A9 I ii & nn.6,7.

13. See A16 I iii on mk̆kdi-lh, A18 I i & n.2, ii & n.5 on Apēt(i)-kde,...etc., and A23 II, III ii for mete-. For the rendering of kdi-lē-wi see the end of I ii a above.

14. See the end of A7 VI iii c (end) for parallel Egyptian names, and also the explanation of Mn-kdi-li in sub-division III i b. For the meaning of mk(e,i) see A16 I i, v & n.19, and for mk-s in feminine names see A16 II. The five instances of wēs̆ are Wēs̆-mē-l @ B652, Wēs̆-mhe-ye @ B653, Wēs̆-mk-s B654, Wēs̆-p-tk-ide @ B655 and Wēs̆-tke-l @ B656. For S̆-mk-s B518 as a probable sixth instance see A16 II.

15. See A3 III ii d & nn.69-70 on ms̆, and A6 II i b & n.16 on the verbal complex -s̆-ke- in general and in these

names in particular and for the given splitting of Mš̆ š̆-ke-l.

16. See A3 III iii. There is no need to give examples for mn- being the name of 'Amon', but for mñ- compare mñp 'Amanap' in mñp-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 41 6 LS (=HinD 100). See III i a on kdi, perhaps referring to 'Isis' and RaN 309 on the Egyptian names.

17. As was believed under A21 IV ii, Hintze's reading of š̆-hr-te-l (for š̆-mr-te-l) should be made to conform with š̆-mr-te. See there, also A21 II ii for more on Formula F, and A5 VIII i for more on Kdi-š̆r-te-li.

18. See A1 II i on the function of -k(e,i).

19. For -we in the group compare the participial counterparts thereof in sub-division III v and see A2 III i a 1 n.49, and for -te-de, believed to contain the verb -de "to give", in the name see A2 II ii.

20. These verbal complexes and their relationship with kdi-lē-wi are discussed in III i a above. For the use of -d(e)-, instead of -t-, as a prefix see A5 IV i b.

21. Tepe- as a component is attested from Š̆-tepe-ñ-ye @ B533, apparently a participle, Tepe-ye-tmi-te @ B571 and Tē-tepe-mte @ B586 (see note thereunder), and is assumed to be written -tpe- in K-tpe-ñ-ye B241. See A12 IV viii & n.79 for some of these names.

22. For the other alternative interpretation see III vi below, and for the verbal complex dē-ki see A2 III ii a 2,4.

23. See III iv n.19, also A3 IV viii a for the participle ending in -li and A12 IV v for the one in -yi.

24. See III i a & n.15 above and A6 II i b & n.16 on the rendering of these two names.

25. See III iv & n.22 on the first alternative analysis. The suffix -s is familiar from the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae. See, for example, A3 III i c.

26. See A2 III i a 1 & n.49, for more on the group and the name using ke-de- and de-we-. For the name containing te-mey- see A12 IV ix.

27. See A12 IV ix, A3 IV x a. On -s̆- see A6 IV iv d,V i.

28. See A20 II ii for the discussion of some of these different interpretations of the name.

29. The compound -pē-lē-yi in Kdi-pē-lē-yi is studied under A4 I, while t-hre-ṭi(ṣ-ḷi)- in T-hre-ṭi(ṣ-ḷi)-kde is under A21 IV i (end).

30. See A7 VII ii c on -mere-h, and I ii a of the present discussion on kdi-qē(aq). Under A15 I i (a)qē, (a)qe and aq- are shown to interchange.

All I

THE COMPONENTS mx(e,ē),also mh(e,ē,i),and ml(e,ē,i).

I Because of their close association, not only as second constants[1] in certain funerary formulae, but also as elements found in parallel constructions in names and groups, the components mhe and mlē, in their different forms, will be studied together. Regarding the writing of mhe, and its variant forms, it was pointed out in A7 I that the interchange of -x- with -h- is as familiar in this word as is that of -e and -ē or their loss altogether. That is why we find mx(e,ē) and mh(e,ē,i) all used in writing it, though mxē and mhi were found only once each in the funerary formulae. Outside the funerary formulae, mhi is present in MHI-D-T(D) B283, studied in sub-division IV iv b.

At present it is generally accepted that mhe means 'plentiful, abundant' and that mlē means 'good'. This was based on Griffith's suspicion, Kar vi 46, of the meaning of atē mhe to be 'abundant water' and of at mhe to be 'abundant bread', and on his suggestion, op.cit. 41 n.1, that 'good', 'great', 'strong', 'plentiful' would seem to suit the occurrences of mlē. It is evidently because the sign is used as the determinative of the hieroglyphic version of mlē, in the forms , in the writing of some of the Napatan royal names, that scholars have now

settled for 'good' as the meaning of mlē.[2]

In this discussion I will examine the instances of mhe and mlē, and their variant forms, where they are thought to be used as adjectives, both epithets and predicates, as adjectival substantives, meaning "what is plentiful (good)", "a plentiful (good) thing", "good"[3], and, where possible, as adjective verbs and adverbial phrases. Lastly, I will study them in names and groups where their part of speech or relationship with the remaining component parts of these names and groups is not known. Having noticed that mhe and mlē, in their varying spellings, are present in parallel constructions and in all their parts of speech, I came to the conclusion that we must be dealing with the same components; i.e. they are identical in many groups and names with the words in the funerary formulae.

II i a As epithets, the components are best known as second constants of some of the funerary formulae. Besides these they also occur in names and groups. When citing instances of them from the funerary formulae, I shall confine myself to those ones that are not very common, since for mhe, for instance, the commonest form thereof,

the reader may refer to the indices in Kar vi, M II, Meroe and HinD.

Mx, qualifying atē 'water' in Formula A Kar 111 3 LA, Ins 137b 4 OA, is also the epithet of at 'bread' in Formula B in Far 15 5-6 LA and of ṣ(ḥ)r [4] of Formula F in Ins 137b 5-6 OA, while mh is used in Formula A in Kar 60 10 L/TA, 98 5-6 LA, Post 72 13 LS and in Formula B in Kar 81 8 LS, 98 6-7 LA.[4] Under A7 II ii, both epithets were shown to qualify -x(e)-, assumed to be of the same meaning as the first constant of Formula C and related formulae [5], in -xe-mx-r of Tb-xe-mx-r @ B542 and X-mh-r @ B177 [5], which should be identical in meaning with x-mhe-l-li of Formula D2, and to alternate with -mlē- in X-mlē-ẏe @ B178, which should be identical with (a)x-mlē-l(i) of Formula C.[5] One would presume -mx- to be preceded by a noun in ..e-mx-r @, D23.[5]

Mxe, present in Formula A in Kar 12 5 LS, 84 5 LA, 100 5 TA, 117 10 TA, Sh 1 10-11 LA, 16 10-11 LS, Far 33 6 LS, 34 12-13 LA, 39 2 LA, Mer 46 7-8 LA, is the second constant in both formulae in Kar 22 11-12 LA, 23 10-11 LS, 36 13-16 L/T A/S, 48 5-7 L/TS, 65 5-6 L/TS, Ins 85 7-8 LS and Far 10 8-9 LS. Defined by -l, it qualifies atepēke in Formula H Serra W 1 4 LS.

While mxē: Kar 124 3-4 LA and mhi: Mer 46 5-6 LA

occur once each in Formula A, mhē is present in Formula A in Kar 100 8 TA, 122 11 LA, in Formula B in Ins 134 2 LA and in both formulae in Far 2 5-6 LA.

II i b Since mhe is the commonest <u>second constant</u> in Formulae A and B, in the inscriptions of the transitional and late styles, there is no need to quote all its occurrences. However, there are some instances that are of special interest to which attention should be drawn.[6] Of these are yetē mhe: Formula A Kar 107 3-4 LS, where yetē [6] is a writing of atē 'water' and Ṯ-ṃhe @ B607, where ṯ- might be meant for at 'bread', the loss of the initial a- of this being comparable with that of tē- in tē mlē Formula A ? Mer 8 3 L BL 'good water (?)'[6]. To this sub-division also belong the examples studied in A7 III i in which h(e) and -x- interchange with mhe.

"Bountiful Isis" is perhaps a suitable rendering of Wēs-mhe-ye @ B653.[7]

As a second constant in Formulae A and B, mlē is not very common[8], and although it is associated with archaic formulae[8], such as Formula A in Kar 126 10-11 OA, Formula B Ins 49 4 OS and Formulae A and B in Far 43 5-7 OA, yet it is encountered in such late formulae as Formula A Mer 8 3 L BL[8], and Formula B Far 28 5-8 LA, 37 10-11 LA,

Sh 9 9-10 LA, Ins 73b LA, "Good water" and "good bread" are thought to be the meanings of the <u>first</u> and <u>second</u> <u>constants</u> of the respective formulae. As is also noted in A12 III v b, At-mlē-y[ẹ] @ B107 seems to contain the words of Formula B suffixed with -ye and may therefore mean "(the) good bread".

On the other hand, mlē is the only <u>second</u> <u>constant</u> in Formulae C and H, in both of which it qualifies the noun (a)x-, suggested to mean "boon, benefit".[9] While mhe and its variant spelling -h alternate with mlē in qualifying the noun x(h)- in Formula D2, the epithet -x, also a way of writing mhe, alternates with mlē in Formula G, where the first constant is prefixed with at(e)t-.[9] The resulting compound of Formula G mostly receives the definite article -l(e,i), as indeed is the case with Formulae C, D2 and H, which is sometimes reduplicated. It rarely receives -w alone or with the definite article. Since these have been elaborately discussed in A7 I ii, II i a, they and the names related to them, will not be discussed here. However, one may point out that the name X-mlē-ẹ̣e @ B178 "(a,the) good boon" obviously belongs to this sub-division, since it shares the <u>first</u> and <u>second</u> <u>constants</u> of Formula C. So may perhaps belong X-ṂLĒ-Ḳ C9.

In names that do not show the first constant of any formula, the component occurs as an epithet in Kdi-mlē-ye B213, AQE-MLĒ-YE B62, MK-ŠĒR-MLĒ-LI B290 and perhaps in AP-MLĒ B59.[10] One is not certain whether mlē, as seems to be the case, is likewise an epithet in amnp ñte-s-mlē-l Tañ 54 OS, amnp ñte-s-mlē-l-w Tañ 132. Without it, the rest of the group recurs as amnp ñte-s-l-w: Ibr 23 OS[11] and also without -w as amnp:ñte-s-l Tañ 75, 99-100 OS, amnp:ñte-s-li: Ak I 38 OS, amnp [ñ]te-s-l[i] Ak II 17 OS. If ñte-li: Tur 13 LS, ñte-l: Tur 14 and e-ñte: Tur 14 contain the same ñte as in the previous groups, then here is perhaps justification for the isolation of -s- from it in the given splittings.[11]

II ii In this sub-division I propose to study certain usages of mhe and mlē as epithets in some of the interesting funerary formulae where they qualify at he in Formula K, at(e)t-x- in Formula G and yer in Formula L.[12]

Mhe occurs with at he, in the form at he mhe-l-w, in Formula K1 Hin 11 L/TA, 14 LA, 16a LA and with yer, in the compound yer mhe-l-w, in Formula L1 Hin 20 LA, while mlē follows the same elements yielding at he mlē-l-w Hin 9 TA, 15 LA, 17 LA of Formula K2 and yer mlē-l-w Ins 50 7 LA,

59 9-10 LA (=Hin 17), 60 LA (=Hin 14), Hin 9 TA, 11 L/TA, 13 T, 16a LA and 19 L/TA. Mlē is the only <u>second constant</u>[13] in the compounds at(e)t x-mlē-l(e,i) Ins 89 14 L/TS, 137b 3 OA, Kar 14 8-9 L/TS, Sh 14 11-12 LS and atet x-mlē-wi Ins 87 5-6 LA, all of which are of Formula G.[13] It has been proposed that xri-h:mlē: Mer 9 5-6 L Bl differs from Formulae K2 and G only in so far as it uses xri[13] where the others use at and at(e)t, the components h(e) and x seeming to be the same word. Xr(i)-mli Bl82 and xr-mlē-, in Xr-mlē-mk-s Bl84, appear to contain versions of xri: mlē:, of the text from Meroe, after the omission of -h "boon, gift, benefit". "(A) good offering, boon, gift", or the like, is the meaning offered for the first name as well as for the first two components of the second name.[13]

So much for mhe and mlē, and their variants, used as epithets.

III Since the construction N+Adj means that the adjective is being used as an epithet, it seems logical that the construction Adj+N should mean that it is being used as a predicate. On the acceptance of this logic, when the latter construction is found in Meroitic, it will therefore be proven that the language has sentences with

adjectival predicates of the same order as Egyptian. Unfortunately, so far as names are concerned, I have not succeeded in identifying as sentences with adjectival predicates any other than Ml-x-li B303, also Ml-x-l @, and MLI-X-RĒ-R (?) B306, "the boon is good" and Meli-kdi-ye C17 "(a,the) woman (lady) is good". The respective names contain the same words as those of x-mlē-l(i) [14] "the good boon" [14] and Kdi-mlē-ye B213 "(a,the) good woman (lady)",[14] in which -mlē- is an epithet.

As is remarked in sub-division IV i a, when mhe and mlē, in their different forms, are found prefixed to verbal complexes and participles, as well as being the nominal objects thereof, some of these components might sometimes equally well be the predicates, the subjects of which will be the verbal complex, rendered as an infinitive or a gerund, and the participle. For instance, MLĒ-Š-X(I)-LI B296 presumably accepts both alternative interpretations. When mlē- is treated as an adjectival substantive object of the participle, the name might mean something like "one who offers something good to him (her)" or "one to whom something good is offered", and when it is treated as the predicate the meaning of the name might be "one who offers to him (her) is good" or "one to whom it is offered is good". See

sub-division IV i a ff for more on this point, especially sub-division IV v d on this name.

IV i a When either mhe or mlē, in its different ways of writing, occurs independently, suffixed or unsuffixed with -l(e,i), -r, -ye(ē), -s or -w(ē,i), it is assumed to be an adjectival substantive meaning "(a,the) plentiful thing", "(a,the) bountiful one", in the case of mhe, and "(a,the) good thing, one", "good", in the case of mlē. Sometimes, two or three of these suffixes occur together, as will soon be shown in the course of the ensuing discussion. Of such examples are Mlē @ B293, mlē, MHE-S B280, mlē-wi, Mhe-ye @ B282, MLĒ-YE B302, mle(ē,i)-w(ē,i)-s-, mlē(e)-ye(ē-s) and mle-w-ye.[15]

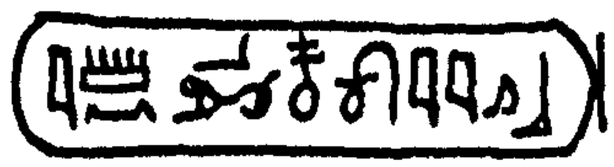
The above assumption seems to be supported by the fact that mlē and mlē-wi alternate as descriptive substantives standing in place of the names of the relations of the deceased in mlē:mde-te-b-k-wi: Kar 104 4-5 LA [16] and mlē-wi: šte-lē mlē-wi:kdi-tē(s-lē) Kar 127 17-19 LA, and by the occurrence of mlē-wi as a direct object of the verbal complexes l-b-x-te Ins 6-8 and yi-te-b-x-te Ins 3,4,6,7.[16] These texts prove that mlē and mlē-wi are (adjectival ?) substantives meaning the same thing. Therefore when -ye is

added to them respectively, MLĒ-YE and mle-w-ye, a form of an hypothetical mlē-wi-ye*, in šši-mete-lē:qēri-s-lē: Ins 137a 3 OA (=HinD 37), result, which should equally well be adjectival substantives.[17] Mhe-ye @ will be their parallel using mhe- as the component.[17] The further addition of -s should yield mlē-ye-s* and mlē-wi-ye-s*.[18] But these forms do not seem to exist, and in their stead we have the slightly varying mle-yē-s, having mhe-yē-s as a parallel, and mlē(i)-wē(i)-s. Why the penultimate -yē- in the last group has dropped is inexplicable. That mle-yē-s and mlē-wē-s are variant spellings is sustained by the existence of lh-š mlē-wē-tē(s-lē) Kar 47 3 IS (=HinD 332) alongside lh:š mle-yē-s-.[18] As a corollary mle-yē- and mlē-wē- should be equivalents. But these two are writings of MLĒ-YE and mlē-wi, and the latter has been shown to alternate with mlē with which it cannot but be identical in meaning. In consequence, we are confronted with the confusing result that mlē, mlē-wi and MLĒ-YE, mlē(i)-wē(i)-s, mle-w-ye and mle(ē)-yē-s should be equivalents. Since the descriptive substantive mle(ē)-yē-s is the parallel of mhe-yē-s, which seems to combine forms of the components in MHE-S and Mhe-ye @, one is able to conclude that its final -s should be identical with that in MHE-S. Furthermore, the

parallelism of the constructions involving mhe and mle(ē,i) here is comparable with that between the two components themselves in the funerary formulae, and this justifies the belief that we must here be dealing with the nominal derivatives of the same components, which should consequently be adjectival substantives. Griffith's description of mle(ē)-yē-s as a 'sac. and civil title', Kar vi 116, and Hintze's classification of it and mhe-yē-s as nouns, HinD 37, 332, support the view expressed here about the substantival nature of the components present in these names and groups.

The groups discussed above form parts of many names and groups. Suffixed with -tr, ml(ē,i)-w(i)- and its parallel mx(h)e-wi-, form MLĒ-WI-TR B301 and MX(H)E-WI-TR B278, building Ml-w-terē-r @ B321 when -terē- and -r are added.[19] This is according to the view that -w(i)- belongs to ml(ē,i)- and mx(h)e-.[19] But if it belongs to -tr and -terē- only ml(ē)- and mx(h)e- will be the first parts of the names. Mli-wi-de B 316 , according to one alternative way of looking at it, may contain mli-wi- and the verb -(i)de.[19]

Here might also belong mlē-wi-b* in MLĒ-WI-B-MNI * (H) £, a probable Meroitic cursive

transciption of  , Nr 11, JEA35 pl.xvi 44a,b,c[20], vocalized as 'MALĒWIBAMANI' by D.Dunham and M.F.L.Macadam, op.cit.145 no.44. The compound mlē-wi-b-* might be the plural form of mlē-wi.[20]

As regards the forms ending in -s, we have mlē(i)-wē(i)-s, forming the entire name Mli-wē-s B315 and part of mle-w-s-l-ke: Ak I IS OS, Mli-wi-te(s-le)-mēme @ B317 [21] lh-š-mlē-wē-tē(s-lē) Kar 47 3 LS (=HinD 332), and x-mlē-wi-t(s-l)-xe Formula J Arm W 3b LS [21], then the descriptive substantives mle(ē)-yē-s, in the contexts mlē-yē-s mñpte-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 41 5-6 LS (=HinD 100), mle-yē-s:atiye-te-l: Kar 56 7-8 L/TS (=HinD 282), mle-yē-s atiye-te-le-b: Ins 129 16 LS, Far 4 3-4 LS (=HinD 291), and in the complex lh:š mle-yē-s-[21], and finally mhe-yē-s-, in the contexts apēte-l-w: qēre-te(s-le):mhe-yē-t(s-l): Ins 129 5 LS (=HinD 338) [21] and apēte mhe-yē-tē(s-lē)-wi: Ins 129 4-5 LS (=HinD 49). Though lacking -s, because of the similarity of its context with that of mle-yē-s, the descriptive substantive mle-w-ye, in the context mle-w-ye ššsi-mete-lē:qēri-s-lē: Ins 137a 3 OA (=HinD 37)[21] is included here. Since -mlē-wi-s- is suggested to be an adjectival substantive, the group from Arm W, quoted above, creates a problem, for x-mlē- in it appears to be the noun x-

and the adjective -mlē-. At the moment no solution for this problem can be found, and the complex will have to be treated as belonging to this sub-division and to II i b above, where (a)x-mlē-l(i) is discussed.

IV i b There is a descriptive word written mlē found in indirect genitive with wēs in mlē wēs-te(s-le) Ins 119 3 L, 120 3 L, which might also be the one in mlē-lē: Kar 23 13 LS, 47 14 LS, 73 12-13 L/TS, 124 16 LA, Ins 132 7 LA/S, Far 4 14-15 LS, 10 4-5 LS, mk-l:mlē-lē: Far 21 25 TA (=HinD 41), also written mk-l-w:mlē-lē: Kar 127 16 TA (=HinD 43), qēr:mlē-lē: Far 21 24-25 TA (=HinD 35), also qēri:mlē-lē: Kar 127 17 TA (=HinD 35), mlē-lē-wi: Kar 11 10 LS, 27 13-14 L/TS, 52 14-15 LA, 88 15-16 LA, 127 15-16 TA, 130 7 LA, adē-l:mlē-lē-wi: Kar 84 9 LA (=HinD 40) and trēt(s-l)-w mlē-lē-wi EKE 27 11 LS (=HinD 45). From the context, one is able to conclude that it is a substantive, it being in indirect genitive with wēs and in direct genitive with mk-l, qēr(i), adē-l and trēt(s-l)-w.[22] Since -lē, in the forms showing it, is participial[22] and not the definite article, "one who is a ..." appears to be the way in which one thinks the group should be rendered. Consequently, mlē- here should be considered as an

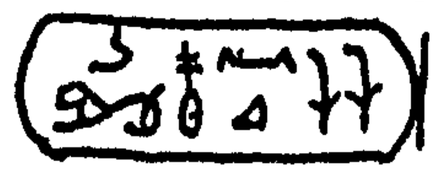
undefined noun. In RecCh 574, Griffith suggests that mlē in these usages may mean 'blessed' or 'wealthy'. Regardless of whether or not this is the meaning of the word, it is clear that he understands the component as being used as an adjectival substantive. Hintze also classifies it as a noun.[22]

Comparing the contexts of mlē(-lē-) with those of mlē-yē-s and mle-w-ye of the previous sub-division, there seems to be some justification for the suspicion that the former might express the same idea as the latter two groups. Firstly, like mlē-yē-s, which occurs in indirect genitive with a deity's name (i.e. mñpte-tē(s-lē)-wi), mlē is in indirect genitive with the name of Isis. Secondly, both mle-w-ye and mlē- are in the genitive with qēr(i), the word for 'ruler', in the forms mle-w-ye šši-mete-lē:qēri-s-lē: Ins 137a 2 OA and qēr(i):mlē-lē: Far 21 25 TA, Kar 127 16 TA. While the former text might be rendered as "one who is a mle-w-ye (and is) a šši-mete of a ruler",[23] the latter might be translated as "one who is a mlē of a ruler". It is because of the presence of the word for 'ruler' in these texts that I think the same word is most likely to be the one written qēre- [23] in apēte-l-w:qēre-te(s-le):mhe-yē-t(s-l): Ins 129 5 LS.

IV i c One might also mention the title mlē-mr-s, compounded by mlē and mr-s, which, together with mlē-lē(wi), Griffith, Kar vi 41, likens to the Egyptian m3' ḫrw and ἄωρε χρηστέ of the Jewish monuments. This descriptive group gives one the impression that it might be formed by two juxtaposed nouns, the former one of which is perhaps the component studied in the previous sub-divisions. This is a different view from that of Hintze, whose classification of the complex, HinD 66, 128-34, makes one understand that he considers mlē to be a noun in indirect gentive with mr. The element mr-, in mr-s, is probably related to mr(i), also written-mere-, to which attention has been drawn under A21 IV ii, A7 VII ii c. The forms of the component with -s and the others without it form a pair that may be added to the list of kdi-s and kdi, mk-s and mk, qēre-s and qēre, also qērē-s and qērē, and mde-s and mde.

IV ii a Another group of adjectival substantives is the one characterized by the addition of either -ñ(n)[24] or -k(e,i)[24], or both elements, to ml(e,ē) and mhe(ē). Probably the same suffix -ye(ē), with or without -s, as in the names and groups of sub-divisions IV i a,b. is sometimes further added. Of these are ml-ñ:(pestē-li-tē(s-lē)) Kar 12 4-5 LS

(=HinD 95), having mlē-n: Mer 51 2 L S1 as a varying form, and mle-ke:(mš̆-te(s-le)-wi) Kar 37 12 LA (=HinD 68), mle-ke:(mš̆-tē(s-lē)-wi) Kar 38 4 LS (=HinD 68), 94 7-9 LA (=HinD 68), which are proven to be substantives by their being in indirect genitive with pestē-li 'the prince'[25] and mš̆ '(the god) Mash'.[25] What applies to mle-ke will certainly apply to Ml-ke @ B319 and to mlē-n-ki: Mer 51 3 L S1, the latter one of which receives versions of the suffixes of both of ml-ñ and mle-ke. Likewise Mhe-n-ke @ B279, in which mhe- replaces ml(e,ē)- , and mhē-ke-n Tañ 101-2 OS, which is a form of this name, only that its suffixes seem to have experienced some sort of metathesis.

One might perhaps include here the name of King MLĒ-Ñ-Q-N*, should this be the right transcription of the hieroglyphic  Nr 5, JEA 35 pl.xvi 40, vocalized 'MALĒNAQEÑ' by D.Dunham and M.F.L.Macadam, op.cit.144 no.40, the first two components of which would consequently agree with ml-ñ and mlē-n(-ki): Mer 51 2-3 L S1.

The suffix -ye(ē-s) is added to the forms with -k(e) in Mle-k-ye @ B292 and ml-ke-yē-s Ins 131 8 LA (=HinD 233). In the same way Ml-ke, mentioned above, differs from mlē by the addition of -ke, so Mle-k-ye and ml-ke-yē-s

differ from MLĒ-YE B302 and mle-yē-s, both of which are discussed in sub-division IV i a, by the intrusion of the same -k(e)- between ml(e,ē)- and -ye(ē-s).[25a] Since the substantival nature of the present component in the names and the groups of this sub-division has been established, and since we are dealing with the same basic elements, here as in sub-division IV i a, these names and groups provide additional evidence for the view expressed in the latter sub-division about mhe- and mlē-, in their different forms, being used as adjectival substantives.

IV ii b If Mlē-te-y @ B297, also Mlē-tē-ye @, be considered to be derived from MLĒ-YE by means of an intrusive -te(ē)-, Mlē-tē-ñ @ B298 and Mlē-tē-[ṅ]-ye @ B299 may likewise be considered to be derived from ml(ē)-ñ(n) by the insertion of the same -tē-, and the further addition of -ye in the latter name.[26] Because of the parallelism between, for example, Mlē-tē-ye and Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye B223, Mlē-tē-[ṅ]-ye @ and Kdi-tē-n-ye B222, one might at first sight tend to split -tē-, of the first name at least, as -s-lē- [26]. But, since ml(e,ē,i)-s-* has not as yet been encountered by me, I am inclined not to split Mlē-tē-ye and Mlē-te-y further as Mlē-s-le(ē)-y(e).

IV iii Mhē, written mx once, demonstrates its nominal nature by receiving the definite article -l(ē,i)[27], interchanging with -r, as in mhē-li:(are šē-lē-wi) Kar 41 7-8 LS (=HinD 39), mhē-l: Far 21 22 TA[27] and (atre:) mx-r tesñ: Ak I 29 OS. Under A19 II i & n.4, an attempt was made to translate the last text as "(Hathor) the bountiful one of (the land of ?) Tesñ". In Far 21, there is apparently some parallelism between mhē-l:, above, and mhē-br-l: Far 21 22-23 TA, which is distinguishable from it by the intrusion of -br-.[27] It is because of this parallelism and the occurrence of both groups in successive lines in the same inscription that mhē- in the latter group is thought to be also a substantive. Otherwise, when taken out of its context, the construction of mhē-br-l might be mistaken for one of a sentence with an adjectival predicate.[27]

IV iv a In the following sub-divisions (IV iv a-d), I propose to study the names and groups thought to employ mhe and mlē, in their different writings, as objects of verbal complexes and participles. One acknowledges the fact that it can equally well be argued that in some of such examples, these components might be the adjectival predicates, the subject of which would be the verbal complex, translatable

as an infinitive or a gerund, and the participle.[28] But for simplicity's sake, I shall treat the present components as adjectival substantives in the accusative case.

Mlē-wi is the object of the verbal complex l-b-x-te in mlē-[wi]:l-b-x-te (H) Ins 6 and mlē-wi:[l̤]-b̤-x-te (H) Ins 8 and yi-te-b-x-te in mlē-[wi]:[yi-te]-b-x-te: (H) Ins 6, [m]lē-wi: yi-te-b-[x-te]: (H) Ins 7, [mlē]-wi:yi-te-b-x-te:(H) Ins 3,4.[29] Though none of them is complete, yet, as can be seen, the respective identical texts supplement the deficiencies of one another. The alternate employments of l-b-x-te and yi-te-b-x-te prove that -te- in the latter verbal complex is of the same meaning as l-, which means 'to give', in the former.[29] Both texts apparently mean something like "....give(s) good to them".

The same treatment may be accorded mlē:l-x-te-s Ins 45 OS and perhaps mlē l-h: Ak I 19 OS, the components of both of which seem to be reshuffled in (Y)i-l-h(e)-mli B696.[30]

IV iv b Next are the names and groups considered to be taking the present components as objects of the verb ide in its variant writings -d(e,ē)- probably meaning "to give"; i.e. it is of the same meaning as l- and -te- of the previous sub-division.[31] Of such names appears to be

MHI-D-T B283,also spelt MHI-D-D, in which mhi-, as an adjectival substantive, might be the object of the verbal complex -d-t(d).[31] The name probably accepts rendering as "may he give (be given ?) what is plentiful!" or "may riches (?), wealth (?), a bounty (?) be given!" or "riches (?), wealth (?), a bounty (?) have/has been given",...etc.

While Mli-de-b-s B304 may be parsed as the verb -de-, with the plural dative unexpressed, ending in the verbal suffix -s and taking mli- as the object [32], the name M[l̥]e-b-s-dē-ke @ B291 may be analysed as the verbal complex -dē-ke taking mle-b- as the plural object.[32] Though the close association between -b- and -s- in these two names appears to suggest that they might in fact be a single component, yet, in addition to their grammatical feasibility, the proposed analyses seem to be the only ones one can think of. The existence of Ye-le-b-ye @ B672 and certain names containing similar compounds, in which -le-b, in its variant forms, is probably the verb -le- 'to give', also with the plural dative unexpressed [32], perhaps furnishes some support for the above view about -de-b-.

IV iv c In Mli-qe-de-s̆e @ B307 and mlē:qe-yi-de-wi MacN O Plqe, mli(ē) again seems to be prefixed to verbal

complexes in which -de- perhaps is the verb. Ignoring the intrusive -yi- in the latter, the compounds -qe-de- and -qe-...-de become of the pattern qe-de- and fall in the category of the names and groups containing this compound.[33] The suffix -s̆e in the first name, like -s̆ in Mli-teke-s̆ @ B309, of sub-division IV iv d below, cannot be explained, though they are familiar[33], while -wi in the group is most likely to be the well-known particle.

According to one analysis of it, Mli-tr-q-ide B314, probably alternatively spelt Mli-tr-[ṛ]ẹ-de, perhaps contains mli- as the object of the seemingly compound-verb -tr-q-ide, also -tr-[ṛ]ẹ-de, while according to another it might combine the component parts of Mli-qe-de-s̆e @, above, and MLĒ-WI-TR B301, without -s̆e and -wi-.[34]

In the light of the discussion in A2, the compounds -wi-de, -th-ide and -tk-ide are thought to be compound-verbs[35], which, in accordance with the view taken in this division, probably take mli- and mhe- as objects in Mli-wi-de B316, Mli-th-ide B312 and MHE-TK-IDE (?) B281.

IV iv d It has been already suggested that s̆- might be a verb and -x(i)- the datival postposition in

the verbal complex -s̆-xi and the participle -s̆-x(i)-li, which perhaps take mlē(i)- as the object in Mli-s̆-xi @ B308 and MLĒ-S̆-X(I)-LI B296.[36] One probably has the same verb and the same, or a similar, relationship with mlē- in mlē s̆-ke-lē-wi EKE 26 13 LA (=HinD 3).[36]

Ml(i)- seems to be the object of the verbal complex in Mli-teke-s̆ @ B309 and of the participle in Ml(i)-tek(e)-li B310.[37]

The name Mli-te-we-n B311 appears to contain mli- as an adjectival substantive object of the verbal complex -te-we-n, and this in turn seems to be of the same, or a similar, sense as te-wi-ñ- in Te-wi-ñ-ye B581 [38], a-s-wi-n- in A-s-wi-n-y @ B93, -we-ñ- in kd-we-ñ-yi: Ibr 3-4 OS and -wi-n-ke in ar-wi-n-ke: Ibr 33 OS. In view of the fact that -we- is a well-known verb revolving round the idea of "offering", which might be the same verb as in the present name, one assumes the name to mean "may good be given, offered!", "may (she) offer what is good!", "a good thing has been given", or the like.[38]

V i There are some names and groups in which mhe and mlē, in their different forms, though accepting treatment as adverbial phrases[39], might be used as adjective

verbs, presumed to mean something like "to be abundant, prolific", "to multiply, abound", "to be bountiful", in the case of mhe, and "to be good", in the case of mlē.

Of such examples is Yē-ke-ml-n-tē(s-lē) @ E20, in which, if yē- and -tē be identified with the respective prefix and suffix in, for example, the verbal complex yē-tk-tē: Tañ 48 OS [40], we probably have a verbal complex using -ml- as a verbalized adjective, -ke- as the verb prefix and -n- as the well-known suffix.[40] On the other hand, if the entire -ml-n-, of which slightly varying forms have been shown in sub-divisions IV ii a above to be substantives, is considered as being verbalized, then we have an adjectival substantive changed into a verb. This tallies with the view frequently expressed in this work that nouns can be verbalized by prefixes or suffixes or by a combination of prefixes and suffixes. The earlier analysis suggests that adjectives may also be verbalized. Whichever one of -ml- or -ml-n- is thought to be the one employed as a verb, the above analyses give this complex a verbal nuance. But Yē-ke-ml-n-tē(s-lē) @ is followed by š-šēr-li-tē(s-lē) Kar 111 2 TA, rendered by Griffith, Kar vi 72, as 'belonging to a shashêr', and this seems to suggest that -tē in the previous complex might accept splitting into -s-lē "one who

belongs to, i.e. belonging to".[40] Accordingly, Ye̅-ke-ɱl-n-s-le̅ might be the splitting of the complex which will accept rendering as "one belonging to...."

V ii The names YE-TE̤-MHE-YE B682 and YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B703 accept two alternative analyses each. One is to take ye(yi-ñ)- and -te- as prefixes and -mhe- as the verb, and the other is to consider ye(yi-ñ)- as the prefix and -te- as the verb and -mhe- as an adverbial phrase.[41] According to the former view, the names probably mean something like "one who is bountiful".

Despite the failure to explain ye-y- in it adequately, one presumes YE-Y-MH-R B686 to accept the same treatment as the above names, from which it differs in having a medial -y- in place of -(ñ)-te-. The component -r in the name functions as -li and -ye.[42] Consequently, it probably has an identical meaning with theirs. Note, however, how close a parallel the name is to Mli-y-re̅-r @ B318, in which mli- this time is the word involved and -y-, preceding -mh- in the former, follows it. Both names end in -r that is reduplicated in the latter one of them.[42] One therefore wonders whether Mli-y-re̅-r @ is of the pattern

All V ii - VI i

N-lē-ye, and that perhaps because -y- cannot follow -rē-r it had to precede it. So far as I know, such a compound as -rē-r-ye* does not seem to exist, and this might be due to the fact that its function is probably performed by -y-rē-r.

VI i When the adjective is enclosed in a verbal complex or a participle, it is assumed that it perhaps acts as an adverbial phrase. So, in such usages, mhe, in its variant writings, would be expected to mean "abundantly, plentifully, generously, frequently",....etc., while mlē, in its different forms, would be expected to mean "well"...etc. How these adjectives should have come to be used as adverbial phrases is based on the following reasoning.

It is now generally accepted that the object in Meroitic normally precedes its verb or verbal complex, as is evident from the word order of the funerary formulae and in mlē-wi:yi-te-b-x-te (H) Ins 3,4,6,7 [43], mlē-wi:l-b-x-te:(H) Ins 6,8, p-w-ri-te:l-b-x-te: (H) Ins 6-8, 13-16, 18, 19 [43] and n-tke(i):l-b-x-te: (H) Ins 13,15,16,18.[43] Therefore when we encounter such a name and a group as X-dē-k-mli @ B175[44] and ḥ-ḷi-k-mli Ins 112 1 L [44], we immediately realize that x(ḥ)- and -mli here must have two different parts of speech. So, if the former is the nominal object of the verbal complexes -dē-k[44] and -ḷi-k-[44], the latter

should be something else. Since the position of the adjective in Meroitic, as in Egyptian, is second to the thing it qualifies, when the adjective is attached to a verbal complex one presumes that it should also qualify the complex. In essence this is the function of the adverbial phrase, as opposed to that of the adjectival predicate. We also remember that in Egyptian the adverbial phrase also comes at the end of the sentence. In conclusion, I suggest that in the name and the group mentioned above, the component x(ḥ)- is perhaps the object of the verbal complexes -dē-k- and -ḷi-k-, and that -mli is perhaps their adverbial phrase. The same thing should be said about -mli in (Y)i-l-h(e)-mli B696, in which -l-h(e)- seems to be the verb -l- "to give" and the dative -h(e)-[44], and about -mh in i-ple-mh: Tañ 83 OS, where -ple- appears to be the same verb as in pi-ši-ple-te Formula D2 Kar 127a 3-4 LA.

VI ii Taking -te- in YE-TḶE-MHE-YE B682 and YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B703 for the verb meaning "to give", prefixed with ye(i-ñ)-, is an alternative way of looking at these names.[45] Accordingly, -mhe- might be an adverbial phrase and their meaning might be something like "one who gives frequently, generously, abundantly".

Whether it is split as Tpē-te-mhe-r @ B620, giving -te-mhe-r as a prefixless version of the above names,

or as T-pēte-mhe-r, yielding -pēte [46] perhaps as the verb prefixed with t-[46], this name appears to be a participle. According to the first splitting, it might mean "one who gives an offering plentifully, generously, frequently", and according to the second it might mean "one who .....s plentifully, generously, frequently".

VI iii a Mle(i) is again thought to act as an adverbial phrase in the verbal complexes Ye-t-re-mli B685 [47] and yē-t-re-mle Tañ 30 OS [47], both of which probably use the verb -re- of Formula K, and also p-wi-de:mlē-l: Mer 9 2 L B1, which appears to accept classification as a participle containing the compound-verb w-ide.[47]

VI iii b It may be recalled that in sub-division V i one alternative interpretation of Yē-ke-ml-n-tē(s-lē) @ E20 was made, namely that it might be a verbal complex or a participle using -ml(-n)- as the verb.[48] The other alternative interpretation is to treat -ml- as an adverbial phrase describing the verbal act as expressed by -ke-.[49] Therefore, as a verbal complex this name (?) might mean "may he/she endure well!" and as a participle it might mean "belonging to him/her who endures well".

VI iii c Lastly in this respect, one mentions ~~W-MLE~~ W-mlē @ B667. Probably, it is a prefixless and suffixless verbal complex employing w- as a verb [50] and -mlē as an adverbial phrase.

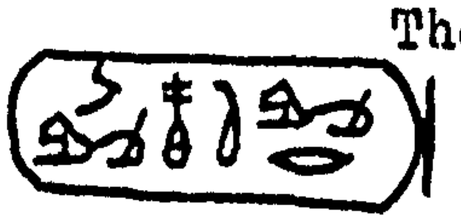
VII i In the present division I wish to study some miscellaneous names and groups containing the components under discussion, in which the part of speech of these components or their relationship with the rest of the elements with which they occur is difficult to determine.

Although Mlē-qēre-br @ B295 is formed by familiar components[51], yet the relationship of any one component with one or both of the other elements of it is indeterminable. Little more can be said about Te-mli-de @ B563 than that it shares the three medial elements in de-te-mlē-de-te Tur 16 LS.[52]

As regards MLĒ-BE-ŠR B294, it combines -be- and -šr.[53] Mlē-be- does not seem to me to be the plural form of mlē, for -be- here is probably a form of -bi- that is so closely associated with šr- in Šr-bi-kde B527, Šr-bi-ye B528 and Šr-be-ten-ide @ B526.

VII ii From what has been said about -tr, in its different forms, it may be concluded that the part of speech of this component is difficult to determine, though there are

certain cases where the component seems to function as a verb.[54] Whatever is its part of speech, it occurs with ml(ē)- and the particle -w(i)-, the particle being known to occur with both of them separately, in MLĒ-WI-TR B301 and Ml-w-terē-r @ B321, where in the last name -r is further added. Here we either have ml(ē)-w(i)- suffixed with -tr and -terē-r or ml(ē)- suffixed with -wi-tr and -w-terē-r. MX(H)E-WI-TR B278 is no doubt a parallel of MLĒ-WI-TR, which accepts its analysis. The group i-mlē-trē-r Tañ 24,26 OS differs from Ml-w-terē-r @ in lacking the medial -w- and in containing the prefix i-. This last element seems to suggest that it might be a participle involving -mlē- and -trē-.

The transliteration of the name of Queen (?)  Nu 25, JEA 35 pl.xvi no.42, vocalized as 'Malētaral' by D. Dunham and M.F.L.Macadam, op.cit.144 no.42, as Mlē-trē-r * allocates it in this sub-division. Accordingly, it differs from Ml-w-terē-r @ in lacking -w- and from i-mlē-trē-r in lacking i-. That the two similar letters should have been written with two different signs ( ) might have been intended to be a warning that they should not be coalesced. Compare the same scheme in , an Egyptian hieroglyphic

version of AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R & B85, though the order of the elements of the reduplicated letter is here reversed.

VII iii Next is the place-name ši-ml(ē) and the name Qē-š-mlē-ñ @ B458.[55] The place-name is found in mre-peri: ši-mlē-te-lē-wi: Kar 17 4-5 LS (=HinD 108), Kar 49 4-5 LA (=HinD 108), mre-peri:ši-mlē-te-lē-tē(s-lē) Kar 128 8-9 LA (=HinD 108), qēre-ñ:ši-mlē-te-lē-wi: Kar 38 5 LS (=HinD 111), are-be-t-ke:ši-mlē-te-lē-wi Kar 92 4 LS (=HinD 103), mete-lh-s: ši-ml-te-lē-wi Kar 11 7 LS (=HinD 124), ms-qēre-s ši-mlē-te-lē Kar 132 6-7 LA (=HinD 288), š-lh ši-mlē-te-lē Kar 128 10 LA (=HinD 112). In these texts the group means "one who is a (title) in ši-ml(ē)." Griffith, M II 30, and Monneret de Villard, MonSNC 25,155 n.2, identify it with Ibrim, the former scholar, Kar vi 81, concluding that the cemetery of Karanog was a burial-place for it as well as for nlēte and aki-ñ. In the text š-lh ši-mlē-te-lē the place-name seems to bear great resemblance to š-lh:mlē-lē: Far 21 25 TA and lh-š mlē-wē-tē(s-lē) Kar 47 3 LS (=HinD 332) which has a version as lh:š mle-yē-s-.[56] Note that the last group clearly demonstrates that -š is separable from lh-. So as to identify š-lh ši-ml(ē)- on the one hand with š-lh:mlē- and lh-š mle(ē)- on the other, we only have to make the last pair overlap, forming š-lh-š mlē*, seeing that

-šī- and -š- interchange. Though we do not have such an hypothetical phrase, we certainly have a group š-lh-š that interchanges with š-lh, as is evident in š-lh-š mnp-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 103 10-11 TA (=HinD 76)and š-lh mnp-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 34 8-9 L/TA,...etc.[56] Having shown the apparent similarity between the components of the place-name on the one hand and the components š- and mle(ē) of š-lh:mlē- and lh-š mle(ē)-yē(wē)-s- on the other, I feel that šī- and -ml(ē)- may be treated as two juxtaposed nouns, the nominal nature of mle(ē)- in the latter groups having been suggested in sub-divisions IV i a,b, above.[56]

As regards Qē-š-mlē-ñ @, it appears to share -š- and -mlē-, of the groups just mentioned, prefixed with qē- and suffixed with -ñ. In the same way we saw the order of the component parts of š-lh (i.e. N+Adj ?) reversed in lh-š mle(ē)- of lh-š mle(ē)-yē(wē)-s-, so we probably see the order of the parts of š-qē- [57] (i.e. N+Adj ?) here reversed and with the same -mlē. Note also that the compound -mlē-ñ agrees in construction with ml-ñ and mlē-n, identified as substantives in sub-division IV ii a. All in all, the comparisons with the above groups seem to suggest that the construction of the name might be Adj+N+N(N+ñ).

VII iv One cannot define the relationship between -mli

and any one, or both, of the parts of the reduplicated mš(e)-[58] in MŠ-MŠE-MLI B354 or the relationship between it and -tmē- in Mli-tmē-s B313. Elsewhere, tmē- seems to be a noun, as one may infer from the construction of, for example, Tmē-ye(i) B606.

A11 THE COMPONENTS mx(e,ē),also mh(e,ē,i),and ml(e,ē,i)

- FOOTNOTES -

1. By this expression it is hoped that distinction will be made between the first constants of the funerary formulae, which are at, atē, (a)x-, ...etc., and these words on the one hand, and the verbal complexes of the formulae, which are p-šē-he-te, p-ši-xr-k-te, ...etc.

2. See HAS 2 8,9,11,19, JEA 35 pls. xv,xvi.

3. See A7 I ii.

4. See A21 II ii & n.15 on whether to read šr or hr.

5. See I n.1 for the term 'first constant' and sub-divisions II i a,b,ii on these words of Formulae C and D2. Under A19 II i and A3 III i b, -r is shown to be capable of functioning as -l(e,i) and -y(e). See also A12 III i.

6. See A12 I, A7 III ii on yetē. More instances of mhe and mlē in constructions that are of special interest are given in sub-division II ii below, while tē mlē is again remarked on in n.8 below. See there and A5 II i.

7. See A12 III i & n.25.

8. In Mer 8 3 tē mlē is how the first and second constants are written. See n.6 above and JEA 4 26.

9. See A7 I ii on (a)x and its different ways of

writing,A7 II i b n.5 on at(e)t- and sub-division II ii of the present discussion for more on Formula G. More is said about X-mlē-ye @ in A12 III v b.

10. On Kdi-mlē-ye and Meli-kdi-ye, the latter one of which is mentioned in II ii below, see A10 III iii and on aqē- and the name containing it see A15 I i, II i. MK-ŠĒR-MLĒ-LI is studied in A16 I ii & n.8, while AP-MLĒ is in A4 I.

11. The same elements with amnp are added to wēš 'Isis' in wēš ñte-s-l-w Ibr 23-4 which immediately follows amnp ñte-s-l-w. One tends to see the component parts of the title s-ñte m[n]p-s Kar 19 12-13 LS (=HinD 74) scattered in amnp ñte-s. Compare the names in A22 II i & n.9.

12. For at he and at(e)t-x- see A7 II i a,b. Obviously influenced by Griffith's remark, M II 13, that ire-q-w (H) Ins 28,32, yire-q-w (H) Ins 94 30 L and yire-qe-l (H) Ins 84, all of which he, op.cit.12, translates as 'south', look as if they are compounded with the Coptic ⲉⲓⲟⲟⲣ , ⲉⲓⲉⲣ- 'river', Hintze, HinSS 34, takes yer for the word 'river'.

13. For the term 'second constant' see I n.1 above. The particle -wi in atet x-mlē-wi appears again but with the adjectival substantive mlē- forming the

compound mlē-wi, in its different writings. See IV i a below. For more on xri:mlē: in the text from Meroe, and the related names see A7 II i b and A21 II ii, and for -mk-s see A16 II.

14. These were already mentioned in sub-division II i b & nn.8,9. See there. For -l(i), -rē-r and -ye see A19 I, II ii, A3 III i b.

15. More examples are given in the subsequent sub-divisions.

16. The particle -wi occurs with -mlē- even when the latter is used as an epithet. Compare for example, atet x-mlē-wi of Formula G mentioned in II ii above. In Kar 104 the letters ...deṇe precede mlē. Though it can be argued that mlē might be the epithet of the word to which they belong, the employment of mlē-wi in Kar 127 is a strong argument in favour of considering the component as a substantive. For more on mlē-wi as the object of the verbal complexes l-b-x-te and yi-te-b-x-te see sub-division IV iv a below.

17. See A12 III ii b. Mlē-wi-ye* and mlē-wi-yē-s* are not as yet recorded. Whether or not they exist is difficult to say.

18. Mlē-wi-yē-s*, which would be an extended version of mle-w-ye is not as yet noted. See n.17 above. The

group lh:š mle-yē-s- is in an unpublished inscription from Tomas, HinD 332 n.21. See also op.cit.p.2 n.5.

19. On -tr and -terē- see A22 I i, ii & n.3, iii, II i, while on -r see A19 I & n.1. See VII ii below for more on some of these names and IV iv c & n.35 below and A2 I iii b, II iii b for more on Mli-wi-de.

20. Zyhlarz's translation of MLĒ-WI-B-MNI * as 'the roads to Amon are beautiful' and 'the place to which Amon comes is good', Kush 9 227 n.1, is in my opinion wrong, for the component -wi- *, which he seems to take for the Egyptian w3t 'road,way', is as is shown above, no other than the particle -wi that is so much associated with mlē- and its different spellings. Consequently, mlē-wi-b * seems to me to be the plural of mlē-wi. If m[ḷ]e-b- in M[ḷ]e-b-s-dē-ke @ B291 and the groups discussed in sub-division IV iv b & n.32 below be accepted as the plural form of the simple mlē-, then mlē-wi-b-* will appear to be its counterpart from mlē-wi-, bearing in mind that it was concluded above that mlē and mlē-wi seem to mean the same thing.

21. See A17 I and A3 IV xi b on -le-mēme in Mli-wi-te(s-le)-mēme @. The group lh:š-mle-yē-s- is a writing of lh-š-mlē-wē-tē(s-lē), as is pointed out in n.18 above. For the view that

qēre-te(s-le) and qēri-s-lē contain the word for 'ruler' in the indirect genitive case, and that the former one of them does not contain a place-name, see sub-division IV i b & n.23 below.

22. See A13 IV & n.9 on trēt(s-l)-w, A3 III i a,b on -lē as a participial ending. For Hintze's classification of mlē-lē(-wi) see the references to HinD accompanying the above citations.

23. Hintze, HinD 338, wonders whether qēre-te is a place-name. As regards mle-w-ye šši-mete-lē:qēri-s-lē:, one sees that both šši-mete- and qēri-s- show -lē, which I here consider to be a participial ending. It therefore seems to me that šši-mete- is not in indirect genitive with qēri-, but rather in apposition with mle-w-ye... qēri-s-lē "one who is a mle-w-ye of a ruler", the construction of this genitive being of the pattern of šē-ni:mni-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 45 4 LA "one who is a priest (?) of Amon". Wanting to use this genitival construction, but confronted with the presence of another title which he perhaps did not want to include in the genitival construction, the scribe might have suffixed šši-mete- with -lē to achieve this end. Both titles are therefore to be translated as undefined nouns,

for to consider the second of them as being defined by -lē will create discord, since the descriptive phrase will have to be rendered as "one who is a mle-w-ye and the šši-mete of a ruler". That they are to be treated as undefined nouns is perhaps supported by šši-mete mle-yē-tē(s-lē)-wi: Ins 129 4-5 LS "one who is a šši-mete and a mle-yē-s" and by apēte mhe-yē-tē(s-lē)-wi: Ins 129 5 LS "one who is an envoy and a mhe-yē-s". Isolating šši-mete from the proper noun, with which it might otherwise have been mistaken as being in the genitive in šši-mete mle-yē-s:mñpte-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 41 5-6 LS, the scribe probably thought this would convey the idea that the title was to be understood as "one who is a šši-mete and (is) a mle-yē-s of Amon of Napata".

24. On -ñ(n) and -k(e,i) and their variant writings see Al I ii, II i.

25. In Kar vi 55 (=Kar 3) Griffith describes peš(s)tē as a 'princely title', and also again in M II 47 & n.5, where he suggests its identity with ψεντης in Αβρατοεις ψεντης LD VI Gr.317. The same views are reiterated in JEA 3 114 z. See MacFI 45-46 for an elaborate explanation of the identification and

for the rendering of the title as 'King's Son'. Hintze, HinD 6, acknowledging the probability of Macadam's translation, offers 'Vizekönig' (=Viceroy) as a meaning. Haycock, JEA 53 115, seems to entertain the idea that the title might mean 'town governor ?'. These renderings are interconnected. Whatever the precise Meroitic connotation it is evident that the word is of Egyptian origin and is not susceptible of being broken down.

25a. See A12 III iv a, A1 II i.

26. See A12 III i, iv b for the ending -y(e) and in the names with mlē-, A5 VIII i & n.69 for -te(ē)- with mlē-, A5 VII i, A3 III i c on -te(ē)- concealing -s-le(ē) and A10 II ii for the names with kdi-.

27. See A3 III i a,b, A19 I, II i on -l(ē,i) and -r. Griffith reads s̆-hē-ḷ instead of mhē-l, but the latter reading is confirmed by mhe-li: and mhē-br-l, both of which are read by him as is given. On -br- see A9 I i. In one of its meanings, -br- is believed to be the word for 'man'. For the names with adjectival predicates see division III above.

28. The same view was taken with regard to the names and groups containing ax-, and its variants, prefixed to verbal complexes and participles under A7 I ii,

IV i a,b. The introductory remarks made in sub-divisions I ii, IV i a, of this reference, are relevant to mhe and mlē in their usages in this and the subsequent sub-divisions. For names employing the present components as adjectival predicates see division III above.

29. See A3 I,II iii for the verb l- and A5 III i for the verb -te-.

30. See sub-division VI i, A7 VI ii a,b and A3 II i for more on these groups and on the name.

31. See A2 I i on the verb -d(e,ē) and A2 III iii a, where -d-t(d) is believed to be a writing of -de-te(ē), and compare the construction of hi-de-te MacN O Plqe, thought under A7 IV i b to be a version of axi-de-te: Ins 94 23 L, the dativeless singular form of the plural axi-de-b-xe: Ak I 26 42 OS. The component hi- (i.e. axi-) is believed under the last reference to be in the same relationship with the verbal complex -de-te as mhi- is with its variant form -d-t(d).

32. On Ye-le-b-ye see A3 II iii and A7 VI ii d. See A2 III ii a 4 on -dē-ke and III ii a 5 on it being prefixed with -s. As regards mle-b-s- one more instance of it is obtained by way of the following

splitting: qēre-s mle-b:s mte-lē-wi: Kar 17 8-9 LS (=HinD 207). Splitting these groups similarly, Hintze, loc.cit., describes -s in qēre-s and mle-b-s as being one of parallelism (?) (Koordinierung), but, op.cit.p.27, he is uncertain whether mle-b- is a noun. According to its splitting as qēre-s mle:De-we-kdi-l:mte-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 47 13 LS (=HinD 252), this text appears as a parallel of the one above and shows similarity, in receiving -s, between qēre-s and mte-s- and not between qēre-s and mle-b-s as before. Furthermore, mle- is in the singular this time. Hintze does not analyse the text in Kar 47 in the same way as he does the one in Kar 17, though both texts are virtually identical, but follows an alternative analysis by Griffith and thus contradicts himself. Griffith's analysis, on the other hand, is to split the respective texts as qēre sm-le-b:s mte-lē-wi: Kar 17, which he translates as 'second (?) belonging to the king's wives', and qēre sm-le: De-we-kdi-l:mte-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 47, which he, op.cit.62, translates as 'of the mate of the royal consort Zewekazil'. No doubt both ways of looking at these texts are possible. For mte- see A23 I,II. On the assumption that mle-b-s- exists, the plural form mle-b-, in this group as well as in the name

M[l̥]e-b-s-dē-ke, compares with mlē-wi-b-*, presumed to be the plural form of mlē-wi in sub-division IV i a & n.20 above.

33. See A2 III i a 1 for qe-de, A2 III i b and A6 V ii c & n.47 for more on the name and A12 II ii for more on the group.

34. See A2 I iv & n.21, II iii a,b, III ii a 5 & n.75. For MLĒ-WI-TR see sub-divisions IV i a above and VII ii below.

35. See A2 IV ii c for more about the name with -wi-de, A2 II iii b for the name with -th-ide and A8 II i b for the name with -tk-ide. The above analysis of Mli-wi-de is preferable to the one made in sub-division IV i a above.

36. See A6 II i a & nn.7,10. For the descriptive phrase with s̆-ke- see A6 II i b & n.15.

37. See A6 V ii c for the ending -s̆ in Mli-teke-s̆ and compare the name with -s̆e studied in IV iv c & n.33 above, while for -li as a participial ending see A3 III i a,b and for the name ending in it see A3 III iv (end). These two names are compared with certain compounds, in which x- occupies the place of mli-, in A7 IV ii.

38. See A2 I iii b & n.15 and A13 V iii. Compare ~~W-MLĒ~~ W-mlē @ B667 studied in VI iii c & n.50 below.

39. For the alternative view that these might be adverbial phrases see VI i-iii below.

40. On yē- and -tē, together or the one of them without the other, see A12 II i and A5 V i. If -ke- is the familiar verb prefix the construction of -ke-ml-(n)- will compare with that of ke-de- of A2 III i a 1 ff. For -n- as an infix in verbal complexes see A1 IV ii, for -tē(s-lē) see A3 III i c, where š-šēr-li-tē(s-lē) is mentioned, and A5 VII i,ii. For the alternative analysis of the complex see sub-division VI iii b and for š-šēr probably meaning 'scribe' see RecCh 580.

41. See A12 II i, viii for ye- and yi-ñ- and A5 IV i a, ii d for -te- as verb prefixes. See also A3 III i a,b, IV iv and A12 III i, IV iv for -li and -ye as participial endings. The other alternative interpretation of the names may be found in sub-division VI ii below.

42. On -rē-r as a definite article and a participial ending see A19 i,ii, A3 III i b. Compare MLI-X-RĒ-R (?) B306 in III above.

43. Since the inscriptions are damaged, the texts are not as complete as they are given above. Furthermore, there are some insignificant variations in the

spelling of l-b-x-te. The texts containing mlē-wi have already been discussed in sub-divisions IV i a & n.16, v a above. For n-tke(i) and the text containing it see A3 II iii, A8 II ii.

44. See A2 III ii a 1-4 for the verbal complex -dē-k- A3 II ii for the verbal complex -li̤-k̤-, A7 IV i b for more about x(h̤)- and its relationship with these verbal complexes, and A3 II ii and A7 VI ii b for (Y)i-l-h(e)-mli. See also VI iii c n.50.

45. See sub-division V ii above for the other alternative analysis, A5 III i for the verb -te- and A5 III ii, A3 IV iv and A12 II iii, viii for more on the names.

46. See A5 III ii & n.12 for the first analysis, A18 II & n.10 for the second analysis, A19 II ii, III A3 III i b, IV iv on -r as a participial ending. See also A5 IV ii d on t- as a verb prefix.

47. See the discussion of Ye-t-re-mli and yē-t-re-mle in A2 IV ii c & n.131, also A12 II vi & n.17 on the verb -r(e)-. On p-wi-de:mlē-l: see A2 IV ii a,b,c.

48. See sub-division V i above, A12 II vi & n.16, A5 VII ii.

49. See A1 V on -ke- being a verb and for the rendering of the above complex.

50. W- as a verb was already alluded to in sub-division

IV iv d above when discussing Mli-te-we-n B 311. The contrasting of the positions of mli in these two names clearly elucidates the theory about how the position of the adjective in relation to the verb or verbal complex decides whether the adjective is to be interpreted as a predicate, adjectival substantive object of the verb or verbal complex, or as an adverbial phrase. Because mli is prefixed in Mli-te-we-n it is treated as an object, whereas because it is suffixed here it is treated as an adverbial phrase. See sub-divisions IV iv a,c, VI i for more on this subject, and A2 I iii b & n.15 for more names and groups containing -w(e,i)- as a verb.

51. See A9 I i & n.2 on the different component parts of the name.

52. See A2 II ii & n.32.

53. See A10 III i b & n.17, A21 II ii & n.15 on the views about šr-.

54. See A22 I i, iii, II i. See what is said about Mli-tr-q-ide B314 in sub-division IV iv c & n.34 above.

55. See the note under B 458 on the reading of the name.

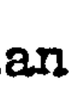
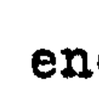
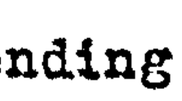
56. For lh:š mle-yē-s- see sub-division IV i a & n.18. On the possible nominal nature of -š- in š-lh, lh-š

and š-lh-š see A15 I iii & nn.10,12. The component lh is probably used adjectively, and though this employment fits in š-lh, it does not in lh-š and š-lh-š. Š- again occurs with -qē, in the form š-qē, which might be its epithet. See the same reference as above.

57. See n.56.

58. See A12 III ii a & nn.29,33. The reduplication of mš(e)- in this name is alluded to in A12 III v a & n.49.

THE COMPONENT y(e,ē,i), a(e,i)-

I The function of the component y(e,ē,i) varies according to its position in the word in which it occurs. It can stand for a- as an initial letter of a noun, such as in, for example, yetē "water", in yetē mhe:pi-ši-h-te: Kar 107 3-4 LS[1] and yetepē-, for atepē 'offering(s)' [1], in yetepē-ke:dēt-l-xe: pi-ši-tk-<ke>-s Formula J Arm W la LS or, as Griffith, JEA 3 123, suggested, it can intrude between two vowels to avoid the one of them being followed by the other, as in PY-EŠI B435 and Ty-eši B641. When prefixed to a verb, in which case it is seen to interchange with a(e,i)-, this element appears to act as a verbal prefix, but when suffixed, it seems to have a participial implication[2], having been noticed in the latter case to alternate with -l(e,ē,i) and -r(ē-r) or to accompany the former. There are times when -y(e,ē,i) is added to non-verbal constructions. Where in these it interchanges with -l(e,ē,i) and -r(ē-r), it is assumed to have something of the quality of a definite article or a participial ending, according as fits the word in which it is present. But when it has neither quality, it is perhaps merely afformative, being presumably similar to the Egyptian ending  ,  ,  , etc., in its variant ways of writing.[3]

A12 I - II i

In the next divisions I will study some of the important uses of y(e,ē,i) in greater detail.

II i As a verb prefix, so far as the B- and C-words of filiation are concerned, Hintze, HinS 36, 67-8, noticed that ye- interchanges with e- in the transitional inscriptions, being written e- in older texts and t(e)- in later ones. Outside these, even in the funerary formulae, such a consistency is not observed, for we find y-, ye-, yē-, yi- and i- alternating as prefixes to verbs ranging from the old to the late period. Compare, to mention a few, ye-ple-te Kar 79 11-12 LA, i-pl—te Kar 101 19 LA, both of which are of Formula D1, yē-ple-t Tañ 81-2 OS, y-tx-tē Ins 135 8-9 LA/S, yi-tx-b-x-te Ins 137 4 OA, both of which are of Formula G, ye-tx-ke-s Formula J Sh 19 10-11 LS, yi-h-b-x-te Ins 137 5 OA, yi-he-b Ins 135 6 LA/S and yi-he-ke-te Far 2 5-6 LA and i-h-te Far 21 21 TA, which are the verbal complexes of Formula A. These, and many other examples, for which there is neither need nor space to mention, representing the different Meroitic periods, leave little doubt in my mind that the interchangeability of y(e,ē,i)- and i- as prefixes is something that is not restricted to any particular period at all.

Though the verb or verbal complex, whether or not it is part of a participial construction, in most cases appears with a prefix, yet it is also possible for it to occur prefixless. Therefore we find de-b-x: Tañ 113,115 OS alongside e-de-b-x: Tañ 137 [4], px-t: Ibr 8 OS as well as i-px-tē: Tañ 113,115, and tk-tē: Tañ 151 with yē-tk-tē: Tañ 48. So far as one can judge from the contexts of each one of these pairs, except perhaps px-t and i-px-tē, there seems to be little difference in usage between any one member of these pairs and the other. Since the verbs in the descriptive phrases in the funerary inscriptions may also occur without prefixes, one has the suspicion that the verb alone, in one way or another, is probably capable of expressing an idea, even distinguishing Tense and Person, with or without the assistance of prefixes.[4] This might sound extraordinary, but one can hardly arrive at a different conclusion owing to the similarity, or even, dare one say, the identity, in usage between the prefixless forms of the verbal complexes and their other forms with prefixes.

But how can we explain the profusion of the verb prefixes, especially y(e,ē,i)- and a(e,i)- ? At the present I cannot offer a satisfactory explanation. However,

some attempts in this direction have been made by some scholars. Dr Macadam, MacN 60, isolates i-, of i-de MacN O Plqe, and sees it as 'being something in the nature of a pronoun or a concord-prefix, or as in some way having the effect of one'.[5] He also tells me that he thinks the same thing about y(e,ē,i)- and a(e)-.

In ZyM 461-2 2 b, Zyhlarz considers a- to be the personal prefix first person singular, ye(i)- to be the personal prefix third person masculine singular and te(i)- to be the personal prefix third person feminine singular, just as is in Semitic, when they occur in the verbal complexes. He further analyses ye- and yi-, the first as being the prefix y- with the infix -e-, which he thinks expresses continuity, i.e. the subjunctive, op.cit. 437 d, and the second as the same y- with the infix -i-, which he believes denotes fulfilment of action, i.e. the past tense, comparing them with ya- 'das Fiens' of Bedauye and yi- 'das Faktum' of Saho respectively, loc.cit. & 457 20. So, according to Zyhlarz's view ye-šē Ins 95 1 L Gr [5a] will mean 'he does, makes'. On the other hand, according to Griffith, M II 51, the same group must mean 'of', 'done by', which he translates in its contexts as 'made by (?)'. Zyhlarz is in fact not the first to

equate the Meroitic ye- and te- with the Semitic Tense and Person prefixes, for it was Schuchardt, WZKM 26 (1912) 416, who first did so, only later, op.cit. 27 (1913) 180, to abandon it. Hintze, whose argument, HinSS 365, I find cogent, invalidates Zyhlarz's claims about a-, ti- and y(e,i)-, showing in his table, op.cit. 363, and enumerations, op.cit. 364-5, how Meroitic prefixes perplexingly interchange. He rightly believes that in the case of y(e,i)- it is not certain that the third person masculine singular is meant, nor that Tense is thereby distinguishable, since ye- and yi- are found to interchange in the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae, the variation being merely the common graphic phenomenon which appears even in spellings of the name of Philae (pelqe-, pilqe-). Furthermore, Zyhlarz's way of taking y(e,i)- contradicts his own view, ZyM 415-6, that a- is no more than e- coming initially. Since e-, in the B- and C-words of filiation, in the older funerary inscriptions is spelt ye- in the transitional inscriptions (this means that a-, e- and ye- are all the same thing) and interchanges with t(e)- in later texts, here lies disproof of the claims about the functions of a- and ye(i)- and consequently of te(i)- [6], as distinguishing Tense and Person

in the way Zyhlarz thinks they do. Consequently one agrees with Schuchardt, WZKM 27 178, that ye-, yi-, e- and a- are merely variants, taking into account Hintze's conclusion, HinSS 36, mentioned at the outset, that ye- is the prefix to the B- and C-words of filiation, written e- in older texts and t(e)- in later ones.

So much for the function of y(e,ē,i)- and a(e,i)- as prefixes. In the following sub-divisions I propose to point out the names and relevant groups in which the present component occurs as a prefix.

II ii With the verb -d- [7], or any one of its variant spellings, the prefix is present in ye-d: Ins 94 9,16,19 L, w-ye-d: Ins 94 10, where w- is perhaps the enigmatic w- so often encountered preceding y(e,i)- in certain verbal complexes [7], qe-yi-de-wi MacN O Plqe and Yi-dē-ye B691.[7] While in ye-d-xi: Ak I 5-6 OS and ye-d-x-nē MuGr 31 1-2 O Gr, Kawa 73 2 T Gr and presumably Nš-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B385, according to this way of splitting it [8], y(e) is added to the verb containing the dative[8], in ye-de-t: Ins 94 14,30 L, Yi-d-t-ye @ B692, Tre-yi-d-t-li @ B629, yi-dē-t-, in Yi-dē-t-beli-le @ B690, and yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te, the complex of Formula C formed by two overlapping verbal complexes [8], ye(i)- is the prefix to a compound of the pattern de-te(ē).[8] If -y- be considered as belonging to

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-d-d, the compound -y-d-d [8], in Tme-y-d-d @ £ B605, may be included in the above. The compound -de(ē)-k(e) is directly or indirectly prefixed with y(i)- in A-y-dē-ke B114, where a-, perhaps prothetic, very peculiarly appears, yi-dē-ke-te Formula A Kar 43 7-8 LA, yi-dē-te-di-k-te, of Formulae C and E, and yi-n-ši-de-ke-li Mer 13 2,3 O Gr.[9]

II iii Of the names and groups using the verb -te-, meaning 'to give'[10], prefixed with ye(ē,i)- are yi-te-b-x-te (H) Ins 3,4,6,7, ye-te-b-xe: Ins 101 16 L, Yi-te-li B708, Axe-ye-te-li-ye B25, Ḥi-ye-te-li B193, Ye-te-ñ-ye B683, YE-TE-MHE-YE B682, YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B703 and apparently Yē-k-te-be-l B687.[10] There is the possibility that the same verb and suffix are present in ABE-W-YE-TE-Y B3 and W-YE-TE-YE B670.[11] The element (abe-)w- is difficult to explain, though w- might be identical with the one in w-ye-d: Ins 94 10 L, where we have a verb prefixed with -ye- and additionally with w-.[11]

II iv The verb -l-, meaning 'to give' [12], with or without the dative, occurs with y(e,i)- in y-l-s-ni Mer 9 8,9 L B1, y-l-x Formula A Mer 25 8 OA, Y-l-ẋ-ñ @ C35, y-l-x-te: Formula A Far 43 6 OA, (Y)i-l-h(e)-mli B696, YI-L-HE-N-K B 697 and Ye-le-b-ye @

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B672.[12]

It seems obvious that y(e,ē,i)-, directly or indirectly introducing the verb -tk(e,i)- in yi-tk-b Ins 135 8-9 LA/S, a way of writing the verbal complex of Formula C, yē-tk-tē: Tañ 48 OS, yi-tki-te-lē: Ins 132 5-6 LA/S (=HinD 320), ye-tk-b-xi: Ak I 13 OS, y-n-tke Ins 102 3 L, y-n-tke-l-w Ins 111 8-9 L and ye-te-tke Ins 97 9-10 L, again introduces a version of the simple verb in AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ B26 and the compound-verb in Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE B539.[13] Note that in the last name -we- is once more encountered preceding -y-.[13]

II v Directly joined to the simple verb -we(i)- in y-wi-tē: Ins 94 9 L[14] and ye-we-b-x-te Formula F Ins 137 6 OS [14], the prefix y(e,i)- immediately precedes the compound-verb -w-id(e)-[14] in y-w-ide(i): Mer 7 5 LS, Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) B710 [14] and Yi-w-id-ye B711 [14], from which it is separated by -t- in y-t-ẇ-d-s-ni: Mer 7 4-5 L Bl and in be-y-t-ẇ-d-y[e]: Mer 7 7 L Bl.[14]

There is no need to quote more than yi-xr: EKE 26 12 LA and yi-xr-b Ins 135 7 LA/S as examples of the verb of Formula B prefixed with yi-[15], which seems to be present in Ati-y-xr @ B100, YI-XR-S-MĒME B693 and AQ-Y-KR B65 [15], where, in the last name, -kr is perhaps

a variant form of -xr, as is suggested by the existence of p-ši-kr-ke-s Arm W 1a, b LS, 3a,b LS and p-ši-kr-b-xe-ke-s Arm W 2 LS, the Arminna West versions of this Formula.

II vi In ye-k-s-ni: Mer 8 11 L Bl, [ye]-k-s-ni: Mer 8 10 L Bl, ye-k-s-ni: Mer 8 12 L Bl, Y-K-LI B713, TB-H-RE-Y-N-K-LI B543, Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be B694, Yi-k-ñ-t-rē-r @ B695, Yē-ke-ml-n-tē(s-lē) @ E20 [16] and I-K-RĒ-R £ C12 y(e,ē,i) and i- alternate as prefixes to -k(e)-, which is most likely to be a verb.[16]

It has been proposed that -r(e)- might be a verb prefixed with y(e)- in ye-re-s-ni Mer 9 6 L Bl, ye-re-tx-n-ke Mer 9 5-6 and with an additional be- and the intrusive -t- in be-y-t-re-y[e] Mer 9 8-9.[17] It is possible that we might have the same verb, also spelt -ri-, with or without the dative -h- in ye-ri-l-w: Mer 8 4 L Bl, ye-ri-tē(s-lē)-wi Mer 7 17 LS, ye-re-h-lē Kawa 1 2-3 O Gr, 6 2 O Gr, 8 2-3 T Gr, 13 2 O Gr, 14 3-4 T Gr, 18 2-3 T Gr, 52 4-5 O Gr, 93B 2 L, 95 4-5 L, 98 3 L, [ye]-re-h-lē Kawa 2 2 O Gr, 15 3 O Gr, y[e-re]-h-lē Kawa 9 3 O Gr, [ye-re]-h-lē Kawa 4 2 O Gr and [ye-r]i-h-lē Kawa 16 1 O Gr.[18] According to their splitting as Ye-t-re-mli B685, yē-t-re-mle-wi-de-tē Tañ 30-31 OS, the name and the group seem to share variant

forms of -y-t-re- in be-y-t-re-y[ẹ] above, the prefix y(e,ē)- being thought to be written e- in E-T-RE-TE-Y & B172.[19]

II vii Mention should also be made of y(e,i)- in ye-s-bē-he Mer 7 2 LS, 9 3 L Bl, and the related names and groups [20], and in ye-s̆ē: Ins 95 1 L Gr, 96 3 L Gr, 116 L, 122 2-3 L, ye-[s̆ē] Ins 124 1 L Gr and Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B706.[20] The components -mk-, -lēl(i)-, probably having -lili- as another version, and -br(e)- are involved in verbal complexes and participles in which yi-, sometimes spelt i-, is the prefix.[21] These are YI-MK-LI B700 and Yi-mk-li-t(s-l) @ B701, yi-lēli-tē: Far 20 2-3 TA (=HinD 27), i-lēl-tē: Tañ 120 OS and Yi-lili-ke-te @ B699, Yi-bre-te-y B689, I-br @ B203, S̆-WE-(Y)I-BR B537 [21] and S̆-we-yi-b-ye B538.

II viii Y(e,i)- appears as a prefix to -wle-, in YI-WLE-TE-Y B712 [22], to the compound-verb -tn-ide-, in yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l: Ak I 1 OS [22] and perhaps ..yi-tn-ide @ D80, to -pētē-[22], in Ye-pētē-li B675, from which it is separated by -t- in y-t-pētē Ins 94 16 L, and to -qēr-, in Ye-s-qēr-be @ B680, where -s- is an additional prefix.[22] If -mhe- is an adjective verb[22] ye(i)- is perhaps separated

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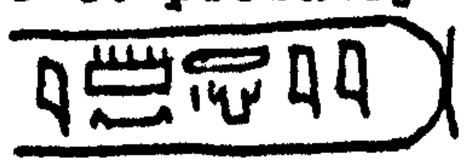
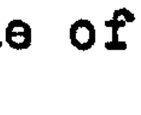
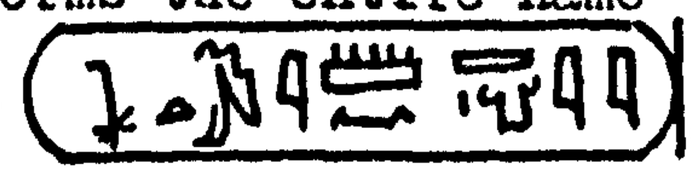
from the verb by -te- and -ñ-te- in YE-TE-MHE-YE B682 and YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B703, according to one alternative view about these names [22], and inexplicably reduplicated in YE-Y-MH-R B686.[22]

III i Not to repeat much of what has been said elsewhere about -y(e,ē,i) as a suffix [23], one may briefly say that it sometimes seems to share the qualities of -l(e,ē,i) and -r(ē-r) as a definite article and a participial ending, whether it is added to nouns, qualified or unqualified or in the genitive with others, or to verbal complexes. When seeming not to behave like these two, it appears to be merely afformative, serving no apparent grammatical function. In this respect it is similar to the Egyptian ending , , in its different forms, as was briefly pointed out earlier on.[23] In this case it probably has a prototype as in the name of Queen  Nu 26, JEA 35 pl.xv 10 b, written without as , loc.cit.10 a. Since this is a lady's name, this fact might at first sight be taken as evidence supporting Zyhlarz's conclusion, ZyM 427, that -ye, like kdi, is a means of building feminine names. Because this element is found in masculine and feminine names alike, which

fact is acknowledged by Zyhlarz, Hintze, HinSS 359, seems to me right in dismissing this postulation and in concluding that -ye is used in building names without reference to the sex of the name-bearer. If we equate the compound in the Napatan name with Meroitic tek(e) [24], then might be transcribed into Meroitic as -teke-ye(i) * and the whole name as Amni-teke-ye(i) *.[24] On the acceptance of the given transciptions, the compound -teke-ye(i) * is perhaps identical with TEKE-YE B555 [24], also written TEKE-YE-WI, which is a masculine name. The ending -ye being consequently the same thing in both names, it should be afformative, as is evident in its omission in one of the writings of the queen's name. Therefore -ye() appears to be a suffix added to the word teke( )- to yield teke( )-ye( ) which forms the entire name TEKE-YE(-WI) and perhaps part of  .

Zyhlarz, Kush 4 27, maintains that -ye is an indefinite pronoun that often acts as a copula in nominal sentences, and so translates Wes-mhe-ye @ B653 [25] as 'Isis is Mikhe' (i.e. 'goddess of richness'). More or less the same view is held by Priese, MIO 14 172-3 1.4, who thinks that -ye is a copulative or deictic element, or something similar, meaning 'ist es' (lit. 'is he,she'....etc.).

Therefore, MLĒ-YE B302, according to him, means "'er ist ein Guter' oder ähnlich" (='He is a good (person)', or something similar). So far as Wēs-mhe-ye @ is concerned, -ye does not seem to have such a copulative function, for the relationship between the proper name wēs 'Isis' and -mhe-, "abundant, bountiful",...etc., does not seem to be different from that between x- "boon, benefit" on the one hand and -mh- and -mlē- on the other in X-mh-r @ B177, X-mlē-ye @ B178 and (a)x-mlē-l(i); namely the relationship between a noun and its epithet.[25] Therefore, Wēs-mhe-ye @ contains a qualified noun (wēs) receiving the ending -ye which, in this particular case, appears to be merely afformative. Unable to see the copulative function of -ye, I agree with Priese's latter suggestion, MIO 14 173 1.5, that this suffix appears to behave as a relative adjective meaning "one who....".

In the next sub-divisions I will cursorily mention the names and relevant groups in which -y(e,ē,i) appears to function as an afformative ending, a definite article or a participial ending.

III ii a It seems that all the words found independently suffixed with -y(e,ē,i) are nouns. Of the names containing such nouns we have ABR-YE (?) B8 [26],

Am-ye B51, Ame-ye C3, also accepting reading and splitting as Ahe-ye C1 and A-se-ye C5 [26], AMERĒ-YE B35 [26], (A)mete-ye B37 [26], APĒTE-YE B55 [26] and B1-ye B140.[26] There are also Xr-ye B187 [27], Hr-ye C11, also readable as Mr-ye, HM-YE B196 and Lt-ye B252.[27] The noun kd(e,i)-[28] receives -ye(ē), that is sometimes followed, or separated from it, by other elements, in Kd(i)-ye B225, also known as a way of spelling Kde-yē-t(e) B208, Kde-yē-ñ B207. and Kdi-b-ye @ B211, also spelt [K]DI-BE-Y (?). It is difficult to determine whether -ye in Kd(i)-ye is acting as a definite article, replacing -1 in Kdi-1 B212 [28], or is merely afformative. Whatever it is it seems to be added to the undefined kdi and Kdi-b B210 to yield Kd(i)-ye and Kdi-b-ye respectively.

It is possible that the interchanging components mde-, mte- and mēd- , in Mde-ye @ B253, mde-y-beli: Ak I 21 OS, mte-y-beli: Ak I 31-2 and Mēd-ye-ye @ B274, ms- and mš-, in MS-YE B349 and mš-yē-s Tañ 91 OS, and nt- and ñte-, in Nt-ye B392 and ÑTE-Y[E] B402, are nouns suffixed with the afformative -y(e,ē,i).[29]

Mn- and mñ- are perhaps writings of the same component receiving -ye(i) in Mn-ye B336 and Mñ-yi-qe @ B337.[30]

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We also have Nš-ye B384, A-NŠ-YI B52, Nš-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B385 and Š-nš-ye @ B522, in all of which -ye(i) occurs with nš-.[31] The last name accepts three alternative splittings. We probably have nš-ye- followed by a prefixless verbal complex (-d-xe-tē) or a participle (-d-xe-s-lē), or merely nš- followed by the same verbal complex or participle but prefixed with -ye-, or we have nš-ye followed by the same complex still prefixed with ye-, in which case the name might accept splitting as Nš-ye͡ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē)*, the two medial -ye͡ye- being assumed to have been assimilated into a single -ye-. For simplicity's sake the first view is taken of the name throughout the present work.

The components šb-, in Šb-ye B478, tbi-, in Tbi-ye @ B546, qēr(e), in qēre-yi Ak I 1 OS and Q̣<ē>re-y @ E15, and probably teke-, in TEKE-YE(-WI) B555, are clearly nominal in nature, since the first three are elsewhere known to receive both -l(ē)- and -ye.[32]

In Tepe-ye-tmi-te @ B571 tepe-[33] might be a noun suffixed with -ye juxtaposed with another noun ending with -te. The component -tmi- in this name is perhaps the same word as the one in the names to be mentioned next. It is likely that t(ē)l- and tel(ē,i)- in Tl-ye @ B600, Tēl-ye @ B584, TELĒ-YE B558 and TELI-YE B559, tme(ē,i)-[33]

and tem-, in Tmē-ye(i) B606, Tmi-ye B608, Tem-ye @ B564 and perhaps Tme-y-d-d @ ḣ B605 [33], the- and thi-, in THE-YE B588 [33] and thi-y: KO 3 2 L, are variant forms of the respective components and that they are nouns suffixed with the afformative -y(e,i).

The last names in this series are Tēb-ye B582 and Tēš-ye @ B585. Tēb- in the former name might be as much a way of writing tbi-, of Tbi-ye above, as mēd- is of mde- and mēš- is of mš- in Mēš-s-yi @ B276. The last name is mentioned in sub-division III iv c below.

III ii b Mhe- and mle(ē)- are believed to be adjectival substantives in Mhe-ye @ B282, MLĒ-YE B302, mhe-yē-tē(s-lē)- Ins 129 4-5 LS (=HinD 49), mle(ē)-yē-s Kar 41 5-6 LS (=HinD 100), Kar 56 7-8 L/TS (=HinD 291),...etc.[34], and mle-w-ye Ins 137a 2 OA, where -ye and -yē- are seen to alternate, sometimes preceded or followed by other elements. Here might belong Mli-y-rē-r @ B318 [35], though its construction agrees with that of the names of the next sub-division.

III iii Sometimes a noun or an adjectival substantive receives both -l(e,ē,i)-[36] and -y(e,ē,i). Of such names might be Api-l-ye B58 [37], in its different forms, -pē-lē-yi, in Kdi-pē-lē-yi B216 [37], and Belē-lē-ye @ B118[37], according

to this way of splitting it. We have both suffixes with br-s- [38], in BR-TĒ(S-LĒ)-YE B143, kdi-s- [38], in Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye B223, qē- [38], in QĒ-LE-YE B445, md- [38], in MḌ-LI-YE B254, qērē- [38], in Qērē-lē-ye B455, šb- [38], in ŠB-L-YE B478, and in reversed order with mete [38], in METE-YĒ-L B270. Note that the same components as, or varying writings of, the last ones have already been encountered with -y(e,i) alone in the previous sub-division.[38] Like METE-YĒ-L above, the name Mli-y-rē-r @ B318 has -y- preceding the article.[39]

III iv a Sometimes a component intrudes between the noun and -y(e,i). Of such components are -k(i)- with ar(ē)-[40] and ml(e)- [40], in Arē-k-ye B 78, Ar-ki-ye B87, Mle-k-ye @ B292 and ml-k-yē-s Ins 131 8 LA, and -ñ- with aqē-[40], in Aqē-ñ-y @ B63 and -qē-ñ-ye, in Š-qē-ñ-ye B524. More instances of the intrusive -ñ- and -ye(i)- are Teri-ñ-ye @ B575[41], xire-tte-ñ-yi Ins 94 6 L [41], šē-b-ñ-yi: Ins 94 5 L [41], qr-ñ-yi: Ins 94 5 L, qēre-<ñ>-yi: Ins 94 5 L, Ibr 3 OS [41], QĒRE-Ñ-YE B450, tx-ñ-yi: Ins 94 4,5-6 L,[41] txe-ñ-yi: Ins 94 18 L, pqr-ñ-yi Ak I 2 OS, Ibr 3-4 OS and pel-mēš-ñ-yi Ins 92 16 O. The related descriptive phrase qr-ñ-yi and the name QĒRE-Ñ-YE, without -ye(i), have the

same elements as the title qēre-ñ, in,for example, qēre-ñ-lē-wi: Kar 94 9-10 LA (=HinD 8).

III iv b An unspecified -te(ē)- intervenes between -y(e), whether or not the latter is accompanied by -l-, and mlē-, in Mlē-te-y @ B297, also spelt Mlē-tē-ye @, mri-, in MRI-TE-L-YE B342, and tbi-, in Tbi-tē-l-ye @ B545.[42] Both this -tē- and -ñ- of the previous sub-division probably intrude in Mlē-tē-[ñ]-ye @ B299. The restoration of the medial -ñ- is influenced by the belief that, while in the first name we have -te(ē)- and -y(e) and in Mlē-tē-n @ B298 we have -tē- and -n,in the restored name it is likely that we probably have all these elements combined. The component -ñ- has been preferred to -n- because, as an intrusive element, it is commoner with -y(e) than is -n. Again mlē- and tbi- have already been met with suffixed with -ye alone in sub-divisions III ii a,b above.

III iv c The component -š(i)-, also of an unknown nature, occurs in Xrē-š-ye B181 and K-id-xre-ši-[ye] D36, separating -ye from xrē(e)-, which is thought to be a noun.[43] It is perhaps written -s- in Mēš-s-yi @ B276, where mēš- might be a form of mš(s)- seen in sub-division III ii a above to receive -ye(ē).[43]

Reading Qē-ṣ̌(ē)-ye B456, instead of Qē-ṃ(ē)-ye, connects this name with the above, in which case -ṣ̌(ē)- may be treated as being the same word as -š(i)-, isolating qē- [44] from the suffix. The alternative reading (i.e. Qē-ṃ(ē)-ye) gives -ṃ(ē)- as the intrusive factor, thereby linking the name with QERE-M-YE B442, QĒRE-S-M-YE B453 [45], in both of which -m- is believed to follow qere- and qēre-s- [45], MŠ-M-YE B355, where mš-, as before, is involved [45], and Nmr(N-mr)-mē-ye B375. Whatever its part of speech, adē-, as the writing of Adē:mē-ye B15 indicates, is separated from the suffix by what seems to be the same -mē-. Though this component can be a noun (cf. adē-l: Kar 84 9 LA (=HinD 40)), in which event the name will belong here, it may equally well contain a verb prefixed with a- and the entire name may be related with A-dē-ye B16, mentioned in sub-division IV i a & n.59.

The last word on the separation of -y(e,ē,i) from its noun is reserved for Šb-s-tni-ye B477.[46] It seems to me that this feminine name shares the components of Šb-ye B478 [46], containing in their midst the entire S-tni @ B471. [46]

III v a Still on the subject of the addition of -y(e,ē,i) to nouns, in this and the following sub-division

I will deal with the names formed by two words, be they nouns or a noun and an adjective (epithet or predicate), receiving this component. Dealing with the names consisting of two nouns first, we have this component added to ar(e,ē)- [47] already suffixed with -br-[47], in Ar-br-ye B66, with -trē- [47], in Are-trē-ye B75, and with -tn- [47], in Arē-tn-ye @ B81. There are also BR-TR-YE B145 and Kdi-tr-ye B224 combining the respective words for "man" and "woman" with -tr-.[48]

The components xr, mdē, beli, met(e), qēre, qē, mn, nš̆, ms(š̆), apēte and kdi, or their variants [49], previously seen to occur each one of them separately suffixed with -y(e,ē,i), whether or not other suffixes were present, have been found grouped into pairs receiving the same component in XR-MDĒ-YE £ B183, Beli-met-ye @ B122, Qērd-qē-ye B452, Qēre-mn-ye @ B449, T-qē-ye @ B625, NŠ̆(N-Š̆)-QĒ-YE B383, MS-MŠ̆-YE B348, also Ms-mš̆-yi @, Ms-mete-yi @ B345 and Apēte-kdi-yi B54. One might perhaps include Mrē-ṣ̆-mete-ye @ B341 [50], despite its intrusive -ṣ̆-. The word mrē- might be a form of mr(i) familiar in one of its spellings from MRI-TE-L-YE B342 quoted in sub-division III iv b above.[50]

Some of these names, without -ye(i), recur elsewhere as entire names, such as QĒRE-MNI B448 (cf. Qēre-mn-ye),

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Apēt(i)-kde B56 [51] (cf.Apēte-kdi-yi), and BR-TRE B145, Br-tr @ (cf.BR-TR-YE), or as part of a longer name, such as mš-mše- (cf. MS-MŠ-YE) in MŠ-MŠE-MLI B354. Another name, namely Beli-met-ye @, is believed to have variants of its component parts reshuffled into met-y-beli: Ak I 31-2 OS, also mde-y-beli: Ak I 21, that seems to be partly present in the form -mte-bēli- in Qere-mte-bēli-de @ B441 and Mere-mte-bēli-de @ B262.[52]

The name TBI-XE-H-YE B544 constitutes an anomalous class, for its construction of a N+N+Adj-ye makes it act as a link between these names, the construction of which is N+N-ye, and those of the next sub-division, the construction of which is N+Adj-ye; in other words it combines both constructions.[53] Less -xe-h-, it yields tbi-ye *, which exists as the name Tbi-ye @ B546, mentioned in sub-division III ii a & n.32 above.

III v b The suffix -ye is found with the compounds resulting from the qualification of at- [54], x- [54], aqē- [54], and kdi- [54] with -mlē- and of wēš- [54] with -mhe- in the names At-mlē-y[ẹ] @ B107, X-mlē-ye @ B178 AQĒ-MLĒ-YE B62, Kdi-mlē-ye B213 and Wēš-mhe-ye @ B653. Should -kdi-, in Apēte-kdi-yi B54, be considered as an epithet, then this name will also belong here.[55] At this point it is relevant

to draw attention to TBI-XE-H-YE B544, alluded to at the end of the previous sub-division as being formed by two nouns followed by an epithet.

III v c Meli-kdi-ye C17 [56], presumably a sentence with an adjectival predicate forms a class of its own, it being the only instance of this type ending in -ye. Two other unique names are perhaps ATĒ-HE-LI-YE B98, which, according to one analysis, is formed by a qualified noun defined by -li- and -ye[57], and BR-HE-TE(S-LE)-YE B142, where we might have two nouns followed by -s-, -le- and -ye.[57]

IV i a In this and the next sub-divisions I will mention the names and relevant groups in which -y(e,ē,i), with or without -l(e,ē,i)- , terminates verbal complexes, which it is thought to change into participles.[58]

Beginning with the verb -de-, probably meaning 'to give' [59], we find this verb prefixed with a-, yi-, pe- and n-s̆-, but without a verb suffix, in A-dē-ye B16, A-de-li-ye @ B9, Yi-dē-ye B691, Pi-de-ye B417, -pe-de-yi, in Te-pe-de-yi B569, and N-s̆-di-ye B381.[59] A-dē-ye and Yi-dē-ye seem to have lost their prefixes perhaps as a result of their addition to ax- and ms̆- in Ax-dē-ye B22 and Ms̆-dē-ye @ B350.[60]

The verb, containing the dative, is present in A-d-xi-ye @ B17 and P-Š-DE-H-YE B430, while, containing the suffix -t-, it is found in the dativeless Yi-d-t-ye @ B692, and combining the dative with -te- it perhaps recurs in TERI-TE-D-X-TE-Y & B576.[61]

IV i b With the compounds -de-k(q)e-, and their variants, we have -y(e) in D-dē-ke-y @ B149, Ṭ-di-ke-ye @ B549, We-re-di-ke-ye @ B647, Ñ-š̆-dē-ke-ye @ E12, Š̆i-dē-ke-ñ-ye B498, where ñ- of the previous name (?) assumes a penultimate position, i-d-k-te-y: Tañ 46 OS, Pe-de-q-ye B407 and A-DE-Q-TE-Y B13.[62] As regards the compounds of the pattern k(q)e-de, we have Š̆-k-id-ye B508, also written Š̆-KE-DI-YE (?), Š̆-q-d-ye B523, P-q-d-ye B426, Qe-di-š̆i-ye @ B437 and perhaps K-di-b-ye B211, spelt [Ḳ]-DI-BE-Y (?), according to one way of looking at it.[63] Of the pattern ke-de-ke there seems to exist ke-de-b-xe-k-y: Ins 94 11 L.[63a]

IV ii As regards the verb -l- 'to give'[64], in its different forms, it occurs with -y(e,i), without a verbal prefix and dativeless, in Mit-le-ye B284 and ATĒ-HE-LI-YE B98, according to one view about the last name, but with the dative expressed in ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE] B97 and perhaps with the datival postposition suppressed in Ye-le-b-ye @ B672.[64] Dativeless, but prefixed with š̆(e)-,

alternating with s-, the verb -l- is found with this ending in S-LE-KI-YE B467, Š-LE-KE-TE-Y B514, Š-ḷe-qo̤-te-yi @ B515, while with the dative it is found with it in ŠE-L-XI-YE B482 and Š-L-X-TE-Y B517.[65]

In L-H-LĒ-YE B246, we apparanetly have both -lē- and -ye as endings to the verb with the dative.[66]

IV iii Next are the names showing -ye with the verb š(e,i)- probably meaning 'to make'.[67] Containing the dative, either or both members of the compound -ñ(ni)-k(e), this verb is thought to occur with the ending in Š-xi-ye @ B491, Ši-ni-ye B500 and Š-K-Ñ-YE B513. Sometimes -l(ē,i)- is also present, as is in Š-X-LĒ-YE̤ B492 [69] and Š-K-LI-YE B509, having a slightly varying writing as Š-ke-l-ye @.[69] Already suffixed with -tē(e) or prefixed with k(e)- or appearing with both elements, the verb forms verbal complexes further receiving -ye in Ši-tē-ye B505, Ke-š̤-ye B233, also K-š-ye @, and KE-ŠĒ-TE-YE B232.[70]

IV iv The suffix -ye appears with the verb -te-, meaning 'to give' [71], in Ye-te-ñ-ye B683, YE-T̤E̤-MHE-YE B682 and B-te-ke-ñ-ye B146.[71] It is present possibly with the same verb in W-YE-TE-YE B670 and ABE-W-YE-TE-Y B3.[72]

In Bē-he-ye(i) B127, also spelt B-h-ye, B-x-ñ-y̤i̤ @ B130, H̤E-Ñ-T̤E̤-YE C10 and He-lē-yi @ B191, where

in the last name -lē- also occurs, -ye(i) terminates constructions involving the verb -h(e)-, alternating with -x-, believed to be the verb known from Formula A.[73]

IV v Of the names and the relevant groups formed by the verb -we(ē,i)- and -y(e,i) are perhaps P-wē-ye @ B434 [74], -we-ñ-yi, in kd-we-ñ-yi: Ibr 3-4 OS, WĒ-NI-YE B649, A-s-wi-n-y @ B93, Te-wi-ñ-ye B581, in the last four of which -ñ(n,ni)- is the familiar verbal suffix, Wi-ḥi-ye @ B660 and A-wi-x-lē-ye B113, where the dative singular is used.[74] One wonders whether one may include s̆-we-y: Tañ 52, which, though it is graphically similar in its medial component and ending to the rest of the names and with the group, is difficult to analyse.[74] The last name has -lē- in addition to -ye.

It is relevant to include here the names built from the compound-verb -w-id-, or its reversed form -de-wi-, by means of -ye and various prefixes, such as Yi-w-id-ye B711, N-w-i[d]-ye B396 and DĒ-DE-WI-YE B155.[75]

IV vi From the Arminna West versions of Formula J we conclude that tk(e) may occupy the place of tx(e) as the verb.[76] It is just possible that these words might have yet another varying writing as the(i)-. Therefore, while

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tx(e)- and the(i)-, as was previously pointed out, seem to be nouns suffixed with -y(e,i)-, whether or not they are separated from it by -ñ-, in tx-ñ-yi: Ins 94 4,6 L, txe-ñ-yi: Ins 94 18 L, THE-YE B588 and thi-y: KO 3 2 L [76], their varying form tk(i)- is evidently a verb in the participles Š-tki-ñ-ye(i) B535 and T-TK-TE-Y B638.[76] Compounded with -(i)d(e,ē)-, two of these forms occur in Th-de-ye B587, Tk-id-ye B596, also spelt Tki-dē-ye, and perhaps T-w-mk-ṭk[ị]-dē-ye @ B639.[77]

IV vii In AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE B104 the ending -ye appears in a name containing, among other components, the compound-verb -tn-ide.[78] The compound -tn-ide-ye seems to me to have reshuffled versions as Tñ-yi-di @ B617, tñ-y(i)-d-, in TÑ-Y(I)-D-MNI £ B618, and tñ-ye-...-de, in TÑ-YE-WI-DE B616. Unless in the last name we have tñ-ye- and the compound-verb -wi-de juxtaposed [78], the intrusion of -we- need not preclude the identification of the last name with the first name and with the compound in the third name, for it might be a superfluity comparable with the one in TEKE-YE-WI B555 [78], a varying writing of TEKE-YE, both of these being ways of spelling the name of the same person. The occurrence of -y(e,i)- with -tñ- reminds us of the complexes qe-tñ-yi-ñ-li Ins 85 1 LS,...etc.[78]

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IV viii We also have -y(e,i) in apparently participial constructions with -bre- [79], in Š-BRE-YE B476 and Yi-bre-te-y B689, with -t(e)pe-[79], in Š-tepe-ñ-yi @ B533 and K-tpe-ñ-ye B241, and with variant forms of -qēre- [79], in T-qēre-ye B623 and ṭ-qerē-s-ye Kawa 32 1-2 O Gr.

IV ix With -mey-[80], the ending -ye is present in what seem to be participles in TE-MEY-YE B562, te-mey-ye: Ak II 13 OS, Te-mey-kdi-ye B560, Š-TE-MEY-YE B532 and te-mey-ye-š: Ins 94 12 L,[80] and with -lle- [80], which might be related to -lēlē-, it is present in Ši-lle-yi @ B499, ÑTE-LLE-TE-Y B400 and Be-lēlē-ye @ B118, according to one way of analysing this name.

IV x In YE-RE-Q-YE B677 [81], E-T-RE-TE-Y & B172 [81], and Wē-rē-te-li-ye B662 [81] we seem to have -ye added to verbal complexes and a participle in which -re(ē)- is perhaps the verb prefixed with ye-, e- and -t- and wē- successively. There is the possibility that the compound split ye-re-, in the first name, might be a single component, i.e. yere-.[81] It is difficult to dismiss the idea that T-r-q-ye B635 might probably combine the basic elements of YE-RE-Q-YE and E-T-RE-TE-Y, namely the prefix -t- of the latter and -q- of the former with a vowelless form of the verb and the ending -y(e) common to both of them.[82] If so, the same thing

may be said about -t-r-q(-ye) in MŠ-T-R-Q-YE B356, also found as MŠ-T-R-Q.[82]

IV xi a The component -p(ē)te(ē)- [83] is perhaps the verb in p-t-pēte-k-ye Ins 94 9,17 L and A-ptē-ye @ B60, where -ye seems to effect the participial nuance.

According to the view that k(e,i) is perhaps capable of acting as a verb, this verb appears to be both prefixed and suffixed with -ye- in W-YE-KI-YE B669.[84]

IV xi b In AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) B23 the ending -y is thought to be added to a sentence containing an adverbial clause.[85]

IV xii a In the present sub-division I propose to mention the names and relevant groups showing -ye, which, though they might accept one splitting or another, cannot be satisfactorily, or at all, parsed. Of these are K[Ḕ]-BḒ-KE-Ñ-YE B226 and A-b-k-ye B7. If the former name is basically of the pattern ke-de-ke, the latter is perhaps of the pattern de-ke, in which case there is the possibility that we might here have verbal complexes receiving the ending -ye.[86] This analysis suggests that there is probably a word -b(ē)- that is either a verb or something else that can be verbalized. The comparison of

YI-BĒ-YE B688 and Ye-b-ye @ B671, which might contain the same component again with -ye, and similarly formed names and groups seems not to preclude such a probability.[87] The inclusion of the last names warrants the mention of Abe-s-ye @ B2, Abē-s-ñ-ye B4 and S-bē-ñ-ye B465, which are obviously related with, and reshuffled versions of, one another.[87]

We also have (A)xpē-ye B28, having a variant writing as Hpē-ye @, and HTPI-YE B202.[88] Here also belongs Akp-ye B34.[89]

Had the name not had a certain variant form as MQĒ-L-TE-MDE, the latter part of MQĒ-L-TE-MĒYE B338 would have accepted the same treatment as TE-MEY-YE B562 above.[90]

IV xii b The following names show -ye but their contents are difficult to unravel: NHŠN-YE B369, Nē-nē-ye B366, Pē-pē-ye B411, Pyye B436 [91], Qenn-ye B437, Sde-mi-ye B466[91], P-TE-REMĒTI-YE B432 [91], Ši-b-ye @ B497, Ši-b-wi-ye @ B496 and YISMENI-YE £ B707. One notices that Nē-nē-ye, Pē-pē-ye and even -nn-ye of Qenn-ye are formed by the addition of -ye to a reduplicated component. Since nē- and n- often interchange in Meroitic, it may not be unlikely that nē-nē- of the first name and -n-n- of the last name are perhaps the same thing. They do not seem to express any

A12 IV xii b

particular idea, for, like pē-pē- of Pē-pē-ye, they are probably meaningless words or shorter forms of longer names, being in this respect comparable with Egyptian , , RaPN 181 22, which is an abbreviation of the feminine name t3-nt-rwdt RaPN 361 14 and Pípít RaPN 130 4, having a masculine counterpart as , Pípí RaPN 130 3 and probably Pp RaPN 131 8 and Ppí RaPN 131 12.[92] At this juncture one might compare Pyye with Pii̇t RaPN 129 29, which is also known as a masculine name as Pii̇ RaPN 129 28. Should the Meroitic name be a preserved form of the Egyptian one, then the final -e in the former would probably be due to the -t in the Egyptian. No more need be said about these three Meroitic names and their probable connexion, or comparability, with the Egyptian names.

Without one of its reduplicated medial -n-, the name Qennye produces Qe-n-ye *, which looks like a form of Aqē-ñ-y @ B63 above.[93] This process perhaps throws some light, though dim it might be, on the probable nature of the component parts of this name.

As regards Sde-mi-ye, it is perhaps the case that it shares two of the elements of Ye-le:sde @ B673 in a

reshuffled order so that the first and last components exchange positions, being separated the one from the other by -mi-, which is reminiscent of -m(ē)- previously seen to intervene between -ye, or any one of its variants, and certain nouns. We might be here dealing with the same element.[94]

The comparison of Šī-b-ye, of which this is a tentative splitting, and Šī-b-wi-ye clearly shows -wi- as an intrusive component.[95] We are therefore left with šī-, -b- and -ye to account for. One wonders whether these are related to the parts forming šē-b-ñ-yi Ins 94 5 L and whether this is in turn connected with šē-b-s-ni: Mer 9 11 L Bl, though it might perhaps share šē-b- of the title šē-b-xe and consequently the verb šē-, of which šī- is a well attested variant spelling.[95] Consequently one entertains the idea that in šī-b- of these names we might have a word identical with, or at least similar in meaning to, the word probably meaning "to make (offering)". That šē-b-ñ-yi seems to be related with the verb šē- , best known in the funerary formulae, gains more plausibility if we realize that šē-b: and šē-b-ñ-yi are found in parallelism with tx: and tx-ñ-yi: Ins 94 4,5-6,L, and that tx itself exists as a verb in the verbal complexes of Formulae G and J. But from the context

of Ins 94, where tx: and tx-ñ-yi, šē-b: and šē-b-ñ-yi:, are found in parallelism with such undisputed nouns or proper names as qr: and qr-ñ-yi:, are-tte: and xire-tte-ñ-yi:, these words cannot but be nouns suffixed, or not, with -ñ- and -yi.[96] Therefore, in šē-b-xe, šē-b-ñ-yi and tx-ñ-yi we seem to have the same words as in the funerary formulae acting in a new capacity.[97] Since Ši-b-ye only needs a penultimate -ñ- so as to be a complete version of šē-b-ñ-yi, it appears reasonable that this name should be related with this group and accorded the same treatment as these three groups. As a corollary, it might contain ši- of the funerary formulae, in which case both this name and Ši-b-wi-ye will belong to the names using this word mentioned in IV iii above. One last point is that like šē-b-xe, the compounds šē-b, as an independent word and in šē-b-ñ-yi, and ši-b-, in Ši-b-ye and Ši-b-wi-ye, might contain the verb šē(i)- and -b- of plurality forming a verbal complex that can, in one way or another, function as a noun.[98] Essentially, Ši-b-ye should be as little different from Ši-b-wi-ye as mle(ē)-yē- is from mle-w-ye and TEKE-YE B555 from TEKE-YE-WI (these are variant writings of the name of one and the same person), in all of which -w(i)- is superfluous.[99]

A12

THE COMPONENT y(e,ē,i), a(e,i)- - FOOTNOTES.

1. See A7 III ii on yetē- and A5 III ii n.12 on 'offering (s)' as a meaning of atepē. For more examples see A23 III ii.

2. See A3 III i b, A19 I, II i,ii.

3. See RaPN II 129-58 on the different forms of this Egyptian termination to names, and sub-division III i below on the Meroitic -y(e,ē,i).

4. See A2 I i & n.4 on de-b-x and e-de-b-x. Compare the phenomenon of the presence and absence of the prefixes with that of the suffix -t(e,ē) mentioned under A5 V i.

5. See the rest of the paragraph, for it illustrates the paradoxical situation in which these prefixes on the one hand appear to be pronouns and on the other seem to be something else.

5a. See II vii & n.20 below.

6. See the discussion of t(e,i)- as a prefix in A5 IV i a.

7. See A2 I i on -d-. For the dativeless forms of this verb see A2 II; and for the forms with the dative, soon to be mentioned, see A2 II ii. For more instances of w- see A5 V vi, A9 II i, A6 IV iv b & n.32, and for qe-yi-de-wi see A11 IV iv c.

8. See sub-division III ii a for more on Ñs-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē), A2 II i, A7 VI iii a,b on the verb containing the dative, A2 III iii a, A5 V ii a on the names and the group with versions of de-te(ē), and also A5 IV i b for the assimilation of the -t of -d-t into -d-d in Tme-y-d-d. But see sub-division III ii a & n.33 for another way of treating -y- in this name. See A20 II iii for more on Yi-dē-t-beli-le and A2 III ii a 5 & n.71 for the overlapping verbal complexes of Formula C. On the presence of -ye- in -di-ye-b-x-te, of yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te, and in its apparent version in the singular di-ye-hē-ke-te (H) Ins 26,30,32 appears to me insignificant, for, in these examples, it is akin to that of the same component with tñ- (in tñ-ye(i)-), studied in IV vii below. See A2 III ii a 5 & n.71.

9. See A2 III ii a 1 for de(ē)-k(e) and A2 III ii a 5 & n.71 on the verbal complexes of Formulae C and E.

10. See A5 III i & nn.8-10. See also A5 III ii & nn.11,12 for the names with -mhe-. More is said about some of these names in IV iv below.

11. See A5 VIII ii on the names and sub-division II ii & n.7 above on the group with w-.

12. See A3 II i on the verb -l- and the interchange of y- and e- in occurring with it and for more on some of the names and groups mentioned above. See also A7 VI ii b for more about the above except Ye-le-b-ye, which is also studied in sub-division IV ii & n.64 below and in A7 VI ii d, A3 II iii. YI-L-HE-N-K is also discussed under A3 II ii.

13. See A8 I i on tk(e,ē). See also A8 II i a & n.15 on the group containing the plural dative -b-xi and A8 II ii & n.19, iii & n.23 for the dativeless groups. On AXE-Y-Ñ-TKE see A8 II i b, ii & n.20 and on Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE see A8 II v & n.38. See sub-divisions II ii & n.7, IV v & n.74 above on -w(e)-.

14. See A5 V iii, A7 VI iv e on the forms with the simple verb and A2 I iii a-b on the compound-verb. The name Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) is discussed under A5 V iii, A2 III iii a,b, while Yi-w-id-ye is studied under A2 IV i. See A3 IV x b on the last verbal complexes from Meroe.

15. See A21 III i on -xr-, A21 III ii & nn.23,25 on the names related to the above verbal complexes and A15 I i, II i, II ii on AQ-Y-KR.

16. See A1 V. See also A3 IV x a & n.136 for more on these names, except the complex Yē-ke-ml-n-tē(s-lē), about which more is said in A11 VI iii b & n.48.

17. See A3 IV x b & n.147.

18. See A7 VI i on -h- as the datival postposition. Kawa 63,81,91, all of which are not reproduced, also use ye-re-h-lē.

19. See A11 VI iii a & n.47 and A2 IV ii c & n.131.

20. See A7 VI iii d, A13 IV for the names and the groups containing ye-s-bē-he and its similar writings, A6 I i for ye-s̆ē and A6 II ii & n.18 on the name.

21. See A16 I v & n.19, A3 IV x a on -mk- and the names containing it, especially A5 VII ii for more on Yi-mk-l̤i-t(s-l). For the name and the groups with -lēl(i)- and -lili- see A5 V vi, A20 II i, and for the names with -br(e)- see A9 I ii except for Yi-bre-te-y, on which see A9 II iii, A5 V vi. Regarding the intrusion of -w- before -y(ē,i)- in the last two names see sub-division II ii & n.7 for another example and for references and also II iv & n.13 for an instance where, as is here, this component is itself preceded by s̆-. Though s̆-we-y(i)- in these names is graphically identical with s̆-we-y: Tañ 52 OS, it is unlikely to be identical in sense with this group. On this group see sub-division IV v & n.74.

22. See A5 V vi on the name with -wle-, A2 I ii b, A14 III ii b on the compound-verb -tn-ide-, A18 II on

the name and the group with -pēte- and A6 IV iv e on Ye-s-qēr-be. On -mh(e)- possibly being an adjective verb see A11 V ii.

23. See A3 III i b and A19 I, II i, ii on the relationship between -y(e,ē,i) on the one hand and -l(e,ē,i) and -r(ē-r) on the other, and sub-division I & n.3 above for the brief remark about the similarity of this component to Egyptian , ,....etc. On the last see <u>RaPN II 129-58</u>.

24. See sub-division III ii a & n.32 on TEKE-YE(-WI). Teke- seems to have a meaning similar to that of tke and so Amni-tke-ye(i)* is an equally possible transcription of the Napatan name, being reminiscent of mni-tke(-l) Ins 1, 94 1 L, studied under A3 IV vii. See A8 II ii n.20. See A3 III ii a & n.56, where the function of t- and -ye as means of forming feminine names, as is postulated by Zyhlarz in T-qēre-ye B623, is thought to be unlikely.

25. See sub-division III v b and A11 II i a,b on Wēš-mhe-ye @ and the names and groups with which it is compared. For the meaning of (a)x- see A7 I ii.

26. See A9 I i & n.2 and sub-division III v a below under Ar-br-ye for ABR-YE (?). The reading A-ṣe-ye suggests that -ṣe- might be a verb. See A6 II i a. See A18 I i,ii for AMERĒ-YE and APĒTE-YE, A23 III i & n.9 for

(A)mete-ye, which is similar to mete-yē- in METE-YĒ-L B270, for which see sub-division III iii below, and A20 I, A3 III ii d for Bl-ye.

27. See A21 II ii on the name with xr-.

28. See A10 II i & nn. 8,9, A5 VIII i on these names, also A3 III ii a for more about Kdi-l. See also the alternative view about Kdi-b-ye and its variant spelling in sub-division IV i b below.

29. Despite the note under B253, in Volume II of this work, that Qē-mde-ye looks as if it is the right reading, the comparison of the name Mde-ye with the names and groups above supports the latter reading which is also adopted thereunder. On the groups in Ak I see A20 II iii, A23 I, A5 IV i b. See sub-division III v a & n.49 below, where the interchangeable ms- and mš- occur together and with -ye(i) in one and the same name written MS-MŠ-YE B348 and Ms-Mš-yi @, and A20 II v (end) for more on this name. For nt- and ñte- see A22 II i & n.9 and A11 II i b & n.11 for more on the latter component.

30. See A10 III i b & n.16 for -mn(ñ)-, which seems to be the same word as above, compounded with kdi-. The compound -yi-qe in the latter name is similar to

Yi-n-qe @ B702, together with which it might belong to the names mentioned in sub-division III iv a & n.40.

31. See sub-division II ii & n.8 on Nš-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) and A6 V i (end) on š- of Š-nš-ye.

32. See sub-divisions III iii below for šb- and qērē, a variant spelling of qēr(i)-, receiving both -l(ē)- and -ye, and sub-division III iv b for tbi- with the same suffixes. For more on the name with šb- see A3 III ii c (end) and on TEKE-YE(-WI) see sub-division III i above, A7 VII i and A8 II ii & H.20. Ṣbē-, according to the reading of Ṣbē-ye @ B474, appears to be a variant of šb- accepting the same treatment.

33. See sub-division IV viii & n.79 for tepo- in what seem to be participles ending in -ye(i) and A5 VIII i for -tmi-te. Tme- is evidently a noun as one may infer from, in addition to the above names, its occurrence with the names of Amon and Amanap in MNI-TME B329 and MNP-TME B334. See A11 VII iv and A6 II i b & n.12 for more instances of this component, also sub-division II ii & n.8 for the alternative analysis of Tme-y-d-d, attributing -y- to -d-d. For the(i)- see A8 I ii, iii and sub-division IV xii b & nn.95,96 below.

34. See A11 IV i a, ii a.

35. See A11 V ii, A3 III ii b.

36. See IV i-xi below where both elements are believed to be received by verbs and verbal complexes to build participles. See also the end of A3 III i b.

37. See A3 III ii c & n.64 for the names with api- and -pē-, IV ix below, A20 I & n.1, II i, A3 III ii d & n.66 on the name containing belē-.

38. See A9 I ii, A10 II ii and A3 III ii a for the names employing br-s- and kdi-s-. For qē- and the name containing it see A15 II ii, A3 III ii d & n.73, also sub-division III v a & n.49 below for t-qē- with -ye. See A3 IV x a for the name with ṃd- , A3 III ii b for the name with mete-, A3 III ii a & n.56 for the name with qēre- and A3 III ii c for the name with šb-. In sub-division III ii a & nn.26,29,30 the last four components have been seen terminating with -y(e,i) alone.

39. See sub-division III ii b.

40. See A13 V i & n.10 on the names with ar(ē)- and A11 IV ii a & n.24 on the name and the group with ml(e)-. Under the last reference are given more instances of mle- in its various forms suffixed with -ke and -ñ, and their variants, without -y(e,ē,i). See A15 I i on the names with (a)qē- and compare

Ñ-qē-ye @ B399, Yi-n-qe @ B702, N-Š-QĒ-YE B383, according to this splitting of the last name, and perhaps Mñ-yi-qe @ B337, which seem to have different writings of qe(ē)- , ñ and ye(i) in various combinations. See also what is said about Qenn-ye B437 in sub-division IV xii b.

41. If teri- here is the name of 'Hathor', in Teri-ñ-ye and xire-tte-ñ-yi 'Harendotes' we have two deity's names receiving -ñ-ye(i). See A13 IV and A14 IV v & n.43 for teri- in TERI-TN-I[Ḏ]E £ B578 and A21 II i for 'Harendotes'. The groups with xire-, šē-b-, qr- and tx- are used in the discussion in sub-division IV xii b below. The emendation to qēre-<ñ>-yi in Ins 94 can be suggested by the context, while the same emendation in Ibr 3, made by Dr Macadam, is apparently influenced by its context, though qēre-yi Ak I 1 OS is found without -ñ-, in groups as well as in names, as has been pointed out in sub-division III ii a above. As is the case with qēre, some varying spellings of mle- and tx(e)- (i.e. the- and thi-) have been encountered in sub-divisions III ii a,b receiving -y(e) alone and in sub-division III iii receiving it with -lē- or -rē-r.

42. See A3 IV x a (end) on the name with mri- and A3 IV xi c

on the name with tbi-.

43. See A6 V ii b for -s̆(i)- and for its interchangeability with -s-, and also A21 IV i for xrē(e)- and the names containing it. Mēs̆- might be a writing of ms̆(s)-, whatever this may be, though there is the possibility that it might be the name of the god Mash. See below.

44. See under Aqē-ñ-y @ B63 in sub-division III iv a & n.40 for references for (a)qē and A15 II iii for a different analysis of Qē-s̆ē-ye.

45. See the note under B669 on the name QĒRE-S-M-YE. The above-given analysis of this name disagrees with Griffith's view, JEA 3 27, that it is 'a similar formation from the title qēre-sm "royal consort" or perhaps "royal friend" '. According to my analysis the similarity is merely graphic resulting from the occurrence of the -s- of derivation before the intrusive -m-. In addition to QERE-M-YE, the intrusive -m- is present with qere- in the name restored as [Q̣E]RE-QERE-M (H) £ Ins 1. See A3 III i c & n.48 for the meaning of the term "-s- of derivation". That -m- and -mē- actually are the same element is established beyond doubt by the comparison of MŠ̆-M-YE, Nmr(N-mr)-mē-ye and Wēs̆-mē-l @ B652, which are successively the C-, B- and A-names in the same family.

Whatever the other words added to it, the component -m(ē)- is retained by the family as a common part of their different names. That the names of two or more persons of the same family should share one or more component parts is a phenomenon remarkable in Meroitic, which will be the subject of subsequent research. Furthermore, from these names one concludes that mš- in the first name is definitely the name of the god Mash, since it occurs in parallelism with the name of Isis, and that nmr(n-mr)- is most likely to be the name of another deity. A mere metathesis between the first two letters of this word transforms it into mnr*, which immediately reminds one of the name of the god Mandūlis, which has not as yet been identified in Meroitic with any degree of certainty. A second corollary is that mš(s)-, seen to occur with -ye(ē) in some of the names and groups in the course of the present discussion, is probably the same word as in MŠ-M-YE, since mš(s)-ye(ē)- is graphically identical with this name without -m-. See sub-division III v a for the names with ms(š)- reduplicated.

46. See sub-division III ii a & n.32 on Šb-ye. The view that Šb-s-tni-ye is perhaps formed by the members of two names overlapping recalls to mind a previous

suggestion that yi-dē-te-di-k-te Formula C Kar 27 12-13 LA seems to have resulted from the combination of two verbal complexes. See A2 III ii a 5 & n.71 for this and other examples. As regards S-tni, as a name by itself or a part of the longer name, I have the feeling that it probably contains the component -tni prefixed with s-. For more on this point see A14 IV iii & n.37, and for more on the name itself see the note in Volume III of the present work.

47. See A13 II, III, IV, V ii on ar(e,ē)-, especially A9 I i & n.2 for the name with -br-, A13 III & n.7 for more on the name with -trē- and A14 I ii & n.4, IV i for the name with -tn-. Ar-br-ye seems to be formed by ar- prefixed to ABR-YE (?) of sub-division III ii a above.

48. See A9 I ii, A10 II ii, A22 II ii.

49. See sub-divisions III ii a,b, iii above for these components employed separately. See also A21 I ii, II i, ii for the name with xr-, A20 I, II iii, A23 I, III ii for the name with beli-, A15 II ii, iv for the names with qē, A20 II v for the name with ms(š)-, A7 VI iii c & n.49 and A23 III ii for more about Ms-mete-yi, and A10 III i a, A18 I i, ii, and sub-division III v b & n.55 for the name with -kdi-.

50. See A9 II iii (end), A6 V ii b on the name and

sub-division III iv c on the intrusive -s̆(i)- in other names.

51. See A10 III i a & n.13, A18 I i, ii.

52. See A20 I & n.1, II iii & n.11 on these names.

53. See A7 II ii & n.9, III i, A3 III iv, A19 II i and compare Tb-xe-mx-r @ B542, believed to have the same construction, only that it ends in -r.

54. See A11 II i a, i b & nn.7,10, III, also A3 III ii d n.74 for more on the name with at-, A3 III iv, A7 II ii for the name with x-, A15 II i for the name with aqē-, A10 I ii a, III iii for the name with kdi-, and sub-division III i & n.25 above for the name with wēs̆-.

55. See sub-division III v a & n.49.

56. See A11 II i b n.10, III.

57. See A7 III ii & n.19, A3 III iv for the different views about the former name, and A9 II i & n.11, A7 II v & n.16, A3 III ii d (end) on the latter name.

58. See the end A3 III i b.

59. See A2 II ii & nn.29,34. For more on the name with yi- see sub-division II ii & n.8 above.

60. Here might belong Lp-x-id-ye B248 and Xd-x-di-ye B175. See A2 II ii & n.29.

61. On the names using the dative without -t(e)- see A2 II i & nn.25, 28, and for those showing -t(e)-

see A2 III iii a, c.

62. See A2 III ii a 1,4-6 on the pattern de-ke, A2 III ii b 1 on de-qe and A3 II iv, IV ii b,d for more on the names.

63. See A2 III i a 1 on k(q)e-de, A2 III i b & n.57 on the names prefixed with s̆- and p-. K-di-b-ye is a less likely alternative analysis of Kdi-b-ye, mentioned in sub-division III ii a & n.28 above, for which see A10 II i & n.9.

63a. See A2 III i a 1.

64. See A3 II i on -l- and the name containing the dative singular and A3 II ii on the dativeless names. For Ye-le-b-ye see sub-division II iv & n.12 above.

65. See A3 II iv & n.15.

66. See A3 II i, A7 VI ii a.

67. See A6 I ii, II i a.

68. See A3 IV v, also A6 II i a & n.10 for more on the name with the dative and A6 II i b & n.12 for more on the names with -ni- and -ñ-k-.

69. See A3 IV v & n.114, also A6 II i a on the name with the dative and A6 II i b on the one without it.

70. See A6 II ii, A5 V v & n.51 on the names with -tē(e)-, A6 II iii & n.19 on those with k(e)- and A5 VII ii n.63 for more on the name combining both components.

71. See A3 IV iv, also A5 III i for the first name, A5 III ii for the second and A5 III iii for the third name. See also II iii above.

72. See II iii above and A5 VIII ii.

73. See A7 V ii & n.29, also A3 IV vi for the name with -lē- and A5 V vi for the name with -tẹ-.

74. See the note under B434, in the second volume of this work, for a different view about P-wē-ye, on which more is said in A4 II ii. See A13 V iii & n.17, A2 I iii a & n.15 for the names with -ñ(n,ni), also A3 IV viii a, A5 IV ii b for more on Te-wi-ñ-ye and A11 IV iv d for more on A-s-wi-n-y. Compare š-we-y: here with the one in Š-WE-Y:TK-IDE, mentioned in sub-division II iv, and see n.13 under the same reference. For the names with wi-hị- and -wi-x- see A7 VI iv e.

75. See A2 I iii a-b on the compound-verb -w-ide in its various writings, A2 IV i & nn.120-122 on the two names built from it, and A2 IV iii & n.135 on the name suggested to be built from its reversed version.

76. See A8 I i for more about the interchange between -tx(e)- and -tk(e,i)-, sub-division III ii a & n.32 for THE-YE and thi-y and sub-divisions III iv a, IV xii b & nn.95,96 for more on tx(e)-ñ-yi. See

also A6 IV iv b for the name prefixed with s̆-
and A5 IV ii d, V iv & n.50 for the other name with t-.

77. See A8 I i & n.8, II i a & n.16.

78. See A14 I i & n.1 on -tñ(n)-, A14 III ii b, A2 I ii a on the compound-verb -tn-ide, A2 I iii a-c for the compound-verb -wi-de, sub-division III ii a & n.32 on TEKE-YE(-WI), and A14 IV iv for qe-tñ-yi-ñ-li and the related complexes. More is said about the names with tñ-yi(e-...)-d(e,i)- in A14 IV v & nn.47-50.

79. See A9 II i, iii & n.19 for the names with -bre-, A6 IV iv d & n.37 for more on the one of them prefixed with s̆- and sub-division II vii & n.21 above for more on the other prefixed with yi-. For the names with -t(e)pe- see A10 III iv & n.21, also A6 IV iv f for more on the name prefixed with s̆- and sub-division III ii a below for tepe- as a noun. See A3 III ii a n.56, A5 II ii, IV ii d for the name and the group with -qe(ē)rē-, also sub-division III ii a & n.32 above for this component as a noun suffixed with -y(e,i).

80. See A3 IV x a, A5 IV ii d for the names and the groups with -mey-. For the names with -lle- see A5 V vi & n.56, also A6 IV iii for more on the name

prefixed with ši- , and for the alternative view about Be-lēlē-ye, i.e. its alternative splitting as Belē-lē-ye, and references see sub-division III iii & n.37 above.

81. See sub-division II vi & n.17 on the verb -re(ē)-, also A5 V iii for more on E-T-RE-TE-Y, and A13 V ii on yere-.

82. It seems best not to split tr-q- into t-r-q. See A2 I iv.

83. See sub-division II viii & n.22 for a name and a group thought to employ the same verb. See A18 II, also A5 IV ii d, A4 II v on the group and A3 IV x a on the name.

84. See sub-division II vi above and A1 V & n.38.

85. See A7 VI iii a n.43, iii o, A5 V i, vii.

86. See A2 III i a 1 for the explanation of the pattern ke-de-ke and A2 III ii a 1 ff. for the explanation of de-ke.

87. The possibility that -b(ē)- might be a verb is supported by Priese's view, MIO 14 174, that b-, a variant spelling of p(e,i)-, might be a verb. See A4 II i. For the names with abe(ē)- see A7 VI iii d.

88. See A7 VII i & n.65 for these and alternative analyses,

also A4 I, II vi d & n.37 for more discussion.

89. See A4 I, II vi d n.37.

90. See A5 VIII i & n.71 on MQĒ-L-TE-MĒYE and sub-division IV ix above on TE-MEY-YE.

91. See A4 II v for Pyye and A4 II vi c for an attempt to interpret P-TE-REMĒTI-YE.

92. See RaPN II 162 on abbreviated Egyptian names and A4 I for Pē-pē-ye.

93. See sub-division III iv a & n.40 above.

94. See sub-division III iv c & n.45 above.

95. See A6 II i a, A7 VI iv c for šē-b-xe and the verb šē(i)-.

96. See sub-division III iv a for tx(e)- and the nouns receiving -ñ- and -y(e,i).

97. See the names containing š(ē,i)- and ending in -ye, studied in sub-division IV iii above. For the reference for šē-b-xe see n.98 below and for tx- see A8 I i.

98. See A7 VI iv c and A6 II i a & n.9 for šē-b-xe and other apparently verbal complexes used as nouns.

99. For -w(i)- with mle(ō)- see A11 IV i a & nn.17,18 and for the same component with teke- see sub-divisions III i, IV vii of the present discussion.

THE COMPONENT ar(e,ē,i)

I I am of the opinion that while the components ar-, are- and ari- are graphic variants and interchange with one another, nevertheless there is more than one word of which they are writings. To elaborate on this last idea one may mention how the name of 'Ḥorus' is found written ar-, are-, arē- and ari-. At the same time ar-, are-, and ari- are elsewhere encountered meaning something other than 'Ḥorus', namely probably 'door-keeper' or 'official', ...etc. These are only a few examples and the rest will be given in the course of the ensuing discussion. The method adopted here is to take each variant writing of the above component in turn and see how many different ideas it expresses.

II The component ar- is known as the name of 'Ḥorus' in ar: Mer 7 5,8,11 OS, ar-mte Ins 101 3 L 'younger Horus (?)', M II 40, and [a]ṛ-mēke (H) Ins 7 'Harmakhis', M I 57.[1] It is perhaps present in AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R £ B85 and AR-K-X-TNI £ B86.[2] The inclusion of these names is permissible if ar- and -tni in the latter of them are considered to be for ari- and -teñ, 'Horus the Sun', M II 28, respectively, separated the one from the other by -k- and -x-, as is suggested elsewhere.[2]

"Ḥorus of Sai" might be the meaning of ar-t-šye-te Tañ 52 OS (=Kush 8 152), presumably identifying ar- with "Horus", as is explained below.[3] A graphically identical component, that need not necessarily be identical in meaning, occurs in ar-ptē Ins 91c O Gr, ar-t(s-l)-xe-n[ē]-ki: Ak I 20-21 OS and its extended ar-t(s-l)-xe-nē-ke-wi: Ak I 30 OS, AR-LE-MĒME B88 and Ar-br-ye B66.[4]

III Certainly meaning "Horus" in are-tte Ins 94 6 L, variant xire-tte-, in xire-tte-ñ-yi Ins 94 6, Ḥr-nd-ỉt.f, Greek Ἀρενδώτης, M II 5, Kar vi 14 no.10, JEA 3 121 q, are- is perhaps again the name of "Horus" in Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B68, Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B72 and Are-de-tni @ B67.[5] Griffith, Kar vi 64, in the note on Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē), surmises that arer-, as a single word, may be a place-name occurring with the ending -te-li in ARE-RE-TE-LI B73, being paralleled by npt-, also as a single word, 'Napata' in the name I split as Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B377.[6] But are-r- seems to me not to be a single word any more than np-t- is the place-name 'Napata', for this, in my opinion, consists of np-, the name of the god 'Anubis', and -t-, the well-known verb prefix.[6] The alternation between are- and np- in these two names and the occurrence of are- with -tni in Are-de-tni @ suggests that are- is

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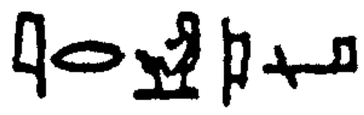
probably the name of "Horus".[6]

There is another are-, which is graphically identical with the previous one, that has been suggested by Griffith, RecCh 580-81, to be related to the Egyptian  ỉry 'door-keeper' or ỉry 'companion'. In these two meanings it probably occurs in are-lē Far 21 23 TA (=HinD 335), are amni-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 58c OS (=HinD 55) and [a]re a [mn]p-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 102 1-2 L (=HinD 56), the last title but one being identified by him with the Egyptian . Attention should also be drawn to are-, variant ar-, in the writing of ar(e)-t-w-te(-li) and ar(e)-b(e)-t-ke.[7] There is moreover a third are-, the relationship of which with the first two, above-given, cannot be determined, present in Are-te-bi-k-r @ B74 and Are-trē-ye B75.[7] The compound -trē- in the last name is graphically identical with the element in X-WI-TRĒ-R B190.[7]

IV In at least two of its instances the component arē- looks like being the name of "Horus". Finding -t(e)n-ide suffixed to amni- in AMNI-TN-IDE B50 and to ter(r)i- "Hathor" in TERI-TN-I[ḏ]E £ B578, Terri-tn-ide @,etc., leaves one with the impression that arē-, to which it is prefixed in ARĒ-TN-IDE £ B80, also Arē-tn-ide @, might be

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the name of "Horus".[8] Such an impression seems to be further given by the comparison of Arē-tn-ye @ B81 on the one hand with ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE £ B84 and AR-YE-S-BĒ-HE £ B92 on the other, where, as was previously pointed out in greater detail, arē-, ari- and ar- are shown to be variants.[8] "Horus the Sun" is one of two alternative renderings of ari-teñ(-l), of which the first two components are identical with those of the second name, made by Griffith in M II 28.

We are also familiar with another arō- that might, or might not, be the same word for "Horus", occurring as arē: Mer 7 15 LS, Tañ 34 OS and in the contexts wēš arē-l:trēt(s-l): Ins 101 7-8 L and arō trēt(s-l)-xo-t Ins 101 9 L and the groups arē-d-b-ko-l-w Ibr 2 OS and arē-šo-lē-wi: Kar 41 7-8 LS (=HinD 39).[9] Agreeing though they evidently are on the splitting t-rēs-l, and rendering, of the group trēt(s-l) as 'the south land', Zyhlarz, ZyM 453, and Macadam, MacIbr 2, disagree on the meanings they give arē-.[9] Whereas the former scholar believes it is the name of Horus, hence his translation of the text (Ins 101 7-8) as 'Isis, who is (the mother) of Horus of the south land', the latter sees in it the word for 'king, queen', being invariably used like qēro, indiscriminately, retraceable by

him in Old Nubian ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩ (ⲟⲩⲣⲟⲩϫⲓ Gebel 'Adda 10) and modern Nubian ʻor, pl. ʻorui, ʻorwi, and translates the same group as (Isis) 'queen of the south land'. Macadam also translates arē-d-b-ke-l-w as 'royal family', having taken -d- as adjectival, -b- as indicating the plural, according to which view the group will literally mean 'those belonging to the ruler'.

V i In this section I will examine the names and groups in which ar-, are-, arē- and ari- vary with one another, evidence for this being deduced from the occurrence of two or more of them with the same components. From the previous sections we have noticed how ar(e,ē,i)- is used to write the name of "Horus".

Beginning with those names and groups having -k(i)- with ar(e,ē,i)-, one observes the variation of the components in question with one another in Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B68, Arē-k-ye B78, Ar-ki-ye B87, Are-ki-k-li B70 Ar-ḳi-wḷ @ C4, are-ke Kh 5587 4 LS (=HinD 302), ar̤ē-ḳe(m̤e) Ibr 7 OS and Are-ke-te @ B69.[10] Judging from the analogy of AR-K-X-TNI (H) £ B86 and AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R £ B85, both of which probably contain the same ar(i)-, assumed in section II above to be meant for Horus, and -k- as here, one should not rule out the possibility that the name of "Horus" might

be found in some of these names too.[11]

V ii The names Ari-l-ñ-mk-s B83 and Ar-q-tñ-mk-s £ B90, especially if the latter one of them is split as Ar-q-t-ñ-mk-s, only disagree in so far as the first one has -l-, while the second has -q-t-, separating ar(i)- from -ñ-. Whichever the splitting of Ar-q-tñ-mk-s, it seems virtually certain that the comparison of the two names yields ar- and ari- as variants and shows that the compound ar-q- in the latter name is not to be taken as one word (i.e. arq-).[12] One presumes the function of the inexplicable -l- after ari- to be the same as that of -r- in Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B72 and Arē-r @ B79, though the parallelism of the first name with Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B68 and with certain theophorous names using -d-xe-tē(s-lē) suggests that are- in it might again be the name of "Horus". But, in this case, the presence of -r, which is known to function as the definite article, with a personal name (i.e. Horus), will have to be explained.[12] On the acceptability of its restoration as Yi[r]i-[l]-ñ-mk-s D77, this name offers yiri- as a variant of ari-.[13] On this analogy, yere-ki-ñ-, in Yere-ki-ñ-mr-ḥ-li @ B676, appears to contain yere-, as yet another way of spelling are-, receiving both -ki- and -ñ-. Consequently yere-ki-ñ- will

belong to the names and groups combining ar(e,ē,i)- with -k(e,i)-, studied previously.[13] As regards -mr-ḥ-, in -mr-ḥ-li which is left over after the isolation of yere-ki-ñ-, it might be a variant form of -mere-h, in Ts-mere-h @ B636.[14]

The names Are-qe-br @ B71 and Ar-q-tñ-mk-s £ share -q(e)- after ar(e)-, further proving the variations between ar- and are-, and with Ar-br-ye B66 the former one shares the occurrence of ar- and -br- in one and the same name, further demonstrating the separability of ar(e)- from -q(e)-.[15] The compound -br-ye in the last name must be ABR-YE (?) B8 having lost its initial a- when suffixed to ar-.[15] From the above I think there is new evidence for the interchangeability of ar- with ari-, the meaning of which eludes me, and for their being separable from -q(e)-.

V iii There are some names and groups formed by ar(e,i)- prefixed to a verbal complex or a participle using the verb -w(i)-, which I am inclined to identify with -we(i)- found on a few occasions in Formulae A,B,C and F.[16] These are ar-wi-n-ke Ibr 33 OS, ar-wi-tē Ins 86 3 0 Gr, Ar-w-t-l @ B91, ar-t-w-te Kar 30 4 LA (=HinD 231a), ari-te-wi-l: Ins 101 5 L and are-t-w-te-li Kar 127 11 LA (=HinD 158), the comparison of which warrants the belief that ar-, are-

and ari- in them are variant spellings of the same word. In ar-ẇi-n-ke, ar- is prefixed to the verbal complex -ẇi-n-ke formed by adding the suffixes -n- and -ke to the verb -ẇi-.[17] The compound -ẇi-n-ke, itself, is a version of -we-nē-ke, in the verbal complex N-we-nē-ke @ B394.[18] The same compound without -ke seems to recur in different forms in ŠR-WE-Ñ (?) B529, WĒ-Ñ-T(S-L ?) B650, in which the presence of -l is perhaps indicated by w-ñ-li Kar 78 13-14 LA (=HinD 127), and WĒ-NI-YE B649.[19]

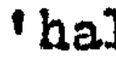
That ar-wi-tē Ins 86 3 O Gr is not a single word, but rather ar- and a verbal complex employing -wi- as a verb, is proven not only by the comparison of the group with ar-ẇi-n-ke but also by the existence of y-wi-tē: Ins 94 9 L and i-n-we-tē: Tañ 136 OS, of both of which -wi-tē is doubtlessly a prefixless form.[20] Therefore Ar-w-t-l @ should accordingly contain the same ar- with a vowelless -we(i)-tē and the ending -l.[20] Both t- and te- being familiar as verb prefixes with the verb -w(e,i)-, one is perhaps justified in suggesting that their addition to varying writings of -wi-tē, of ar-wi-tē, and -w-t-l, of Ar-w-t-l @, results in -t-w-t(e) of ar-t-w-te and are-t-w-te-li.[21] The last group to be added to the above is ari-te-wi-l: Ins 101 5 L., slightly varying from

are-t-w-te-li in using ari- instead of are- and leaving out the penultimate -te-. Note that -te-wi-l resembles the participle Te-we-li.[22]

Therefore of the constructions involving ar(e,i)- and the verb -w(e,i)- we have ar-wi-n-ke (cf. N-we-nē-ke @), ar-wi-tē (cf. y-wi-tē and i-n-we-tē), ar-t-w-te (cf. t-w-xi), containing verbal complexes, and Ar-w-t-l @, ari-tu-wi-l (cf. Te-we-li B579), which appear to contain participles, and are-t-w-te-li, in which -li, so far as one may understand from the context seems to be the definite article. The agreements between the forms with ar(e,i)- and those without it prove two things. One is the separability of ar(e,i)- from the compounds with which it occurs, and the other is the identity in construction of these compounds with the respective verbal complexes and participles that do not contain it. On the other hand Griffith and Zyhlarz have interpreted some of the above groups differently.

In Kar vi 82, Griffith thinks of two alternative meanings for ar(e)-t-w-te(-li), as 'Har-Thowt', i.e. Ḥr-Ḏḥwty which is frequent as a proper name [23], or 'Ere-Thowt', i.e. Ỉry-Ḏḥwty 'companion of Thoth', translating ar-t-w-te:qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l) Kar 30 4 LA as 'Thoth-priest

of Khons'.[23] But from the above comparisons -t-w-te is clearly a verbal complex using the vowelless verb -w-. One therefore presumes that it functions like the Coptic Qualitative form, qualifying ar(e)- as a "...-ing ar(e)". If we retain Griffith's rendering of ar(e)- as 'priest' and realize that the use of the verb -w(e,i)- in the funerary formulae indicates that it perhaps deals with the idea of "offering, rendering service",....etc., the meaning of ar(e)-t-w-te might be something similar to "an offering (epithet) priest"; i.e. a priest whose duty, or responsibility, is to present the offerings to the god(s).

Zyhlarz, ZyM 455 5, suggests the occurrence of ari-te-wi-l: between the numerals and the names of Isis of Philae and Isis of the Abaton means that it specifies the manner the offerings are to be divided between the two manifestations of Isis; i.e. 'equally', 'halves'. One understands that he envisages ari- to mean 'part, share, division' and to be the Egyptian loan-word  r.[24]

V iv Arē- in Arē-h-teke B77 perhaps interchanges with ar- in ar-b-x-teke: Ak I 16 OS, the intrusive -b- in the group being the only difference between it and the name. Ar-b- could be a plural noun probably of the same

meaning as are- 'door-keeper'.[25] The compound -h(x)-tske is related with x-tek-ke: Kar 47 12 LS (=HinD 337) and perhaps x-tke-lē Ins 89 9-10 L/TS.[26]

VI In conclusion of the above discussion, there seems to me to be good evidence that, from the instances given in sections I-IV ar-, are-, arē- and ari- can be the name of "Horus", from those given in sections II and V iii, iv ar- and are- can mean 'door-keeper', 'priest', and from those in section IV arē- may mean 'ruler'. The instances given in section V i-iv are mainly to provide additional evidence for the variation of ar-, are-, arē- and ari- with one another without determining their meanings.

A13 THE COMPONENT ar(e,e,i) - FOOTNOTES.

1. On -mte see A23 II. In M II 63 Griffith gives 'hawk-god' as a meaning of [a]r-meke. See A16 I i. Zyhlarz, ZyM 454 3, splits the first group mentioned as arm-te, in which he thinks arm- is the same word as armi- in armi-l: Ak I 3-4 OS, considered by him to be a place-name to be distinguished from arēme 'Rome'. In Kush vi 13 he changes his mind and identifies the word with Arōma, near Kassala. Abandoning his view about Kawa IX 67 being probably the Meroitic armi or arme, Kawa IX n.118, Dr Macadam, MacN 66 nn.64,65, gives strong reasons for seeing arme as the Dodecashoenus. Though Armi-[t]e-l B89, accepting translation as "the one from armi", seems to support the view that armi- is a place-name, yet the existence of armi-mni-s Tañ 46-7 OS proves that armi- in armi-l is evidently a title, which could be the same word as armi Kawa 31 2 O Gr, following T-p-w-ide @ B621.

2. See A1 I i 1,3, II i & n.14 on -k- in general and with ar(i)- in particular, A7 II i a, ii for -x- as a noun and A7 II iv for it in the above names. On -tni see A14 I i, ii, II i, ii, III ii a, IV i and

on -rē-r see A19 I, II i-ii, A3 I, III i a,b.

3. See IV & n.9 below.

4. See A17 I, II, A3 IV xi b on -mēme and the name containing it. For Ar-br-ye see V ii & n.15 below.

5. See also MacFI 46 for the observation that Greek falsely gives the long vowel ω in the writing of Ἀρενδωτης, the presence of which, Dr Macadam points out, the Meroitic disproves.

6. See A1 I i 3, II ii on are-k- and are-r-, A2 II i & n.27, III i a 3 & n.56, iii a,c,iv b on -k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) and -t-d-xe-tē(s-lē). See also A14 IV ii, v for are- and -tni and A8 II iii & n.27 on np- being the name of "Anubis".

7. See V iii for ar(e)-t-w-te(-li) and A5 III iii & n.13 for ar(e)-b(e)-t-ke. For Are-te-bi-k-r @ see A5 VIII i & n.71, for Are-trē-ye see A12 III v a and for the component -trē- see A22 I i.

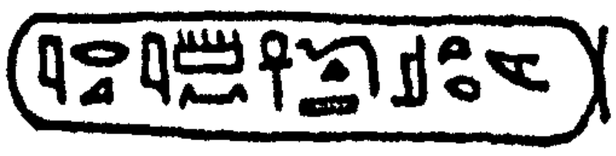
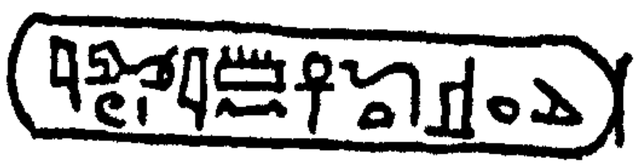
8. See A14 I, ii, IV ii, v, A2 II iii c. For ter(r)i- being the name of "Hathor" see A8 II iii n.26.

9. See MacN 66 n.65. It seems to me that t-rēs̬s-l, -s̬s- being inherent in -t- of trēt, is the appropriate splitting of this group, the second -s- being the genitive. Such an equation of the Meroitic with the Egyptian t3 rsy gives us -t- as an

equivalent of t3. Earlier on (sub-division II above), I have attempted to translate ar-t-šye-te Tañ 52 OS as "Horus of Sai", -t- being for t3 'land', -šye- 'Sai', M II 55, and -te locative. The group will mean literally "Horus in the land of Sai". See A5 II i, VI. By "land of Sai" could be meant the province the seat of government of which might have been at the Island of Sai. "Isis of Sai" will then seem to be suitable for wēš-t-šye-[te] Tañ 51 OS. In fact the existence of both groups, and so close together, makes the given translations of them show mutual support. Note, however, that in his Gegenkritik, ZyM 458 1-2, Zyhlarz makes the reservation that trēt could be from a 'Meroitic root' trē and not Egyptian. See A22 I i.

10. See III & n.6 for Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē). See also A1 I i 1, 3, II i & n.14, for the above names and the groups.

11. See IV & n.8 above.

12. See A16 II & nn.24,25, also sub-division V i & n.10 above. One is not sure whether  RCK IV 16 24 G, also written  loc.cit.24A, accepts transliteration and splitting as AR-Q-MNI* and consequently belongs here. See more

on this name under A7 II iv n.12.

13. See the references in n.12.

14. See A7 VII ii c & n.68.

15. See A9 I i & n.2, A12 III ii a & n.26, v a & n.47.

16. See A2 I iii b & n.15.

17. For -ñ(n,nē,ni)- and -k(e,i)- occurring together or the one without the other, see A1 I i, IV i-iii.

18. See A2 I iii b.

19. See A3 IV viii a, A12 IV v.

20. See A5 V iii.

21. See A5 IV ii b.

22. See A3 IV viii a.

23. See RaN 309 for Ḥr-Ḏḥwty. The word qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l) and the title have been touched on in A2 III i a 2, iv c.

24. See GarEG § 265.

25. See IV and the end of V iii above.

26. See A7 IV ii & n.26 on -h(x)-.

THE COMPONENT t(e)n, t(e)ñ, tnē(i)

I i There are at least two words written graphically in the same way. One of these is teñ, having tn and tni as variants, best known from ari-teñ in which it probably means '(the) sun', and the other is tn, interchanging with tni, ten and tñ, the meaning of which is yet to be established.[1] In all but one of its occurrences, tñ- (once spelt tn-) shows an apparently afformative -y(e,i)- or -i-, which seems to be an integral part of it. Because -y(e,i)- and -i- appear to be afformative it might be justifiable to treat tñ-y(e,i)-, also tñ-i- and tn-yi-, as a single component meaning the same thing as tñ- and tn- and the rest of their variant forms.[1] There is also tnē-, which perhaps belongs to teñ and its different writings. That tn and tni are common to the variant spellings of both words means that all the writings of the one word should be interchangeable with those of the other. In other words, both components are graphically interchangeable. But, in my opinion, there seems to be more in common between the two components than just that. Though one cannot define it, a relationship might exist between the two words in view of the fact that both of them are found as nouns and in association with deities.[2] This and the above views will

A14 I i - ii

be more elaborately defended in the following sub-divisions.

I ii To prove the interchange between teñ and tn(i) we have to compare

ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE	£ B84
Arē-tn-ye @	B81
YE-S-BĒ-HE-TNI	£ B679 and
AR-YE-S-BĒ-HE	£ B92.[3]

The name ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE, of which the first part is evidently the name of the deity ari-teñ [4], nevertheless seems to contain the same components as Arē-tn-ye, AR-YE-S-BĒ-HE and YE-S-BĒ-HE-TNI. Whereas Arē-tn-ye @ has left out -s-bē-he, of the longer name in question and gives -tn/teñ-, arē/ari-, as variants, AR-YE-S-BĒ-HE seems to have retained it all except -teñ-, giving ar/ari- as varying writings of one another. YE-S-BĒ-HE-TNI has apparently left out ari- and, instead of preserving the old order of the components of the longer name, it has transposed -tni, which it shows to be yet another way of spelling -teñ-, so that this component comes at the end of the name.[4]

The interchange between the different forms of tn, the meaning of which is as yet undetermined,

A14 I ii - iii

is proven by the comparison of Tni-k-r @ B614 with -tn-k-r, in ŠĒ-TN-K-R, which is a way of writing -tn-ke-l(i), in ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I) B485, and by the comparison of AMNI-TN-IDE B50 with MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) £ B327 and TÑ-YI-D-MNI £ B618, to quote only one way of spelling the last name.[5] Whether in its simple or compounded form[6], -tn- is seen in these names interchanging with tni- on the one hand and with -ten- and tñ- on the other. In addition, in the last name but one it is shown that -ten- may be separated from -ide by -mēm-, while in the last name it is revealed that tñ- with its integral -yi- is capable of forming compound-verbs all the same.[7]

I iii Regarding the possible relationship between teñ and tn(i), probably meaning '(the) Sun', with the word tn(i), ten and tñ(-yi), it appears to me that these groups of words have more in common between them than the graphic similarity.[8] In the same way as teñ and tn(i) are associated with ar(ē,i)- "Horus", both ari- and -teñ being found in juxtaposition with amni-, so tn(i), ten and tñ(-yi) occur as parts of many theophorous names.[9] Before drawing any conclusions from this tendency of both words, in their various writings, to occur with deities' names, it is perhaps useful to refer the reader to the following

table first.

The table shows the usages of both components as nouns, simple verbs and compound-verbs in names already recognized as theophorous, in the names that are likely to be theophorous and in non-theophorous names. The characters refer to the relevant parts in the present discussion.

	Theophorous	Likely to be theophorous	Non-theophorous
Noun/personal name	3:certainly meaning 'sun' (?); containing teñ, tn(i). (IV i)	None	6:might mean 'sun' (?) in 5 instances; containing tnē(i), teñ(ñ). (IV i, ii)
Simple verb, of unknown meaning.	None	None	6: all containing tn(i). (IV iii)
Compound-verb, of unknown meaning	5:all containing tn-ide teñ-...-ide tñ-yi-d- (IV v)	4:containing tñ-ide, de-tni, tñ-yi-di, tñ-ye-...-de. (IV v)	2:containing tn-ide, teñ-ide. (IV v)
Total	8	4	14

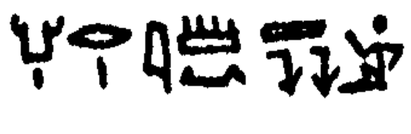
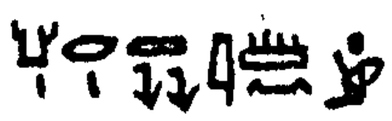
If we exclude the nine instances of teñ(n)-, -tn- and tnē(i)-, which probably mean 'sun', and study the usages of the different forms of tn(i)-, the unknown word, we find this word in 5 theophorous, as opposed to 8 non-theophorous, names. Should the 4 likely instances prove to be definitely theophorous, the ratio between these names

and the non-theophorous ones would be 9 to 8. In the light of these statistics, one has the feeling that tn(tñ-yi)-, in its various forms, perhaps expresses an idea that is suitable for deities. It might be something they do or may be done to them. This feeling is confirmed by the use of the verb tñ-yi- in the extensions to the Invocations and in their related groups.[10] The table also shows that almost all the instances of teñ(n) and tn(ē,i), when used as a noun, mean 'sun', of which three are in names that contain a god's name in addition. Despite the small number of such names we all know, as already more than once emphasized, that teñ is associated with deities' names.[11] The idea that the nouns teñ, probably meaning 'sun', and tn, the meaning of which is as yet undetermined, should be graphically interchangeable and have a direct or an indirect association with deities, leaves one with the impression that they might be related. However, it is not easy to define what sort of relationship might exist between them. Before making any suggestions about this relationship[12] it is perhaps best that I should discuss what views of the scholars there are about teñ. This is the subject of the next sub-division.

A14 II i

II i The word teñ is best known as the second part of ari-teñ, sometimes defined or undefined by -1(i) and occurring independently with amni, and in the Napatan royal names ƷX-R-TÑ (H) & Nu 14, vocalized by Dunham and Macadam, JEA 35 141, as AKHRATAÑ [13], and P-'NX-R-TÑ (H) king ?, whose tomb is unidentified, vocalized, op.cit.146, as PI'ANKHARITEÑ.[13] As regards ari-teñ, Brugsch, ZÄS 25 91, used to think that the Nubian word arti 'god' is to be found in it. Griffith has two ways of looking at this word. In M I 63, M II 28, he agrees with Brugsch and, M II 28, analyses it as arite-, which he compares with Nubian arti, and -ñ, which he takes as an infix of an adjectival meaning. Griffith's other way of looking at ari-teñ is to think that it 'might be read for an Egyptian Har-aton', "Horus the Sun", derived from the Aton worship of Akhenaton's city of Gme-aton (Sesebi), and applied as a solar title to Ammon, the Egyptian Ammon-Re'. Zyhlarz, ZyM 439 n.50, takes ari- as what he says Griffith guessed to be the word for 'heaven', -te- as locative, and -ñ as a nominal affix added to the complex, which he consequently thinks means 'one who is in heaven', i.e. the 'sun-god'.[14] He finds the association of the word ari-teñ (i.e. 'the sun-god') with Amon explicable by the association of the latter with Rē' in the name Amon-Rē'

later on, during the Theban ascendancy. Very much later, Kush 9 230 n.5, he sustains Brugsch and Griffith's views of the possibility of the Nubian arti being contained in ari-teñ. In my view the comparisons made above[15], for which there is no need to repeat, argue against the splitting of the above word as arti-ñ and demonstrate that ari-teñ is the correct one. As a corollary I fail to see any connexion between this word and the Nubian arti. On the other hand I find Griffith's second alternative rendering of ari-teñ, in which he thinks -teñ might be meant for the Egyptian ỉtn, very plausible.[16]

II ii The same teñ, may be traced back to Napatan times in names, where it is again associated with a deity, this time (a)mni. Compare  QĒRE-MNI-TEÑ *, the overseer of the treasury of the palace, Ded. St. 5  QĒRE-TEÑ-MNI* the 'high-priest of this god' (i.e. Amon-the-bull-of-Nubia), Ded.St.22, and TEÑ-MNI*, the third prophet of Amon-the-bull-of Nubia, Ded.St.18.[17] The transcription of teñ has been here preferred to tñ, which seems to me best suited to transcribe . The Napatan name TEÑ-BT*, the fourth prophet of Amon-the-bull-of-Nubia, Ded. St. 19, also seems to have teñ as a component.

III i In the present division I will attempt to suggest what sort of relationship might exist between teñ, probably meaning 'sun', and tn(i), the meaning of which is still to be determined, and examine the usages of both words.[18] Since teñ probably means 'sun' [19], whether, as in the Egyptian civilization, referring to the vital force of the sun or to the sun as a positive experience, the varying forms of these presumably related components might additionally express the idea of "light", "illumination", "illuminate", "brightness", "brighten",...etc., in both the literal and abstract sense of the words.[19]

III ii a As regards the part of speech of teñ and tn(i), little can be said about the former than that it is always found as a noun. The latter, however, may also function as a noun and, interchanging with tñ-ye(i)-, it can be verbalized and subsequently changed into a participle by the necessary elements.[20] When tn- and tñ-ye(i)- further receive the verb -ide, also spelt -d(e,i), a compound results, which one supposes to have the qualities of its respective component parts.[21] This, as will soon be argued below, is believed to be a compound-verb.

Elaborating on the above views, we may deduce the part of speech of tn and its variants from the

study of TNI B613, Tni-k-r @ B614 and ŠĒ-TN-K-R, which is a way of writing ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I) B485. These same names have already been used to prove the variation between tn and tni.[22] TNI, therefore, seems to be employed in a substantival capacity in the first name, and as a verbalized noun in the prefixless participle Tni-k-r, which is obviously identical in sense with -tn-k-r, prefixed with šē- to produce ŠĒ-TN-K-R. The last name itself is slightly different from ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I), where the vowel of the infix -k(e)- is written and -l(i) replaces -r as a participial ending.[23] One is therefore able to conclude that, while it can be used as a noun, tn(i), prefixless or with the prefix šē-, may be verbalized and changed into a participle by -r and -l(i).[23]

III ii b Since tn(i) can act both as a noun and as a verb the construction of the compound tn-ide, resulting from the addition of the verb -ide to this component, must be N/V+V.[24] Having as yet encountered no instance of tñ-ye(i) used as a noun, but only as a verb, it seems best that for the moment the construction of the compound tñ-yi-d(i), and its various forms, should be accepted as V+V.[25] From yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l: Ak I 1 OS and -tn-ide-b-x-l,

in tbi-tn-ide-b-x-l: Ak I 28, it is possible to deduce that -tn-ide, prefixed with yi- in the former group and without a verb prefix in the latter, is a verb suffixed with the plural dative -b-x(e)- and the participial ending -l.[26] Because of its compounded nature and function as a verb, -tn-ide is aptly described as a compound-verb. The same description naturally fits tñ-yi-di and the rest of its forms.

So much for the part of speech of the simple and compounded forms of tn(i) and its variants. Next, I will cite the names and the relevant groups in which t(e)ñ, t(e)n and tnē(i) are used.

IV i As a noun, teñ, having tn(i) as a variant, may occur in juxtaposition with another noun or a verbal complex or it may be prefixed to the one and suffixed to the other in one and the same name. Juxtaposed with the noun, ari- "Ḥorus" (ari-, strictly speaking, is a personal name), it forms ari-teñ (mde-s) (H) Ins 94 1 L, ari-teñ: Ins 94 3, (amni:)ari-teñ: (H) Ins 24b, 35b, 37b, 27a, (amni:lh:) ari-teñ: (tē-l-k-te-te) (H) Ins 24a, 35a, 37a, ari-teñ (mde-s-l) (H) Ins 84, ari-te[ñ-l](mde-s-l) (H) Ins 34, ari-[teñ-l mde-s-l] (H) Ins 34 and ari-teñ-li-s-l-w: Ins 94 4, where in the last three instances -l(i) is present or

justifiably restored.[27] It is highly likely that ari-teñ is written slightly differently in Arē-tn-ye @ B81.[28] As may be understood from what has been said in sub-division I ii above, this component, written -tni, is juxtaposed with the apparently verbal complex -ye-s-bē-he-, in YE-S-BĒ-HE-TNI £ B679, and, also spelt teñ, it recurs with both ari- and the same verbal complex in ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE £ B84.[29] Ar-, also meaning "Horus", appears with -tni, from which it is separated by the infix -k- and the noun -x-, in AR-K-X-TNI (H) £ B86.[30] A few alterations on this name, resulting in the elision of the infix -k- and the transposition of the medial -x- to an initial position, produces something like X-R-TNI*, which immediately calls to mind Nu 14.[31] We also have TNI B 613, which, though appearing to be related with the above words, does not have the same meaning as they.[31]

The analysis of -ye-s-bē-he as a verbal complex added to either -tni or ari-teñ- in some of the above names leads us on to the discussion of the names in which ten(ñ)- is added to verbal complexes.

IV ii The occurrence of ten(ñ)- with verbal complexes known elsewhere to occur with deities' names strengthens the belief that this word is perhaps the name of the sun-god, i.e. Aton. Of such names are believed to

be TEN-D-X-R B565, Ten-[ḳ]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) B566 and Teñ-ki-tn-ide @ B567.[32] The compound -[ḳ]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) in the second name is evidently of the same meaning as -k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) prefixed with are-, believed to be the name of "Horus", in Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B68, while -tn-ide, in the last name, is identical in meaning with the compound added to amni-, arē- "Ḥorus", ter(r)i-, identified as the name of "Hathor", in AMNI-TN-IDE B50, ARĒ-TN-IDE £ B80 and TERI-TN-I[Ḍ]E £ B578, also found as Terri-tn-ide @.[33] Here might belong Tnē-ke-d-d @ B612, in which -ke-d-d, as a verbal complex without a nominal adjunct, is known from Tañ 127-28.[34] In addition to the use of the present component this name agrees with Ten-[ḳ]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) in employing the verb prefix -ke- with the verb -d-.

IV iii There is no need to repeat the discussion of Tni-k-r @ B614, ŠĒ-TN-K-R and ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I) B485, in which -tn(i)- is used as a verb.[35] On this analogy, tni- appears to receive the verbal suffixes -ñ- and -t- and the reduplicated participial ending -r in Tni-ñ-t-rē-r @ B615.[35a] The comparison of this name with the above names further illustrates the behaviour of -ñ- and -k(e)- in occurring together or, as is here, the one without the other.[35a]

Qe-š-tni @ B443 probably combines -š-tni,

apparently the equivalent of s̆ē-tn- in some of the previous names, and qe-, known in qe-tñ-yi-ñ(-qe)-li, discussed below.[36] On the acceptance of this analysis, in the last name we have qe- and -tni in a construction parallel to that of qe- and tñ-yi- in the group, and we therefore have an additional instance of the parallelism between tni- and tñ-yi-, augmenting the examples in sub-division IV v below.[36] The interchange between -s̆- and -s- being familiar, S-tni @ B471 might be identical in meaning with -s̆-tni, in Qe-s̆-tni above, the former name itself being a part of Šb-s-tni-ye @ B477.[37]

IV iv As was previously mentioned, tñ-, written in one group tn-, is found suffixed with -ye(i) that is to be considered as an integral part of it.[38] In this sub-division I will attempt to show that tñ-yi, to use this spelling, like tn(i), of which it is believed to be a variant writing, may likewise be verbalized, as I will again show, in the next sub-division, that it can also form compound-verbs. Behaving like any other verb, tñ-yi-, with or without p- [39], may additionally receive -ñ without -k(e,i), as is in tñ-yi-ñ: Kar 92 6 LS, tñ-yi-ñ-, in tñ-yi-ñ-wi-t(s-l ?)-w Mer 7 13 LS, and p-tñ-yi-ñ: Ibr 19 OS, or both of -ñ- and -ki, as is in p-tñ-yi-ñ-ki: Ibr 27-28

and p-tñ-yi-[ṇ]-ḳi: Ibr 31.[39] Though one cannot explain qe- and we-, yet there seems to be great truth in analysing -tñ-yi-ñ-li and -tn-yi-ñ(nē)-qe-li, with which these components occur, as participles, in the former one of which -ñ- is the only infix and in the latter, interchanging with -nē-, it occurs with -qe-.[40] The element -qe- is elsewhere known as a verb suffix received by verbs forming complexes parallel to those formed by the same verbs and -k(e,i).[40] Of such participles are qe-tñ-yi-ñ-li Ins 85 1 LS, qe-tñ-yi-ñ-qe-li Sawārda 1 L B1, Argin T Lintel, we-tñ-yi-ñ-li Serra W 1 LS, we-ṭṇ-qe-li: AWB 406 22-23, in which -yi- is omitted,[41] we-tñ-yi-ñ-qe-li Ins 133 1 LA, Serra 1 LS, Post 72 1 LS, AWB 406 20-21 LS, 417 X+23-24 LS, we-tñ-yi-ñ-qe-l[i] Kh 10044 1-2 LS, we-tñ-yi-nē-qe-li Kar 76 1-2 LS and we-tn-yi-ñ-qe-li Semna 1-2 L/TS, where in the last group -tn-yi- replaces tñ-yi-.[41]

IV v As regards the compound-verbs, we have two types of such verbs. One results from the addition of -ide to tn-, the construction of the compound-verb being N/V+V, and the other is formed by the addition of -d(e,i)- to tñ-y(e,i)-, also spelt -tñ-i-, the construction of the compound-verb suggested to be V+V.[42]

Prefixed with (a)mni-, arē- "Ḥorus" and

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ter(r)i- "Hathor", the compound-verb -t(e)n-ide forms the theophorous names AMNI-TN-IDE B50 (cf.TÑ-YI-D-MNI below), MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) £ B327, in which -mēm- is an additional word, ARĒ-TN-IDE £ B8o, perhaps Are-de-tni @ B67, where the order of its components is reversed, and TERI-TN-I[D]E £ B578, also written Terri-tn-ide @.[43] In the light of what has been said in IV ii and in view of the parallelism between teñ- in Teñ-ki-tn-ide @ B567 and the above-mentioned deities' names as a prefix to the compound-verb -tn-ide-, this word might be identified with the one in ari-teñ.[44] Consequently, the name appears to be theophorous.

Outside the theophorous names, -t(e)n-ide is present in the participles yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l: Ak I 1 OS, -tn-ide-b-x-l, in tbi-tn-ide-b-x-l: Ak I 28, and in the non-theophorous names AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE B104 and Šr-be-ten-ide @ B526. While it seems to form a verbal complex by itself in the last name, the compound-verb perhaps forms a participle in the last name but one, in which -ki- is the familiar verb prefix and -ye is the ending.[45]

The other form of the compound-verb is found in the different ways of spelling TÑ-YI-D-MNI £ B618 (cf. AMNI-TN-IDE) and in Tñ-yi-di @ B617 and TÑ-YE-WI-DE B616.[46] As was suggested in the table and in the evaluation of its contents in sub-division I iii above, the second and third

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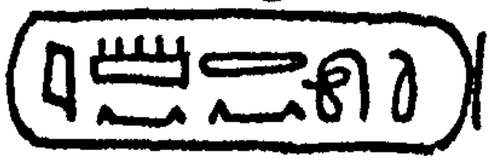
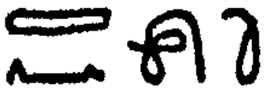
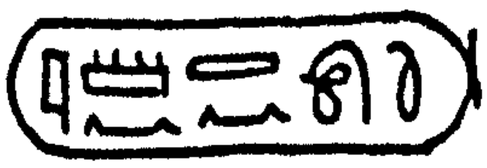
names might also be theophorous, in which the name of a deity, being understood, is perhaps omitted. Such a practice is known in Egyptian personal names and is believed to be not unfamiliar in Meroitic.[47] That Tñ-yi-di and tñ-ye-...-de are identical in content with tñ-yi-d- in TÑ-YI-D-MNI, which, as is evident, is the only Meroitic theophorous name using this type of the compound-verb, it is most likely that the deity's name assumed to be suppressed might be that of Amon. Support for this view seems to be forthcoming from the name written in hieroglyphics as  Ku 16, JEA 35 pl.xvi 76a,b,c, belonging to the last king of the 25th Dynasty. The interchange between -d- and -t- being familiar in Meroitic, as indeed in Egyptian, the hieroglyphic signs and might be equated with Meroitic -w(e,i)- and -d(e,i)-.[48] We have no problem with for, as a writing of , it can be transcribed into Meroitic t(e)ñ.[49] It is therefore probable that  in this king's name is of the same meaning as TÑ-YE-WI-DE.[50] On the acceptance of this view, we have two parallel pairs of names; Tñ-yi-di @ and TÑ-YI-D-MNI on the one hand and TÑ-YE-WI-DE and  on the other.[50] Because of this parallelism it is believed that the names without the name of Amon might in fact be

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shorter writings of the names containing it, in which case they will be potentially theophorous.

A14 THE COMPONENT t(e)n, t(e)ñ, tnē(i) - FOOTNOTES

1. See sub-divisions II i below for the meaning of teñ, IV ii for tnē, IV iv & n.38 and IV v for tñ-y(e,i) in its simple and compounded forms.

2. See sub-division I iii below.

3. Though this name does not contain any form of teñ, yet its inclusion is germaine to the point of discussion.

4. See sub-division II i for ari-teñ and IV i for more on it and the names. The -ye- after ari-teñ-, in ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE, here argued to be the same as that in Arē-tn-ye @, may be no other than the initial ye- of YE-S-BĒ-HE-TNI, the exact equivalence of ari-teñ-ye- with Arē-tn-ye thus seeming to be uncertain. If, however, ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE be thought to consist of two parts, one of which is ari-teñ-ye- and the other -ye-s-bē-he (i.e. ARI-TEÑ-YE_YE-S-BĒ-HE *), the repetition of -ye- being omitted when the two components come together, then there is no objection to the above equivalence. See the slightly differing analysis of the names under the second reference given above.

5. See sub-divisions IV iii, v for more on these names, and under B618 for the various ways of spelling the last name.

6. See sub-division III ii b on the compound-verb.

7. See A17 I for -mēm-, a shorter writing of -(a)mēme, and sub-divisions III ii b, IV iv for tñ-yi.

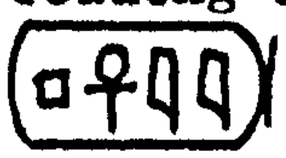
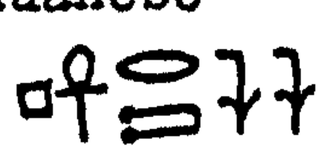
8. See I ii on the conclusion that these components are graphically interchangeable.

9. See sub-divisions II i, IV i for -teñ and its variant forms with ar(ē,i)- and amni- and sub-division IV v for tn(i), and its different spellings, in theophorous names.

10. See sub-division IV iv below.

11. See sub-divisions II i, IV i.

12. See sub-division III i.

13. See sub-division IV i & n.31 below. In MIO 14 166-70, Priese arrives at the conclusion that Pi/e is the actual reading of the name of the well-known Sudanese king  and he consequently reads  as 'Pi/e-ariteñ' and translates it as " 'Der pi/e ist der Himmliche' oder ähnlich" (= the pi/e is heavenly, lit. the pi/e is one who is in heaven). Alternatively, he suggests "es lebt/existiert der Himmliche" (= the heavenly one live!), op.cit.175-76. See n.14 below.

14. Accordingly ari would be the Egyptian ḥrt 'heaven'.

However, Zyhlarz does not cite the reference to Griffith's guess, which I cannot locate. This view is accepted by Priese. See n.13 above.

15. See sub-division I ii above.

16. This view is lent support by the fact that teñ- is believed to interchange with are(ē)- "Horus", amni-, ter(r)i- "Hathor" as an initial component in some of certain theophorous names. See sub-division IV ii below.

17. I have decided to transliterate these names as if Meroitic because their component parts seem to have been passed into the following Meroitic names: QĒRE-MNI B448, Qēre-mn-ye @ B449, TÑ-YI-D-MNI £ B618 and MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) £ B327. Griffith, M II 85, likewise observes that -ten- in the last name may be the same element as in the Napatan names. See A12 III v a for the names with qēre and sub-division I ii & n.7 above for the names with tñ- and -ten-.

18. See especially the end of, sub-division I iii.

19. See sub-division II i for the probable meaning of teñ and PoDEC 25a on the views of the Egyptians about the sun.

20. See sub-divisions I i on tñ-ye(i)-, which is sometimes spelt tñ-y-, tñ-i- and tn-yi-, the end of IV i for tni as a noun and IV iii, iv for it as a verb.

21. See sub-division IV v below.

22. See sub-division I ii above.

23. See A6 IV i for šē-, especially IV iv e for it in the same names, and A19 II i, ii for the separability of -k- from -r of Tni-k-r @ and ŠĒ-TN-K-R. See also A1 I ii, iii on the infix -k(e), A3 I, III i a, b, A19 II ii for the use of -r and -l(i) as participial endings in general and A3 IV ix for their use in the above names in particular. The names are mentioned once more in their right place in sub-division IV iii below.

24. For -ide, interchanging with -d(e,i), being a verb see A2 I i. See also A2 I ii a on the subject of the compound-verb.

25. See sub-division IV iv for the groups employing -tñ-yi- as a verb and IV v for the names with thϕ compound tñ-yi-d(i). On the analogy of tn(i), of which tñ-ye(i) is believed to be a variant spelling, (see IV iv & n.38), there is no reason why the latter word should not be found as a noun. It is hoped that the reader will appreciate that the limited scope of the present work has not allowed the present writer to collect all the relevant instances of these components outside names.

26. This analysis of the groups disagrees with Griffith's description of them as nouns in the plural, as one may understand from his remark in JEA 4 171. See A12 II viii for the group prefixed with yi-, A7 VI ii d for the plural dative and A3 IV ix for -l. The component tbi- in the latter group is perhaps the same as the noun in Tbi-ye @ B546, on which see A12 III ii a & n.32.

27. For ari- and -teñ see sub-division II i above and for more on ari- see A13 IV. For tē-l-k-te- see A7 III iii & n.21.

28. See sub-division I ii & n.4 above, A13 IV and A12 III v a.

29. See sub-division I ii & n.4, A13 IV. For -ye-s-bē-he see A7 VI iii d.

30. See A13 I-III on ar-, A1 II i & n.14 on -k- and A7 II iv on -x-. More is said about the name in A21 I i.

31. See II i above, A7 II iv and Kush 9 230 & n.5 for more on and III ii a above for more on TNI.

32. See II i on teñ probably meaning 'sun', A2 II i and A7 VI iii a,b on -d-x(i)-, A3 I, III i a,b and A19 II ii for the use of -r as a participial ending.

For -k(i)- see A1 I i 4,5, II ii and for the name with -tē(s-lē) see A5 V ii b, A3 IV ii c.

33. See A13 V i & n.10, A1 I i 3, II ii and A3 IV ii c for the name with are-k-, and sub-division IV v & nn.43-44 below for the theophorous names using -tn-ide and for more on Teñ-ki-tn-ide.

34. See A1 III i & n.21.

35. See III ii a & n.23 above.

35a. For the infix -ñ- and its behaviour with -k(e)- compare the groups using -tñ-yi- in IV iv below and see A1 I iii, IV i-iii. For -t- see A5 V ii a & n.43 and for -l(i) and -r(ē-r) see A3 I, III i a,b, especially A3 IV ix and A19 II ii for them in the above names.

36. See IV iv for the groups using qe- with tñ-yi-. See also n.38.

37. See A6 II ii, V ii a for more instances of the interchange between š- and s- and A6 IV iv e for more on the same prefixes in the names under discussion. For the analysis of Šb-s-tni-ye see A12 III iv c & n.46.

38. See I i, III ii a above and A12 IV vii. On the stela from Arminna West AWB 406 ll. 22-23 the extension to the Invocation is spelt we-tṇ̣-qe-li, giving -tṇ̣- instead of the usual -tñ-yi-, written once -tn-yi-.

Though the reading of -tn̈-, as is indicated by Heyler, RdE 17 192, is uncertain, the existence of this instance nevertheless supports the view expressed in I i above that tñ(n)- and tñ(n)-y(e,i), and the rest of their variants, seem to mean the same thing.

39. For p- with tñ-yi- see A4 II ii, for comparable names and groups using -ñ- and -k(e,i), and their variants, separately or together, see A1 IV ii, iii, and compare the behaviour of the same elements with -tn(i)- in sub-division IV iii above.

40. Compare the initial qe- with the one in Qe-s̆-tni @ in sub-division IV iii, which is thought to be the same element. With we- compare the component present in the names in A8 II v & n.37. See A1 I iii for the infix -qe- and A3 I, III i a, b, especially A3 IV ix where some of the above groups are quoted, for the function of -l(i) as a participial suffix.

41. See RdE 16 25-36, 17 192. On qe-tn̈-qe-li See n.38 above.

42. See I i, III ii b & n.24. See also A2 I iii c for a standardized system of splitting compound-verbs in general and wi-de in particular and compare tk-ide in A8 I ii. The alternation between tñ-i- and tñ-y(i)- is so far noted in the name TÑ-YI-D-MNI, quoted below, of which this is the best known writing. See n.43.

43. See A13 IV on the deities' names and A8 II iii & n.26 on the identification of ter(r)i- as the name of "Hathor". For the separation of -ten- from -ide by -mēm- see I ii & n.7 above.

44. See II i for ari-teñ and IV ii & n.33 above for more on the name. Griffith, RecCh 570, JEA 3 114 bb, equates the name with Demotic 3tngytnrye of Ph 411. Heyler, CR 11 125-6 n.2, and Priese, MIO 14 184 n.107, think that AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE, studied below, is a better equivalent. But Griffith's identification seems to me still preferable. Whichever one of the two names is the real equivalent of the Demotic, the comparison of the Demotic and the Meroitic versions gives us Demotic -r- as an equivalent of Meroitic -d-. See A4 II ii n.11.

45. See III ii b & n.26 for the groups and A3 I, III i a,b for -l and -ye as participial suffixes. See also A12 IV vii for more on -ye, A1 I i 4 for at-ki-tn-ide- and A10 III i b (end), A11 VII i on šr-be-.

46. For more on these names and for the view that the last two names are perhaps identical in sense despite the medial -wi- in the latter one of them see A12 IV vii.

47. See A2 I iv (end) A7 VI iii c, A23 III ii and A8 I i n.9 for some such names.

48. See A5 IV i b for the interchange between -d- and -t-.

49. See II i, ii & n.17 above.

50. For the apparent insignificance of the medial -wi- in the Meroitic name and in the Napatan name see the reference in n.46 above.

THE COMPONENT aq, (a)qe, (a)qē

I i There is suspicion that aq, (a)qe and (a)qē are all different writings of the same component. If it be accepted that Aqē-ñ-y @ B63, Ñ-qē-ye B399 and Yi-n-qe @ B702 are reshuffled forms of one another, then we here seem to have examples of the interchangeability of (a)qē and (a)qe.[1] One therefore presumes that -qe in the last of the three names is perhaps equivalent of -(a)qe, the loss of the initial a- (as also that of -(a)qē- in the second name) being due to the component being preceded by another. Compare besides Aqē-lh-li @ B61 with the title at-qē-lh-l Kar 59 9-10 LA, in which its components are evidently preserved, and also mte:aqe-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 23 4 LS (=HinD 71) with mte-qe-t(s-l)-ke-ni Kar 58a LS for the disappearance of a- of aqe(ē)-.[2] The nominal nature of aqe(ē)- is obvious in these examples, since this component is qualified by -lh- 'great' in the first pair and is apparently in indirect genitive with mte- in the second pair.[3] If -qe in Yi-n-qe @ above is accepted as a way of writing (a)qē in the two names with which it is being cited, -qe being merely the variant of aqe- in the groups just mentioned, it seems logical to believe that (a)qe here too should be a spelling of (a)qē.

A15 I i

It should be noted that qe and qē in some of the above names resemble the honorific prefix/suffix -qe(ē)-. If š-qē, studied in I iii below, be analysed as a noun (?) š- and the honorific -qē, the same thing might be said about Š-qē-ñ-ye B524, which will be having -ñ- and -ye as additional elements, and N-Š-QĒ-YE B383, which is apparently a reshuffled version of the last.[4] In view of the fact that Aqē-ñ-y @ and Ñ-qē-ye appear to contain the components of these two names, less -š-, respectively, one wonders whether -qē- in them too might be the honorific -qē-.[4]

To these components one may add aq- in Aq-mk-s B64, Aq-trē @ E6 and AQ-Y-KR B65, in which aq- may again be connected with the honorific -qē- owing to the use of both spellings with kdi- in the forms kdi:aq- and kdi-qē-, probably meaning 'honourable woman'.[5] Like the honorific -qē-, aq- perhaps accepts rendering as both a noun and an adjective, and its treatment as a noun here supports the analysis of AQ-Y-KR as containing aq- as the semantic nominal object of the verbal complex -y-kr, in which -kr probably has something to do with the idea of "offering", and its rendering as "an aq- has been offered" or "may an aq- be offered!", or the like.[5]

I ii As regards the honorific qe(ē), I feel there is no need to be involved in discussing it, since it is generally accepted as an element identifying the person or persons commemorated in the funerary inscriptions and thought to mean something like 'the deceased, the noble one',...etc. [6] However one may point out that in a few examples it has been found prefixed with s̆- or kdi- or prefixed with the former and suffixed with the latter to form a single word.[7]

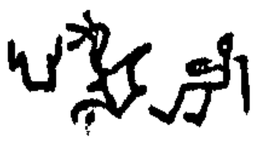
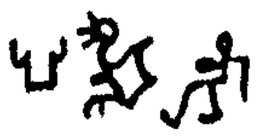
With kdi- alone the honorific element forms the compounds kdi-qē and kdi:aq- Ins 94 24 L, apparently meaning, as Griffith thought of the former, 'honourable lady(?)'.[8] As is obvious, these words, which I have elsewhere described as 'epithetic compounds', introduce, or refer to, ladies, while qe(ē) may be used for people of either sex. [8] The former seems to be present in Kdi-qē-wi-l[ē]-H B218. [8]

From these renderings one understands that the honorific qe(ē) may function as both an epithet and an adjectival substantive.

There are also some interesting occurrences of qē which are worth mentioning. Of these is qē-le-b: Ak I 17,19,35,40 OS, Mer 8 4 L B1, Ins 111 11 L, Tañ 26-27, 32,115,136-7,148 OS, with an additional -wi in Ak I 15, and

preceded by numerals in Ak I 5,10,12 OS, Ob 5 O, FO 5. Griffith, JEA 4 167, translates the instance following the enumerations as 'living persons', whereas Monneret de Villard, Kush 8 148, gives the meaning of qē-l- (i.e. qē-le- in qē-le-b) as 'statua, imagine' (=statue, image), which Hintze, loc.cit., finds improbable and unsuitable when applied to the forms in Ak I. It seems to me that 'nobles' or '(of) the nobility', though the genitival sense suggested by my second rendering is not supported by the Meroitic word involved, might be a more adequate meaning than is either of 'living persons' or 'statue'. It would be unnecessary for Akinidad to specify whether his captives were dead or living persons because they would be expected to be living persons. On the other hand, when the conqueror's captives are described as being of the nobility, this will explain his mentioning of them as an indication of his pride in his deed and an attempt to win the admiration of the readers of his annals.

Griffith, loc. cit., adds that the Meroitic "qē often suggests a connexion with the famous Egyptian word the ka 'person' and in late times 'name', perhaps pronounced ko, but it is impossible as yet to prove it" Dr Macadam, Kawa I 124 n.1, points out how there was evidence in Griffith's papers (relevant to The Temples of Kawa) that he

(i.e. Griffith) may have come to entertain the view that the honorific qē was identical with the final -qa (really -qo or -qu) in Taharqa and Amtalqa,....etc., and that the suffix in question came from Libya and was first attached to royal names such as Shoshenqo. Dr Macadam himself, op.cit. 74, adds that in later times the syllable appears in the Nubian names ΑΡΡΕΛΟCΚΟΩ, ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΚΟΛ and CΑΛΟΜΟΥΝΙΡΟ concluding that these names show that it was pronounced -qo. The acceptance of the equation of qē with qo lends great support to Griffith's early mentioned surmise that the Meroitic qē was perhaps pronounced ko.[9] One may add that if the equation of qē with the Egyptian k3 is also accepted, then the pronunciation of it as ko, ku or even koY might be argued for by the comparison of the cuneiform, Coptic and Greek versions of some of the Egyptian names and nouns containing the biliteral sign k3. For instance  'little, small', is Coptic ΚΟΥΧΙ, forming the name  RaPN 350 1, Coptic ΠΑΚΟΥΧΕ, Greek ΠΚΟΥϹΤΕ, CruCD 94 b, PreiN 330 b, and the name RaPN 349 31 'the wagoner?' is ktn without its final -n, written kuzi in Cuneiform, RaPN II 191 & n.8. Note however that Greek gives a short -e- for the -3 of k3

in , Nfr k3 R', a king of the third Dynasty, op.cit.229, but this is only to be expected in construct forms.

I iii Next I will discuss the word -qē present in the title š-qē found, in four of its five occurrences, in the place of the honorific prefix qe(ē)-,with which it looks as if it is related in meaning.[10] In the same way as -aq and -qē receive kdi- to form the epithetic compounds kdi:aq- and kdi-qē- , so, it is believed, š-qē-, found spelt š-q-, is added to the same word to form the epithetic compound š-q-kdi: Ins 94 15 L. [10] The word š-qē occurs in the contexts š-qē Ml-w-terē-r @ B 321, š-qē PHĒME B414, š-qē A-DE-Q-TE-Y B13 and š-qē Š-KI-N-LE B511. Zyhlarz, ZyM 448, reads the last name as š-qē ŠKINLI translating the text as 'the noble Škinli'. Hintze, HinSS 370, reads both instances of the name similarly but he rejects Zyhlarz's translation, which he thinks leaves š- hanging in the air, and this, he states, is nowhere known as a word. He also adds that šqēš- and anēš- with -kinli are possible splittings of the respective instances of the name š-qē ŠKINLI and anē ŠKINLI, according to his reading.[11] The reading of the title, or introductory epithet, as š-qē is now unquestionably established by the

A15 I iii-iv - II i

instances from Naga' Gamus (B13,414) above, which show it distinct from the name following it. Hintze's denial of the existence of a separate word s̆- is refuted by his analysis of the title s̆-lh:mlē-lē Far 21 25 TA, in which he wonders whether s̆-l-w EKE 27 LS might suggest splitting as given.[12] If s̆- is a word qualified by -lh 'great', it might equally be the same word in s̆-qē qualified by -qē 'noble' the qualify of which as an epithet is undoubted. Therefore s̆-qē, as well as its apparent derivative s̆-ṛ-kdi, could be compound titles.

I iv There is a component -qē- found in certain groups that have the characteristics of verbal complexes. These are b-qē-b-x Ins 94 12 L, probably preserved dativeless in Bē-qe @ B128, b-qē-b-te Ins 94 26, which might be an extension of the first group but with the datival postposition suppressed, b-qē-k: Ins 94 11,13, Bē-qē-ke @ B129 and the participle b-qē-l: Ins 94 13.[13]

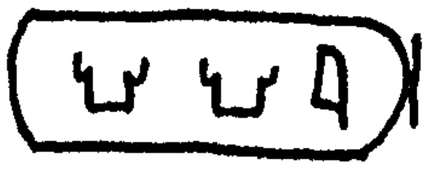
II i In the light of the above I proceed in this section to study the names and relevant groups having (a)qe, aq and (a)qē. Besides those names and groups mentioned at the beginning of sub-division I i above, we have the following. Aq-mk-s @ B64 and Aq-trṛ̣ @ E6, both

of which have been cursorily touched on in sub-division I i above, seem to contain, the one the component aq-, as a noun, and -ṁk-s [14] and the other the same component with -trẹ̄ added, which also looks like a noun.[14] AQĒ-MLĒ-YE B62, like Aqē-lh-li @ B61, has aqē- as a noun but qualified by a different adjective, which is this time -mlē- 'good', and receiving a different ending, -ye.[15] Its construction being N+Adj-ye, AQĒ-MLĒ-YE falls in the category of At-mlē-y[ẹ] @ B107 "good bread" and X-mlē-ẹ @ B178 "good boon, benefit, offering,...etc.[15] One wonders whether the parallelism with at- and x- in these names hints that aqē-, in its different forms, is something that may be offered. If this is so the rendering of AQ-Y-KR B65 as "an aq- has been offered" or "may an aq- be offered!" will not be too far off the mark. [15]

II ii As a corollary of the conclusion made in sub-division I i above concerning the nominal nature of (a)qē, in At-qē @ B110 we probably have two nouns of which one is the title at 'prophet', Kar vi 57 (=Kar 15), and the other the noun -qē. The same name receives the definite article in AT-QĒ-LI B111 and perhaps -mete- and the article -l in at-qē-mete-l: Kar 59 10 LA. [16] The a- of at-, in at-qē-, seems to be dropped and -le added in T-QĒ-LE B622,

-ye being suffixed instead of -le in T-qē-ye @ B625, while the apparently verbal complex -šē-te is this time the adjunct in T-qē-šē-te @ B624.[17] In Te-q[ḕ]-ni-li B572 I see te-, presumably again meant for at-, prefixed to -q[ḕ]- , the resulting compound further receiving -ni- and -li.[17]

In QE-LĒ-HR B438 -hr might be a verb taking the defined qē- as an object, just in the same way as -y-kr in AQ-Y-KR, in sub-divisions I i, II i above, is suggested to be taking the undefined aq-.[18] The verb -hr will then be treated as a version of -xr and -kr of the verbal complexes of Formula B.[18] Qē- occurs alone but defined by -le- and additionally receiving -ye in QĒ-LE-YE B445 and is perhaps reduplicated and defined by -li in QĒ-QĒ-LI B447. If one recalls and accepts Griffith's remark that qē often suggests a connexion with the Egyptian k3 the last name may probably be a Sudanized Egyptian name accepting rendering as "the soul of (my ?) soul", the second -qē- being considered as defined and in direct genitive with the undefined (or perhaps containing an inherent possessive first person singular suffix pronoun) first qē-.[19] Compare the Egyptian personal name



RaPN 342 18, prenomen of Neferirkarē'

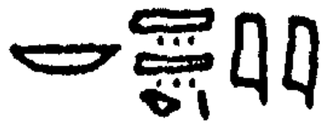
of the fifth Dynasty, translated by Sethe, ZÄS 42 143, as 'the ka of my ka'. Ranke, RaPN II 163 & n.4, thinks this translation is hardly probable. Despite Ranke's remark I see Sethe's analysis of the Egyptian name as useful in attempting to assess what I think might be the possible meaning of the Meroitic name.

II iii The component qē-, as a noun, perhaps meaning 'noble thing', is present in what seems to be a participle containing the verb -ṣē- "to make, do, make (offering)" in Qē-ṣē-ye B456, "one who offers a noble thing", and in the verbal complexes Qē-s̆-x-ṇ @ B457 and -qē-s̆-hi, this itself being part of Tir-l-qē-s̆-hi B591 and Mye-qē-s̆-hi B363.[20]

The names Qē-ẇē-li B459 and Qē-dēt(dē-s-l) @ B444 seem to me to accept at least two analyses each. In the first name -ẇē- may be the title wē-, occurring as wē-li Kawa 61 L Gr and wē-l-w Kawa 90 T Gr, suggested, but queried, by Dr Macadam, Kawa I 137, as an equivalent of the Egyptian w'b 'priest', and also in indirect genitive with -mni in the form wē-mni-s Kar 77 5-6 LA (=HinD 34), to cite one of its many examples to be found under HinD 117,228,240,312.[21] "The wē-priest is noble" or "the wē-priest of the noble

thing/k3 ?" are mere guesses of the meaning taking into account whether qē is thought to be an adjectival predicate, an adjectival substantive or an Egyptian loan-word. Alternatively, -wḥē- could be a verb, of the same meaning as -w(e,i)- of some of the funerary formulae, especially Formula F.[21], and qē- either an adjective or an adjectival substantive, the name perhaps accepting the meanings "the offerer is noble" and "one who offers (the) noble thing". As regards Qē-dēt(dē-s-l) @, the splitting of it as Qē-dēt seems to yield -dēt as one complete word the meaning and perhaps nominal or adjectival nature of which is deducible from the comparison of the different versions of Formula J atepē:ke dēt-l:ye-tx-ke-s Sh 19 10-11 LS and atepēke mxe-l Serra W 1 4 LS, where dēt-l and mxe-l are seen to alternate. So is "the plentiful atepēke (ḥtpw-ke)" the same as "the dēt atepēke(ḥtpw-ke)"? The alternative splitting as Qē-dē-s-l suggests qē- as a noun in indirect genitive with -dē-, the latter resembling the word adē- 'land', <u>M II</u>;<u>Index</u>, or the title adē- in adē-l mlē-lē:wi: Kar 84 9 LA, adē-li Ibr 22 OS, adē-wi-dē Ibr 21, adē:ws phrs Ins 94 10 L, having lost its initial a- because the word in question is preceded by another component.[22] If -dē- in this name is the word for 'land' one may suggest the rendering "(the) spirit/noble one of

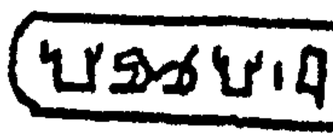
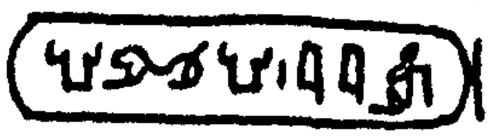
A15 II iii - iv

the land", comparing the Egyptian names Nb t3w RaPN 186 24, 'lord of the lands',  Nb t3wy RaPN 186 23, 'lord of the two lands' and their parallel Nb dww RaPN 187 1 'lord of the mountains'.

II iv The last group of names consists of Mn-qē-ñ @ B335, MR-QĒ-L B343 and Qēre-qē-ye B452, in all of which -qē- assumes a position second to a noun.[23] Without claiming the identity of the two words, one may draw the reader's attention to the graphic identity of mn- in the first name and the word for 'Amon', present in Mn-x-dē-ke £ B325 and the title mke-š-xe:mn-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 44 3-4 L/TS.[24] Compare the latter part of the name with (a)qē-ñ-, in Aqē-ñ-y @ and Š-qē-ñ-ye, of sub-division I i above.

Mr- in the second name is apparently the same word as in š-mr-te: Ibr 16 OS and šš-mr-te-l: Tañ 26 OS, written -mri- in šš-mri Sh 8 4-5 LS and in MRI-TE-L-YE B342.[25]

One hardly needs discuss qēre- in the third name (Qēre-qē-ye) because it is well-known as the word for 'king', in its old sense, M II 72, HinD p.28, and 'ruler', in the new sense it is suggested to have in CSSH 7 4 471 n.34, MacN 56. "A noble ruler", if -qē- is considered to be an epithet, seems to fit as a rendering of this name, the genderlessness of the title making it

suitable as a name for both males and females.[26] But if -qē- is considered to be a noun, in this name we probably have two juxtaposed nouns. Finally, if one accepts Dr Macadam's restoration of the cartouche Kawa XIII C as  , Kawa I 74, improving on it as  , and the identification of the name-bearer with Br-tre (H) of Beg S 10, though the restoration is described as 'recht unsicher' in HinLM 19, and reads in as -r instead of -l,[27] one might have a Napatan prototype of this name in the form Qr-q-y*, especially when Qēre-qē-ye and Br-tre are both ladies.

III From the above discussion one concludes that aq-,(a)qe and (a)qē are probably variants. There are times when they behave as nouns and other times when some of them, namely aq, qē and qe, appear to be adjectives. On two occasions it has been suggested that qē, whatever its meaning, seems to be a verb. In three of its variant spellings, namely aq, qe(ē), this component is guessed to mean 'noble', 'noble one/thing', 'living person' or probably 'soul'. If the same word as these is the one believed to be used as a verb it may mean "to be noble".

A15 THE COMPONENT aq, (a)qe, (a)qē - FOOTNOTES.

1. See A12 III ii a n.30, iv a & n.40, c n.44. Attention should be drawn to the alternation of -qe- with -qē- as honorific prefixes and suffixes to the A-name in Meroitic funerary inscriptions. See Kar vi 35 and I ii below.

2. See A3 III iv.

3. See A23 II on mte-.

4. See n.1 above for the references for these names. For the honorific prefix/suffix see I ii and for š- see A6 V i.

5. See II i & n.15 below, also I ii for kdi:aq- and kdi-qē.

6. See Kar vi 35,120. One should realize that there are a few cases when this element is left out or replaced by -lē. See A3 III i a & n.25 and the note on B80.

7. See I iii for -qē prefixed with š-, whether or not -kdi is present.

8. See A10 I ii a

9. See JEA 3 120 i 4, z on Meroitic -ē-.

10. See A6 V i, A11 VII iii on š-qē and š-lh, soon to be discussed below, and A10 I ii a, III i a, iii on

kdi-qē and š-q-kdi.

11. This name is studied in A6 II i b, A1 IV iii, A3 IV v.

12. See HinD 36,44, also n.10 for the references for š-lh. Other instances of the title are š-lh mnp-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 34 8-9 L/TA, Kar 105 5 TA, Kar 110 5 TS (=HinD 75), š-lh ši-mlē-te-lē: Kar 128 10-11 TA (=HinD 112 where it is read nimlē-te-lē). The titles š-lh-š and lh-š seem to me to mean the same thing as š-lh, the instability of the components of which being perhaps explicable by the principle of 'mobility of components' alluded to in the Introduction. Compare š-lh-š:mnp-s: Kar 6 4-5 LA, Kar 17 3 LS, Kar 23 2-3 LS (=HinD 263), š-lh-š:mnp-t(s-l): Kar 32 7-8 LS (=HinD 196), š-lh-š:mnp-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 103 10-11 TA (=HinD 76), lh-š mlē-wē-tē(s-lē): Kar 47 3 LS (=HinD 332).

13. See A7 VI i ff. for the datival postposition, especially VI ii d for the instances where it is thought to be suppressed.

14. See A16 II for -mk-s and A22 I i for a component -trē-, with which the one in the above name might be related.

15. See A3 III iv for the name with -lh-, A11 II i b and A12 III v b for the name with -mlē- and n.18 below for the reference for -kr.

16. See A3 III iii and A12 III v a for more on the names and the group receiving either one, or both, of -l(e,i)- and -ye, studied in this sub-division. For at-qē-mete-l see also A23 III ii.

17. See n.16 above. See also A5 II i & n.5 on t(e)- and A6 II ii for -šē-te.

18. See A21 III ii, iii, IV ii for -xr-, -kr- and -hr, and A3 III ii d & n.73 for more on the first name.

19. See the latter part of I ii above.

20. For an alternative reading and analysis of the first name see A12 III iv c. See also A6 I ii, II i a & n.8, A7 VI iv d 2.

21. See Kush 9 254 n.15, for an alternative analysis of wē-mni-s. For the verb -w(e,ē,i)- see A2 I iii b & n.16, A3 IV viii a.

22. See A3 III iii for more on the name and compare the possible loss of the initial a- of adē- with that of aqe(ē)- pointed out in I i.

23. See A3 III iii for more on the name with mr- and A12 III v a for more on the one with qēre-.

24. See A2 II ii n.29.

25. See A3 IV x a, A12 III iv b, v a, A5 VIII i.

26. See A12 III v a.

27. See HinLM 33 (14).

A16 I i

THE COMPONENT mk(e,i), me(ē)ke

I i The meaning 'god', now accepted by scholars as being suitable for mk and its variants, was with a certain degree of uncertainty suggested by Griffith in Kar vi 34 and later in RecCh 581. In the course of the present discussion I will try to demonstrate how mk, mke, mki, meke and mēke are all variants of one another, and suggest that besides its being a noun meaning 'god' this component behaves as a verb, meaning "to be divine" and as an adverb, meaning "divinely". The abundance of mk and kdi, in their different forms, in personal names, contrasted with the absence of a single certain mention of (a)šēr "Osiris" and the scarcity of wēš 'Isis' (only 5 certain instances), gives me the impression that the first pair is perhaps sometimes used to refer to the latter.[1]

The component in question is present in mk-abe-ni-bi-dpe-te-wi Tañ 27 OS, mk:wite pi-de-l-ke: Ak I 35-6 OS [2], mke: Tañ 95. Suffixed with -ñ, it has the form mki-ñ: Ak I 37, which seems to be preserved in the verbal complex te-mke-ñ Formula I Sh 7 9 LS to be discussed elaborately in I v below. Mki is followed by weš-te-l: in Ak I 11 and by weṭe-txe: in Ak I 12. If weš in the first instance be considered as a writing of wēš 'Isis' then the reversal of the order of the two words

will produce a version of Wēš-mk-s B654, less the final -s in the latter.[3] The components sb: and ašr: immediately precede meke in the contexts sb:meke: Ak I 21,31 and ašr:meke: Tañ 123 OS respectively.[4] Griffith's rendering of [ạ]r mẹke (H) Ins 7 as 'hawk-god', M II 63, gives mēke as a writing of mk(e,i) and mēke.[5]

I ii The definite article defines mk- in mk-l: mlē-lē: Far 21 25 TA (=HinD 41), rendered by Griffith as 'the malē of the god (?)', mḳ-l Ins 94 9 L and mk-li Ins 126 10 L/TS, -w being added after the definite article in mk-l-w Kar 127 16 TA (=HinD 43) and mki-l-w: Ins 94 2 L.[6] While these groups apparently have mk-le-b: Ins 94 2 L as a plural form, some other groups having -te after -l-, such as mk-l-te Kawa 75 1 L Gr, Tañ 6 OS, mk-l-te wi 12 Tañ 12, appear to have mk-l-te-b Ibr 9 OS as a plural form. Monneret de Villard and Hintze, Kush 8 145 (on line 6) and Dr Macadam agree on the analysis of mk-l-te as the word for 'god' defined and suffixed with the locative -te.[7] However, Hintze and Dr Macadam's renderings of it differ, for whereas the former scholar literally translates it as 'etwas, worin der Gott ist', hence his suggestion of the meaning to be 'divinity', or 'temple, shrine', the latter

scholar thinks that -te, locative as it is, is of specification; i.e. it helps the noun, to which it is suffixed, to specify what is following it. This function of -te, Dr Macadam demonstrates to me in the case of mk-l-te wi 12 Tañ 12, where if wi means 'total', JEA 4 171 (Ak I 25,26,42 OS), 11 222, (FO 19 8, 20 3, BO 3), the phrase will mean 'total (is) 12 gods'. This seems to be true because, starting from amnp:(Amanap) of line 7, one counts 10 known deities, mentioned by name or referred to by their attributes, who are in addition mnē (Amon of Nē), am[np]te (Amon of Napata), a-qe-di-s (attribute of Khons)[7], wēš (Isis), amnp (Amanap; distinguished from the earlier mention of him by qērē:ax-bērē-te-ñ:), amnb,...lost..., mñ-mke, mke-dē, mt (Mūt) and finally the groups te-pe-de:xtebemeyēs:.[7]

The name MK-ŠĒR-MLĒ-LI B290 shows mk- and -mlē- the occurrence of both of which in the same name compares with that of the title mk-l:mlē-lē quoted at the beginning of the present sub-division. The name might mean something like "(the) god is the good book" or "the good book of (the) god".[8] One wonders whether this rendering is supported by the context amnp:kek:šēr:š-ber-xi:mk-šēr-l xe-ple: amni-š-k-di-te(s-le): Tañ 49-51 OS, in which the first two component parts of the name and its definite article are

present.[9] As was said in I i n.4, šer, associated with mk in the name and the group, might alternatively be a way of spelling ašr preceding the same word in the text cited above.

I iii Mk-lh(-li), being the word mk qualified by -lh 'great', defined by the definite article, or not, meaning '(the) great god', was thought by Griffith, Kar vi 34, to be either in apposition with the name of Osiris, which it follows in three of its occurrences as will soon be pointed out, or the name of a different deity in the funerary Isis-Osiris cycle.[10] In the form mk-lh it occurs with Isis, both it and the deity's name being extended, at the end of Ins 129 19 LS. As mk-lh-li Kar 36 18 L/T A/S, it alone concludes the inscription, following the funerary formulae, whereas in Ins 130 1 LA/S it immediately precedes them. In Kar 55 2 LA, Sh 3 1 LS and Ins 131 1 LA/S it immediately follows the Invocation of Isis and Osiris at the beginning of the inscription. Mkškdi-lh Ins 123 6 L 'great goddess' is the feminine counterpart thereof, as was first hinted by Griffith, M II 52, and adopted by Zyhlarz, ZyM 459.[11]

I iv Next I proceed to examine the instances in which the noun mk- is either prefixed or suffixed to verbal

complexes and participles. Both mk and mki are used in the varying writings of ape-de-mki, i.e. (a)p(e)-de-mk(i), in which (a)pe-de- (also p(e)-de-) might be the same as the verbal complex pe(i)-de in Pi-de-ye B417, pi-de-l-ke: Ak I 35,37,40 OS, and Pe-de-q-ye B407.[12] Notice how in Ak I 35, the text of which reads mk:wite:pi-de-l-ke:, the group containing pi-de- is separated from mk only by the word wite. Can one assume that this deity's name is composed of these two elements together ?

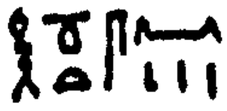
Adr-mk-d-d @ E2 and Adr-mk-de-te-li @ E3

have been analysed as a verbal complex and a participle taking as a nominal object adr-mk-, translated by Dr Macadam as 'god of Soleb', which is the word -mk in direct genitive with the place-name adr- 'Soleb'.[13] One again finds mk and mke prefixed to verbal complexes, perhaps acting as substantives, and participles such as in mke-š-xe:, suggested to be the equivalent of the Egyptian ḥm-nṯr, occurring in indirect genitive with mn-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 44 3-4 L/TS (=HinD 64a) "prophet of Amon", with mnpte-te-l: Kar 41 8-9 LS (=HinD 281) "prophet of Amon of Napata" [14], with mš-tē(š-lē)-wi: Kar 69 5-6 LA (=HinD 65) "prophet of Mash" and in mk-š-x-ñ-l: Tañ 46 OS, apparently the defined form of mke-š-xe, suffixed to amnpte in Tañ 45-6 OS. Here one

may include Mk-s̆-x-ide @ E11, mke-dē-ke-li-s-l-w Ins 94 6-7 L and the rest of the comparable groups studied elsewhere, for which there is no need to repeat quoting, Mke-de-qē-li B288, Mk-dē-ke-tme @ B287 and N-w-ide-mk £ B395.[15] In the last example, as also in the first one, we have -w-ide- and -s̆-x-ide as compound-verbs suffixed and prefixed with -mk(e)-.[15]

I v So far we have been familiar only with the nominal nature of mk(e,i), me(ē)ke, the component in question having been encountered on its own (sub-division I i), defined by -l(e,i) (sub-division I ii) and qualified by the adjective -lh- with or without the article -li (sub-division I iii). We now find this word in circumstances that suggest that it must be more than a mere noun. The group te-mke-ñ: Formula I Sh 7 9 LS, where -mke-ñ is evidently a slightly varying spelling of mki-ñ Ak I 10 OS above, seems to be a verbal complex verbalized by the prefix te-, -ñ being the all too familiar infix that so often appears in association with -k(e,i).[16] The group pe-ṭ-mke-nē-wi Ak I 37-8 OS and P-ṭ-mk-ide @ £ E13 in this case might also be verbal complexes of which the first one adds p- and -wi to a form of te-mke-ñ and the second adds p- and -ide, leaving out -ñ. In simpler terms, the former uses the prefixes p(e)- and -t(e)-, in addition to -nē- and -wi, with the simple form of the verb

-mke-, while the latter employs the same prefixes with the compound-verb -mk-ide.[16] Therefore when one finds YI-MK-LI B700 and Yi-mk-li-t(s-l) @ B701 one wonders whether it is not the case that in the same way -mk(e)- appears to be verbalized in the above examples, hence it may be made into participles by means of -l(i).[17] When meeting i-ple-mke-tē Ins 75 6 OS in the course of the discussion of the component -mēme-, I suggested that -mke- in this complex might have been an adverbial phrase meaning "divinely".[18]

I feel that the above examples prove that -mk(e)- can be used as a noun, verb, simple or compounded, and adverb. Consequently, when employed in a verbal complex such as te-mke-ñ, or the like, seems to be, it sounds logical that mk(e) should be rendered as a verb meaning "to be divine". As a corollary one would have to render YI-MK-LI as "one who is divine" and Yi-mk-li-t(s-l) @ as "belonging to him who is divine".[19] If "one who is a lord,master" and "belonging to him who is a lord,master" be accepted as renderings of these two names respectively, then one may compare the following Egyptian names which express similar ideas: RaPN 49 25 'sovereign' RaPN 183 I 'master', RaPN 186 13 'their master',  RaPN 244 1 'their Mistress'.[20]

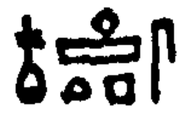
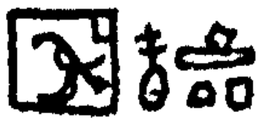
II The compound -mk-s seems to me to be the word -mk- 'god,lord' permanently suffixed with -s, hence the preference of the above-given splitting. It occurs in mk-s-l-x-s Sh 20 (= HinD 206), and is prefixed with the noun, or perhaps personal name, ar(i)- and yi[r]i- 'Horus ?' in Ari-l-ñ-mk-s B83, Yi-[r]i-[l]-ñ-mk-s D77 and Ar-q-tñ-mk-s B90, with the noun aq- in Aq-mk-s B64, with the noun xr- qualified by -mlē- 'good' in Xr-mlē-mk-s B184, with lt- in Lt-mk-s B251, with sl- in Sl-mk-s B468, with wēš 'Isis' in Wēš-mk-s B654 and with š- in Š-mk-s B518.[21] It is also present with the noun tm(e) in MK-S-TME B289 and Tm-l-ñ-mk-ṣ-l B609.[22] These names are extremely interesting and there is a great deal that can be said about them.

In the first place, but for its extra components (-l- and -ñ-), Tm-l-ñ-mk-ṣ-l can be a reshuffled version of MK-S-TME, tm(e) and mk-s being the principal elements in both names. Note that -tme also occurs with mk- in Mk-dē-ke-tme @ B287.[23] The comparison of these three names seems to me to provide good evidence for the above-given splitting of -mk-s and for its derivation from mk.

Comparing Ari-l-ñ-mk-s and Tm-l-ñ-mk-ṣ-l, both names showing -l-ñ- before -mk-s, on the one hand with

Ar-q-tñ-mk-s on the other, makes one wonder whether -tñ- in the latter name actually results from the presence of an -s- (inherent in -t- of -tñ-) before -l-ñ-, the medial -q- being for either aq-, present with -mk-s in Aq-mk-s, or -qe- following are-, assumed to be the variant of ar-, in Are-qe-br @ B71. The existence of Sl-mk-s, in which -s- + -l- does not give -t-, constitutes no problem because it is not always the case that the occurrence of -s- before -l- should result in -t-, as the writing of s̆-t-mde-s-lē Ins 78 2-3 O Gr alongside s̆-t-mde-t(s-l) Kar 54 11 LA (=HinD 166) and s̆-t-mde-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 88 9 LA (=HinD 22) shows. However, I do not insist on -tñ- in the name being divisible into -s-l-ñ-, for, since ar-, are- and ari- have been seen to interchange in the spelling of the name of 'Ḥorus', and ar(e,ē,i)- has been seen to occur with different forms of -t(e)ñ-, it is perhaps better to consider ari-, -q- and -tñ- as being the same components found in ari-teñ(-l) and qe-tñ-yi-ñ-qe-li.[24] In this case, aq- parsed as a noun in Aq-mk-s, will be of a part of speech different from that of qe-, in the last group, which is perhaps merely à particle.[24] It is noteworthy that Yi[r]i-[l]-ñ-mk-s D77, should this restoration prove to be acceptable, offers yi- in place of a- in Ari-l-ñ-mk-s @,

therefore giving yi-[ṛ]i- and ari- as variants.[25]

Unless there is no connexion between Š-mk-s and Wēš-mk-s, the prefixing of a mere š- to -mk-s in the former name makes one hesitate before taking wēš- in the latter for 'Isis' and consider splitting up the name in question as Wē-š-mk-s. On the other hand it might not be unlikely that wēš- is indeed here meant for 'Isis' and that of it, in the former name, only š- remains as some sort of abbreviation.[26] If we look at Egyptian personal names, we find no such a phenomenon, but we do find that suffix pronouns are used instead of deities' names when it is understood that a deity is being referred to by the pronoun in question. For instance compare  Nfr-ḥtp.s <u>RáPN 198 19</u> 'may her satisfaction be good ! " with  Nfr-ḥtp-Ḥthr <u>RaPN 198 18</u> 'may the satisfaction of Hathor be good! '.[27]

To recapitulate: from the above discussion it is perhaps safe to conclude that the component -mk-s is -mk- "god, lord" with a permanently suffixed -s, hence the above splitting as -mk-s. The existence of both words, the one with -s and the other without it, compares with that of abr-s and abr, kdi-s and kdi,...etc.[28] But for MK-S-TME, a masculine name, the rest of the above names having mk-s

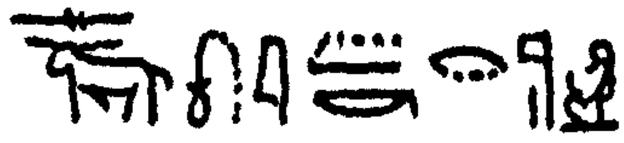
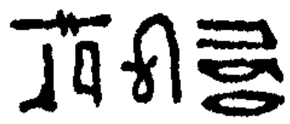
as a component are either feminine or of an unknown gender. This does not contradict Dr Macadam's observation, MacFI 47, on l. 2, that 'all the recorded holders of names ending in mk-s of whom the sex is known are women.'

A16 THE COMPONENT mk(e,i), me($\bar{e}$)ke - FOOTNOTES.

1. See A10 III i a & nn.14, 15.

2. This group, which looks like a verbal complex or perhaps a participle, also follows amnp and amnpte in [a]mnp:pi-de-l-ke: Ak I 39-40 OS, amnpte:pi-de-l-ke: Ak I 37. See I iv below.

3. See II below.

4. As its context shows, sb: here is no doubt the same as the component present in Ak I 20-22, 30-33, Tañ 36, 39, 43, Tur 12 LS, suffixed with -wi yielding the compound sb-wi in Ak I 23, 33. So if one inserts this same -wi between sb- and -meke here one obtains sb-wi-meke* which only needs the definite article -r to be added to it in order to form sb-wi-meke-r*, an hypothetical variant writing of sb-wi-mk-r*, name of a deity vouchsafed for us in the inscriptions of King Arnekhamani at Musawwarat es Sufra, written  in Egyptian hieroglyphs, Inscr 14, HinLM 32 abb. 11 Tafel xi d, Kush 10 178 pl.1 iii a, 180,183. Because there is another instance of the name as  Inscr 15, op.cit.23 abb.2 Tafel xv a, Hintze thinks sbē is perhaps meant for the first syllable. See op.cit. 33 nn. 1,2, and

references therein. For -r as the definite article see A19 II i. As regards aš̌r, which appears to me as a writing of šēr, quoted with mk in its right place in I ii below, and Griffith's different views about it see JEA 4 171, Meroe 73-4, Kar vi 52.

5. But see A13 II & n.1.

6. See A3 I, III i a-b for -l(e,i) and A11 IV i b for mlē-lē. See also CR 11 121-22.

7. See A5 VI & n.58 on the locative -te, A2 III i a 2 & n.53 on a-qe-di-s and A2 III ii a 2 for mke-dē.

8. For šēr 'book' see JEA 3 26, Kush 8 152 (line 50). See A11 II i b & n.10, A3 III iv on the name.

9. See A7 IV iv, A3 III ii d & n.72.

10. Compare the names and groups in A3 III iv.

11. See A10 III i a.

12. See A2 II ii & n.34 and, particularly, A4 II ii.

13. See A12 III i a 1 & n.51, iii a, A5 IV i b, v ii a, A3 IV ii d.

14. See A6 II i b & n.13, A7 VI iv c & n.61.

15. See II below, A2 III ii a 2 & n.65, ii b 1, A3 IV ii b,c. See also A2 I iii a-c, IV i, ii b for the name with the compound-verb -w-ide and A6 III for -š̌-x-ide.

16. See A5 IV i a, ii d on -t(e)-, A1 I ii, iv, IV ii-iii for -ñ(nē)-, with or without -k(e,i), A4 II v on p(e)-,and A2 I i,ii a-b, II iii a, III v b on the compound-verb -mk-ide.

17. See A12 II vii.

18. See A17 II.

19. See A12 II vii, A3 IV x a & n.135. It seems improbable that someone would have been given such a name as the first one of these. Therefore, one must seek another way of interpreting it. This seems possible by taking the word mk(e,i) as meaning "lord, master",....etc., acquiring the meaning 'god' not because it expresses divinity, but rather because it expresses overlordship, like nb. In this case it might be possible to modify the rendering of the above names as "one who is a lord, master" and "belonging to him who is a lord, master", respectively. See A5 VII i,iii and A3 III i c on -t- concealing -s-l "one who belongs to..". There was a title 'mak' that used to be borne by the chiefs of the Ǧa'alīn, whose capital was Almatamma, opposite the present Shendi, in the centre of the Island of Meroe, down to the overthrow of their chiefdom by the Turks in the first quarter of the last century. It is perhaps

possible that the Meroitic mk, in its sense as "lord" might have survived in the Ǧa'alīn 'mak'. The identity of the region in which mk and 'mak' were used probably lends this thesis support. One should not forget, of course, that in Argo the title 'mak' is still in use. One may be excused for dwelling on this point so long, but mention has to be made of the alternative suggestion that the title 'mak' is perhaps an elliptical pronunciation of the Arabic 'malik' ('king'), in which the medial -l- has dropped. Compare 'wad' for 'walad', ('boy'). This cannot be ruled out altogether, but the Meroitic origin of the title seems to me more likely than the Arabic.

20. See RaPN II 296.

21. For ar(i)- see A13 I, V ii, aq- see A15 I i, II i, and for the name with xr- see A21 II ii & n.14. See A17 I & n.4 for the component lt-.

22. See A12 III ii a 2 & n.66 for the noun tm(e).

23. See I iv (end) above.

24. See A13 I, II, III, IV on ar(e,i)-, as the writing of the name of "Ḥorus" and A14 I i, ii, II iv on -t(e)ñ. On aq- see n.21 above.

25. See A23 III ii & n.11 for more instances of a- being written ye(i)-.

26. See A10 III i a & n.14. For more names thought to be abbreviated see A23 III ii & n.14.

27. See RaPN II 322.

28. See the end of A9 I ii.

THE COMPONENT (a)mēme, -mēm-

I Found once fully written -amēme, namely in BLI-AMĒME B137, the component -mēme varies with -mēm- in MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) & B327, in which its final -e appears to have coalesced with the initial -i- of -ide.[1] Besides these names, the word -mēme- occurs in A-DI-LE-MĒME B19, AR-LE-MĒME B88, Bli-le-mēme @ B137, LT-LE-MĒME B250, Mli-wi-te(s-le)-mēme @ B317, TME-TE(S-LE)-MĒME B604, Mit-s-mēme @ B285, YI-XR-S-MĒME B693 and i-ple-mēme-te Tan 44 OS.[2] From the above examples one concludes the following about -mēme and its associates:

(a) -Amēme is the fuller writing of the component, which has only once been found fully written.

(b) Five of the eleven instances have a certain -le- before -mēme.

(c) Two names show a certain -s- before -mēme.

(d) Two of the remaining three names have -te- probably therefore -s-le- before -mēme.[3]

All of the above names have already been discussed in one place or another with the exception of LT-LE-MĒME, the initial component of which is known from Lt-ye B252 and Lt-mk-s B251 to be a noun, and Mit-s-mōme @ , which contains mit-, that is graphically identical with one of the writings of the name of the goddess "Mūt".[4] Whether or not the last name is theophorous is something

that is as yet to be established.

II As regards what part, or probably parts, of speech -(a)mēme may be, this problem is not easy to solve. If it can be more than one part of speech there is an indication that -mēme- may at least function as an adverbial phrase. The comparison of i-ple-mēme-te with i-ple-mh: Tañ 83 OS and i-ple-mke-tē Ins 75 6 OS suggests that in this particular case -mēme- is of the same part of speech as both of -mh and -mke-.[5] But all the three groups are verbal complexes using -ple- as a verb.[6] Since -mh in the second group, as well as in similarly constructed verbal complexes and participles, is believed to be an adverbial phrase, so one assumes -mēmo and -mke- above to behave likewise, the latter meaning something like "divinely".[7]

A17 THE COMPONENT (a)mēme, -mēm- - FOOTNOTES.

1. For bli- in the first name, as well as in its variant form below, see A20 I, II i. For the name with mni- and the coalescence of the final -e of -mēme- with -i- of -ide see A2 I iii c n.18, II iii c and A14 I ii, II ii n.17, IV v & n.43.

2. See A3 IV xi b & n.15 for the names showing -le-, including those in which it is thought to be inherent in -te(s-le)-, before -mēme. See also n.1 above for the name with bli-,A13 II for more on the name with ar- and A21 III ii, A12 II v for more on the name with yi-xr-s-. The reading of i-ple-mēme-te, read with a doubtful -ẹ- (in -mēmẹ-) by Hintze, is certain, it being based on a new set of readings that have just been circulated by D.Dunham.

3. See A3 III i c, IV xi b, A5 VII iv.

4. See n.5 below. For lt- and Lt-ye see A12 III ii a and for Lt-mk-s see A16 II. See also A3 II ii & n.9, II iii for mit- as the name of the goddess "Mūt".

5. Notice the parallelism between -mēme- and -mk(e)- in occurring with the same component here as in

LT-LE-MĒME and Lt-mk-s. See above and n.4.

6. See A5 V i, A12 II i.

7. See A11 IV i, ii, iii for the use of adjectives as adverbial phrases and A16 I i, v for -mke-.

THE COMPONENT apēt(e,i)

I i There seems to be consensus of opinion that the component apēte is the Egyptian noun wpwty > ỉpwty, Kar vi 10, M II 55, 'envoy, commissioner'. In names this component is present in Apēt-kde B56, alternatively spelt Apēti-kde, both of which are writings of the name of the same person, APĒTE-YE B55 and Apēte-kdi-yi B54.[1] The comparison of the first and third names shows the variation of apēt- and apēti- on the one hand with apēte- on the other.

Outside names, to quote but a few examples, the component occurs undefined as apēte: Sh 6 4 LS (=HinD 230), 19 5 LS (=HinD 230), apēte:mhe-yē-tē(s-lē)-wi: Ins 129 4-5 LS (=HinD 45), apēte hlite-te-lē-wi: Ins 129 7 LS (=HinD 120). Followed by -l(e,i)- it occurs in apēte-l:kdi-[ṣ]-l GebDeb 5 LS (=HinD 295),[2] apēte-le-b: Ins 130 7 LA (=HinD 203) and apēte-l-w:qēre-te(s-le): mhe-yē-t(s-l): Ins 129 5 LS (=HinD 338). As in the last example it comes in indirect genitive with a following noun in apēte:qēri-tē(s-lē)-wi Sh 4 5-6 LS and [apē]te:arēme-li-tē(s-lē) Kar 112 2-3 LS (=HinD 88a). Notice how apēte-l-w:qēre-te(s-le): mhe-yē-t(s-l): Ins 129 5 LS combines virtually all the elements of the groups apēte:mhe-yē-tē(s-lē)-wi: Ins 129 4-5 and apēte:qēri-tē(s-lē)-wi Sh 4 5-6 above.[3] The absence of the

A18 I i - ii

word-dividers between the word apēte and the verbal complex ye-šē in Ins 95 1 L Gr, 96 2-3 L Gr, Ins 123 2 L, at first sight, makes one feel uncertain whether to read them as apēte-ye šē or as apēte ye-šē. But the context apēte: Ye-b-ye(@):ti-šē: Ins 121 1 L settles the problem in favour of the reading apēte ye-šē.[4]

I ii Should it be accepted that the title apēte is present in the above names and in view of the fact that this title is usually held by men, it being uncertain whether it can be held by women, one would presume that when a feminine name was wanted to be derived from it, the word -kde(i), meaning 'woman', would be suffixed to it (i.e. apēte-kde(i)) so as to designate the sex of the name-bearer.[5] Accordingly, the meaning of Apēt(i)-kde B56 might be "(a) female envoy, commissioner". Since -ye(i) is merely afformative in APĒTE-YE B55 and Apēte-kdi-yi B54, as well as in the restored [Apē]te-kdi-ye D4, these names should respectively have the same meanings as the title apēte and Apēt(i)-kde, namely "(m) envoy, commissioner" and "(a) female envoy, commissioner".[6] The construction of APĒTE-YE is identical with that of AMERĒ-YE B35 and (A)mete-ye B37, where we have well-known titles suffixed with -ye.[6] The above parallelism between mete- and apēte-

may be carried a step further by comparing the combination of the latter with -kde in Apēt(i)-kde above with the occurrence of the former with the same word in Mete-kdi B266.[7]

II There is an unknown component written -pēte that looks like a form of apēte without the initial a-, but there is no evidence to prove any relationship between the two words. Prefixed with p- and -t- and receiving the infix -k- and the ending -ye in p-t-pēte-k-ye Ins 94 9, 17 L, the former component recurs suffixless and with -ñ- separating p- from -t- in BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE B124.[8] But p-t-pēte- is most likely identical in sense with p-t-pētē Ins 94 5 L, in which case Schuchardt's identification of -pēte with -pētē, WZKM 27 178 n.2, appears to be proven. The similarity between -pēte and -pētē is further supported by their receiving -t- with the alternating prefixes a- and y- instead of p- in the apparently verbal complexes A-T-PḪTE B110 and y-t-pētē Ins 94 16 L.[9] But A-T-PḪTE sounds very much like containing a variant of atepē of Formula J guessed by Zyhlarz, ZyM 442 7a (unquestioned by Macadam, MacFI 44 1.4, or Hintze, HinSS 362) to be the Egyptian 'ḥtpw ?'. That might be one way of looking at it. The way the structure of the name fits in with the rest of the

names and the groups containing -pēte and -pētē, with either the prefix a- or -t-, studied in the present sub-division, makes one believe that it perhaps combines both these prefixes at once and that it probably has nothing to do with atepē- or the Egyptian ḥtpw 'offerings'.

Having more or less established the identification of -pēte with -pētē, one is perhaps able to say that y- and -t-, present together in y-t-pētē, recur separately with -pēte(ē) in the participles Ye-pēte-li B675 and T-pēte-mhe-r @ B620, according to one alternative analysis of the last name. Whether split as is given or alternatively as Tpē-te-mhe-r, in which case tpē- might be a writing of ḥtpw above, the second name contains -mhe- functioning as what has been presumed to be an adverbial phrase meaning "plentifully, generously, frequently", or the like.[10]

Lastly, there is the word aptē-, known from Aptē-ye @ B60 and Aptē-li @ E5. Though the former name resembles APĒTE-YE B55, of the previous sub-division, yet it is perhaps best to consider it as a participle employing -ptē-, a possible variant of -pēte(ē) without the medial -ē-, as a verb prefixed with a- and ending in -ye, which alternates with -li in the latter name. Therefore,

one suggests A-ptē-ye and A-ptē-li as a splitting of the two names.[11]

A18 THE COMPONENT apēt(e,i) - FOOTNOTES

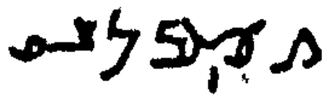
1. See A10 III i a & n.13, A12 III ii a & n.26,v a. As Trigger also observed, TrLNSAW 71 & n.5, the name [Apē]te-kdi-ye D4 is perhaps another instance of Apēte-kdi-yi.

2. So Hintze, loc.cit., reads it. This differs from Macadam's treatment of it as a personal name (Kdi..l), MacFI 46-7, rendering the context as 'mother of Kadi...l the envoy in Q..beqe'. Though both renderings are possible, yet I am inclined to agree with Hintze's because it seems to me that apēte-l would have immediately preceded Q...beqe had the latter interpretation been intended. Of course, if it is thought that the person in question was actually, or nominally, an envoy at the time retired or residing in Q...beqe, Macadam's translation is possible.

3. See A11 IV i b & n.23.

4. See HinSS 367 and A6 I i, ii.

5. See HinSS 368, ZyM 427 and A10 III i a.

6. See A12 III ii a & n.26, v a,b. The title amerē is known from amerē:mnp-t(s-l): Kar 124 9-10 LA, amerē....NGa 8 LA and ame[rē m]np: NGa 6 LA. Zyhlarz, Kush 9 234, asserts that this is the word written  'mrw (plural) in Nast.St.7, where

'oracle priests' (augurs), as he suggests, would fit the bill well. In Tañ 110-113 we find š-šēr-l: ameri (number) i-p[x]-ṭē:amni-l-de: (number ?): i-px-tē:, where again, if we take ameri to be a variant spelling, we seem to have the word in association with more or less the same deity. In Tañ 13 we find the form ameri again, but not in such a context as to suggest any obvious meaning. It would seem therefore that the amerē may have been a temple official in charge of augury and oracles.

7. See A23 III ii, A10 III i a.

8. See A4 II v for p-, A5 IV i a, ii d for -t- and A12 IV i a, xi a for -ye. Berē- in the name is perhaps a place-name. See A7 VI iii c & n.50 on Aberē-te-h-te @ B1.

9. See A12 II i on a- and y-.

10. See A12 II viii, A3 IV iv & n.112, x a & n.137. For -r as a participial ending see A19 II ii, iii, A3 III i a,b, and for -mhe- as an adverbial phrase and for the other alternative interpretation of the name using it see A11 VI i, ii & n.46.

11. See A12 IV xi a, A3 IV x a.

THE COMPONENT -r(ē-r)

I Since -r is believed to function like -l(e,ē,i), both as a definite article and as a participial ending, and -y(e,ē,i), when, as is frequently, this interchanges with the former, its reduplicated form, (i.e. -rē-r) should be no different from -l(e,ē,i) reduplicated or combined with -y(e,ē,i). The subject of the function and interchange of these suffixes has already been discussed in great detail and there is therefore no need to deal with it again.[1] Nevertheless, in the same way the names and relevant groups using -l(e,ē,i) and -y(e,ē,i) have been studied in separate chapters, so those important names and relevant groups ending in -r(ē-r) will be assigned a special, but short, chapter, in which they will be studied, where necessary, in comparison with their parallels containing the other two suffixes.

Sometimes when -r(ē-r) follows -x-, -k- and -t-, yielding -xr(ēr), kr(ēr) and -tr(ēr), it appears at first sight that these compounds are single words accepting analysis as -xr(ē-r), -kr(ē-r) and -tr(ē-r). From the comparative study of the names and groups using those compounds and other names and groups using the same components with which these compounds occur, it has become

A19 I - II i

evident that in most cases -x-, -k- and -t- are separable from -r(ē-r). Time and space have not allowed the separate treatment of the subject of these compounds in a special chapter, but, however, from the comparisons made between the two types of names and relevant groups, just mentioned, in sporadic places in the present work, it is hoped that sufficient evidence has been produced to support this view.[2]

As will be noticed in the following discussion, special attention is given to the constructions containing -r(ē-r) immediately preceded by -k(e)-.

II i From the comparison of X-mh-r @ B177 and -xe-mx-r, in Tb-xe-mx-r @ B542, with x-mhe-l-li Formula D2 Kar 127 4 TA, and -xe-h-ye, in TBI-XE-H-YE B544, where -x(e)- is clearly a noun qualified by -mx-, -mhe- and -h-, it is evident that -r functions as a definite article interchanging with -l-, reduplicated, and -ye.[3] Doubtlessly, -mx-r, in the second name, recurs with a different part of speech in atre:mx-r tesñ: Ak I 29 OS, where, if mx- be an adjectival substantive meaning "bountiful one", or the like, -r will be the definite article. The entire text perhaps means "Hathor, the bountiful one (of the land of ?) Tesñ".[4]

On the analogy of the title mle-ko:

(mš-tē(s-lē)-wi) Kar 38 4 LS (=HinD 68), analysed as an undefined adjectival substantive suffixed with -ke, the title mde-k:(mit-tē(s-lē)-wi:) Kar 88 8-9 LA, mde-k: (xš-tē(s-lē)-wi:) Kar 69 8 LA will similarly consist of an undefined noun suffixed with -k, of which mde-k-r (mnp-tē(s-lē)-wi) Kar 13 2-3 LS must be the defined counterpart.[5] The suffix -k, in mde-k-r, is therefore proven to be separable from -r.

II ii The function of -r(ē-r) as a participial ending and its separability from -k(e)- are best demonstrated by the comparison of the classic examples Tni-k-r @ B614, Tni-ñ-t-rē-r @ B615 and ŠĒ-TN-K-R B485 with ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I), and of DĒ-K-RĒ-R £ B161, D-DĒ-K-R B150, D-dē-ke-r-lē @ E7 with DĒ-KE-LI B158 and D-dē-ke-y @ B149.[6] In these examples -r(ē-r) interchanges with -lē(i) and -y.

III Besides the names and the relevant groups of the last two sub-divisions, -r(ē-r) terminates the participles (A)PE-ŠI-LI-K-R B53, De-li-k-rē-r @ B151 and -l-k-rē-r, in Mk-l-k-rē-r @ C18, assumed to use the verb -l(i)- meaning 'to give'.[7] Like Tni-k-r @ of the previous sub-division, the name BLI-K-R B138, accepts classification as a participle using a verbalized noun, which is this time bli-.[8] Alternatively, it might be classified as a defined

noun identical in construction with mde-k-r above.[8]

Again following -mhe-, but in a participial construction, -r in Tpē-te-mhe-r @ B620, which accepts the alternative splitting as T-pēte-mhe-r, occupies the places of -li and -ye in YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B703 and YE-TE-MHE-YE B682.[9] Since wi-tk-, of the verbal complex Wi-tk-ide @ B663, containing the particle wi- and a verb, is retained by Wi-tk-rē-r @ B664, it is evident that in the last name we have a verb changed into a participle by -rē-r.[10] Therefore Tk-r @ B597, separately or in Qēre-tk-r @ B454, must contain the same verb, without wi-, also changed into a participle, and having the same meaning, as the last.[10]

Unless the latter one of them is to be read as WI-TIK-RĒ-R, the names Are-te-bi-k-r @ B74 and WI-BI-K-RĒ-R B658 have affinities the one with the other.[11] One can say more about them than that, while the former contains a version of Te-bi-ki @ B551, the latter contains its last two components.[11]

Lastly, one mentions Ñ-W-K-R B403, which looks like a participle using a vowelless form of the verb -w(e,ēi)- with the same, though graphically different, prefix n- and suffix -ke- as in N-we-nē-ke @ B394.[12]

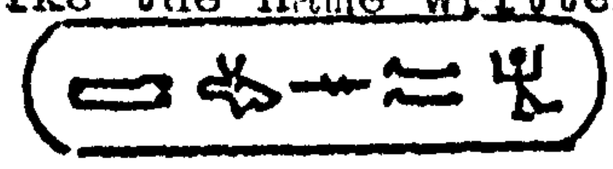
IV The above citations do not necessarily mean that the component kr does not exist, for it is perhaps present in, for instance, kr-te-li Ak I 20-21 OS, KR-PĒS(PĒ-S) B239 and PI-S-KR £ B419. PI-S-KR looks as if it is a suffixless form of p-š̆i-kr-ke-s Arm W 1a LS, one of the Arminna West versions of Formula B, employing -s-, instead of -š̆-, as a prefix.[13] It therefore probably means the same thing as p-š̆-xr: Kar 3 12 LA, Sh 16 11-12 LS, p-[š̆]-xr Kar 2 8 LS, p-š̆i-xr: Kar 69 11-12 LA, 103 13-14 TA, 109 10-11 LA and Kar 122 11-12 LA.[13] One may also count AQ-Y-KR B65 which looks like a verbal complex with -kr as a verb, -y- as a prefix and aq- as a nominal object. Compare the construction of Ati-y-xr @ B100, which seems to use ati-, probably a way of writing at- 'bread', as the object.[14]
I do not agree with Hintze, <u>HinSS 360 n.30</u>, that the component kr appears to be present in <u>Ded.St.21</u>, for I think it is qēre, in its different forms, that is present in the name.[15]

A19 THE COMPONENT -r(ē-r) - FOOTNOTES

1. See A3 III i b. See also A3 III i a for more on -l(e,ē,i) and A12 III i on -y(e,ē,i). Throughout A3 and A12, whenever it was relevant, examples were given illustrating the interchange between any one of the three suffixes and any one, or both, of the others.

2. See, for instance, A7 II ii, iv, A21 I i on -x-rē-r A5 V ii a for -t-rē-r .

3. See A7 II i b, ii & n.9, III i.

4. See A11 IV i a, iii for mx- as an adjectival substantive. Tesñ looks like the name written in Meroitic hieroglyphs as  Mer 1 3.

5. See A11 IV ii a on mle-ke, A1 I i 1, ii, II i for -k(e) with substantives. See also A3 II ii n.9.

6. See A3 III i b, IV ii b, ix on the endings, A14 III ii a, IV iii for more on the names using -tn(i)- as a verb and A2 III ii a 3,4 for more on those containing the verb -dē-.

7. See A3 II ii, iv. For more on the name with (a)pe- and -s̆i- see A4 II iv & n.23, A6 IV iii, and for mk- "god,lord" see A16 I i.

8. See II i for mde-k-r, II ii for Tni-k-r and A3 III ii d, IV x a, A20 II ii & n.8 on the different aspects of the name under discussion.

9. See A3 IV iv, A11 V ii, VI ii.

10. See A8 I ii, II v & n.38.

11. Hintze, HinSS 360, reads the second name with -t- instead of -b-. But for its medial -i- his reading would have been identical with Wi-tk-rē-r @, studied in the previous sub-division. Since no instance of -tik- has so far come to my notice, and in view of the similarities the adopted reading (i.e. with -b-) has with the names with which it is cited above, it is perhaps better to retain it. See A5 VIII i & n.71.

12. See A2 I iii a for more such instances of the verb -we(i)-.

13. See A21 III ii, iii for -xr- and -kr-, A4 II iv for p(i)- with -š(i)- and the verb and A6 IV i for the use of -š- and -s- as prefixes.

14. See A15 I i, II i for AQ-Y-KR. Under this reference comparison is made between a name containing aqē-, believed to be a variant spelling of aq-, and others containing x- and, probably as above, at- 'bread'. If atiy-, in Ati-y-xr is treated as a single word

it resembles the name of 'Sedeinga'. See Kar vi 82 on Atiye.

15. See A23 I, II & n.8.

THE COMPONENT bl(e,i), bele(ē,i), bēli

I The comparison of BLE-LI B136, Bli-le-mēme @ B137, having a variant form as BLI-AMĒME, Beli-li-bre @ B120, Belē-lē-ye @ B118[1], Beli-li-d-t @ B121, Qere-mte-bēli-de @ B441[1], Beli-met-ye @ B122 and mte-y-beli: Ak I 31 OS, Š-bele-qe-di @ B472 and PRE-ŠI-BLE B428 shows that ble-, beli- , beli-, bēli- and -bele- interchange. To these one might add bl- in Bl-ye B140. That -le(ē,i) and -ye, together or the one of them without the other, follow this component in some of these names is an indication that it is a noun. Later on, it will be suggested that this component can also be verbalized.[1]

I will now study the above names in greater detail.

II i Bli-, probably defined by -le- in Bli-le-mēme @ above, occurs without it in BLI-AMĒME B137 in which it is revealed that -amēme is the full writing of the element.[2] Beli-li-bre @ B120 is not the only instance of -bre, assumed to be the variant of the noun br[3], to occur with beli-, or any one of its variant spellings, for these components are present in X-BRE-ŠI-BLE (?) B173 studied below.[3]

Be-lēlē-ye is an alternative way of dividing the name Belē-lē-ye @ B118, analysed in a different

place as a noun receiving the definite article and -ye.[4] This alternative splitting suggests it as a participial counterpart of the verbal complex be-lēlē-ke:(amni-tē(s-lē)-wi) Kar 46 4-5 LA (=HinD 58) of which there is a variant, with -lile- as a verb, in the form be-lile-ke (mnp-s-lē-wi) Kar 3 3-4 LA (=HinD 59).[5] With -lēlē- and -lile- compare the verbs -lēl(i)-, in i-lēl-tē: Tañ 120 OS (=Kush 8 161 no.1), yi-lēli-tē: Far 20 2-3 TA, and -lili-, in Yi-lili-ke-te @ B699.[5] I therefore have the impression that -lēl(ē)-, -leli-, -lēli- and -lili- are likely to denote the same thing and that be-lēlē-ke with its variant writing, normally a verbal complex, comes to be used as a noun and designates a sacerdotal office dealing with a supposed '-lēlē-' -ing service of Amon and Amanap. The name Be-lēlē-ye, according to this splitting, apparently revolves on the same, or a similar,idea.

II ii In Aki(A-ki)-li-ble @ B32, Bele-ki-kdi-li @ B117, i-bl-k-mni: Tañ 2 OS, also i-bl-k-mn[i]-s-l: Tañ 34, BLI-K-R B138, and Ble-ke-wi-te-ke B135, one notices how -k(e,i)- follows -b(e)le- and -bl(i)- in all but the first name where, according to one view, a-ki-, apparently prefixing a- to the same element, assumes first position, being separated from -ble by -li-.[6] If -li- in Aki-li-ble

be the definite article its function here will be mystifying, for it is not certain that this aki- is a noun, though this is not a remote possibility.[7] However, the first name on the one hand appears to be a reshuffled version of the compound bele-ki-...-li, in the second name, and on the other a reshuffled version of the entire third name. But if -li- in the first name somehow proves to be the verb -li- 'to give' feceiving the prefix a-ki-, then one has a verbal complex a-ki-li- to which is added the noun -ble.[7]

Concerning Bele-ki-kdi-li @, Ble-ke-wi-te-ke and BLI-K-R, the component b(e)le-, bli-, may be considered to be a noun or a verbalized noun followed by -k(e,i)-. If it is a noun, the compound b(e)le-ke(i)-, also bli-k-, will be of the pattern of certain substantives receiving this element, which have been studied previously.[8] The compound will be suffixed with the defined noun -kdi-li in the first name, with the verbal complex (?) -wi-te-ke in the second name and defined by -r in the third name.[8]

If the component is a verb, i.e. a verbalized noun, the construction of Bele-ki-kdi-li @ will be VC+N-li; i.e. it may be either a participle consisting of a prefixless verbal complex and a noun, or a verbal complex prefixed to

a defined noun. Compare De-we-kdi-l @ B153 and ke-de-kdi-li Far 21 23 TA.[9] Ble-ke-wi-te-ke may also be analysed as a prefixless verbal complex (ble-ke-) followed by what seems to be another verbal complex (?) (-wi-te-ke). The name BLI-K-R, as is pointed out elsewhere, will then be a prefixless participle of the type of Tni-k-r @ B614.[9]

II iii Undefined, -b(e)li- is preceded by the verb -id prefixed with t-, in T-ID-BLI B590, while, defined, it is suffixed to the verbal complex yi-dē-t-, in Yi-dē-t-beli-le @ B690, and is followed by a prefixless form of the same verbal complex in Beli-li-d-t @ B121.[10] In these three names the component in question occurs in constructions involving the verb -(i)d-, -dē-, probably meaning "to give", and the element t- (-t).[10]

Without t-(-t) the component is found with -de(i) in Qere-mte-bēli-de @ B441, Mere-mte-bēli-de @ B262 and Š-bele-qe-di @ B472.[11] The same -mte- with -bēli- here is obviously the one with beli in mte-y-beli: Ak I 21 OS, of which mde-y-beli: Ak I 31 is a version, and is spelt -met- in Beli-met-ye @ B122, apparently the reshuffled form of the compound -mte(-y)-be(ē)li- in the names and the group.[11]

II iv As is in Š-bele-qe-di @ B472 -ši-, the variant writing of š-, is in direct contact with -b(e)lc- in ...ET-ŠI-BLE D25 [12], PRE-ŠI-BLE B428 and X-BRE-ŠI-BLE (?) B173.[12] The comparison of the last two names shows that the last one of them is an extension of the other before it by means of x-, which one presumes to be the one preceding -ble in XR-N-X-BLE B186, (A)MN(I)-X-BLE £ B42 and MEŠ-L-X-BLE B264, and that pre- and -bre-, of the last two of the earlier names, perhaps mean the same thing, since the interchange between p- and b- is familiar in Meroitic, as is evidenced by the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae.[13]

Regarding xr- in XR-N-X-BLE, it is suggested to have two alternative meanings. One of these is that it might be the name of something that goes on with "water" and might be offered.[14] The other is that it might be the name of "Ḥorus".[14] Since meš- in MEŠ-L-X-BLE is likely to be the name of the Meroitic deity Mash followed by the definite article, equated with Nubian maya λ 'sun', ArmDN 139a, being 'the sun-god', Kar vi 83, and (a)mn(i)- in (A)MN(I)-X-BLE £ is the name of "Amon", the identification of xr- as "Ḥorus", suggestible by the parallelism of the first name with these two, will

give us three theophorous names.[14]

II v Probably as a verbalized noun, -b(e)li- receives both t- and -n(e,i)- or the latter one of them without the other, to yield a compound that is perhaps further transformed into a participle by the participial ending -l(e,ē) as is T-N-BELI-LE B611, N-beli-le @ B364, -ne-bli-lē, in Šn-ne-bli-lē @ B520, and Ni-beli-l @ B370.[15] The full writing of the last name is Ni-beli-l-ṭē, the -ṭē(s-lē) of which, translatable as "one belonging to", appears to indicate the filiation of the A-name (Mhe-ye @ B282) with this person; i.e. Mhe-ye is one who belongs to Ni-beli-l @.[15]

In Beli-beli-ñ @ B119 we again have a name formed almost entirely by a reduplicated component, which is comparable with MS-MŠ-YE B348, also spelt Ms-mš-yi @, and MŠ-MŠE-MLI B354.[16] The suffix -ñ is familiar, since, with or without -k(e,i), it has been encountered with nouns and in verbal complexes.[16]

III From the above it becomes apparent that bl(e,i)-, bele(ē,i)- and bēli- interchange and that the component is a noun that, by means of prefixes and suffixes, may at times be verbalized to form verbal complexes and participles.

A20 THE COMPONENT bl(e,i), bele(ē,i),bēli. - FOOTNOTES

1. See II i for Be-lēlē-ye as an alternative splitting of the above name, and also II iii on Q(M)ere-m-te-bēli-de. For the view that the present component may be verbalized see II ii below.

2. See A3 III i a-b, especially A3 IV xi b where some of the above names are quoted, for -le(ē,i) as the definite article. See A17 I, II for -(a)mēme. The retention of the initial a- by an infixed or suffixed component, as is -amēme above, is noteworthy. Compare Wl-amni-p-ti-de £ B666 and see A4 II v & n.25 for the reading of the name. On the behaviour of a- of infixed and suffixed components see, for example, A15 I i.

3. See A9 I i, II iii for br(e) and both names and A6 IV iv d & n.37, V ii c & n.46, A7 II iv & n.13 for more on X-BRE-ŠI-BLE. See also II iv below.

4. See A3 III ii d & n.66, A12 III iii, IV ix & n.80.

5. See A12 II vii, A5 V vi. For the employment of a verbal complex as a substantive see the discussion of -š-xe, š-ke-, šē-ni,...etc., under A7 VI iv c.

6. See A1 I i 1,6, II i, VI on -k(e,i)- and aki(a-ki)-. I-bl-k-mni(-s-l) is Dr Macadam's reading, as opposed

to Hintze's i-bl-p-mni(-s-l). In some of the latest and excellent photographs which D.Dunham has made of the stela and sent to Dr Macadam, who in turn kindly showed them to me, one clearly sees that the reading with -k- is certain. It is on the basis of the instance Tañ 2 that Tañ 34 is read.

7. See A1 III ii, VI.

8. See A1 II i & n.16 for certain names and groups formed by, or containing, nouns suffixed with -k(e,i). See also A10 III vi, A3 IV x a for different aspects of the above names, especially A19 III for BLI-K-R.

9. See A2 III i a 1 n.49, ii a 4 on the name and the group with de-we- and ke-de-. For BLI-K-R see n.8.

10. See A2 II ii, III iii a, A5 IV ii a, V ii a and A12 II ii & n.8.

11. See A2 II ii n.31, III i b & n.59 on the names with the verb -de(i) and A23 I & n.2, II, III ii and A12 III ii a & n.29, v a (end) on the names and the groups with -mte- and -met-.

12. See A6 IV iv d & n.37, V ii c & n.46. The importance of the incomplete name is that it adds to the list of those names having -ši- before -ble. The reading of its first two components is certain.

13. See A21 I ii, II i, ii on xr-, A7 II iv on -x-,

which, in the present names, is perhaps identical with the one discussed in A9 II iii & n.22. See A9 II iii on -bre and its possible variation with -beri-, and A4 II i, ii on the interchange between p- and b- as prefixes.

14. For xr- see the previous note and on meš- "Mash" see A3 III ii d & n.70.

15. See A3 III i a-b on -l(e,ē), A3 III i c on -tō(s-lē) meaning "one belonging to", A3 IV x a for more on the names.

16. See A12 III ii a & n.29 and compare the nouns and adjectival substantives receiving -ñ(n,nē,ni), with or without -k(e,i), in A1 I ii & n.9.

THE COMPONENTS xr(i), xrē, hrē, hr

I i The interchange between xr and xri may be observed in the writings of Xr(i)-mli B182. Before beginning the discussion of this component, it is perhaps permissible to digress and question the unity of -xrēr and -hrēr which I believe consist of the components -x- and h- with -rē-r.[1]

To substantiate this claim with regard to -x-rē-r and -h-rē-r I will examine the names and groups in which these occur, one by one, disproving their unity.[2] There seems to me little doubt that the compound ar(i)-k-x- is the same in AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R £ B85 as in AR-K-X-TNI £ B86, and that the comparison of these proves the separability of -x- from -rē-r.[3] The restoration of -x- in Meš-l-[ẋ]-rē-r @ B265 is based on the occurrence of the same component after meš-l- in MEŠ-L-X-BLE B264 and this gives us -x-rē-r as the latter part of the former name.[4] Accordingly, one concludes that -x- here is a component in its own right, separable from -rē-r and -ble, that had to break its association with -ble and assume an initial position in X-BRE-ŠI-BLE (?) B173 and disappear altogether in PRE-ŠI-BLE B428.[4]

Now, if we mobilize the initial ax- in Ax-mn-k-rē-r @ B27 so that it immediately precedes -rē-r,

then we obtain an hypothetical Mn-k-(a)x-rē-r * which is parallel with AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R, mn- and ar(i)- being respectively meant for 'Amon' and 'Horus'.[5] This process perhaps indicates that ax-...-k-rē-r and -k-x-rē-r are reshuffled compounds, and that ax- is a fuller writing of the medial -x-.[5]

The medial -x- in MLI-X-RĒ-R (?) B306 is no part of -rē-r, since it evidently is the same as the one in Ml-x-li B303, written Ml-x-l @, -rē-r, like -l(i) in the latter name, being the definite article.[6] Both names will consequently be sentences with adjectival predicates, as has been proposed previously.[6]

When Lit-x-rē-r @ B247 and H-lit-rē-r @ B195 are compared they not only appear to contain forms of the same components in different order, but they also show -x(h)- to be separable from -rē-r.

The splitting and the analysis of N-h-li B367 as the verb -h- prefixed with n- and receiving the participial suffix -li suggest that the same treatment should be accorded N-h-rē-r @ B368, I-[ṅ]-h-rē-r @ B206 and N-k-h-rē-r @ B372, in the last name of which the infix -k- separates n- from the verb, and thus confirm the belief that -h- in them does not belong to -rē-r, and that -rē-r

is the reduplicated participial ending -r.[7]

I ii Because it is generally believed that Ins 94 belongs to a Blemmy king whose name is XR-MDĒ-YE £ B183, the component xr-, in this name at least, is generally considered to be the element χαρα- , present in Blemmy royal names.[8] Compare the names of the Blemmy king 'Charachēn' and his children 'Charapatchour', 'Charachēn' and 'Charahiet' whom, as is revealed in a Greek inscription found in 1887, he entrusted with the government of the Island of Tanare.[9] But I tend to believe that xr-, even in this name, is Meroitic, and that it is seen behaving as both a noun and a verb. This will be defended in the course of the following discussion, in which I will examine the names and groups employing xr in its different parts of speech.[10]

II i As a noun, xr- might be the name of 'Ḥorus' or of something that can be offered. Vocalizing XR-MDĒ-YE £ B183 as Kharamarēye, in accordance with his conclusion that ꞡ was a combination of d and r (thus ʳd), JEA 15 72, Griffith, op.cit. 74 n.1, thinks this name might mean 'beloved of Horus (?)' but he does not insist on his rendering because he associates xr- with the Blemmy element mentioned in the previous sub-division. But there is no

evidence to support the identification of xr- in the royal name as the name of 'Horus'.[11] Nevertheless, the parallelism between XR-N-X-BLE B186 on the one hand and MEŠ-L-X-BLE B264 and (A)MN(I)-X-BLE £ B42 on the other seems to indicate that xr- in it means 'Horus', for it is most likely that the three names are identically formed by a deity's name added to -x-ble.[11] Notice, however, that -n- precedes -x- in the first name. Xr- might therefore be a variant spelling of xire- in xire-tte-ñ-yi:, interchanging with are- in are-tte: Ins 94 6 L, the group being identified by Griffith, JEA 3 119 q, Kar vi 14 10, with Ḥr-nḏ-ỉt.f, Greek Ἀρενδωτης .[11]

II ii Regarding the noun xr, also spelt xri, this word sometimes appears to mean "offering, boon, gift", or the like, but one is not sure whether it expresses this idea in all its occurrences. Constituting the entire name Xr B180, it is suffixed with -ye to form Xr-ye B187, the components of which are preserved in XR-MDĒ-YE £ B183.[12] The word -mdē- might be a form of the word -mde- familiar to us from the group indicating the 'mde-relationship' and in the descriptive word š-t-mde-s and its variants.[13] If so, one is perhaps justified in seeing in the last name the

components not only of Xr-ye but also of Mde-ye @ B253.[13] In other words it combines the component parts of both names.

In Xr(i)-mli B182 and Xr-mlē-mk-s B184,

where in the former xr- and xri- interchange and in the latter -mk-s is an additional component, we are most likely dealing with the word that denotes something that can be offered.[14] This notion about xr(i)- seems to be confirmed by the study of the following text from Meroe:

atē :mlē:w-de-pl-ke:y-t-w-d-s-ni:	Mer 9 4 L Bl
xri-h:mlē:ye-re-tx-n-ke: ye-re-s-ni:	9 5-6
atē :be-y-t-w-d-y[ẹ]:[ẉ-ḍ-ṣ]:y-l-s-ni	9 7
xri-h:be-y-t-r-y[ẹ] :w-r-s :y-l-s-ni	9 8-9

Such a parallelism between atē and xri-h suggested to Griffith, Kar vi 52, that hr should be read instead of šr in all the cases of Formula F.[15]

Being present in a context where it is in parallelism with atē:(mlē) 'good water', and preceding groups demonstrated as containing compound-verbs formed from the verbs known from the verbal complexes of Formulae D2, G, K and L, in addition to its having a construction identical with that of at(e)t-x(-mlē-l(e,i)) and at-he(mlē-l-w), which are the first and second constants of Formulae G and K2 respectively, the compound xri-h:(mlē) 'good....' must be

the name of some sort of a good thing that can be offered or at least express the general idea "an offering", i.e. "(a good) offering".[16] This conclusion about xri is confirmed by the fact that its proven variant form xr is used as a verb in the verbal complex of Formula B, where it obviously deals with the idea of "offering".[17] Therefore, it seems to me that one is able to conclude that as a noun xr(i) perhaps means "offering, gift, boon", or something similar, and as a verb it perhaps means "to offer" and in some certain cases "to worship".[17] As a sequel, in Xr(i)-mli and Xr-mlē-mk-s we have slightly varying writings (i.e. xr(i)-mlē(i)-) of xri(-h):mlē: in the text from Meroe, in which case the first name will mean something like "a good offering, boon, gift" while the second might mean "a good offering, boon (for), gift (of the) god (?)". One ventures to identify the unqualified instances of the component in Xr B180 and Xr-ye B187 and perhaps even in XR-MDĒ-YE £ B183, mentioned at the outset of the present sub-division, with the unqualified instance of xri(-h): in the same text from Meroe. On the acceptance of this identification the first two names will simply mean "a boon, gift" or something similar.

I will next discuss the verb xr.

III i There is no need to cite the various forms in which the verbal complex of Formula B occurs, since these may be referred to in, for example, Kar vi 46-8, HinSS 362-5. Therefore, with the exception of pi-tē-ši-xer-b-xe-ke-s Kar 23 12 LA/S, which uniquely uses -tē- as an intrusive prefix and -xer- as the verb, mention will be made only of those verbal complexes that are thought to throw light on the construction and, possibly, the content of the names that seem to share some of their component parts. Before doing this, however, it might be useful to remind the reader how -xr-, here, came to mean something like 'to give, offer, serve' or 'worship'.[18]

It is perhaps best to begin with a-ẋr-lē Ins 125 4 L Bl. Griffith, M II 51, was the first to note that this group occupies the place of nl ber-wi, which he renders as 'piously before (?)' [19], occurring in varying forms and combinations and following the name of a deity. He eventually translates it as 'the worshipper (?)'. Zyhlarz, ZyM 434 f,442 b,460 D a, develops Griffith's first observation and renders aẋr as 'to remain'[20], while Hintze, HinSS 368, accepts this as one alternative and develops Griffith's second translation of the group by suggesting a possible link between -xr- here and the one in the verbal

complexes of Formula B; i.e. having something to do with idea of 'offering'. Taking -lē in the group as a relative adjective, Hintze treats a-xṛ-lē as one would do the imperfective relative form with a retained pronominal subject (third person masculine singular) in Egyptian and gives its meaning as 'which he offers'.[20] He thus translates Ins 125 as 'die Verehrung, welche Phēpe erweist, und die er vor Harendotes vom Abaton darbringt'. I believe there is no objection to Hintze's, essentially Griffith's, way of looking at xr, not only in the verbal complexes of this Formula, but also in the names soon to be studied. Confirmation of the meaning 'to give, offer',...etc., accorded xr is forthcoming from the comparison Griffith made in JEA 4 26 between at mlē e-l-x Mer 27 6-7 OA and at mlē i-xr-k-te Far 43 7 OA, both of which are old writings of Formula B, and from what has been said about xr(i) previously.[21]

III ii Of the names containing the verb -xr- is AB(A-B)-XR-TKE B6, which presumably shares the verb and the prefixes a- and b- of a-xr-k-te Ins 49 4-5 OS and b-š-xr-tē: Kar 1 9 LA, Sh 1 10-11 LA respectively.[22] Needless to say, according to its splitting as AB-XR-TKE, the name probably uses ab- as a form of b- with a prothetic a-.[22] Concerning -tke, I regard it as forming with-xr- the

compound-verb -xr-tke.[22]

Both yi-xr-s in YI-XR-S-MĒME B693 and -y-xr in Ati-y-xr @ B100, according to this way of splitting the latter name, seem to me to contain the verb and the prefix of the verbal complexes of Formula B yi-xr: EKE 26 13 LA, yi-xr-b Ins 135 7 LA/S, ye-xr-ke-te Far 7 10 LA, yi-xr-k-te Far 9 6 LA, yi-xr-ke-te Far 29 9 LA and ye-xr-b-xe-ko-te-s Ins 131 10-11 LA.[23] The medial -s- in the former name may be either the same as the one that sometimes precedes -mēme, or the well-known verb suffix present in the last verbal complex which, after the removal of the plural dative -b-xe- and the infixes -ke- and -te-, results in ye-xr-s* of which yi-xr-s-, of the name, might be a mere version.[23] The group i-ple-mēme-tē Tañ 44 OS, using the verb of Formula D1, is another example of -mēme with the verb of a funerary formula. Whether, as was previously suggested about its possible function as an adverbial phrase in the last group, the element -mēme is an adverbial phrase in the present name too, is something that is difficult to judge.[24] As regards Ati-y-xr @, it probably contains ati-, presumably as a writing of at- 'bread', taken as an object by the suffixless verbal complex -y-xr.[25]

III iii The finding of the Arminna West versions of the verbal complex of Formula B p-š̆i-kr-ke-s Arm W 1a,b LS, 3a,b LS and pi-š̆i-kr-b-xe-ke-s Arm W 2 LS makes it absolutely clear that -kr- has been found as a variant writing of xr.[26] Of the names using -kr as a verb we do not seem to have more than the verbal complex PI-S-KR £ B419 and AQ-Y-KR B65, where, in the latter, -y-kr, like -y-xr in Ati-y-xr @ of the previous sub-division, appears to be a suffixless verbal complex prefixed with a nominal object.[26]

IV i There is a group of components, written xre, xrē, axrē(a-xrē), hr and hrē, the relationship of which with one another, and that of all of them on the one hand and xr, discussed in various places of III i-iii above, on the other is uncertain. One tends to think that xrē- in Xrē-š̆-ye B181 [27] is perhaps a form of -xre- in K-id-xre-š̆i-[ye̤] D36 [27], and is present in a-xrē: Ins 92 17 O, in the context qēr ?:mlē-l-x: amnp:p-n-kk:a-xrē:xr-pxi: Ak I 19 OS, and a-xrē-s-l, in qēr:xr-pxe-l: a-xrē-s-l: at-be:tmē-t:xr-px-l: Ak I 3, qēr:xr-pxe-l: a-xre-qe-s-l:at-be:tmē-t:xr-pxe-l: Ak I 8, and in a-xrē-b: Ak II 6 OS.[27]

One again points out that axrē might be a single word, rather than a- and -xrē-, the behaviour of a- before -x- here being comparable with that in (A)xpē-ye B28

and (A)hpe-s-li B29, both of which accept the alternative splittings as (A)x-pē-ye and (A)h-pe-s-li respectively, and in (a)x-mlē-l(i) of Formula C.[28] The lost letter in :.xrē: Ibr 30 OS, one is led to think, is perhaps a-, in which case [a]xrē will be the reading of this group, which will accordingly belong to the earlier instances.

If T-hrē-ṭi(ṣ-ḷi)-kde B589 be accepted as the reading and splitting of this name, in -hrē-ṣ-ḷi- we perhaps have a varying spelling of (a)xrē-s-l and (a)xrē-...-s-l in the contexts quoted above.[29] But this leaves us with an inexplicable t-.[29]

IV ii The last component to mention in this series is hr.[30] It occurs in QE-LĒ-HR B438 and Hr-ke-be B200, where in neither case is it known whether it is a noun or a verb.[30] But there is the possibility, though this seems to be remote, that in the first name it might be a prefixless verb taking the qualified noun qe- as an object. Compare AQ-Y-KR mentioned in III iii above. The existence of hr-tē: Tañ 27 OS, which, according to Hintze's classification of it, will be a prefixless verbal complex, perhaps shows that hr may sometimes be used as a verb.[31] On the other hand, hr- in hr-l: (H) Ins 34, 84, hr-w: Ins 94 22, 30, 31 L, all of which are translated by Griffith as 'north', is evidently

a noun.[32]

Either h or m may be read in H(M)r-ye @ C11.[33] If Hr-ye is to be read the name might mean the same thing as Xr-ye B187.[34] Dr Macadam reads h in w-ḥr-te: Ibr 24 OS, w-h[r]-te: Ibr 35, as Hintze does in š-hr-te-l: Tañ 40-41 OS. Beginning with the last group, I feel that it is no more than a form of š-mr-te: Ibr 16,19 with -l, or of šš-mr-te-l: Tañ 26 OS less š- .[35] Šš-mri Sh 8 4-5 LS and šs-mri-le-b: EKE 26 8-9 LA are no doubt connected with these, mr(i)- being seemingly the base here as in MRI-TE-L-YE B342.[35] It appears to me,therefore, that the same thing may be said about -hr- in w-hr-te. Compare w- before -hr- here with that in w-ber-te: Ibr 33-34, which is evidently the same as the one in w-t-br-te: Ak I 23,33 OS.[36] Since the sound b and m are sometimes confused in Meroitic, as indeed in Egyptian and other languages, it should not surprise one if one met with w-(t)-mr-te*, or the like, which would be an hypothetical version of the last group. So, one wonders, in the same way as one suggested that there might be identity, or at least great similarity, in meaning between ber-šē-, bre-ši- and beri-ši-, in which ber-, bre- and beri are the proven variant forms of br (not the one meaning 'man') on the one hand and mrē-š(ē,i)- on the other

A21 IV ii - V

may there be the same relationship between s̆-bre-, in S̆-BRE-YE B476, and w-ber-te on the one hand and s̆-mr-te and w-ṃr-te (the proposed reading of w-hr-te) on the other ?.[36] This is merely a suggestion.

V So it seems to me, as was pointed out in II i, it can now be confirmed that xr is sometimes a noun, probably meaning "Horus" or designating something that can be offered. In the latter case it may be verbalised so as to mean "to offer", or "worship", or the like; hence its employment in the verbal complex of Formula B. One does not know whether or not in any one of its usages, just mentioned, this component is, in one way or other, related to (a)xrē, xre and hr(ē) the meanings or employments of which except those of hr 'north', are as yet undetermined.

A21 THE COMPONENTS xr(i), xrē, hrē, hr - FOOTNOTES.

1. On -rē-r see A19 I, A3 III i a,b. But see HinSS 360.

2. It might be argued that the isolated instance of hrēr-le-b: Ins 94 20 L, even if this is its reading, because it can be read mrēr-le-b, the nominal nature of which is ascertainable by its occurrence in parallelism with br, kdi and šš in br-le-b:ke-de-b-x: kdi-le-b:hrēr-le-b: šš-le-b:, supports the impression that -hrēr, and consequently -xrēr, are single words. In my opinion hrēr here is different from -h-rē-r, as will be shown below, since it appears to be a noun designating something that may be counted among br-le-b 'the men', kdi-le-b 'the women' and šš-le-b 'the children (?)', See JEA 4 165 for Griffith's rendering of the same phrase, though he reads mrēr-le-b instead of hrēr-le-b, as 'men, youths (?), women, maidens (?), children (?)', and M I 73 n.2 for his alternative reading of the group as hrēr-le-b.

3. See A13 II & n.2.

4. See A20 I, II iv & nn.12-14.

5. See the reference in n.3 above.

6. See A7 II ii, iv, A3 III iv, A11 III. For the function of -rē-r as the definite article see A3 III i a,b,A19 I,II i.

7. See A7 V ii, A3 IV vi, also A19 I,II ii for more about -rē-r as a participial ending.

8. See,for instance, Griffith's view in JEA 15 74 n.1 and Zyhlarz's in Kush 4 31.

9. LAAA 24 87.

10. See II i for xr as perhaps the name of 'Ḥorus', II ii for xr probably a noun meaning "offering, boon, gift", or the like, and III i-iii for the component functioning as a verb meaning 'to offer, worship' or something similar.

11. See II ii for XR-MDĒ-YE, A20 II iv & n.13 for more on the names and A13 III & n.5 for the group.

12. See II i and the end of the present sub-division.

13. See A12 III ii a & nn.27,29, v a. For -mde- directly or indirectly prefixed with š(i)-. see A6 IV iv f & n.39.

14. See A11 II ii for -mlē(i)- and A16 II on -mk-s.

15. The instances of Formula F are š(h)r ḥ p-ši-l-ke Kar 111 3-4 LA, š(h)r:mh p-ši:wẹ Kar 126 8-9 OA, šḥr mx:yi-we-b-x-te Ins 137 5-6 OS, šḥr mlē: Mer 45 5 OA. If Griffith's suggestion were to be accepted, hr, as a different spelling of xri- of Mer 9 above, would be seen qualified by -ḥ-, mx, mh and mlē. See A7 III i. But -h with xri-, as will soon be pointed out, is not the epithet -h, for it is a noun.

16. See All I & n.1 for the meaning of the terms *first* and *second constants*, also II ii, of the same reference, and A7 II i a,b for the *first* and *second constants* of Formulae G and K2. For the verbal complexes of Formulae D2, G, K and L see A3 IV x b.

17. See III i

18. See, particularly the end of, II ii above.

19. See A9 II ii on ber and its variant writings.

20. As regards a-ẋr-lē, Zyhlarz, *Kush 4 27 c*, reads ḳ instead of ẋ, and vocalizing the group as *a-ḳra-lō, he translates it as 'es ist, ich habe rezitiert' (= it is a fact that I have recited). In other words, he identifies the word with the Semitic root Arabic قَرَأَ . Both this identification and the function he suggests for -lē are in my view unacceptable. See A3 III i a,b on -lē as a participial ending.

21. See the end of II ii above.

22. See III iii for the names believed to use the verb -kr. The prothetic a- in Meroitic generally appears and disappears at wish. For the same phenomenon see III iii below, A4 II ii and A9 I i. More is said about the name in A8 II iv a. On tke see A8 I i and on compound-verbs see A2 I ii a & n.5.

23. See A12 II v on y(e,i)- , A17 I for -s- preceding -mēme and A3 III i c on the verb suffix -s.

24. See A17 II for the view that -mēme perhaps functions as an adverbial phrase in the above group.

25. See A19 IV & n.14 for more on the name and compare AQ-Y-KR in III iii below.

26. See A4 II iv, A19 IV & n.14.

27. See A12 III iv c, A6 V ii b. More is said about Xrē-š-ye in A10 I ii a. Compare the compound k-id- in the incomplete name with the one in the names studied at the end of A2 III i a 1.

28. On these names see A4 I, II vi d n.37 and on (a)x-mlē-l(i) see A7 II i a.

29. See A10 III vii & n.29 and A5 VII i. For t- see A5 II i.

30. See II ii & n.15 on a component š(h)r and A15 II ii and A3 III ii d for more on QE-LĒ-HR.

31. See Kush 8 161 7 and Hintze's note, op.cit. 160 & n.157.

32. The instance from Ins 84 1 is written . Griffith, M II 12,13,31, explains why it should be read hr-l and why he thinks hr might mean 'north'. In JEA 3 124 he observes that it is possibly Egyptian derived from hr.t.

33. See the note on the name in Part II of the present work and also A12 III ii a.

34. See the end of II ii above.

35. See A5 VIII i & n.70.

36. Compare the groups containing w- with the names and the groups prefixed with w(e,i)-, studied in, for example, A2 II iii b & n.42. See also A6 IV iv d. For the identity, or similarity, in meaning between ber-s̆ē-, bre-s̆e-, ...etc., and mrē-s̆(ē,i)- see A9 II iii.

THE COMPONENT tr(e), ter, t(e)rē

I i From the comparison of MLĒ-WI-TR B301 with Ml-w-terē-r @ B321, ÑTE-WI-TR B401 with ÑTE-WI-TRĒ-R, x-wi-tr-r-w (H) Ins 32 and x-wi-tr-r-[w] (H) Ins 28 on the one hand with X-WI-TERĒ-R B190, BR-TRE B144 with Br-tr @, and YETĒ-H(E)-TR B684 with YETĒ-HE-TER, it becomes apparent that -tr, -terē-, -trē-, -tre and -ter are different writings of the same word.[1] These writings sub-divide into two groups; one with a medial -e- and the other without it.

In some of the above names and groups, as well as in those that will be mentioned in the course of the present discussion, one notices that -tr, in its different forms, is very closely associated with a -w(i)-. But even in the constructions where they are present together, the two components are not too strongly bound together to be separated, for X-WI-LI B189 and tmt:tr-[r]-w (H) Ins 26, which share between them the component parts of x-wi-tr-r-w, demonstrate that either one of -wi- and -tr- may occur independently of the other.[2]

I ii If we examine MLĒ-WI-TR B301, Mli-wi-de @ B316 and W-d-tr @ B646 we notice that while the first name combines the first two components of Mli-wi-de with -tr,

the third name combines vowelless versions of the second and third components of the same name with -tr. This seems to be enough evidence for the identification of -w(i)- preceding -tr and -t(e)rē- as the particle that is so often seen in association with the various writings of ml(e,ē,i)- and is believed to be present in one of the types of compound-verb -wi-de.[3] The latter point is further consolidated by the presence of -w(i)- and -tr with -de- in DE-WI-TR B154, PI-DE-W-TR B416 and MR-DE-WI-TR B339,[4] all of which contain, or are entirely formed by, reshuffled versions of W-d-tr @.

I iii As regards -tr, this component is also known with we- in the extension to the Invocation we-tr-ri Ins 133 3 LA, Kar 76 2 LS, Kh 10044 3-4 LS, Serra 2 LS, Far 4 2 LS, we-t[r-r]i Far 38 3 LA, we-t[r-ri] Far 44 1 LS, where it alternates with qe-.[5] Excepting three of all the instances of this extension, Heyler, RdE 16 34, observes that those texts using we- as a prefix originate from the northern Meroitic region (Aksha, Faras, Toshka West and Karanog), while those using qe- originate from the southern part (Meroe, Sedeinga, Sawārda, Amara and Argin). In view of the great similarity between we-tr-ri and -wi-tr-r-, in x-wi-tr-r-w, it seems most likely that we are here dealing with the same compound. Since qe/we-tr-ri corresponds in

function, and is similar in construction, to qe/we-tñ-yi-ñ-qe-li and the latter has been parsed as a participle, it appears that the former group should also be parsed as a participle, in which -ri will function like -li.[6] In other words, -tr-, in we-tr-ri as well as in x-wi-tr-r-w, might be a verb prefixed with we(i)- and changed into a participle by -r(i)-.

The function of we(i)- is difficult to understand and one feels fairly sure that this is in fact the same element as w(e,i)- in w-ye-d: Ins 94 10 L (cf.ye-d: Ins 94 9,16), also alternating with qe- in qe-yi-de-wi MacN O Plqe, and others,which may be received by verbs and verbal complexes.[7]

In this and the previous sub-division we have identified w(i)- in -w(i)-tr- with the particle -w(e,ē,i)- on the one hand and with w(e,i)- that is sometimes prefixed to verbal complexes on the other. These identifications suggest that we must be dealing with the same word in all three cases. Therefore, in MLĒ-WI-TR B301, Ml-w-terē-r @ B321 X-WI-TRĒ-R B190 and x-wi-tr-r-w -w(i)- may belong either to ml(ē)- and x- or to -tr and -t(e)rē-. Should it belong to the latter two variant components, -w(i)-tr would correspond to, and mean the same thing as, we-tr-, in we-tr-ri, while -w(i)-t(e)rē-r will correspond to, and

agree in meaning with, we-tr-ri. Whichever combination we choose, according to the above equations, the words -tr- and -t(e)rē- will be verbs. But is -tr- always a verb? It is difficult to give a definite answer, but so far as the component occurring with -w(e,i)- is concerned the answer seems to be in the affirmative. As regards the instances when this component is found in juxtaposition with other components there is uncertainty as to its part of speech.[8]

II i In this and the next sub-divisions I will study more names using the present component. In parallelism with MLĒ-WI-TR B301 and Ml-w-terē-r @ B321 we have a name containing -wi-tr prefixed with mx(h)e- as MXE-WI-TR B278, also spelt MHE-WI-TR. Nt- replaces ñte- of ÑTE-WI-TR(Ē-R) B401 in occurring with -wi-tr in NT-WI-TR B391.[9] We also have At-ke-wi-tr @ B102, where at- is believed to be a noun suffixed with the well-known element -ke-, and Lēle-wi-tr @ B243.[10] One is not sure whether it is ši-b- or ši-x- that is added to -wi-tr to yield ŠI-Ḃ-WI-TR B495 or ŠI-Ẋ-WI-TR. The former reading is supported by Ši-b-wi-ye @ B496 and my reading of Š-Ẇ-BE-TR B540, where in the latter -ẇi- and -be-, as a writing of -b-, could have undergone some metathesis. The alternative reading ŠI-Ẋ-WI-TR is supported by X-WI-TRĒ-R B190 and x-wi-tr-r-w.[11]

II ii Unaccompanied by -w(i)-, -tr- occurs in pqr-tr-lē (H) Ins 5,17,20, written pkr-tr-li (Eg.H)[12], M I 78, pkr-tr-l̥, accompanying the name of Prince Arikagharēr, and pkṛ-tṛ-l̥ Ins 78b 2 O, following the name of Prince E-T-RE-TE-Y & B172, pkr-tr: Ibr 5 OS and pkr-tr-qēri-s Tañ 41 2 OS.

Prefixed with the word for 'man' in BR-TRE B145, also spelt Br-tr @ and BR-TR-YE, -tr- is added to the word for 'woman' in Kdi-tr-ye B224.[13] If n- and -šē- in N-ŠĒ-TR B382 are verb prefixes variants of ñ- and -ši- in Ñ-ši-dē-ke-ye @ E12 the name will be a verbal complex using -tr as a verb.[14] Consequently, n-, instead of nē-, and -b-, replacing -šē-, appear to be prefixes forming with -tr, apparently used as a verb, the verbal complex NĒ-B-TR B365. One does not understand the function or the relationship of eri- with -tr in Eri-tr @ B170.

A22 THE COMPONENT tr(e), ter, t(e)rē - FOOTNOTES.

1. For the names with ml(ē)- see A11 IV i a, for the names and groups with x- see A7 II iii, for the name with br- see A9 I ii and for the one with yetē- see A7 III ii & n.20.

2. The text h[.] tmt:tr-[r]-w occupies the place of the entire i-re-q-w:x-wi-tr-r-w giving h[.] tmt: in place of i-re-q-w:x-wi-. Griffith, M I 64, thinks that the last pair of texts should be the names of different quarters or provinces or Niles.

3. See A11 IV i a for -w(e,ē,i)- in association with ml(e,ē,i)- and A2 I iii b for the compound-verb wi-de.

4. See A2 IV iii.

5. See RdE 16 33.On each of the left and right halves of the stela AWB 406 ll.20-21,22-23, as on the stela AWB 407, both of which are from Arminna West, the extension shows a reduplicated -t- in the form we-ttr-ri. This made Hoyler wonder whether the writing with the single -t- is in fact a simplification of this spelling. See RdE 17 192. An alternative explanation seems to me that in the spoken language the -t- of -tr- might have sounded like two -t- 's, being in this comparable with the one of at(e)t-, believed in A7 II i b & n.5 to be the same thing as

at-. See there.

6. Heyler, RdE 16 31, thinks that -ri is -li* assimilated with -r- of -tr-. This explanation is in my opinion unnecessary, for, in A3 I, III i a,b, A19 I, II ii, -r has been shown to be an ending in its own right, even when it is not preceded by a word ending in -r-, and to interchange with -l(e,ē,i). See A14 IV iv for qe/we-tñ-yi-ñ-qe-li.

7. See A2 II iii b & n.42 for more instances of this type of w(e,i)-.

8. See A2 I iv for more on -tr- as a verb, simple and compounded.

9. Ñte- and nt- again alternate in ÑTE-YE B402 and Nt-ye B392. There is no doubt that these are writings of the same name, borne by both a male and a female person. See A2 III ii a 2 for two more instances of a name borne by both a man and a woman.

10. See A1 I i 1, 4, II i for at-ke-.

11. See I i.

12. This is how I think the title in question should be restored from the incomplete instances of it in Beg N5.

13. See A9 I ii, A10 II ii, A12 III v a.

14. See A6 IV ii.

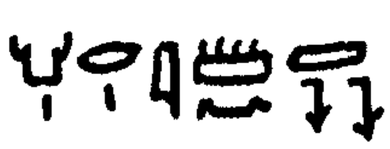
THE COMPONENT mt(e), met(e,i)

I Since mte-y-beli: Ak I 31-2 OS, alternatively written mde-y-beli: Ak I 31, appears to have Beli-met-ye @ B122 as a reshuffled version, one is able to conclude that mte-, also spelt mde-, and -met- are variant writings of the same word.[1] The group mte-y-beli is itself recognizable in Qere-mte-bēli-de @ B441 and Mere-mte-bēli-de @ B262, where -bēli- is used instead of -beli- and the medial -y- is dropped.[2] The component met- on the other hand is elsewhere known to interchange with mete- as in Met-mni-ti(s-li) B267 and its varying spelling Mete-mni-s-li, both of which are writings of the name of one and the same person, just as mete-, in Mete-ye B37, itself has another form with an initial a- in Amete-ye B37.[3] It is obvious that met(e)- in the first pair is a noun in indirect genitive with -mni- "Amon". The entire last name perhaps forms part of Mre-ṣ̌-mete-ye @ B341. More probable variants of the present component will be pointed out in the course of the following discussion, especially in II, III i-iii. Studying the names and the groups using the different forms of mete-, one has the impression that there should be more than one word written in the same varying ways. In the next sub-divisions I will attempt to classify such names and groups according to the meaning and the part of speech of the present component.

II Identifying mte with mete, Griffith renders m(e)te as 'second, junior, younger', both as a noun and as an adjective.[4] For example, he translates mete-l: Kar 17 6 LS, (=HinD 188) and mte-lē-wi: Kar 17 6 as '(the) second (?)', Kar vi 57, while he translates at-qē-mete-l Kar 59 10 LA (=HinD 294) as 'the second atagē', op.cit. 64, and ar-mte: Ins 101 3 L as 'younger Horus (?)', M II 40.[5] In ZyNG 27, Zyhlarz connects mte with an abscure Old Nubian title ⲘⲈⲦ . (GriNT no.iv, 1.5.54.) According to Hintze, m(e)te-, also mte-, is a noun in some cases, HinD 71, 124, 188, a verb in some other cases, HinD 186,207, and accepting treatment as both a noun and a verb in some other cases too, HinD 17, 19.

Hintze's view about the verbal nature of this component, where he thinks it acts as a verb is in accordance with his treatment of certain of the words of filiation as verbs.[6] So far, there does not seem to me to be any strong evidence in favour of the present component being a verb. But in addition to Griffith's above-cited examples, its nominal nature is demonstrable by Met-mni-ti(s-li) and Mete-mni-s-li, quoted at the end of sub-division I above, and by mte:aqe-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 23 4 LS (=HinD 71) and mte qe-t(s-l)-ke-ni Kar 58a LS, where met(e)- and mte are evidently nouns in indirect genitive with the name of "Amon"

and (a)qe-, whatever this may mean, the resulting complexes further receiving the participial ending -l(ē,i)-, which, as a result of its occurrence with the genitival -s-, changed into -t(ē,i)- in three of the four instances.[7]

There is perhaps ample evidence that mte is additionally a variant spelling of m(i)t-, which is the name of the goddess 'Mūt'.[8] Before elaborating on this point, it will perhaps be better to return to the above-mentioned similarity between qere-mte-, in Qere-mte-bēli-de @ B441, and .[8] The parallelism between the last name and of  <u>Ded.St.5</u>, and QĒRE-MNI B448, indicates that it must be theophorous, in which case is doubtlessly the name of the goddess 'Mūt'.[8] On the acceptance of these equivalences, the Meroitic mte will be the equivalent of and consequently of m(i)t. Such a group as mt-mte-lē-wi: Kar 72 18 LA, 75 11 LA (<u>=HinD 4</u>), classified by Hintze as a N/V receiving -lē , appears to me to contain more than just that. One wonders whether mt- is the name of 'Mūt', with which -mte-, as a descriptive word or title, is in direct genitive. In its meaning as "one who is a <u>mte</u> of Mūt" this group expresses an idea comparable with that of Mote-mni-s-li "(the, one who is a) <u>mete</u> of Amon", mentioned earlier on.

Next I propose to study the names and relevant groups using the various forms of mete.

III i As a noun, the present component may receive either, or both, of the definite article -l(i) and -ye(ē) to form mete-l:, for which see II above, Am[ẹ]te-li-s̆ B36, AMETĒ-L B38, where ametē- seems to be yet another variant spelling, (A)mete-ye B37 and METE-YĒ-L B270.[9] Since -rē-r may replace either one of the above eddings one may also include Amēt-rē-r @ E4.[9] Here also belong Met(e)-mni-ti(s-li) B267 and mt-mte-lē-wi, mentioned in II above, where -lē(i), according to one way of looking at the name, appears to function as a participial ending added to an undefined noun in the genitive with another noun. The group mte-tē(s-lē) Kar 47 12 LS (=HinD 337) accepts parsing as an undefined noun containing the genitival -s- and the participial ending. It is therefore one of those constructions where we have no noun governing the genitive.[10] The same treatment may be accorded mte- and -lē in abr-s:mte-lē: Serra W 1 2-3 LS (=HinD 186).

Another feature of mete- as a noun is that it looks as if it is qualified by -lh- 'great' in mete-lh-s Kar 11 7 LS (=HinD 124) and mete-lh-tē(s-lē)-wi: Far 19 3 L/TA (=HinD 19).

III ii The same defined noun -mete-l(i) and apparently qualified noun -mete-lh- as in III i above recur

in different forms prefixed with the noun at-, in At-mete-ḷi @ B105 and At-mt-l[ḷ]-tē(s-lē) @ D8, with yet- as a writing of at-, in yet-met-lh-l Kar 17 5-6 LS (=HinD 187), and with both at- and -qē-, in at-qē-mete-l: Kar 59 10 LA (=HinD 294).[11] Because at- and -qē- are elsewhere known to occur together and the great similarity between the last group and At-mete-ḷi, from which it differs in having an intrusive -qē-, I feel that -mete- in at-qē-mete-l should be treated as a single word that is a noun. Therefore Hintze's treatment of this group as a place-name atqēme-, which he vocalizes as Ataqome, receiving the locative -te- and -l is incorrect.[11] Even when -met- and its adjunct at- receive -ñ, as in At-met-ñ tbē @ B106 [12], so does the compound resulting from the addition of yet- to -met- end with the same element in yet-met-ñ Kar 17 6 LS (=HinD 188).

In Meqē-mete-li B259 and Ms-mete-yi @ B345, as in Beli-met-ye @ mentioned in sub-division I above, we have two juxtaposed nouns receiving -li and-ye(i), of which the latter parts -mete-li and -met(e)-ye can hardly be different from -mete-l(i) and (A)mete-ye studied in the names and groups in III i.[13] The compound -mete-ye recurs but with mrē-ṣ- in Mrē-ṣ-mete-ye @ B341.[13] Respectively the names of a lady and her child, the first two names have shorter versions as Meqē-ñ and Ms-me. This makes one

consider the possibility that Meroitic uses abbreviated writing, in the same way as Egyptian does, in pet-names or when the omitted or abbreviated component part is understood.[14] Though both mete- and -kdi appear to be nouns, one does not fully understand the relationship between them in Mete-kdi B266. Applying Griffith's principle that the addition of -kd(e,i) to nouns derives the feminine counterparts thereof, one might render the name as "female mete".[15]

Previously, wi-de- and tr-q- have been suggested to be, the former a compound-verb and the latter a simple verb of the pattern de-qe, and so when they occur with -mete- in wi-de-mete-lē Kar 67 8-9 LA (=HinD 17) and Tr-q-mete-li @ B634 one has the impression that the construction of the group is perhaps V+N suffixed with the participial ending and that the construction of the name is perhaps V+N suffixed with the definite article. Therefore these might accept interpretation as "one who is a ..... mete" and "the ....-mete" respectively.[16]

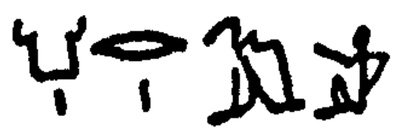
III iii Also appearing to contain the present component is s̆s̆i-mete: Ins 129 6-7 LS (=HinD 48), 85 6-7 LS (=HinD 80) Ins 131 6 LA (=HinD 329), Sh 5 4-5 LS (=HinD 81), 20 (=HinD 206), Kar 4 5-6 LS (=HinD 100), Far 4 13-14 LS (=HinD 227), Qus 3 LA

(=HinD 248), ssi-mete-lē: Ins 137a OA. That we are here dealing with the same word is perhaps supported by the fact that, as was seen in III i,ii above so here again -mt- interchanges with -mete-, in s-mt-lh: Kar 52 4 LA (=HinD 224) (cf. At-mt-l[i]-tē(s-lē) III ii above), and -me is written instead of -mete in ssi-me:amni-s 3: Tañ 24-25 OS (cf. Ms-me III ii above). At this point one should consider the possibility that -mete-, in its different forms, might accept splitting into -me- and -te and that the first and last elements in ssi-me-te, according to this splitting, are the same as those in s-mr-te: Ibr 16 OS and ss-mr-te-l: Tañ 26.[17]

As an initial word the component is written met(e)- in Mete-wi-qbe B268 and Met-ke-hi-tē @ B272, and, in a new form, meti- in Meti-t-br-s @ B271[18].

A23 THE COMPONENT mt(e), met(e,i) - FOOTNOTES.

1. The word mde- here must not be taken for the verb in the group indicating the 'mde-relationship', for it seems to me to be no more than an alternative spelling of mte- using -d- instead of -t-. See A5 IV i b for the variation between -t- and -d-.

2. See A20 I & n.1, II iii & n.11 on beli and bēli and for more on the names and the groups. See also A12 III ii a & n.29, v a. Had the reading of the two names not been certain one would have liked to make them agree in beginning with either q- or m-, preferably the former. Qere-mte- in the first one of them compares nicely with  Ded.St.21, which one might transcribe into Meroitic as QĒRE-MTE*. See A14 II ii & n.17. Both components are visibly scattered in qēre-s mle-b:s mte-lē-wi: Kar 17 8-9 LS. See A11 IV iv b n.32. One may however make the following reservation. Qere-m-te-bēli-de and Mere-m-te-bēli-de @ might be alternative splittings of these names in view of the fact that -m- is present with qere- in QERE-M-YE B442 and its related form qēre-s in QĒRE-S-M-YE B453. See A12 III iv c & n.45.

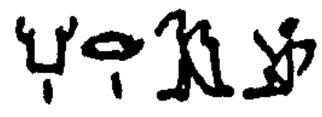
3. See II below and A3 III iii and A5 VII ii.

4. See M II 38 & Index.

5. See III ii below and A3 III iii for more on at-qē-mete-l and A13 II & n.1 for ar-mte.

6. See, for example, his view about kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi, discussed in A10 I i, I ii b & n.6.

7. See A15 I i on (a)qe- and A3 III i c, A5 VII ii on the coalescence of -s- with -l(ē,i)- into -t(ē,i)-.

8. See A3 II ii & n.9, II iii on m(i)t being the name of 'Mūt'. For the parallelism between the Meroitic name and  see sub-division I above and for QĒRE-MNI and its hieroglyphic equivalent see A14 II ii & n.17.

9. See A3 III ii b & nn.57,58.

10. See A3 III i c.

11. See A15 II ii for at-qē- and A3 III iii for more on the names and the groups. Compare yet- as a writing of at- with yetē- as a variant form of atē- 'water', for which see A12 I.

12. The word tbē at the end of the name is difficult to explain. Whether the name is to be read as is given or as At-met-ñ-tbē is difficult to judge. The given reading seems to be more preferable.

13. See A3 III ii c for more instances of the noun meqē- and A12 III ii a & n.29 for the noun ms- and A9 II iii

for mrē-ṣ-.

14. That abbreviated writing seems to be used in Meroitic has been suggested in different places in the present work. See, for instance, A14 IV v & n.47, A2 I iv, A7 VI iii c.

15. See A10 III i a.

16. See A2 I iii a-c, IV ii b on wi-de- and A2 I iv on tr-q-.

17. See A6 V ii a.

18. For more on the name with -ke-hi-tē see A7 V ii and for the one containing -t-br-ṣ̌ see A9 II i.

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APPENDIX A Verbal Prefixes: The occurrence of more than one prefix in a verbal complex or a participle.

Every instance is cited under each one of its prefixes, the references to its discussion in Vol. I being given under the first prefix thereof. The examples between brackets are the names and groups in which a single prefix alternates with a number of these prefixes. As the underlined references accompanying them indicate, these examples are to be found in Appendix B.

with prefix or prefixless		
I prefixless	i. -dē-ye , in Ax-dē-ye B22 Mš-dē-ye @ B350 A2 II ii	ii. -d-xe-tē(s-lē), in Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B72 A2 II i & n. 27
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-	i. (Pi-de-ye B417 BII i)	ii. P-Š-DE-H-YE B430 A2 II i
III with (y)e,ē,i-/a-	i.(A-dē-ye B16,Yi-dē-ye B691 BIII i)	ii. (A-d-xi-ye @ B17 ,etc. BIII ii)
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-	i. N-š-di-ye B381 A2 II ii a & n. 34	
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-	i. N-š-di-ye	ii. P-Š-DE-H-YE (ši-de-x-nē BV iii)
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-		i. (t-d-x-s-ñ: ,-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) in Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B377 BVI i-ii)

APPENDIX A — Verbal Prefixes: The occurrence of more than one prefix in a verbal complex or a participle

with prefix or prefixless			
I prefixless	iii. Dē-ke B157 DĒ-KE-LI B158 A2 III ii a 3 See BI v	iv. -wi-tē in ar-wi-tē: Ins 86 3 O Gr See BI vii	v. w-d-tē: Tañ 139 OS A2 III iii a,b [w-d-s] Mer 9 7 L B1 w-r-s: Mer 9 8-9
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-	iii. pi-ši-dē-k-te Formula B Kar 48 5-6 LS A2 III ii a 5	iv. pi-ši-we-k-te Formula B Kar 36 15-16 LA A6 IV iv c p-ši-we: Formula F Kar 126 9 LA (p-w-xe BII vii)	v. p-t-w-d-ke-te (H) Formula L Ins 60 9-10 LA A2 IV iii; A4 II i (end) (t-w-d-ke-te BVI vii) be-y-t-w-d-ye Mer 9 7 (p-wi-dē: BII viii) be-y-t-r-ye Mer 9 8-9 p-t-re-ke-te Formula K Ins 60 7-8 LA (t-re-ke-te BVI vii)
III with (y)e,ē,i-/a-	iii. yi-n-ši-de-ke-li Mer 13 2,3 O Gr A2 III ii a 5 (A-y-dē-ke BIII vii)	iv.(ye-we-b-x-te Formula F BIII xii) i-n-we-tē: Tañ 136 OS (y-wi-tō BIII xi) A2 I iii b	v. i-t-w-d-tē: Tañ 33 OS A2 III iii a,b (Yi-w-id-ye @ B771 BIII xiii) y-t-w-d-s-ni: Mer 9 4 A3 IV x b
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-	ii. Ñ-ši-dē-ke-ye @ E12 yi-n-ši-de-ke-li A2 III ii a 5	iii. i-n-we-tē: (N-WE-LI (?) B393 BIV iv)	iv. (N-w-i[d]-ye B396 N-w-ide-mk & B395 BIV v)
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-	iii. Ñ-ši-dē-ke-ye @ yi-n-ši-de-ke-li (Ši-dē-ke-ñ-ye @ B498 BV v) pi-ši-dē-k-te Formula B	iv. pi-ši-we-k-te p-ši-we (Ši-we B507 BV vii)	v. š-te-wi-dē: Ibr 30-31 OS A2 IV ii a (š-wi-dē: BV viii)
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-	ii. (TE-DĒ-KE B554, D-dē-ke-y @ B149,etc. BVI iii)	iii. (Te-we-li B581 BVI v , t-w-xi BVI vi)	iv. i-t-w-d-tē: , š-te-wi-dē: (te-wi-dē: BVI vii) p-t-w-d-ke-te (t-w-d-ke-te BVI vii), be-y-t-w-d-y[e] p-t-re-ke-te (t-re-ke-te) be-y-t-r-y[e] A2 II ii; A3 IV x b

APPENDIX A Verbal Prefixes: The occurrence of more than one prefix in a verbal complex or a participle.

with prefix or prefixless		
I prefixless		vi. TK-B B592 A8 II i a tki-te-lē-wi: Far 32 5-6 LA,etc. A8 II ii See BI x
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-		vi. b-n-tke: Mer 8 3 L B1 A8 II ii (pi-tk-ke-s BII ix) pi-ši-tke-ke-s Formula J Arm W 3a LS A8 II iv a
III with (y)e,ē,i-/a-		vi. y-n-tke Ins 102 3 L AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ B26 , ye-te-tke Ins 97 9-10 L A8 II ii (yi-tk-b , yi-tki-te-lē BIII xiv)
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-	v. š-ñ-mde-s Kar 79 9-10 LA , š-n-mde-s Kar 49 5 LA	vi. b-n-tke: , y-n-tke AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ (n-tk-te , N-tki-li B389 BIV vi)
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-	vi. š-ñ-mde-s, š-n-mde-s š-t-mde-s Far 34 11 LA š-te-mde-s-lē Ins 78 2-3 0 Gr , š-de-mde-s-lē Far 20 1-2 TA , Š-d-md[e]-kde B481 (ši-mde-l-w Tañ 2 OS , ŠI-MEDE-LI C27) A5 IV i b; A6 IV iv f	vii. p-ši-tke-ke-s (Š-tki-ñ-ye(i) B535 BV ix) See A8 I ii, II iv a
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-	v. š-t-mde-s , š-te-mde-s-lē , š-de-mde-s-lē , Š-d-md[e]-kde	vi. ye-te-tke A8 II ii (T-TK-TE-Y B638 BVI viii)

APPENDIX B

Verbal Prefixes: The alternation of prefixes. The instances between brackets are the names and groups in which more than one prefix occupies the place of a single prefix. As the underlined references accompanying them indicate, these examples are to be found in Appendix A.

with prefix or prefixless			
I prefixless	i. -dē-ye, in Ax-dē-ye B22 & Mš-dē-ye @ B350, -dē-lē in Amn-xe-dē-lē @ £ B43. A2 II ii . See AI i.		
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-	i. Pi-de-ye B417 , -pe-de-yi in Te-pe-de-yi B569. A2 II ii & n. 34	ii. (P-Š-DE-H-YE B430 AII ii)	
III with (ỳ)e,ē,i-/a-	i. A-dē-ye B16 , Yi-dē-ye B691, A-de-li-ye @ B9 A2 II ii & n. 29	ii. ye-d-xi: Ak I 5 OS, A-d-xi-ye @ B17, A-DI-H-LI B18 A2 II i	iii. y-d-x-nē MuGr 31 1-2 0 A2 II i
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-	i. (N-š-di-ye B381 AIV i)		
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-	i. (N-š-di-ye B381 AV i)	ii. (P-Š-DE-H-YE B430 AV ii)	iii. ši-de-x-nē Ins 91c 2 0 Gr A2 II i
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-			i. t-d-x-s-ñ: Tañ 164 OS t-d-x-s-ñ-li: Ob I 7 A2 II i T-d-xi-ñ-t-rē-r @ B548 A2 III iii a,c

APPENDIX B Verbal Prefixes: The alternation of prefixes.

with prefix or prefixless			
I prefixless	ii. de-b-x Tañ 1. 115-116 OS A2 II i	iii. -d-xe-tē(s-lē), in Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) © B72 A2 II i & n. 27	iv. ke-de-kdi-li Far 21 23 TA A2 III i b 1 K-id-te-li-ye B236 A2 III iv a
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-			iii. P-k-di B442, P-q-d-ye B426 A2 III i b 1
III with (y)e,ē,i-/a-	iv. i-de-b-x: Tañ 27 e-de-b-x: Tañ 137 A2 II i	v. -ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē),in Nš-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B385 A2 II i & n, 27, III iii a,c	vi. e-ke-d: Tañ 5 OS, e-qe-de: Ibr 29 OS A2 III i a 1.
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-			
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-			iv. Š-k-id-ye,Š-KE-DI-YE (?), B508 , Š-q-d-ye B523 A2 III i b
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-		ii. -t-d-xe-tē(s-lē),in Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) © B377 .	

APPENDIX B Verbal Prefixes: The alternation of prefixes.

with prefix or prefixless			
I prefixless	v. Dē-ke B157, DĒ-KE-LI B158, DĒ-K-RĒ-R & B161 , -di-ke-ye in We-re-di-ke-ye @ B647 A2 III ii a 2-4,6 See AI iii	vi. de-qe-ni-ke (Ob I 5,etc., Mke-de-qē-li B288 A2 III ii b 1	
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-		iv. Pe-de-q-ye B407 A2 III ii b 1	v. (pi-š-dē-k-te Formula B AII iii)
III with (y)e,ē,i-/a-	vii. e-de-ke: Tañ 48 A-y-dē-ke B114 A2 III ii a 2,5	viii. A-DE-QE-N-K B11 A2 III ii b 1	ix. e-d-ke-te: Tañ 39,43, i-d-k-te-y: Tañ 46 A2 III ii a 2 yi-dē-ke-te Formula A A2 III ii a 5
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-	ii. (Ñ-š-dē-ke-ye @ E12 yi-n-š-de-ke-li AIV ii)		iii. n-d-ke-te: Tañ 124-25
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-	v. Š-dē-ke-ñ-ye B498 A2 III ii a 5 (Ñ-š-dē-ke-ye @, yi-n-š-de-ke-li AV iii)		vi. (pi-š-dē-k-te AV iii)
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-	iii. TE-DĒ-KE B554, T-di-ke-ye @ B549 Ḍ-dē-ke-y @ B149, D-DĒ-K-R B150 A2 III ii a 4,6	iv. Te-de-qe-ñ B553 te-de-qe-l: Tañ 54 OS	

APPENDIX B Verbal Prefixes: The alternation of prefixes.

with prefix or prefixless			
I prefixless		vii. -wi-tē in ar-wi-tē: Ins 86 3 0 Gr, -we-ñ-yi in kd-we-ñ-yi: Ibr 3-4 OS, -we-li in kd-we-li: Ak I 1 OS. See AI iv. A10 III v.	viii. W-XI B657 , Wi-hi-ye B660 A7 VI iv e
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-	vi. Pe-de-q-ye B407 ? A2 III iv c		vii. p-w-xe (H) Formula A MS 7a, p-wi-h-te Formula A Kar 125 17 LA A2 I iii b
III with (y)e,ē,i-/a-	x. A-DE-QE-T-LI (H) & B12, A-DE-Q-TE-Y B13 A2 III iv c.	xi. y-wi-tē: Ins 94 19 L A2 IV i ,(i-n-we-tē Tañ 136 AIII iv)	xii. ye-we-b-x-te Formula F Ins 137 6 OA A2 IV i a,A7 VI iv e A-wi-x-lē-ye B113 A7 VI iv e
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-		iv. N-WE-LI (?) B393 A2 I iii b,IV i (i-n-we-tē AIV iii)	
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-		vii. Ši-we B507 (pi-ši-we-k-te p-ši-we AV iv)	
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-		v. Te-wi-ñ-ye B579 , Te-we-li B581 A2 I iii b,IV i	vi. t-w-xi: Kar 9 2 LA A7 VI iv e

APPENDIX B Verbal Prefixes: The alternation of prefixes.

with prefix or prefixless			
I prefixless :	ix. w-d-tē: Tañ 139 A2 III iii a,b	x. TK-B B592 A8 II i a tki-te-lē-wi: Far 32 5-6 LA,etc. A8 II iii See AI vi	xi. Tk-id @ B594 A8 II i a
II with p/b(e,ē,i)-	viii. p-wi-dē: Ak II 9 OS p-wi-de:(mlē-l) Mer 8a 3 L B1 A2 II iii a,IV ii a see AII v	ix. pi-tk-ke-s Formula D Arm W 3b LS A8 II iv a (p-ši-tke-ke-s AII vi)	x. -p-tk-ide in Wēš-p-tk-ide @ B655 A8 I ii; A4 II i
III with (y)e,ē,i-/a-	xiii. Yi-w-id-ye @ B771 A2 IV i (i-t-w-d-tē AIII v)	xiv. yi-tk-b: Formula C/D2 A8 II i a , yi-tki-te-lē: Ins 132 5-6 LA/S A8 II iii (y-n-tke, ye-te-tke, AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ AIII vi)	xv. yi-tk-ide-tē-wi Mer 7 6,9,12 LS A8 II iii
IV with ñ(n,nē,ni)-	v. N-w-i[d]-ye B396 N-w-ide-mk & B395 A2 IV i	vi. n-tk-te Tañ 6 OS , N-tki-li B389 A8 II ii (b-n-tke, y-n-tke AIV vi)	
V with š(e,ē,i)/s-	viii š-wi-dē: Ak I 23, 33 OS , s-wi-de: Ins 94 9 L A2 IV ii a (š-te-wi-dē: AV v)	ix. Š-tki-ñ-ye(i) B535 A8 II iv a (p-ši-tke-ke-s AV vii)	x. Ši-tk-id @ B506 A8 I ii; A6 IV iv b
VI with t(e,i)/d(e,ē)-	vii. te-wi-dē: Ibr 35 OS, TE-WI-DE B580, d-wi-dē-te FO 23 1-2 L, t-w-d-ke-te Formula L Ins 59 10 LS A2 IV iii, (i-t-w-d-tē , š-te-wi-dē AVI iv), t-re-ke-te Formula K Ins 59 8-9 LS See AII v,III v,V v	viii. T-TK-TE-Y B638 A8 II iii (ye-te-tke AVI vi)	

APPENDIX C

Structure of Names

For the abbreviations in the heading of, and for the significance of brackets in, this appendix see III i 5, 7 in the preface.

I Isolated noun, adjective, verb or verbal complex

i. N suffixed with -b of plurality or ñ(n,nē,ni)

1. Xr	B180	A21 II ii
2. Kdi-b	B210	A10 II i & n.29
3. Meqē-ñ	B260	A3 III ii c
4. TNI	B613	A14 III ii a,IV i a & n.31

ii. Adj., i.e. Adj. S.

Mlē	@ B293	A11 IV i a

iii. V

1. Tk-id	@ B594	A8 II i a
2. Tñ-yi-di	@ B617	A2 II iii a; A14 IV v

iv. VC

1. A-DE-QE-N-K	B11	A2 I i, III ii b 1
2. Ay(A-y)-dē-ke	B114	A2 III ii a 5; A12 II ii
3. N-tx	@ B388	A8 I i
4. Š-x-di-ñe	@ B487	A2 II iii a & n.37

II plus -l(e,ē,i), -y(e,i), -r(ē-r) or -l(e,ē,i)+y(e,i)

i a N-

1. BLE-LI	B135	A20 I & n.1, II i; A3 III ii d
2. Bl-ye	B144	
3. Belē-lē-ye	@ B118	
4. Xr-ye	B187	A21 II ii,IV ii; A12 III ii a
5. Kdi-l	B212	A10 II i; A3 III ii a
6. Šb-l-ye,ŠB-L-YE	B475	A12 III iii; A3 III ii c
7. Šb-ye	B478	A12 III ii a; A3 III ii c

APPENDIX C

II

i b N

1.	Meqē-ti(s-li)	B261	A3 III ii c; A5 VII ii & n.62
2.	Šde-s̬s-l	B480	
3.	Tme-ñ-s-l	B602	A1 VI & n.42; A3 III ii c
4.	Šyē-ke-li	B541	A1 VII; A3 III v

ii. Adj., i.e. Adj.S.

1.	Mhe-ye	@ B282	A11 IV i a; A12 III ii b
2.	MLĒ-YE	B302	
3.	Mli-y-rē+r	@ B318	A11 V ii; A12 III ii b,iii

iii. V (Verb) -r

	Tk-r	@ B597	A8 II iv a,b & n.36

iv. VC

a. VC-l(ē,i)/y(e)/r(ē-r)/lē(i)-ye

1.	A-de-li-ye	@ B9	A2 II ii; A3 IV ii a; A12 IV i a
2.	A-DE-QE-T-LI (H)	@ B12	A2 III ii b 1; A3 IV ii d
3.	A-DE-Q-TE-Y	B13	
4.	Š-XI-L	B490	A6 II i & n.10; A3 IV v
5.	Š-xi-ye	@ B491	A12 IV iii
6.	Š-X-LĒ-YE	B492	
7.	T-d-xi-ñ-ṭ-rē-r	@ B615	A2 III iii a,c
8.	TNI-Ḳ-R	B614	A14 IV iii; A19 II ii
9.	Tni-ñ-t-rē-r	@ B615	

b. VC-li-tē(s-lē)

1.	Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē)	@ B156	A2 III iii a,c;A3 IV ii d
2.	Wi-re(i)-te-li-tē(s-lē)	B662	A3 IV x b
3.	Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē)		A2 III iii a,b; A3 IV viii b, x b & n.154

APPENDIX C

III Combination of any two of the elements in I without -l/y/-r(ē-r) or their variants.

i. N+N

1. Aq-mk-s		B64	A15 I i,II; A16 II
2. At-qē	@	B110	A15 II ii
3. MNI-TME		B329	A12 III ii a n.33
4. QĒRE-MNI		B448	A12 III v a
5. Qēre-qēre	@	B451	Cf.IV i a 4, V i a for a similar reduplication

ii. N+Adj.

1. Xr(i)-mli		B182	A21 I i, II ii
2. Ṭ-mhe	@	B607	A5 II i; A11 II i b

iii.a. N+V

1. AMNI-TN-IDE		B50		A14 IV ii, V
2. ARĒ-TN-IDE	£	B80	A13 IV	A2 II iii c
Arē-tn-ide	@			
3. TME-Š-X-IDE		B603	A6 II i b n.12, III	
TM-Š-X-DI				

iii.b. V+N

1. TK-IDE-MNI	£	B595	A8 II iv a & n.31	A2 II iii c
2. TÑ-YI-D-MNI	£	B618	A14 II ii n.17, IV v	

iv.a. N+VC

1. Amne-li-xe	@	B41	A3 II i,ii & n.6
2. Amni-pi-te-ke	£	B46	A5 III iii & n.13
3. Kdi-te-de	£	B221	A10 III iv & n.19; A2 II ii
4. Np-tk-k-te	@	B379	A8 II iii
5. Teñ-ki-tn-ide	@	B567	A2 III i a 1; A14 IV ii a & n.33

APPENDIX C

III

iv.b. VC+N

1. Dē-ki-kdi-s	B160	A2 III i a 1 & n.49, ii a 4 & n.69; A10 III iv a & n.22
2. N-w-ide-mk	£ B395	A2 IV i,ii b
3. Šī-n-tme	@ B501	A6 II i b & n.12, III & n.21
4. T-ID-BLI	B590	A2 II ii; A20 II iii

v. Adj+V

1. AXE-TKK-ID	B24	A7 IV i a,iii & n.27;A8 II i b, iii n.23
2. MHE-TK-IDE	(?) B281	All IV iv c; A8 I i,II i b
3. Mli-th-ide	B312	

vi.a. Adj+VC

1. Ax-dē-s	B21	A7 IV i b & n.24; A2 II ii,iii b
2. AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ	B26	A7 IV iii & n.27; A8 II i b, ii & n.20
3. MHI-D-T(D)	B283	All I,II iv b; A2 III iii a
4. Mli-š-xi	@ B308	All IV iv d; A6 II i a & n.7
5. Mli-teke-ṣ	@ B309	All IV iv c,d & n.37

vi.b. VC+Adj

1. Ye-t-re-mli	B685	A2 IV ii c; A12 II vi; All VI iii a & n.47
2. (Y)i-l-h(e)-mli	B696	A3 II i;All IV iv a,VI i & n.44

IV Combination of any two of the elements in I with -l/y/r(ē-r), or -l+y, and their variants.

i.a. N+N See III i above

1. AT-QĒ-LI	B111	A15 II ii; A3 III iii

IV i a.

2. Kdi-mn-li	B214	A10 III i b	
Kdi-mn̄-le			
3. Mn-kdi-li	B332	A3 III iii	
4. QĒ-QĒ-LI	B447	A15 II ii; A3 III iii Cf.III i 5, V i a for reduplication	
5. Qēre-mn-ye	@ B449	A12 III v a	
6. T-QĒ-LE	B622	A3 III iii	A5 II i & n.5
7. T-qē-ye	@ B625	A12 III v a	A15 II ii

i.b. N-li+N

Beli-li-bre	@ B120	A20 I,II i; A3 III ii d

i.c. N+N+s-li

Met(e)-mni-ti(s-li)	B267	A23 I,II,III i; A3 III iii

ii.a. N+Adj-li/ye/r/-li-ye

1. Aqē-lh-li	@ B61	A15 I i,II i; A3 III iv
2. AQĒ-MLĒ-YE	B62	A15 II i; A11 II i b; A12 III v b
3. X-mh-r	@ B117	A7 II ii & n.8; A11 II i a; A19 II i
4. X-mlẽ-ye	@ B178	
5. ATĒ-HE-LI-YE	B98	A7 III ii & n.19;A3 III iv,

ii.b. Adj+N-l(i)/-rē-r A12 III v c,IV ii

1. Ml-x-l @, Ml-x-li	B303	A7 I ii,II ii; A11 III
2. MLI-X-RĒ-R (?)	B306	

iii.a. N+V-l/ye/r

1. Mš-dē-ye	@ B350	A2 II ii,iii c; A12 IV i a
2. Qēre-tk-r	@ B454	A19 III; A3 IV vii; A8 II iv a
3. Wēš-tke-l	@ B656	A3 III iii

APPENDIX C

IV

iii.b. V+N-l

De-we-kdi-l	@ B153	A2 III i a 1 n.49,IV iii; A10 III vi

iv.a. N-li+VC

Beli-li-d-t	@ B121	A20 I,II iii; A3 III ii d & n.66; A2 III iii a

iv.b. VC+N-le

Yi-dē-t-beli-le	@ B690	A2 III iii a; A20 II iii; A3 III ii d & n.66

iv.c. N+VC-li/ye/r

1. Kdi-š-ke-li	B239	A10 III i a,v; A6 II i b & n.16
2. Mke-de-qē-li	B288	A16 I iv; A3 II iv,IV ii c; A2 III ii a 2 n.65,b 1.
3. MṢ̌Š-X-R	B352	A6 II i a & n.10,b & n.16
4. Šb-s-tni-ye	@ B477	A12 III iv c & n.46; A14 IV iii & n.37.

v. Adj+V-li/ye

1. Ax-dē-ye	B22	A7 IV i b; A2 II ii & n.29
2. Ml(i)-tek(e)-li	B310	A11 IV iv d; A3 III iv

vi.a. Adj+VC-li/li-ye

1. Axe-ye-te-li-ye	B25	A7 IV iv & n.28; A5 III i; A3 IV iv
2. MLĒ-Š-X(I)-LI	B296	A11 III,IV iv d; A6 II i a

vi.b. VC+Adj-li/ye

1. YE-ṬẒ-MHE-YE	B682	A5 III ii,IV ii d; A11 V ii, V ii
2. YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI	B703	

V Three of the elements in I combined without -l/y/r or their variants

i.a. N+N+Adj

MŠ-MŠE-MLI	B354	A12 III v a; A20 II v; A11 VII iv. Cf. III i 5, IV i a 4 for reduplication

i.b. Adj+N+N

Mlē-qēre-br	£ @ B295	A11 VII i; A9 I i

i.c. N+Adj+N

Xr-mlē-mk-s	B184	A21 II ii; A11 II ii; A16 II

ii.a. N+N+VC

T-qē-šē-te	@ B624	A5 II i & n.5, V v; A15 II ii; A6 II ii

ii.b. N+VC+N

Mk-dē-ke-tme	@ B287	A16 I iv,II; A2 III ii a 2

iii. N+Adj+V

Arē-h-teke	B77	A13 V iv; A7 IV ii

iv. N+Adj+VC

1. Amni-x-li-k	£	B44	A7 IV i b; A3 II ii & n.6,iii
2. Mn-x-dē-ke	£	B325	A7 IV i b; A2 II ii n.29, III ii a 5 & n.75
3. Teri-h-l-be		B574	A7 VI ii d; A3 II iii
4. Tpē-hi-d-t		@ B619	A7 III iv & n.23

APPENDIX C

V

v. Adj+VC+Adj

X-dē-k-mli @ B174 A7 IV i b & n.25; A2 II ii, III ii a 5 & nn.74,75; A11 VI i

VI Some of the constructions in V i-v receiving -lē(i)/ye/r

i. N+N+Adj-li/r/ye

1. MK-ŠĒR-MLĒ-LI B290 A16 I ii; A11 II i b & n.10; A3 III iv

2. Tb-xe-mx-r @ B542
3. TBI-XE-H-YE B544 A12 III v a & n.53 } A7 II ii & n.9, III i; A11 II i a; A19 II i

ii. N+Adj+V-lē

Amn-xe-dē-lē @ £ B43 A7 IV i b; A2 II ii & n.29, III ii a 5; A3 IV ii a

APPENDIX D

Permutation

I Nouns and the elements -ye(i), -l(i), -w(i) and -ñ

i.	1	2	3	4	5
	qēre-	-mn(i)-	-(a)qē-	-y(e)	-ñ

a. 1+2	QĒRE-MNI	B448		A12 III v a
b. 1+2+4	Qēre-mn-ye @	B449		
c. 1+3+4	Qēre-qē-ye	B452	A15 II iv	
d. 2+4	Mn-ye	B336	A12 III ii a	
e. 2+3+5	Mn-qē-ñ	@ B335	A12 III v a	
f. 3+5+4	Aqē-ñ-y	@ B63	A12 III iv a & n.40	
g. 5+3+4	Ñ-qē-ye	@ B399	C n.44	

ii.	1	2	3	4
	-mn(ñ)-	-kd(i)-	-ye	-l(e,i)

a. 1+3	Mn-ye	B336		A12 III ii a & n.28
b. 2+3	Kd(i)-ye	B225	A10 II i & n.8	
c. 2+4	Kdi-l	B212		
d. 1+2+4	Mn-kdi-li	B332	A10 III i b	
e. 2+1+4	Kdi-mn-li	B214		
	Kdi-mñ-le			

iii.	1	2	3
	ms-	-(a)mete-	-ye(i)

a. 1+3	MS-YE	B349	A12 III ii a	A23 I,III i,ii
b. 2+3	(A)mete-ye	B37		
c. 1+2+3	Ms-mete-yi @	B345	A12 III v a	

APPENDIX D

I

iv.	1	2	3	
	apēt(e,i)-	-kd(e,i)-	-ye(i)	
a. 1+3	APĒTE-YE		B55	A12 III ii a
b. 2+3	Kd(i)-ye		B225	
c. 1+2	Apēt(i)-kde		B56	A10 III i a & n. 73
d. 1+2+3	Apēte-kdi-yi		B54	A12 III v a

v.	1	2	3	
	-(a)q-	ar(i)-	-mk-s	& others
a. 1+3	Aq-mk-s		B64	
b. 2+..+..+3	Ari-l-ñ-mk-s		B83	A16 II & n. 21
c. 2+1+..+3	Ar-q-tñ-mk-s		B90	

II Verbs, Prefixes and Suffixes

i.	1	2	3	4	
	-s̆(ē,i)-	-k(e)-	-te(ē)-	-ye	
a. 1+3+4	Š̆i-tē-ye		B505	A6 II ii	A12 IV iii
b. 2+1+4	K(e)-s̆-ye		@ B233	A6 II iii	
c. 2+1+3+4	KE-Š̆Ē-TE-YE		B232		

ii	1	2	3	4	5	
	-ke-	-l(e)-	-he(ē)-	-ni-	-wl	
a. 1+2+3	Ke-l-hē		@ B229			
b. 1+2+1+2	Ke-le-ke-le		B228			A1 III ii & n. 24
c. 1+2+3+1+4+5	KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL		B227			

III Nouns, Adjectives, Verbs, etc.

i.

	1	2	3	4	
	mlē(i)	-w(i)-	-d(e)-	-tr	
a. 1+2+3	Mli-wi-de		@ B316		A22 I ii & nn. 3,4
b. 1+2+4	MLĒ-WI-TR		B301		
c. 2+3+4	W-d-tr		@ B646		
d. 3+2+4	DE-WI-TR		B154		

ii.

	1	2	3	4	5	
	šb-	-s-	-tni-	-l-	-ye	
a. 1+4+5	ŠB-L-YE		B475			A12 III ii a
b. 1+5	Šb-ye		B478			A12 III ii a, iv c & n. 46
c. 2+3	S-tni		@ B471			
d. 1+2+3+5	Šb-s-tni-ye		@ B477			

iii.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	ar(ē,i)-	-k(e,i)-	-d-	-xe(i)-	-tē(i) -s-lē(i)	-wl	-ye	
a. 1+2+7	Arē-k-ye							A1 I i & points 1-4
	Ar-ki-ye							
b. 1+2+6	Ar-ki-wl							
c. 2+3+4+5+6	A-KĒ-D-XE-TI(S-LI)-WL							
d. 1+2+3+4+5	Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē)							

iv.

	1	2	3	4	
	ar(ē,i)-	-tn(i)- -ten-	-ye	-ye-s-bē-he	
a. 1+2+3	Arē-tn-ye		@ B81		A14 I ii & n. 3, IV i & also Vol. II for more on B679
b. 1+4	AR-YE-S-BĒ-HE		£ B92		
c. 4+2	YE-S-BĒ-HE-TNI		£ B679		
d. 1+2+4	ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE		£ B84		

III

v	1	2	3	4	5	6
	at-	-ke(i)-	-tn-ide-	-l(i,ē-l)	-ye	teñ-
a. 1+2+4	At-ki-li		@ B103	Al I i & points 1-2		
	AT-KE-LĒ-L		B101			
b. 6+2+3	Teñ-ki-tn-ide		@ B567			
c. 1+2+3+5	AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE		B104			

APPENDIX E

I Formation of Compounds

1.	DE-WI-TR	B154	A2 IV iii
2.	PI-DE-W-TR	B416	
3.	MR-DE-WI-TR	B339	

II

1.	x-mh-r	@ B177	A7 II i b,ii & n.9,III i, A19 II i
2.	Tb-xe-mx-r	@ B542	
3.	TBI-XE-H-YE	B544	

III

1.	ABR-YE	(?) B8	A9 I i & n.2
2.	Ar-br-ye	B66	
3.	Are-qe-br	@ B71	

IV

1.	Tk-id	@ B594		A8 II v A6 IV iv b
2.	Tk-id-ye Tki-dē-ye	B596	A8 II i a	
3.	Ši-tk-id	@ B506	A8 I ii	
4.	Wi-tk-ide	@ B663		
5.	We-tk-id-l-be	@ B648		
6.	Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE	B539		
7.	Wēš-p-tk-ide	@ B655	A8 I ii	

V

1.	I-br	@ B203	A9 I ii
2.	Š-WE-(Y)I-BR	B537	

VI

1.	BLI-K-R	B138	A20 II ii
2.	Bele-ki-kdi-li	@ B117	
3.	Ble-ke-wi-te-ke	B135	

VII

i.	1.	A-dē-ye	B16	A2 II ii
	2.	Yi-dē-ye	B691	
ii.	1.	Ax-dē-ye	B22	
	2.	Mš-dē-ye	@ B350	

VIII

1.	Ṭ-di-ke-ye	@ B549	A2 III ii a 6
2.	We-re-di-ke-ye	@ B649	

IX

1.	Yi-d-t-ye	@ B692	A2 III iii a
2.	Tre-yi-d-t-li	@ B629	

APPENDIX F

Certainly or Apparently Superfluous Components

I		-wē(i) in:		
	1.	mlē-wi	Ins 3-4,6-8	All IV i a
	2.	mlē-wē-, in		
		lh-š mlē-wē-tē(s-lē)	Kar 47 3 LS	
ii.		TEKE-YE-WI	B555	A7 VII i & n.66
		TEKE-YE		
II		-y(e,ē,i) in:		
i.		BR-TR-YE	B145	A9 I ii,
		BR-TRE		A12 III v a
ii.		MŠ-TR-Q-YE	B356	A2 I iv, A12 IV x
		MŠ-TR-Q		
iii.	1.	MLĒ-YE	B302	A11 IV i a & n.18
	2.	mlē-yē-, in		
		mlē-yē-s-, in		
		lh-š mlē-yē-s-lē-		
iv.	1.	tñ-yi-ñ	Kar 92 6 LS	A14 III i a, IV iv & n.19
	2.	p-tñ-yi-ñ	Ibr 19 OS	
	3.	p-tñ-yi-ñ-ki	Ibr 27-28,etc.	
	4.	Tñ-yi-di	@ B617	A14 IV v & n.46, also
	5.	TÑ-YI-D-MNI	£ B618	III ii b
III		-t in:		
		Kde-yē-t	B208	A10 II i & n.8
		Kdi-ye		
IV		-w(i)- & -y(e)		
i.		mle-w-ye	Ins 137a 3 OA	A11 IV i a
ii.		TÑ-YE-WI-DE	B616	A14 IV v & n.46

APPENDIX G

Mobility of Components

I

1.	Qe-di-ši-ye	@ B437	A2 III i b
2.	Mli-qe-de-še	@ B307	
3.	Š-q-d-ye	B523	
4.	Š-bele-qe-di	@ B472	
5.	P-q-d-ye	B426	A2 III i b
6.	Pe-de-q-ye	B407	A2 III ii b 1

II

1.	Ši-dē-ke-ñ-ye	@ B498	A2 III ii a 5
2.	Ñ-ši-dē-ke-ye	@ E12	
3.	yi-n-ši-de-ke-li	Mer 13 2, 3 0 Gr	

III

1.	Beli-li-d-t	@ B121	A2 III iii a & n.92
2.	Yi-dē-t-beli-le	@ B690	
3.	T-ID-BLI	B590	A2 II ii & n.31

IV

1.	W-d-tr	@ B646	A2 IV iii
2.	DE-WI-TR	B154	
3.	PI-DE-W-TR	B416	
4.	MR-DE-WI-TR	B339	

V

1.	Kdi-mn-li	B214	A10 III i b
	Kdi-mñ-le		
2.	Mn-kdi-li	B332	

APPENDIX G

VI

1.	Š-TE-MEY-YE	B632	A10 III vi & nn.26,27,
2.	te-mey-ye-š	Ins 94 12 L	A6 IV iv d, A3 IV x a

VII

1.	Pi-y-t-mni	@ B421	
2.	P-ti-mni-wl	@ B433	A4 II vi, A5 VIII iii
3.	Wl-amni-p-ti-de	£ B666	

VIII

1.	Aqē-ñ-y	@ B63	
2.	Ñ-qē-ye	B399	
3.	Yi-n-qe	@ B702	A6 V i, A15 I i,II iv
4.	Š-qē-ñ-ye	B524	
5.	N-Š-QĒ-YE	B388	

IX

1.	Beli-met-ye	@ B122	
2.	mte-y-beli:	Ak I 31 OS	
3.	-mte-bēli, in		A20 I,III iii,
	Qere-mte-bēli-de	@ B441	A23 I,II,III ii
	Mere-mte-bēli-de	@ B262	

X

1.	Abe-s-ye	@ B2	
2.	Abē-s-ñ-ye	B4	A7 VI iii d & n.53
3.	S-bē-ñ-ye	B465	

Association Between Certain Components

I	b(e)l(e,i) and (i)d, also de(ē,i)		
1.	Beli-li-d-t	@ B121	A20 II iii & nn.10,11
2.	Yi-dē-t-beli-le	@ B690	
3.	T-ID-BLI	B590	
4.	Qere-mte-bēli-de	@ B441	
5.	Mere-mte-bēli-de	@ B262	
6.	Š-bele-qe-di	@ B472	
II	-b(e)le and -š(i)-		
1.	Š-bele-qe-di	@ B472	A6 IV iv d & n.37
2.	PRE-ŠI-BLE	B428	
3.	X-BRE-ŠI-BLE	(?) B173	
4.	ET-ŠI-BLE	D25	
III	-ble and -x-		
1.	(A)MN(I)-X-BLE	£ B42	A21 II i; A20 II iv & n.13 } A7 II iv
2.	XR-N-X-BLE	B186	
3.	MEŠ-L-X-BLE	B264	
4.	X-BRE-ŠI-BLE	(?) B173	
IV	-mēme and the verb of a funerary formula		
1.	YI-XR-S-MĒME	B693	A21 III ii & n.24
cf.	yi-xr: B	EKE 26 12 LA	
2.	i-ple-mēme-tē	Tañ 44 OS	
cf.	i-pl-te D1	Kar 101 19 LA	A5 V i
V	-mē- and the verb of a funerary formula		
1.	Ple-mē-ñ-ye	B423	
cf.	IV 2 above		
2.	Š-txe-mē	B534	
cf.	p-ši-tx		A6 IV iv b

Parallelism

I Parallelism between a deity's name and an adjective.

i. mš- and ax-

a. 1.	MŠ-D-NI	B351	A2 II ii
2.	Ax-dē-s	B21	
b. 1.	Mš-dē-ye	@ B350	
2.	Ax-dē-ye	B22	

ii. mn(i) and mli

a. 1.	Mn-x-dē-ke	£ B325	A2 III ii a 5
2.	X-dē-k-mli	@ B175	& n.75
b. 1.	MNI-TR-Q-IDE	£ B330	A2 I iv
2.	Mli-tr-q-ide	B314	
	Mli-tr-[q]ẹ-de		

II Parallelism between a deity's name and mk(e)/mk-s in occurring with tm(e)

a. 1.	MNI-TME	B329	A2 III ii a 2 & n.66
2.	MNP-TME	B334	A12 III ii a n.33
b. 1.	MK-S-TME	B289	A16 II
2.	Mk-dē-ke-tme	@ B287	A2 III ii a 2 & n.66
3.	Tm-l-ñ-mk-ṣ-l	B609	A16 II

III Parallelism between the titles apēte and mete, in their different forms.

i. with -ye

a.	APĒTE-YE	B55	A18 I ii & n.6
b.	(A)mete-ye	B37	

ii. with kde(i), with or without -ye(i)

a. 1.	Apet(i)-kde	B56	A18 I i & n.1, ii & n.7
2.	Apēte-kdi-yi	B54	
	[Apē]te-kdi-ye	D4	
b.	Mete-kdi	B266	

IV Parallelism between qere and qēre-s

1.	QERE-M-YE	B442	A12 III iv c & n.45
2.	QĒRE-S-M-YE	B453	

V Parallelism between axe(i)/x/hi- on the one hand and either, or both, of mhe- and mlē-, and their variants, on the other.

i. with -tkk-id and -tk-ide

a.	AXE-TKK-ID	B24	A7 IV i a & n.23a,iii
b.	MHE-TK-IDE	(?) B281	

ii. with -wi-tr(-r) and -w(i)-t(e)rē-r

a. 1.	x-wi-tr-r-w	(H) Ins 32	A7 IV i a & n.23a
2.	X-WI-TRĒ-R	B190	
b. 1.	MX(H)E-WI-TR	B278	
2.	MLĒ-WI-TR	B301	
3.	Ml-w-terē-r	@ B321	A7 II iii

iii. with -t(e)k(e)-

a. 1.	x-tek-ke	Kar 47 12 LS	A7 IV ii
2.	x-tke-lē	Kar 89 12-13 L/TS	
3.	ar-b-x-teke	AK I 6 OS	
4.	Arē-h-teke	B77	
b. 1.	Ml(i)-tek(e)-li	B310	
2.	Mli-teke-ṣ̌	@ B309	

iv. with -d(e)-t(e), -d-d

a. 1.	Tpē-hi-d-t	@ B619	A7 III iv & n.23
2.	hi-de-te	MacN O Plqe	All IV iv a & n.31
3.	axi-de-te	Ins 94 23 L	
b.	MHI-D-T(D)	B283	

VI Parallelism between br 'man' and kdi 'woman'

i. with -tē(s-lē)-ye

a.	BR-TĒ(S-LĒ)-YE	B143	A9 I ii & nn.7,8
b.	Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye	B223	

ii. with -tr-ye

a.	BR-TR-YE	B145	A9 I ii & n.8
b.	Kdi-tr-ye	B223	

VII Parallelism between compounds formed by -dē- and -li-

i. with (a)mn(i) and -x-

a.	Mn-x-dē-ke	£ B325	A7 IV i b & n.25a
b.	Amni-x-li-k	£ B44	

ii. with x(h)- and -mli

a.	X-dē-k-mli	@ B175	
b.	h-li-k-mli	Ins 112 1 L	

APPENDIX K

Sharing of Components

One or more components shared by names of two or more members of a family.

I	kdi(-s), -t(e)r- and -ye(ē)		
i.	-kdi-(s)		
1.	[K]DI-BE-Y	B211	A10 II i & n.29, III iv & n.22, vi
2.	Dē-ki-kdi-s	B160	
ii.	-kdi- and -ye		
1.	Kdi-b-ye	@ B211	A10 II i & n.29,III vi
2.	Te-mey-kdi-ye	B560	
iii.	kdi- , -t(e)r- and -ye(ē)		
1.	Kdi-tr-ye	B224	A10 II ii
2.	Kdi-ye (Kde-yē-t)	B108	A10 II i & n.8
3.	YETĒ-HE-TER	B684	A22 I i
II	-qēre-		
1.	Qēre-qēre	@ B451	A8 II iv a,b
2.	Qēre-tk-r	@ B454	
III	-mete-		
1.	Ms-mete-yi	@ B345	A23 III ii
2.	Meqē-mete-li	B259	
IV	x-, axe-		
i. 1.	X-mlē-ye	@ B178	A7 II i b,ii
2.	X-WI-LI	B189	A7 II iii
ii.1.	X-BRE-ŠI-BLE	(?) B173	A7 II iv & n.13
2.	AXE-TKK-ID	B24	A7 IV i a,iii & n.27

V -mlē(i)- and mhi-

i. 1.	Xr-mlē-mk-s	B184	All II ii
2.	Mli-tr-q-ide	B314	All IV iv c, VII ii n.54
3.	MHI-D-D	B283	All IV iv b
ii.1.	Mli-qe-de-šē	@ B307	All IV iv c
2.	Mli-tek-li	B310	All IV iv d

VI -š(i)-, dativeless or with dative, and -tme

1.	Ši-n-tme	@ B501	A6 II i b & n.12
2.	TME-Š-X-IDE	B603	

VII -m(ē)- and -ye

1.	Wēš-mē-l	@ B652	A12 III iv c & n.45
2.	Mmr(N-mr)-mē-ye	B375	
3.	MŠ-M-YE	B355	

VIII -mk-

1.	Tm-l-ñ-mk-ṣ-l	B609	A16 II
2.	MK-ŠĒR-MLĒ-LI	B290	A16 I ii

IX -d(e)-, but in different patterns

1.	A-DE-Q-TE-Y	B13	A2 III ii b 1
2.	P-q-d-tē-li	B425	A2 III iv b,c

APPENDIX L

Versatility of Components and Complexes

I	mlē(-wi), mli		
i. 1.	mlē-wi l-b-x-te	Ins 6,8	A3 II i
2.	mlē l-h	Ak I 19 OS	
ii.1.(atē)	mlē y-l-x	Mer 25 8 OA	All IV iv a, VI i
2.(at)	mlē e-l-x	Mer 27 7 OA	
iii.	(Y)i-l-h(e)-mli	B696	
II	Verbalization of Nouns		
i.	tn(i)		
a.	TNI	B613	A14 III ii a,IV iii,v
b. 1.	Tni-k-r	@ B614	
2.	Tni-ñ-t-rē-r	@ B615	
3.	ŠĒ-TN-K-R	B485	
	ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I)		
ii.	b(e)l(i)		
a. 1.	BLE-LI	B136	A20 II ii,v,A3 IV x a
2.	Bl-ye	B140	
b. 1.	N-beli-le	@ B364	
2.	Ni-beli-l	@ B370	
3.	T-N-BELI-LE	B611	
4.	-ne-bli-lē, in Šn-ne-bli-lē	B520	
5.	BLI-K-R	B138	
6.	Bele-ki-kdi-li	@ B117	
iii.	qēr(ē,i)		
a.	Qērē-lē-ye	B455	A3 III ii a & n.56, A12 III iii

II iii

b. 1.	Šī-qēr	@ B503	A6 IV iv e
2.	Š-qēri-[ṭē(s-lē)-]wi	@ B680	
3.	Ye-s-qēr-be	@ B525	

iv mk(e)

a. mk(e) A16 I i

b. 1.	te-mke-ñ	Sh 7 9 LS	A16 I v & n.19
2.	pe-t-mke-nē-wi	Ak I 37-8 OS	
3.	P-t-mk-ide	@ £ E13	
4.	YI-MK-LI	B700	
5.	Yi-mk-li-t(s-l)	@ B701	

v. -k(e,i)-

See A1 V

III Use of verbs and verbal complexes as nouns

i. n-tk(e,i)

a. 1.	b-n-tke	Mer 8 3 L B1	A8 II ii
2.	y-n-tke	Ins 102 3 L	
3.	n-tk-te	Tañ 6 OS	A8 II iii

b. 1.	N-TK-MNI	£ B390	A8 II ii
2.	n-tke(i):l-b-x-te (H)	Ins 13,15,16,18	A3 II iii & n.10
3.	AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE (H) £		

ii. š-le-qe(ē), š-le-qe-ñ

a.	š-le-qe-, in		A3 II iv (end)
	Š-le-qe-te-yi	@ B515	
b. 1.	š-le-qe-l:	Qus LA	
2.	š-le-qē-l	Kar 96 8-9 LA	
3.	š-le-qe-ñ	Kar 83 3 LS	

APPENDIX L

III

iii. -š(ē)-xe, -šē-b-xe, šē(-b-s)-ni & š(e)-ke

a. 1.	p-šē-x-te	Kar 72 13 LA		
2.	p-šē-b-x-te	Kar 45 10-11 LA	A6 II i a	A7 VI iv a
3.	šē-b-s-ni:	Mer 9 11 L Bl	A6 II i b	
4.	p-šē-ke-s	Kar 84 5-6 LA		A6 II i b
b. 1.	(mke-)š-xe	Kar 44 3-4 L/TS etc.	A6 II i a	A7 VI iv c
2.	šē-b-xe:	Sh 4 4 LS		
3.	šē-ni	Kar 126 4-5 OA etc.	A6 II i b	
4.	(mlē-)š-ke-	EKE 26 13 LA	A6 II i b	

iv. -lēlē-ke, -lile(i)-ke-, etc.

a. 1.	i-lēl-tē:	Tañ 120 OS	A20 II i & n.5
2.	yi-lēli-tē:	Far 20 2-3 TA	
3.	Yi-lili-ke-te	@ B699	
b. 1.	be-lile-ke	Kar 3 3 LA	
2.	be-lēlē-ke	Kar 46 4-5 LA	

APPENDIX M

I Preservation of Older Components and Names, Egyptian or Napatan.

i. , , , qēre

a. Reduplicated

1. RaPN 347 21 Dyn.5

2. RaPN 347 22 Dyn.18

3. Qēre-qēre @ B451

b. In association with Ímn, mn(i)

1. RaPN 347 23 Dyn.26

2. , in

Ded.St. 5 — A14 II ii n.17

3. , in

Ded.St.22 — A12 III v a

4. QĒRE-MNI B448

5. Qēre-mn-ye @ B449

c. In association with Mwt, mte

1. Ded.St. 21

2. qere-mte-, in

Qere-mte-bēli-de . @ B441 — A14 II ii n.17

ii. , , , tñ, ten

a. In association with Ímn, mni

1. , ,See I i b 2,3

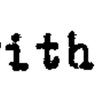
2. Ded.St. 18 — A14 II ii & n.17 IV v

I ii a

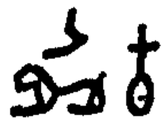
3. MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) £ B327 } A14 II ii & n.17
4. TÑ-YI-D-MNI £ B449 } IV v

b. In association with components with which it forms a name believed to be part of an older one.

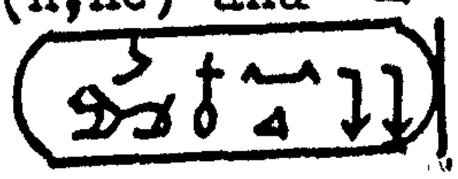
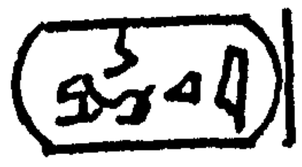
1. Ku.16
JEA 35 pl. xvi 76a } A14 II ii & n.17, IV v
2. TÑ-YE-WI-DE B616

c. In association with  , -x- and , ar-

1. Nu.14 } A1 II i & n.14
JEA 35 pl. xv 4a,b } A14 IV i & n.31
2. AR-K-X-TNI £ B86 } A7 II iv (end)

iii.  , ml(e,ē,i)-

a. Suffixed with either one, or both, of , -ñ(n,nē) and , -k(e,i)

1.  Nu. 5
JEA 35 pl. xvi 40
2.  Nu.59
JEA 35 pl. xvi 39 } All IV ii a
3. Ml-ke @ B319
4. Mle-k-ye @ B392
5. cf. Mhe-n-ke @ B279
6. ml-ñ: Kar 12 4-5 LS
7. mlē-n Mer 51 3 L S1

I iii

b. Suffixed with , -tr(ē-r), -terē-r

1. Nu 41

JEA 35 pl. xvi 41

2. Nu 25

JEA 35 pl. xvi 42 — All VII ii

3. Ml-w-terē-r @ B321

4. MLĒ-WI-TR B301 — All IV ii a

5. cf. i-mlē-trē-r Tañ 24,26 OS

iv. , -t(e)ke-ye

1. Nu 26 — A12 III i a & n. 24

JEA 35 pl. xv 10b — A8 II iii & n. 20

2. TEKE-YE B555

v.

1. A10 I ii a

DuJaSK 10-11 pl. 14 — A12 III v b

2. Kdi-mlē-ye B213 — See Vol. II under B213

II Preservation of Certain Older Phenomena:

i. Permutation: 1 2 3

a. 1+1

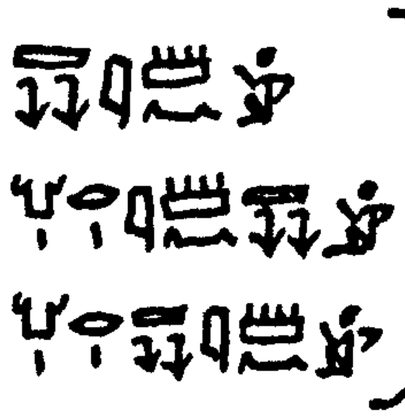
b. 1+1+2

See I i a-b, ii a above

c. 3+2

d. 1+2+3

e. 1+3+2



See I i a–b, ii a above

ii. Ungoverned Genitive:

Ku 8

JEA 35 pl.xv no.34

A5 VII ii; A6 II iii & n.19

APPENDIX N

Names entirely formed by, or containing, place-names

I	abēre-pi- 'Musawwarat'			
i.	abēre-pi-te-l		MS 31	
ii.1.	Aberē-te-h-te	@	B1	A7 VI iii c & n.50
2.	BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE		B124	A9 II ii & n.18
II	adere 'Soleb'			
i.	adere-ke:		Ins 94 22 L	
ii.1.	Aderē	@	B14	A2 III i a 1 & n.51
2.	DR	(?)	B116	A9 II iii n.22
3.	DĒRE-K-ID		B162	
4.	Adr-mk-d-d	@	E2	A2 III i a 1 & n. 51
5.	Adr-mk-de-te-li	@	E3	
III	šdē-s-			
i.	šdē-s-te-l:		Kar 56 9 L/TS	
ii.	Šde-s s-l	@	B480	
IV	šye 'Sai'			
i.	šye-te-li		Ins 129 2 LS	
ii.	Šyē-ke-li		B541	A1 VII
V	tm-ñ			
i.	tm-ñ-te-lē:		Kar 47 4 LS	A1 VI & n.42
ii.	Tme-ñ-s-l		B602	

APPENDIX O

I Names agreeing in content with either one, or both, of the first and second constants of certain of the funerary formulae. The abundance of the instances of the groups quoted has rendered it very inconvenient to give their inscription numbers and details. These, however, may be found under the references to Volume I given opposite.

i. Involving Formula C and its related Formulae D2 and G.

a. 1.	x-mhe-l-li D2 Kar 127 4 TA		A7 II i a,b,ii & nn.8,9 A3 III iv
2.	X-mh-r	@ B177	
3.	-xe-mx-r, in		
	Tb-xe-mx-r	@ B542	
b. 1.	h-h-l-l D2		
2.	att-h-x-l-l G		
3.	-xe-h-ye, in		
	TBI-XE-H-YE	B544	
c. 1.	(a)x-mlē-l(i) C		
2.	X-mlē-ye	@ B178	
3.	Ml-x-li,Ml-x-l	@ B303	
4.	MLI-X-RĒ-R	(?) B306	
d. 1.	x-mlē-wi-t(s-l)-xe D2		All IV i a & n.21
2.	mli-wi-te(s-le), in		
	Mli-wi-te(s-le)-mēme		
		@ B317	
3.	Mli-wē-s	B315	

ii. Involving Formulae A and B

a. 1.	atē he A		A7 III i, ii
2.	ATĒ-HE-LI-YE	B98	A3 III iv & n.9

APPENDIX O

I ii b

b. 1.	at mhe	B		All II i b
2.	T-mhe		@ B607 A5 II i	
3.	at mlē	B		
4.	At-mlē-y[e]		@ B107 A12 III v b	

II Names similar in content to the verbal complexes of certain funerary formulae.

i. Using the verb -dē(i)-

a. 1.	yi-dē-ke-te	A	A2 III ii a 4-6
2.	A-y-dē-ke	B114	
b. 1.	pi-ši-dē-k-te	B	
2.	Ši-dē-ke-ñ-ye	@ B498	
c. 1.	-te-di-k-te, in		
	(y)i-dē-te-di-k-te	C & E	
	p-ši-dē-te-di-k-te	C	
2.	T-di-ke-ye	@ B549	
3.	D-dē-ke-y	@ B149	
4.	D-DĒ-K-R	B150	
5.	TE-DĒ-KE	B554	
6.	Dē-ke	B157	
7.	Dē-ke-tē-ñ	B162	
8.	dē-ki-, in		
	Dē-ki-ḳdi-s	B160	
9.	DĒ-KE-LI	B158	
10.	DĒ-K-RĒ-R	£ B161	
11.	-di-ke-ye, in		
	We-re-di-ke-ye	@ B647	

ii. Using the verb -tk(e,i)-, simple or compounded

a. 1.	yi-tk-b:	C (D2 ?)	A8 II i a
2.	TK-B	B592	

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II ii

b. 1.	pi-tk- , in			A8 I i,ii,II iv
	pi-tk-ke-s	D2		
2.	-p-tk- , in			
	Wēš-p-tk-ide	@ B655		
c. 1.	-ši-tk- , in			A8 I i,ii,II iv
	pi-ši-tk-ke-s	J		
	pi-ši-tk-b-xe-ke-s	J		
2.	Š-tki-ñ-ye(i)		B535	A6 IV iv b
3.	Ši-tk-id	@ B506		
d. 1.	p-ši-tx	G		A4 II iii, iv
2.	pi-ši-tx- , in			
	pi-ši-tx-k-te	D2		
3.	p-...-šē-tx-, in			A6 IV iv b
	P-q-šē-tx-rē-r	@ C24		
	Š-txe-mē		B534	

iii. Using the verb -l-

a. 1.	(atē mlē)	y-l-x	A	A3 II i,iii
	(at mlē)	e-l-x	B	
2.		ŠE-L-XI-YE	B482	A7 VI ii a,b
b. 1.	(atē mlē)	y-l-x-te	A	A3 II i,iii
	(at mlē)	e-l-x-te	B	A7 VI ii b
2.		Š-L-X-TE-Y	B517	

iv. Using the verb -w(e,i)-

a. 1.	pi-ši-we-k-te	B		A6 IV iv c
2.	ŠI-we		B507	

II iv

b. 1.	yi-we-b-x-te	F	A7 VI iv e
2.	W-XI	B657	
3.	A-wi-x-lē-ye	B113	
4.	Wi-ḥi-ye	@ B66o	

v. Using the verb -pl-

1.	p-ši-pl-te	D2	A4 II ii
2.	P-PL	B424	

vi. Using the verb -xr-, -kr- of Formula B

a. 1.	a-xr-k-te	B	A21 III ii & nn.22,23
	b-š-xr-tē		
2.	A-B-XR-TKE	B6	
3.	yi-xr:		
	yi-xr-b		
4.	yi-xr(-s), in		
	YI-XR-S-MĒME	B693	
b. 1.	p-ši-kr-ke-s		A19 IV, A4 II iv
2.	PI-S-KR	£ B419	A21 III ii & n.26
3.	AQ-Y-KR	B65	

vii. Using the verb -h(e)- of Formula A, once spelt -x-.

1.	p-š-h-te		A7 VI iv e & nn.29,32
2.	Š-h-ñ-rē-r	@ B494	
3.	Bē-he	B126	
4.	Bē-he-ye(i)	B127	
	B-h-ye		
5.	B-x-ñ-yi	B130	
6.	He-lē-yi	@ B191	

II

viii. Using the verb -š(e,ē,i)-

a. 1.	p-šē-x-te	A	
	p-š-x-ke-te	B	
2.	-š-x(e)-te(ē), in		
	(A)mni-š-x(e)-te(ē)	£ B48	
3.	Mli-š-xi	@ B308	A6 II i a & nn.7,10
4.	Š-XI-L	B490	
5.	MŠ Š-X-R	B352	
6.	Š-xi-ye	@ B491	
7.	Š-X-LĒ-YE	B492	
8.	Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI	B493	A6 II i b & n.13
9.	p-s-x-ke-te	B	A6 II i a,ii
10.	yi-s-x-te- , in		
	YI-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye	B706	A6 II ii & n.18
b. 1.	p-š-x-ke-te	B	
	p-šē-ke-s	A	
	b-ṣe-ke-te	A	
2.	Š-ke-l-ye	@ B509	
	Š-K-LI-YE		
3.	Kdi-š-ke-li	@ B219	A6 II i b, also
4.	Mš š-ke-l	@ B353	A6 II ii
5.	Š-KI-N-LE(I)	B511	
6.	Š-K-Ñ-YE	B513	
7.	Šē-ni	B483	
8.	Ši-ni-ye	B500	

III Names similar in content to complexes combining either one, or both, of the first and second constants with the verbal complex.

i.

1.	ạtē he e-l-x-te	A	A3 II i & n.4
2.	ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YẹE]	B97	A7 III ii

ii.

1.	at (mhe) yi-xr	B	A21 III ii & n.23
	at (mhe) yi-xr-b	B	A19 IV & n.14
2.	Ati-y-xr	@ B100	

iii.

1.	x-(mlē-l yi-dē-te-)di-k-te	C	A2 III ii a 5 &
2.	x-dē-k- , in		nn. 71,74
	X-dē-k-mli	@ B175	

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I Names similar in content to complexes found in funerary inscriptions or themselves having a religious implication.

i.			
1.	qe-tñ-yi-ñ-li		A14 IV iii,iv
2.	Qe-š-tni	@ B443	
ii.			
1.	mke-d(e)-ke-l	(H)	A2 III ii a 2 & nn.64,65
	mke-dē-ke-li		
	mke-dē-ke-li-s-l-w		
2.	Mk-dē-ke-tme	@ B287	
iii			
a. 1.	xri(-h):mlē:		A21 II ii
2.	Xr(i)-mli	B182	A11 II ii
3.	xr-mlē- , in		
	Xr-mlē-mk-s	B184	
b. 1.	xri(-h)		
2.	Xr	B180	
3.	Xr-ye	B187	
iv.			
1.	we-tr-ri		A22 I iii A7 II iii
2.	x-wi-tr-r-w	(H)	
3.	X-WI-TRĒ-R	B190	
v.			
a. 1	-ni-txe- , in		A8 I i
	yi-ni-txe-b-tē		
	yi-ni-txe-lē		
2.	N-tx	@ B388	

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I v

b. 1.	n-tke-lē		A8 II ii
	n-tke-l-w		
	y-n-tke-l-w		
2.	N-tki-li	B389	
3.	N-TK-MNI	£ B390	
4.	y-n-tke		
	y-n-tke-l-w		
5.	-y-ñ-tkē , in AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ	B26	
c. 1.	tk-ke-te		A8 II iii (end)
	e-tk-ke-te		
2.	Np-tk-k-te	@ B379	

II Names formed by, or containing, descriptive phrases known from the funerary inscriptions.

i. Involving kdi(-s)

a. 1.	kdi-lē-wi		A10 II i
2.	Kdi-l	B212	
b. 1.	š-t-mde-s kdi-lē-wi		A10 III i a, iv
2.	Š-d-md[ẹ]-kde	B481	A6 IV iv f
1. cf.	ši-mde-l-w		
2.	Š-MEDE-LI	C27	
c. 1.	kdi-qē		A10 I ii a
2.	Kdi-qē-wi-l-li	B218	
3.	Kdi-qe-b-ts	@ B217	A10 III vii
d. 1.	kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi		A10 I ii b, II ii
2.	Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye	B223	

II

ii. Involving apēte and amerē

a. 1.	apēte		A18 I i,ii
2.	APĒTE-YE	B55	
b. 1.	amerē		
2.	AMERĒ-YE	B35	

iii. Involving m(e)te, met-, (a)t-, yet-, and (a)qē

a.	met(e)-, met, etc.		
1.	mete-l:		A23 II
2.	Am[e]te-li-s̃	B36	A23 III i
3.	AMETĒ-L	B38	
4.	-mete-li , in		
	Meqē-mete-li	B259	A23 III ii
5.	(A)mete-ye	B37	A23 I,III i,ii
6.	-mete-yi, in		
	Ms-mete-yi	@ B345	
7.	METE-YĒ-L	B270	A23 III i
8.	met(e)-, in		
	Met(e)-mni-ti(s-li)	B267	A23 III i,ii
9.	qēre(-s mle-b:s) mte-lē-wi		A23 I & n.2
10.	-qere-mte-, in		
	Qere-mte-bēli-de	@ B441	
b.	at(-yet)- and -met(e)-		
1.	at-...-mete-li, in		A23 III ii
	at-qē-mete-li		
	yet-met- , in		
	yet-met-lh-l		
2.	At-mete-li	@ B105	
3.	yet-met-ñ		
4.	At-met-ñ tbē	@ B106	

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II iii

c. (a)t- and (a)qē-, and their variants, together or separately.

1.	at-qē- , in at-qē-lh-l at-qē-mete-l		A15 I i
2.	At-qē	@ B110	A15 II ii
3.	AT-QĒ-LI	B111	
4.	T-QĒ-LE	B622	
5.	T-qē-ye	@ B625	
6.	Te-q[ē]-ni-li	B572	
7.	-qē-lh-l ,in at-qē-lh-l		A15 I i,II ii
8.	Aqē-lh-li	@ B61	

iv.

1.	be-lēlē-ke be-lile-ke i-lēl-tē: yi-lēli-tē:		A20 II i & n.5
2.	Yi-lili-ke-te	@ B699	

v. Involving ml(e,ē,i)-

a. 1.	mlē		All IV i b,ii a
2.	Mlē	@ B293	
b. 1.	mle-ke:		All IV ii a
2.	Ml-ke	@ B319	
3.	ml-ke-yē- , in ml-ke-yē-s-		
4.	Mle-k-ye	@ B292	

II v

c. 1.	mlē-wē-s-, in		All IV i a
lh-š	mlē-wē-tē(s-lē)		
2.	Mli-wē-s	B315	
d. 1.	mle(ē)-yē- , in		All IV i a,ii a
	mle(ē)-yē-s		
2.	MLĒ-YE	B302	

vi. Involving the verb -š(ē,i)

a. 1.	šē-...-...-ni , in		A7 VI iv o
	šē-b-s-ni		
2.	šē-ni		
3.	Šē-ni	B483	
4.	Ši-ni-ye	B500	
b. 1.	amnp:.....:be-š-x-tē		A7 VI iv d 1
2.	(A)mni-š-x(e)-te(ē)	& B48	

III General

i.

a. 1.	te-mey-ye		A10 III vi & n.26
2.	TE-MEY-YE	B562	
b. 1.	te-mey-l		
2.	TE-MEY-LI	B561	
c. 1.	te-mey-ye-š		
2.	Š-TE-MEY-YE	B532	

III ii

a. 1.	mli:qe-...-de-..., in		A11 IV iv c & n.33
	mli:qe-yi-de-wi		
2.	mli-qe-de-, in		
	Mli-qe-de-š̆e	@ B307	
b. 1.	d-te-mlē-de-te		A2 II ii & n.32
2.	Te-mli-de	@ B563	

iii.

1.	-we-ñ-yi, in		A10 III v A2 IV i
	kd-we-ñ-yi		
2.	Te-wi-ñ-ye	B581	
3.	WĒ-NI-YE	B649	
4.	-we-li , in		
	kd-we-li		
5.	Te-we-li	B579	

iv.

a. 1.	š̆-ber-xi:		A9 II i
2.	BER-XI-L	B125	
3.	BR-XE-T(S-L)	B141	
b. 1.	-x-bre-š̆ , in		A9 II iii
	n-x-bro-š̆		
2.	X-BRE-ŠI-BLE	(?) B173	
c. 1.	bre-h l ni		A9 II i
2.	BR-ḤE-TE(S-LE)-Y	B142	

v.

1.	mk-šēr-l		A16 I ii (end)
2.	MK-ŠĒR-MLĒ-LI	B290	

III

vi

1.	-š̆-k-di- , in amni-š̆-k-di-te(s-le)		A2 III i b & n.57
2.	Š̆-k-id-ye	B508	
	Š̆-KE-DI-YE	(?)	

APPENDIX Q

Theophorous names

I	-(a)mn(i)-		43 instances, i.e. 5.6% of the names	
II	ar(ē,i)- , xr-, 'Horus'			
i. 1.	Arē-tn-ye	@	B81	A13 IV & n.8
2.	ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE	£	B84	A13 IV & n.8
3.	AR-YE-S-BĒ-HE	£	B92	A13 IV & n.8
4.	ARĒ-TN-IDE	£	B80	A13 IV & n.8
	Arē-tn-ide	@		A13 IV & n.8
ii.1.	AR-K-X-TNI	(H) £	B86	A13 II,V i, A21 I i
2.	AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R	£	B85	A14 IV i, A1 II i & n.14
3.	XR-N-X-BLE		B186	A21 II i, A20 II iv
III	wēš-	'Isis'		
1.	Wēš-mē-l	@	B652	A12 III iv c & n.45
2.	Wēš-mhe-ye	@	B653	A12 III iv c & n.45
3.	Wēš-mk-s		B654	A16 I i, II
4.	Wēš-p-tk-ide	@	B655	A8 I ii & n.14,II iv a
5.	Wēš-tke-l	@	B656	A8 I ii & n.14,II iv a
IV	šēr-	'Osiris'(?)'		
	ŠĒR-K-RĒ-R	(H) £	B484	A1 II i & n.14
V	ter(r)i-, tre-	'Hathor'		
1.	TERI-TN-I[Ḍ]E	£	B578	A13 IV & n.8.
	Terri-tn-ide	@		

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V				
2.	Teri-h-l-be		B574	A3 II iii
3.	TRE-KE-NI-WL		& B628	A1 II i &n.14
4.	Tre-yi-d-t-li		B574	A2 III iii a
VI	m(i)t-, -mte-	'Mūt'		
1.	Mit-le-ye		B284	A3 II ii & n.9
2.	Mt-l-be		B360	A3 II iii
3.	Mit-š-l-be		B286	
4.	Qere-mte-bēli-de		@ B441	A23 I & n.1,II & n.8
5.	Mere-mte-bēli-de		@ B262	
VII	m(e)š-	'Mash'		
1.	Mš-dē-ye		@ B350	A2 II ii
2.	MŠ-Ð-NI		B351	
3.	MEŠ-L-X-BLE		B264	A20 II iv & n.13
4.	Meš-l-[x]-rē-r		@ B265	
5.	MŠ Š-X-Ṛ		B352	A6 II i & n.10
6.	Mš š-ke-l		@ B353	
7.	MŠ-M-YE		B355	A12 III iv c & n.45
8.	MŠ-TR-Q(-YE)		B356	A2 I iv
VIII	np-	'Anubis'		
1.	Np-t-d-le		@ B378	A2 II ii & n.29
2.	Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē)		B377	A2 II i & n.27.
3.	Np-tk-k-te		@ B379	A8 II iii & n.27

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... as a verbal prefix III i-ii; ... as a verbal
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A2 The Verb id(e) , d(e,ē,i) 62 - 113
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III ii b 1-2 ,de-te(ē) III iii a-c, k(q)e-de-te
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A9 The components abr(i) , b(e)r , bere(ē,i), bre 27 - 37
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A10 The Component kd , kde , kdi , kdi(-s) 42 - 56
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A11 The Components mx(e,e) ,also mh(e,ē,i), 62 - 93
and ml(e,ē,i)
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A12 The Component y(e,ē,i), a(e,i) 108 - 139

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A13 The Component ar(e,ē,i) 158 - 168

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A15 The Component aq ,(a)qe , (a)qē 199 - 210
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A17 The Component (a)mēme , -mēm- 230 - 231
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A18 The Component apēt(e,i) 234 - 238
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A20 The Component bl(e,i) , bele(ē,i), bēli 249 - 254
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A21 The Component xr(i) , xrē , hrē , hr 258 - 270
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