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A.G.M. ABDALLA

MEROITIC PERSONAL NAMES

VOLUME I

DISCUSSION

PART 1

Ph.D. Thesis,UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM,1969

ABSTRACT

The study of Meroitic personal names reveals the simple, but nevertheless important, fact that they are not mere meaningless words but that they can, in most cases, be divided into recognizable components that, though mostly of unknown meanings, can yet be parsed. Owing to the liberty scribes enjoyed in spelling, each one of these component parts was found written in more than one form, and consequently even the name of one and the same person, when found more than once, sometimes had variant spellings.

As is the rest of the language, Meroitic personal names are built by the agglutination of one word to another, a word to a compound or one compound to another, yielding longer complexes. This is described in the present thesis as Permutation. In this process one notices a remarkable Mobility of Components, Association between one component and another, or others, in appearing often together, Parallelism between one or more components in occurring with the same additional components, and Versatility of Components in performing more than one function. The two features of Mobility of Components are a mere change of position by one component, or two, and a complete change of order by reversal of the sequence of all or the main components, or rearrangement of the entire structure, of a complex.

According to content, the Meroitic personal names may be classified into two categories: names of a religious content and names of a secular content. The relationship between the names of each category and Meroitic funerary and other inscriptions indicates that the personal names must reflect the people's culture.

About a tenth of the names are theophorous, containing names of Egyptian deities. These and a few versions of recognizable Egyptian names connect the Meroitic personal names with the Egyptian.

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I i General Plan

The present work consists of two volumes. Volume I, divided into two parts, is a discussion of the Meroitic personal names, while Volume II is a list or dictionary containing all the names I have been able to find (published or, where permitted, unpublished) up to the time of setting up in type. Thus while Volume I is a commentary on Volume II, Volume II may be used as an index to Volume I. The complete work is covered by a system of lettering which is intended to obviate the necessity of constant reference to volume and page-numbers. The numbers of chapters in Volume I are always preceded by A (i.e. A1, A2, etc.), which distinguishes them from the sub-divisions of the Introduction marked by asterisks (e.g. 1* I i, etc.).

In the present state of knowledge of Meroitic it is undesirable to try and comment on every individual name: that would magnify the task beyond prospect of completion. However, it can be recognized at the outset that certain words or component parts, call them what one may, are constantly recurring alone or in combination with one another, often in varying order. The chapters of Volume I are devoted to discussions of these components. The chapters are divisible into divisions, sub-divisions and still smaller

units denoted (e.g.) by the series

(A2) II ii b 2.

Any unit smaller than a division is referred to as a sub-division.

B, C, D, E are four lists composing Volume II. List B is the main list of names the writing of which is complete or restorable with such high probability as to amount to virtual certainty. List C contains names with less certain reading. D contains incomplete names, while E contains groups which have the semblance of names but are not certainly so.

In Volume I, I have concerned myself with the study of names in the context of the Meroitic language, comparing them with groups sharing some of their component parts, agreeing with them in construction or sharing common phenomena. I sometimes had to be involved in discussing certain grammatical questions so as to be able to formulate ideas about the functions of components in names, or about the structure of names. Therefore, Volume I mainly deals with the splitting of names, attempting to establish the various ways in which their component parts are spelt, the parts of speech of these components and their relationships with one another in the complexes they form. By so doing one has to touch merely on the subject of the structure and contents of names without classifying them into categories according to construction and content. Such a step should naturally follow the one

described above, and the present writer hopes that this will be the subject of future research. Until this is done, Appendices C-H, J-Q, at the end of Volume I, are provided in order to give the reader a brief idea about the structure and contents of names. There is no Appendix I, omitted lest the letter 'I' be confused with the Roman character 'one'.

I ii Without an index to it, the reader would be unable to make full, if any, use of Volume I when wishing to know where a name and its components are discussed. By giving the refrence to the sub-divisions of Volume I under each name in Volume II, the writer hopes that Volume II will serve as an index to Volume I. References to Volume I are indicated by the abbreviation Ref. following the particulars of every name studied in this volume. The latter function of Volume II justifies the writer's decision to make the lists of names form the second volume, instead of, as might have been expected, the first. As regards the topics dealt with in Volume I, these may be found in the 'Summaries of Chapters', appended to it, giving details of the preface, Introduction and every chapter.

II Bibliographical Abbreviations

i. Citation of literary works

The present system [1] adopted here for abbreviation of the titles of learned works is to combine the

first two, three or even four, letters of the name of the author, or authors, of a certain work with one or more of the initial letters of the main words in the title. Thus DuJaSK is an abbreviation for D.Dunham and J.M.A.Janssen, Semna and Kumma, Boston, 1960.

As far as literary works are concerned, this system is departed from only in the following cases. Because the titles Areika and Meroe are too familiar to be abbreviated it has been thought best to retain them when referring to D.R.MacIver and C.L.Woolley, Areika, Oxford, 1909, and J.Garstang, A.H.Sayce and F.Ll.Griffith, Meroe, the City of the Ethiopians, Oxford, 1911. Kar., followed by the volume number, is retained for the series of publications relating to Karanog, as M I and M II are used for J.W. Crowfoot and F.Ll.Griffith, The Island of Meroe and Meroitic Inscriptions - part I, London, 1911, and F.Ll.Griffith, Meroitic Inscriptions - part II, London 1912, respectively

ii. Citation of individual inscriptions

With a slight modification the above-mentioned system of citation is again used for the reference to particular graffiti and ostraca, for which abbreviations here consist of the first letter or two of the provenance followed by, for example, Gr (graffito) or O (ostracon). MuGr means 'Musawwarat, graffito', while KTO and FO respectively mean 'Karanog Town,

ostracon' and 'Faras, ostracon'. Thus the reader is apprised as shortly as possible of what type of inscription is indicated. A point of departure from this and the above-mentioned systems is in the reference to inscriptions from a number of places where it is felt that to state the provenance is of importance. Thus Serra W1 and W2 are preferred to the museum numbers Kh 5162 and Kh 5261 which are generally used.

Certain inscriptions are traditionally known by the names of the personages they mention, the objects on which they are written or the subjects with which they deal. For these the names of the personages, the types of objects and the titles of the subjects, abbreviated, are used as references. Of these one mentions: Ak I,II, the first and second 'stelæ of Akinidad', Ob., the well-known obelisk from Meroe, and Ded.St., the 'Dedication Stela' of Aspelta.

In this part of the citations the following abbreviations are used:

A	altar ("offering-table")
A/S	object shaped like both an altar and a stela.
Bl	block
Gr	graffito
(H)	hieroglyphic (Eg. H. = Egyptian hieroglyphs)
L	late
L/T	late to transitional
O	old

O	ostracon. This is distinguishable from the former because it is always found in the combination KTO and FO, preceding the inscription number.
Ob	6belisk
O/T	old to transitional
Plqe	plaque
S	stela
Sl	slab
Stte	statuette
T	transitional

Thus Ins 87 3-4 LA indicates lines 3 to 4 of no.87 in 'Meroitic Inscriptions', the object being a late altar. Lack of citation of the date and type indicates lack of information.

III Miscellaneous Abbreviations and Symbols

In addition to the abbreviations mentioned in sections II i, ii above, we have two groups of miscellaneous abbreviations and symbols, some of which are used in both volumes and others in Volume II only. These are employed to facilitate discussion or to inform the reader about the instances, be they names or groups, cited. For instance, it has been felt necessary to indicate to the reader whether such an instance is a *name* or a *mere* group (1 c below), or whether, in the case of the former, it is borne by a male

(1 a below) or a female (1 b below) person or by a person of unknown sex (2 below). When the sex of the name-bearer is thought to be either male or female,but with a degree of uncertainty,this is indicated by (?) following the name in question written in capital or small letters with the initial letter capital as is described above. Royal names are distinguished from private names by means of £ .

i. Abbreviations and symbols used in both volumes

1. graphic:

a. all CAPITALS — Names borne by males are written all in capitals.

b. initial Capital — Names borne by females have their initials only written in capitals.

c. all small — Words that are not names are written all in small letters.

2. @ — This follows names borne by people of unknown sex.

3. (?) a. When following a name,this means that the sex indicated by means of 1 a,b, above,is uncertain.

b. When following any one of the abbreviations in III ii 1-10,12,it indicates uncertainty of relationship.

4. £ — This follows royal names.

5. abbreviated words:

a. N — noun

b. V — verb

c. VC — verbal complex

d. Adj — adjective

e. Adj.S. — adjectival substantive

f. Adv — adverb

g. Adv.Phr. — adverbial phrase

h. Dat — dative

6. dots: Dots under letters indicate uncertainty of reading. See III ii 11 below.

7. brackets: Brackets serve three functions;

a. They enclose irrelevant,but nevertheless informative,words or letters. See,for example,the enclosed words and letters in Appendix 0 II iii a 1,b 1,III ii 1,iii 1.

b. They indicate variation in spelling ,or alternative splitting . For instance,both things are indicated in Met(e)-mni-ti(s-li).

c. Where abbreviations are used,they can signify the following:

N-ye(i) — A noun followed on one occasion by -ye and on another by -yi.

N+N(-li) — Two nouns followed on one occasion by -li and on another by nothing.

VC+N(N+s) This means that the last word has an alternative splitting into N-s.

N-ye(yē-t) A noun that is once followed by -ye and once again by -yē-t.

ii. Abbreviations used in Volume II

1. be. begotten by. For be. 2,3,etc., see 12 below.
2. bo. borne by. For bo. 2,3,etc., see 12 below.
3. br. brother
4. br./sis. brother/sister (used to describe persons of unknown sex when they are of the same parents as others).
5. ch. child ... (This abbreviation will be used in the case not only of people of unknown sex but also of those whose sex is known. See III i 1 a,b, 2 for the system adopted to distinguish sex).
6. f. father. For f. 2,3,etc, see 12 below.
7. gr. grand- (used with 5,6,9, with no dash in between; e.g. gr.ch. = grand-child).
8. h. husband. For h. 2,3,etc., see 12 below.
9. m. mother. For m. 2,3,etc., see 12 below.
10. w. wife. For w. 2,3,etc., see 12 below.
11. dots

a. .... Continuous dots accompanying remaining letters of a name indicate that an unknown

number of letters are lost...

b. ...lost... This means that a name has been given but lost subsequently as a result of damage to the text. See III i 6 above.

c. -...- Three dots found together with the abbreviations at the end of the particulars of a name suggesting the parts of speech of components indicate that the part of speech of the corresponding component, or components, could not be determined.

d. .. .. ditto

12. numerals accompanying the words of filiation indicate the number of times they are repeated. For example,A (the A-name) be. 2 C (the C-name) means that A was begotten by C whose word of filiation is reduplicated. Consequently C will be f. 2 of A and H. 2 of B (the B-name). When the number of times the B-word of filiation is repeated differs from that of the C-word, e.g. A bo. 2 B be. 3 C this means that A is ch. 2 of B and ch. 3 of C, B being the m. 2 of A and w. 2 of C, while C will be the f. 3 of A and h. 3 of B. I hope

this method will enable the reader to have insight in the relationship between any one member of a family and the others. Having concluded that Hintze's theory, HinS 13-16, that the repetition of the B- and C-words of filiation indicated the number of marriages of the parties concerned does not hold good,I have decided not to adopt it. See section IV i below on this subject.

IV General Note

i. For typographical reasons Meroitic ḫ and ḥ are written x and h in the present work.

Hintze's hypothesis,HinS 13-16, that the reduplication and triplication of the B- and C-words of filiation seems to indicate the number of marriages of the parents is contradicted by the following.

1. Even when we have the same A- ,B- and C-names in two inscriptions,the number of times the B- and C-words are written has been seen to vary from one inscription to the other. For example:

a. The same A- (B223) , B- (B312) and C- (B447) names in Kar 6 are mentioned in Kar 23,but the B-word of filiation is reduplicated in Kar 6.

b. Both B- and C-words are reduplicated in Kar 81, though the A- (B665) , B- (B606) and C- (B111) names are the same thereas in Kar 82,where the B-word is not reduplicated.

c. In Sh 7 & 17 we have the same A- (B585), B- (B596) and C- (B476) names,but the B-word is reduplicated in Sh 17. The A-name in Sh 17 is restored with a high degree of probability.

2. The same observation has been made when only the B- and C-names have been found more than once with a differnt child each time. For example,

a. The same B- (B127) and C- (B278) names occur with different children in Kar 31a, 129 and 29,but the B-word is reduplicated with the A-names B56 , 83 and is not reduplicated with the A-names B63, in Kar 31a , and B217 ,in Kar 129. Hintze, op.cit. 14 n. 4, considers the lack of reduplication in Kar 31a,129 ,where he thinks the B-word should have been reduplicated,to be a mistake on the part of the engraver. But this is unlikely,for the engraver could not have repeated the same mistake.

b. The B- (B311) and C- (B485) names,mentioned with their one child (B279) in Kar 72,are again present with their other child (B611) in Kar 75,but the C-word is reduplicated with the former and triplicated with the latter.

From the above examples,it appears to me that the repetition of the B- and C-words of filiation does not indicate the number of times either one of the parents has, or both parents have,married. If we apply Hintze's theory to the instances in no. 1,we arrive at the impossible situation where the same husband and wife would have had one and the same child by their <u>first</u> marriage to one another as by the same wife's <u>second</u> marriage to her <u>first</u> and <u>only</u> husband who was only married <u>once</u>. The examples in no. 2 cannot be explained by the possibility that the husband and wife might have divorced and remarried one another,for,in this case,both, and not only one,of the B- and C-words should have been reduplicated. Therefore,a new explanation of the repetition of the B- and C-words of filiation is still wanting,and for this reason I have not adopted Hintze's interpretation in the working out of the genealogies in Volume II.

ii. It will be noticed in Volume II that only the main relationships ,such as between the parents and children,husbands and wives,and brothers and sisters,are indicated under the name of each one of the people concerned. As to the secondary relationships,such as are described as <u>mde-</u> , <u>tki-</u> ,etc.,these are indicated only under the names of the persons with whom the A-names are thus related. Following very closely the text

of the Meroitic funerary inscriptions,where the A-name is believed to be the antecedent of relative clauses,relative sentences or participles,I have given such relationships in relation to the A-name. Therefore, AQĒ-MLĒ-YE B62,for instance, is described as "one with whom (the A-name) Mli-wē-s B315 is mde-related" ,rather than simply "mde-related with Mli-wē-s". Accordingly the reader should be able to understand from this wording which person is the A-name and which one is a mere relation.

PREFACE: - FOOTNOTE

1. This system is influenced by Dr. Macadam's,adopted in MacN 71 and in many modern works in other fields of research. Needless to say,some of the well-beloved abbreviations used elsewhere have been retained here.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The present work now completed,it is opportune to express gratitude to those who have directly or indirectly facilitated its completion. Naturally,I begin by thanking the Sudanese Government for supporting me,both as an undergraduate student of Ancient Egyptian and Nubian Studies and as a postgraduate student of Meroitic Studies,for seven years at the University of Durham. I am grateful to this University for having accepted me,and allowed me to stay, as a member of its body during all this period. To my teacher Dr. M.F.L.Macadam,Reader in Egyptology,now retired,I am inestimably indebted for his encouragement of,and patience with,me in my early years as a student of Egyptology and for his guidance while I was doing the present research. His advice was,as it always will be,invaluable,and without it this work would not have been completed. No words can express my gratitude to him. Personally, his and his wife's kindness to me knew no bounds.

I would also like to thank Sayed/ Thabit Hassan Thabit,commissioner of Antiquities,Khartoum,Sudan, for sending me excellent photographs of the stela Kh 10044, Dr B.Haycock,at present at Khartoum University,for providing me with certain Meroitic names found in as yet unpublished

inscriptions from Semna and other places, and my friend and colleague Ahmed Mohammed Ali, presently reading for his Ph.D. degree at Cambridge University, for checking the final draft of this thesis and for the useful suggestions he made while so doing.

Lastly, it is not inopportune to thank all those who have participated in educating me throughout the stages of my education.

Durham, 23rd of September 1969.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

Aeg. — Aegyptus (Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia - publicata dalla Scuola di Papirolgi dell'Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore - Milano) Quoted by volume and page number.

Ak I — First stela of Akinidad. Garstang, Phythian-Adams and Sayce, 'Fifth Interim Report on the Excavations at Meroe', LAAA 7 (1914 -16), pp.7-8, 15-17, 67-80, pls. vii,ix; Monneret de Villard, 'Inscrizioni della Regioni di Meroe', Kush 7, 1959, pp.104-110, no.7, pl. xxvi; F.Ll.Griffith, 'Meroitic Studies iv - The Great Setla of Prince Akinidad', JEA 4,1917, pp.159-73, pls. xxxi, xxxii. Quoted by line of text.

Ak II — Second Setla of Akinidad. Garstang, Phythian-Adams and Sayce, op.cit. 7-8, pl.vii; Monneret de Villard, op.cit. 111-113; F. Hintze (a continuation of the previous work), Kush 9, 1961, pp.278-282 no.7, fig.1. Quoted by line of text.

ANGa — M.Almagro, La Necropolis Meroitica de Nag Gamus (Masmas, Nubia Egipcia): of the Comite Español de la UNESCO para Nubia, Memorias de la Mision Arqueologica Española en Nubia (Egipto y Sudan), VIII, Madrid,1965. This abbreviation is not to be confused with NGa, given below, which refers to the inscriptions in this work.

Areika — D.R.MacIver and C.L.Woolley, Areika, with a chapter on Meroitic Inscriptions by F.Ll.Griffith. (University of Pennsylvania: Publications of the

Egyptian Department of the University Museum; Eckley Coxe junior Expedition to Nubia: vol.I), Oxford, 1909.

Argin — A transitional style half lintel, Khartoum, 3732, MacFI 47 no.4; PMTB VII, p.128, para.8. Also studied as Doc. e by A. Heyler in RdE 16, p.28, fig. 4.

ArmDN — C.H.Armbruster, Dongolese Nubian: A Lexicon, Cambridge, 1965.

Ashm — An undescribed object mentioned in HinS 15; HinSS 361.

AWB — Stelae found in Arminna West, published in JARCE 3, 1964, pp.17-18,23, pl.xii, AWB 406 & 417 contain extensions to the Invocation and are therefore mentioned in RdE 17, 1965, 192.

BIFAO — Bulletin de L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo. Quoted by volume and page number.

HMFAB — Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Quoted by volume and page number.

BO — Buhen Ostraca, JEA 11,1925, pp.223-4 pls.xxix-xxx.

CR — Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Etudes Chamito-Semitiques (G.L.E.C.S.), Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes (IV^{e} section. Sorbonne.) Quoted by volume and page number.

CruCD — W.E.Crum, A Coptic Dictionary, Oxford, 1962 (reprint).

CSSH — Comparative Studies in Society and History, The Hague. Quoted by volume and page number.

Ded.St. — The 'Dedication Stèla' of King Aspelta, Urk. III,101 ff.; ZÄS 33, 1895, 101 ff. Quoted by line of text.

DuJaSK — D.Dunham and J.M.A.Janssen, Semna and Kumma (Second Cataract Forts, vol.I), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1960.

EKE — W.Emery and L.P.Kirwan, Excavations and Survey between Wadi es Sabua and Adindan, 1929-31 (Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Mission Archéologique de Nubie, 1929-34, Cairo, 1935. 2 vols. Numbers following this abbreviation refer to the inscriptions in this work.

EKRT — W.Emery and L.P.Kirwan, The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul (Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Mission Archéologique de Nubie, 1929-34), Cairo, 1938; vol.I, p.407; vol.II, pl. 116 no.2.

EriDG — W.Erichsen, Demotisches Glossar, Kopenhagen,1954.

Far — Refers to the inscriptions published by F.Ll.Griffith in RecCh,1922,pp.565-600.

FO — Faras Ostraca. F.Ll.Griffith, 'Meroitic Studies v', JEA 11,1925, pp.220-223, pls. xxvi nos.1,6,8,11,12, xxvii nos. 3,4, xxviii nos. 4,7, xxix nos.3,4.

Gammai — When followed by numbers this abbreviation refers to the inscriptions in O.Bates and D.Dunham, 'Excavations at Gammai', Reprinted from

HAS 8 (Cambridge,Massachusetts, 1927), pp. 1-121, pls. i-lxxii.

GarAEO — A.H.Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, Oxford, 1947. 3 vols.

GarEG — A.H.Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, third edition, Oxford, 1957.

Geb.Deb. — Late style stela, Khartoum 3725, studied in MacFI, pp.46-7, no.3, pl. xi 3.

GriD — F.Ll.Griffith, Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus (Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Les Temples Immergés), Oxford, 1935. 2 vols. This abbreviation is for Volume I.

GriNT — F.Ll.Griffith, The Nubian Texts of the Christian Period (Abhandlungen der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang, 1913, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Nr 8), Berlin,1913.

Hars.St. — Stela of King Harsiotef, Urk.III,113 ff. Quoted by line of text.

HAS — Harvard African Studies (Cambridge,Massachusetts). Quoted by volume and page number.

Hin — Followed by numerals, this abbreviation refers to the inscriptions in HinS.

HinD — F.Hintze, 'Die Struktur der "Descriptionssätze" in den meroitischen Totentexten' (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Band IX,Heft 1), Berlin, 1963.

HinLM — F.Hintze, Die Inschriften des Löwentempels von Musawwarat es Sufra (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1962, Nr.1).

HinS — F.Hintze, Studien zu meroitischen Chronologie und zu den Opfertafeln aus den Pyramiden von Meroe (Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur und Kunst, Jahrgang 1959, Nr.2).

HinSS — F.Hintze, Die sprachliche Stellung des Meroitischen (Afrikanische Studien, Abhandlungen der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung nr.26. Edited by Lucas = Westermann Festschrift, Berlin 1955), pp.355-72

HinUNF — F.Hintze, Unternubien Felsinschriften, März, 1959.

Ibr — The stela of Ibrim. Unpublished, still being studied by Dr.M.F.L.Macadam. Numbers following refer to the lines of the stela.

Ins — Followed by numbers, it refers to the inscriptions in M I and M II.

JARCE — Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt. Quoted by volume and page number.

JEA — The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Published by The Egyptian Exploration Society, London. Quoted by volume and page number.

Ka Cone — The Kawa Cone of Amanichabale. L.P.Kirwan,

'Prelimenary Report of the Oxford University Excavations at Kawa, 1935-36', JEA 22, 1936, pp.199-211, pl. xxiii; M.F.L.Macadam, Kawa I,p.101 n.a (A discussion of the name); Kawa II,no. 2169 ; Monneret de Villard, 'Inscrizione meroitica di Kawa', Aeg.22, pp. 101-103; 'Testi Meroitici della Nubia Settentrionale', Kush 8, 1960, pp.120-22, no.25.

Kar — The series of the publications of the Egyptian Department of the University Museum. University of Pennsylvania. Eckley Coxe junior expedition to Nubia. Quoted by number of volume.

Kar iv — C.L.Woolley and D.R.MacIver, Karanog, the Romano-Nubian Cemetery (plates), Philadelphia, 1910.

Kar v — C.L.Woolley, Karanog, The Town, Philadelphia, 1912.

Kar vi — F.Ll.Griffith, Karanog, the Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablul and Karanog. Philadelphia, 1911.

The numbers following this abbreviation refer to the inscriptions in Kar vi.

Kawa — M.F.L.Macadam, The Temples of Kawa (Oxford Excavations in Nubia.) 2 volumes: vol.I, London,1949, vol.II, London,1955. Numbers following this abbreviation refer to the inscriptions in vol. I.

Kh 10044 — A late stela of an unknown provenance, the photographs of which were sent to me by Mr.Thabit Hassan Thabit, the Commissioner for Antiquities, the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum, Sudan.

KTGr — Karanog Town graffiti in Kar v, pp.4, 48, pl.19; Monneret de Villard, 'Inscrizione Meroitica della Nubia Settentrionale', Kush 8, 1960, pp.109-110,no.13.

KTO — Karanog Town Ostraca. Thos ostraca that are thought to contain names are:

KTO 1 — Kar v, pp.4,48, pl.18, no.1; Kush 8, 1960, pp.107-108, no.10.

KTO 5a,b, — Kar v, pp.4,48, pl. 20, nos.5a,b. Kush 8, 1960, p.112, no.17.

Kush — Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service, Khartoum Quoted by volume and page number.

LAAA — University of Liverpool; Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Published by the Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool. Quoted by volume and page number.

LecE — J.Leclant, Enquêtes sur les Sacerdôtes et les Sanctuaires Egyptiens a l'Époque dite "Éthiopienne" (Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliotheque d'Étude, tome xvii), Cairo, 1954.

M I — J.W.Crowfoot and F.Ll.Griffith, The Island of Meroe and Meroitic Inscriptions, part I (Archaeological Survey of Egypt, nineteenth memoir), London, 1911.
The inscriptions in this work, as in M II, are referred to by Ins, followed by their numbers.

M II — F.Ll.Griffith, Meroitic Inscriptions, part II (Archaeological Survey of Egypt, twentieth memoir), London, 1912.
See the note under M I.

Ma'tūga — See the note under the name B563.

MacFI — M.F.L.Macadam, 'Four Meroitic Inscriptions', JEA 36, 1950, pp.43-47, pl.xi.

MacIbr — M.F.L.Macadam's unpublished notes on the stela from Ibrim. Numbers refer to the lines of the stela discussed in the notes.

MacN — M.F.L.Macadam, 'Queen Nawidemak', Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin, vol.23, no.2, pp.42-71, figs. 1-8. Oberlin, Ohio, 1966. The inscription published in this article is referred to as MacN O Plqe.

MeinSM — C.Meinhof, 'Die Sprache von Meroe', Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen, Hamburg, 1920, vol.12, Heft I, pp.1-16.

Mer — When followed by numerals this abbreviation refers to the inscriptions in Meroe.

Mer a. — This abbreviation refers to the inscriptions from Meroe that are not included in Meroe.

Mer a.1 — An old altar from the West Cemetery, pyramid W19, MFA 23.873. Monneret de Villard, 'Inscrizione della Regione di Meroe', Kush 7, 1959, p.94, no.1, pl.xxii; F.Hintze, Kush 9, 1961, p.278, no.1.

Mer a.2 — An old stela found with the above. Boston MFA 23.870. Monneret de Villard, op.cit., pp.96-8, no.2, pl.xxiii; F.Hintze, op.cit., p.278, no.2.

Mer a.4 A late stela found by Garstang in the Temple of Amon, Meroe. Monneret de Villard, op.cit., pp.102-3, no.4,pl.xxv; F. Hintze, op.cit., 278-9, no.4; HinS, pp.44, 46.

Meroe J.Garstang, A.H.Sayce and F.Ll.Griffith, Meroe, the City of the Ethiopians, Oxford 1911.

MFA Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin). Quoted by volume and page number.

MonSNC Monneret de Villard, Storia della Nubia Cristiana, Roma, 1938.

MS Graffiti found by F.Hintze at Musawwarat es Sufra. F.Hintze, 'prelimenary Report of the Butana Expedition, 1958, made by the Institute for Egyptology of the Humboldt University, Berlin' (translated from the German by C.Morgan), Kush 7, 1959, p.181, no. 1.

MuGr Graffiti found by F. Hintze in the Lion-temple at Musawwarat es Sufra.

MuGr 28 HinLM, p.45, abb.23.

MuGr 30 HinLM, p.46, abb. 25, pl. xvii.

Nast.St. Stela of King Nastasen, published in SchKö. Quoted by line of text.

NGa. Inscritpions published in ANGa above.

Ob — An unpublished obelisk found in the Amon Temple, Meroe. J.Garastang, LAAA 4, 1912, p.47; PMTB VII, 1951, p.236; Kush 7, 1959, p.175, 8, 1960, p.127 n.3. Quoted by line of text, the Roman characters referring to the different sides of the obelisk.

Or — Orientalia. (Pontificium Institutum Biblicum) Quoted by volume and page number.

PluCG — J.M.Plumley, Introductory Coptic Grammar, London,1948.

PMTB — B.Porter and R.L.B.Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, vol. VII - Nubia, the Deserts and outside Egypt, Oxford, 1951.

PoDEC — G.Posener, A Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization (English translation), London 1962.

Post — Postilla, Yale, Peabody Museum of Natural History, New Haven, Connecticut.
Post.72 is the abbreviation for the stela published by B.Trigger in the article 'A Meroitic Tomb Inscription from Toshka-West', Post.72, 1962, Ded.20, pp.1-12, fig. p.4, facs. p.5.

PreiN — F.Presigke, Namenbuch (reprint), Amsterdam, 1967.

PSBA — Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Quoted by volume and page number.

Qus — Qustul. Inscriptions from Qustul, studied by M.Bakr, 'Drei meroitische Opfertafeln aus Qustul', Kush 12, 1964, pp.23-96, pl. 1v,abb. 1-3.

RaGr — H.Ranke, 'Grundsätzliches zum Verständnis der ägyptischen Personennamen in Satzform', Sitzungberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1936/7, 3 Abhandlung, Heidelberg, 1937.

RaN — H.Ranke, 'Les Noms Propres Egyptiens', Chronique d'Egypte, no.22, Bruxelles 1936, pp.293-323.

RaPA — H. Ranke, 'Die Personennamen der Aegypter', Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht (Formerly Monatshefte für deutsche Sprache und Pädagogik) Official Organ of the German Section of the Modern Language Association of the Central West and South, vol.30, October 1938, no.6, pp.297-313. The contents of this article are virtually identical with the above.

RaPN — H.Ranke, 'Die Ägyptische Personennamen. 2 vols. Vol. I 1935, vol.II, 1952. Volume II is distinguished from Volume I by the Roman Character II following the abbreviation, no volume number being given in the case of Volume I, only the page and name numbers

RCK — Royal Cemeteries of Kush.

RdE — Revue d'Egyptologie, publiée par la Socíété Française d'Egyptologie, Paris. Quoted by volume and page number.

RecCh — Receuil d'Études Égyptologiques dédiées á la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion, Paris, 1922.

RoeTD — Günther Roeder, Der Tempel von Dakke (Service

des Antiquités de l'Egypte. Les Temples Immergés de la Nubie). 2 vols., Cairo , 1930.

Sawārda — Late block from Sawārda, opposite Sedeinga, studied by Monneret de Villard, Kush 8, 1960, pp.119-20, no.24, pl. xxix b, and by A.Heyler as Doc. c, RdE 16, p.27.

SchKö — H.Schaefer, Die ägyptische Königinschrift des Berliner Museums, Leipzig, 1901.

Sedeinga — Late cornice, unedited, from cliche of J.Leclant, Soleb 62/138-39, RdE 16, 1964, p.26, Doc. b, fig.1; Mission M.Schiff Giorgini no. Ts 3 and Ts 2.

Semna — See the note under B617.

Serra — A late style stela found by Rex Gonzalez, of the Franco-Argentine expedition, in tomb 4 of the cemetery MSA, Serra. Kush 11, 1962, pp.138-39. It is studied by Prof.Rosenvasser, op.cit.,140.

Serra W. — This refers to two inscriptions studied in MacFI.
Serra W.1 Kh 5162, JEA 36, 1950, p.43, no.1,pl.xi.1.
Serra W.2 Kh 5261, op.cit., pp.44-46, no.2,pl.xi 2.

Sh — The inscriptions from Shablūl in Kar vi, pp.75-78, 175-181; Areika, pp. 31-32, pls. 32-38. Sh 19 is in Kar vi, p.77, pl. 29 and Sh 20 is in WeRALN, pl. lvii, Kar vi, p.78.

ShiM — P.L.Shinnie, Meroe, A civilization of the Sudan, London, 1967.

Sl — Slab.

SNR — Sudan Notes and Records, Khartoum. Quoted by volume and page number.

Tañ — The stela of King Tañyidamani, Boston MFA, 23.736. Found in front of Pylon 1 of the temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal, 1920. G.A. Reisner, 'Excavations in Egypt and Ethiopia, 1922-25', BMFAB 22, p.21; G.A.Reisner, 'Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal', ZÄS 66, 1931, p.83 (65); Papers of Monneret de Villard edited by F.Hintze. 'Die meroitische Stele des Königs Tañyidamani aus Napata', Kush 8, 1960, pp.125-161, pls. xxxi - xxxiv; PMTB VII, p. 216 (7). Quoted by line of text.

TillKG — W.C.Till, Koptische Grammatik, Leipzig, 1961.

TrLNSAW — B.Trigger, Late Nubian Settlement at Arminna West (Publication of the University of Pennsylvania - Yale Expedition to Egypt: no.2),1967.

Tur — Stela published by Turaeff in 'Nieskolko Egipetkikh napisiei', Zapiski of the Russian Archaeological Society, 7, pl. 1 v. Quoted by line of text.

UNGr — Graffiti published in HinUNF.

WeRALN — A.E.P.Weigall, Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte, Mission Archéologique de Nubie), Oxford, 1907.

WZKM — Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Quoted by volume and page number.

ZÄS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache. Quoted by volume and page number.
ZyM	E.Zyhlarz, 'Das meroitische Sprachproblem', Anthropos: Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et des Linguistique, vol. 25, 1930, pp.409-63.
ZyML	E. Zyhlarz, 'Neue Sprachdenkmäler des Altnubischen: Ein meroitisches Lehnwört', Studies presented to F.Ll.Griffith, London, 1932, p. 195.
ZyNG	E.Zyhlarz, Grundzüger der nübischen Grammatik im christlichen Frühmittelalter (Altnubish) (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes), Leipzig, 1928.

1* I i

INTRODUCTION

1* I i Verbal Sentences

A name may be verbal or non-verbal in construction, or both. First I will discuss the verbal and then the non-verbal constructions. In so doing, particularly when discussing the former, it will be inevitable for me to study the names of such types in the general framework of the Meroitic language. This is obvious, for the structure and contents of names resemble those of the groups; by the last are meant all the words that are not names. The same method will be applied in the discussion in Volume I.

The verb or verbalized noun [1] may be simple (e.g. tk, tni, ide, etc., and their variants) or compound (e.g. tk-ide, tn-ide, etc., in their different spellings).[1] The frequent presence of the elements -k(e,i)-, -q(e)- and the verbal suffix -t(e,ē)- [2] with the simple verb and only the last with the compound-verb suggested the classification of the resulting compounds into patterns.[2] Using the verb -de- as a measure, I have distinguished the patterns ke-de (A2 III i), de-ke and de-qe (A2 III ii), de-te (A2 III iii) and ke-de-te and qe-de-te (A2 III iv). The components -ñ(n,nē,ni)- and -s are also verbal suffixes, sometimes found together in the same verbal complex[3], of which the former is shown in 1* I iii

below to be also a prefix. But the association between these two suffixes is not as strong as that between the former and -k(e,i)- or the latter and -te-. One also notices that, whereas -ñ(n,nē,ni)- can either precede or follow -k(e,i)-, -s can never precede -te-. Compare, for instance, the following examples:

1.	y-l-s-ni	Mer 9 8,9 L Bl		Al IV ii
2.	KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL	B227	}	Al IV iii
3.	de-qe-ni-ke	Ob I 5		
4.	e-l-x-ñ-ki	Ibr 20 OS		
5.	Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI	B493		A6 II i b
6.	p-s̄e̅-he-b-xe-ke-te-s	Ins 131 10 LA/S		A7 VI iv a

From these and other examples, one concludes that the above suffixes follow this order:

1. V + s+ni
2. V (+ or - qe(e)) + k(e)+ñ(n,nē,ni)
3. V (+ or - q(e)) + ñ(n,nē,ni)+k(e,i)
4. V (+ or - q(e)) + ñ(n,nē,ni)+t(e)
5. V (+ or - q(e)) + k(e)+te
6. V (+ or - q(e)) + ke+te+s

I ii As the above instance of Formula A, the group from Ibrim and the names show, the <u>dativa1 postposition,</u>

singular (-x(he)-) and plural (-b-x(e)-), cannot be separated from its verb, and it therefore has precedence over any <u>infix</u> or <u>suffix</u> that might be present in the <u>verbal complex</u>.[4] Occasion has been taken to elaborate on Dr Macadam's idea that in the case of the <u>plural dative</u> the datival postposition may be suppressed leaving -b- of plurality to indicate its inherent presence.[5]

When fully written in the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae, the <u>plural dative</u> consistently shows -e- whenever the verbal complex ends in -ke-, followed by -s, -te- or -te-s, and no vowel whenever -te- alone is the verbal suffix.[6]

I iii Whether <u>simple</u> or <u>compounded</u>, or of a certain <u>pattern</u>, the verb may receive one or more of the <u>verbal prefixes</u> [7] p/b(e,ē,i)- [8], (y)e,ē,i-/a- [9], ñ(n,nē,ni)- , š(e,ē,i)/s- [10] and t(e,i)/d(e,ē)- [11]. In Appendix A, one observes that when more than one <u>prefix</u> occurs together in the same <u>verbal complex</u>, the prefixes have the following order. P/b(e,ē,i)- [12] and (y)e,ē,i-/a- [13] must precede any one or more of the others. Always preceding t(e,i)/d(e,ē)- [14], the prefixes ñ(n,nē,ni)- [15] and š(e,ē,i)/s- [16] are of equal status, for either one of them may precede the other. As familiar with as without the above-mentioned suffixes -k(e,i)-,

1* I iii -iv a

-$\tilde{n}$(n,n$\bar{e}$,ni)- , -t(e,$\bar{e}$)- and -s, the <u>compound</u> resulting from the addition of one or more of these prefixes to the verb is described as a <u>verbal complex</u>. Therefore, by definition, the verbal complex is a <u>compound</u> formed by the <u>simple</u> or <u>compound-verb</u> and one or more of the above prefixes and suffixes. The function of these elements is difficult to understand, for it is possible for the verb, simple or compound, or in the patterns ke-de, qe-de and de-qe, to occur prefixless or suffixless, or both, in the same context, and apparently to serve the same purpose as that of the same verb receiving prefixes and suffixes.

I iv a The elements -l(e,$\bar{e}$,i)-, -y(e,i) and -r($\bar{e}$-r), of which the first two may occur together, are believed to be of identical usages, functioning as a definite <u>article</u> or as a <u>participial ending</u>.[17] Therefore, when, in the latter role, any one of these is, or both -l(e,$\bar{e}$,i)- and -y(e,i) (in that order) are, added to a verbal complex, a <u>participle</u> is formed. It has been suggested that this transformation is sometimes accompanied by the elision of the verbal suffix -t(e,$\bar{e}$) [18], though it might be equally soundly argued that <u>participles</u> thus formed might contain originally suffixless verbal complexes. The latter explanation is best exemplified by ŠE-L-XI-YE B482, thought to be a participle built on y-l-x Formula A and

e-l-x Formula B, and by Š-L-X-TE-Y B517, also believed to be a participle but built on y-l-x-te Formula A and e-l-x-te Formula B, both of which replace y- and e- in the groups with š(e)- and contain -y(e) in addition.[19]

I iv b There are cases of <u>complexes</u> of a participial construction containing more than one participle. This situation normally arises when the complex ends in -t(e,ē,i) and this accepts analysis as the <u>genitival</u> -s- and the <u>participial ending</u> -l(e,ē,i), meaning "one belonging to".[20] For instance, splitting -tē, in Dē-h-te-li-tē @ B156 and Yi-w-id-te-li-tē @ B710, into -s-lē, one may parse dē-h-te-li- and yi-w-id-te-li- as participles in the (indirect) genitive case without a governing noun and interpret the respective names as "one belonging to him that gives/gave to him (her)" and "belonging to him who....".[21] Constructions of this type, containing a participle or a noun ending in the same -t(e,ē,i) will henceforth be described as <u>ungoverned genitives</u>.[22]

I v The above terminology will be consistently used below when speaking in specific terms. But when speaking in general terms, one will sometimes have recourse to the general terms '<u>complex</u>' and '<u>compound</u>'. By a complex is meant any complete word, be it a name or a group, formed

1* I v - II i

by a number of component parts. This covers the verbal complex, the participle and words combining either of them with one or more other components. For instance, though ye-d: and ye-de-t: are specifically verbal complexes and Yi-dē-ye and Yi-d-t-ye @ are participles, their counterparts, all these may be described as complexes.[23] Both ye-de-t and Yi-d-t-ye have versions forming parts of the longer complexes Yi-dē-t-beli-le @ and Tre-yi-d-t-li @.[23] By a compound is meant anything resulting from the presence of one component with one or more other components, regardless of whether or not the thing obtained makes sense. Therefore, in relation to the last two names, the complete units ye-de-t/yi-dē-t- and Yi-d-t-ye/yi-d-t-li are mere compounds, being, in this respect, no different in status from the incomplete units yi-dē-, -dē-t, -dē-t-beli-, -t-beli-, etc., in the last name but one, which are also compounds.

1* II Non-verbal

II i Meroitic names are full of non-verbal constructions and though many of the component parts forming them are familiar to us, yet it is perhaps immature, at this stage at any rate, to attempt to suggest what relationship exists between these components so as to enable us to classify

such names into the different types of non-verbal sentences. The reason is two-fold. We do not know the exact meanings, indeed we can only guess at them, of many of these components, nor enough of Meroitic grammar to be able to propound any theories regarding what parts of speech these components may be or the structure of the complexes they form. Nevertheless, I would classify as non-verbal sentences, or perhaps merely non-verbal constructions, the following names:

a Nominal Sentences

1 These are the names formed by a single noun, receiving -l(e,ē,i), -y(e,i)-, -r(ē-r), or -l(e,ē,i)-y(e,i)[24], or none of them [25], or by two nouns, either [26] or neither [27], of them receiving one or more of the above endings. Whether, where we have two juxtaposed nouns, the relationship between these nouns is one of a nominal predicate with its subject or a noun with its direct genitive is something that is as yet difficult to determine.

2. To these belong the names formed by a noun in an ungoverned (indirect) genitival construction or by two nouns in an indirect genitival relationship.[28] Dealing only with the former type of genitive in greater detail, one mentions Meqē-ti(s-li) B261, Tme-ñ-s-l B602 and Šde-s_s-l B480, which are likely to mean "one of Meqē ", "one of (place-name) tme-ñ"

1* a 2 - II i b-c 1,2 - III

and "one of (place-name ?) šde-s", respectively.[29]

II i b Adjectival Sentences

These include the names in which the adjective is used as an epithet or as a predicate, for which study a separate sub-division will be devoted.[30]

II i c Adverbial Sentences

Under this heading one may list the following:

1. Names constructed as verbal complexes or participles containing nouns or place-names, the dativa1 postposition, singular or plural, and the necessary verbal prefixes and suffixes and, where needed, the participial endings. Of such names are believed to be Abere-te-h-te @ B1 and AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) B23. [31]

2. Constructions involving a noun or a place-name suffixed with the postposition -ke-, perhaps meaning 'of,out of, from', and other elements. Of such a construction we seem to have no other than Šye-ke-li B541, apparently meaning "one from Sai [32] or "the one from Sai" if -li be the definite article rather than the participial ending.

III Usages of the adjective[33]

The adjective may be used as an epithet, a predicate, an adverbial phrase or an adjectival substantive.[34]

III i As an epithet, the adjective follows its noun (N+Adj).[35] When it follows a verbal complex (VC+Adj) [36] it is believed to be the epithet thereof, describing the verbal act, and consequently functioning as an adverbial phrase. The addition of -l(e,ē,i), -y(e,i), -r(ē-r) or -l(e,ē,i)-y(e,i) to the qualified noun [37] defines it and to the verbal complex changes it into a participle.[38]

III ii When the order of the constructions just mentioned is reversed, the adjective coming first, the new construction appears to be one of a sentence with an adjectival predicate and a nominal subject when the adjunct is a noun, as one may conclude from the comparison of (a)x-mlē-l(i) of Formula C on the one hand with Ml-x-l @, Ml-x-li B303 and MLI-X-RĒ-R (?) B306 on the other, the latter being the only instances with a nominal subject. [39] But when the adjunct to the adjective is verbal, be that adjunct a mere verb or a verbal complex, whether or not changed into a participle, there are two ways of looking at the adjective. One is that the adjective might be the adjectival predicate of which the verb (Adj+V) [40], the verb changed into a participle (Adj-V-l(e,ē,i), etc.)[41], the verbal complex (Adj+VC) [42],or the verbal complex changed into a participle (Adj-VC-l(e,ē,i) etc.)[43] will be the subject. In other words the verb and verbal

1* III ii - 2* = I

complex, both translatable as a gerund or an infinitive, and the participle will be the subjects.[44] The other way of analysing the adjective is to treat it as an <u>adjectival substantive object</u> (?) of the verb, verbal complex or participle. Such a usage of the adjective both as a noun and as the object of a verbal complex, is attestible from the numerous instances of mlē- and other adjectives being employed as <u>substantives</u>, and of the same component, in the compound mlē-wi, being employed as the object of the verbal complex l-b-x-te.[45]

It is necessary to make the reservation that a noun preceding a verb, a verbal complex or a participle need not always be the object thereof, for it can also be the subject.

2* Variation

There seems to be great variation in the spelling of names and groups, due partly to certain linguistic peculiarities and partly to the liberty scribes take in spelling. Each type of variation will be discussed in turn below.

2* I Certain Linguistic Peculiarities

Of these are the coalescence of -e- with -i- following it, the disappearance of the initial a-, when its component occurs medially, and its interchange with ye-, the

interchange between -x- and -h- and the behaviour of their vowels, initial as well as final, and the general behaviour of vowels in appearing and disappearing or alternating almost at will. I will now elaborate on some of these points below.

I i The coalescence of -e- with -i- following it is best represented by the loss of -e- of -mēme- in the name MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) & B327.[46] This is probably a reflection of the fact that two vowels never normally come together in Meroitic.

I ii The initial a- seems to be a weak consonant disappearing when occurring medially, unless preceded by the word-divider, as may be concluded from studying the following names and groups.

1.	mte:aqe-tē(s-lē)-wi	Kar 23 4 LS	A15 I i
	mte-qe-t(s-l)-ke-ni	Kar 58a LS	
2.	Aqē-lh-li	B61	
	at-qē-lh-l	Kar 59 9-10 LA	
3.	kdi:aq-, in		
	kdi:aq-tē(s-lē)-ye-s	Ins 94 24 L	A10 I ii, A15 I ii
	kdi-qē:		
4.	Aq-mk-s	B64	A16 II & n.21
	Ar-q-tñ-mk-s	B90	

But a medial -a- is retained in:

1. BLI-AMĒME B137 A17 I & point (a)

cf. Bli-le-mēme @

2. Wl-amni-p-ti-de £ B666 } A4 II v & n. 25
A5 VIII iii

cf. P-ti-mni-wl @ B433 }

I iii The initial a- is written ye- in:

a. yet- as a variant form of at-

1. yet-met-lh-l Kar 17 5-6 LS }
At-mete-li @ B105 } A23 III ii

2. yet-met-ñ Kar 17 6 LS }
At-met-ñ tbē @ B106 }

b. yetē as a variant form of atē 'water'

yetē (mhe:pi-šī-h-te:) Formula A }
Kar 107 3-4 LS }
atē (mhe, etc.) } A12 I

c. yetepē- as a variant form of atepē- in:

yetepē-ke: Formula J Arm W 1a LS }
atepe-ke: Sh 19 10-11 LS }

II The freedom the Meroitic scribe enjoyed in writing his language is shown by the various ways in which he spelt -x- and -h- ,his frequent employment of them as interchangeable components which he sometimes used as shorter forms of mx(h)e ,and its variants,and by the writing of

2* II - III i

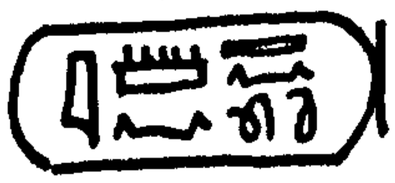
at(e)t- for at-. [47] Equally indicative of this freedom is the interchange between -n̄- and -n(nē,ni).[48]

Even the name of one and the same person, when found more than once, may be spelt differently each time by adding extra vowels, e.g. -ē-, in Tki-dē-ye (for Tk-id-ye) B596 [49], and -e-, in YETĒ-HE-TER (for YETĒ-H-TR) B684 [50], superfluous components, such as -wi [51], in TEKE-YE-WI (for TEKE-YE) B555, -ye [52], in BR-TR-YE (for BR-TRE) B145 and MŠ-TR-Q-YE (for MŠ-TR-Q) B356, and -t [53], in Kde-yē̇-t (for kdi-ye) B208, or by replacing some components with others, as is in Kde-yē̇-t above and Wē-rē-te-li-ye (for Wi-re(i)-te-li-tē(s-lē)) B662.[54]

In CR 11 122, Heyler believes that the graphic variation of the article -l(e,ē,i), in its different usages, is not solely due to the scribes' whims, but that it tends to take coherent forms. The subject of the behaviour of the vowels -e-, -ē- and -i-, in appearing or disappearing or interchanging, has been discussed in detail in different places in the present work, where it has been shown that, with the exception of the dativa1 -b-x(e)- [55] in the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae, there does not seem to be any such consistency in the writing either of -l(e,ē,i) or of any other component containing a vowel.[56]

III i The mention in 2* II of the use of -x(h)-

as a shorter form of mx(h)e and its variants serves as an introduction to abbreviated writing in Meroitic in general and in names in particular.[57]

Since Meqē-ñ and Ms-me are certainly abbreviations of Meqē-mete-li B259 and Ms-mete-yi @ B345 [58], it is believed that the names Tr-q-ye B635 (cf. MŠ-TR-Q(-YE) B356), Tr-q-ide @ B632 (cf. MNI-TR-Q-IDE £ B330, Mli-tr-q-ide B314) [59], Tñ-yi-di @ B617 (cf. TÑ-YI-D-MNI £ B618, AMNI-TN-IDE B50) and TÑ-YE-WI-DE B616 (cf.  Ku 16) [60] are abbreviations of their longer counterparts, the missing component, especially if it is a deity's name, being understood but omitted.[61] The same view is taken with regard to Abere-te-h-te @ B1, A-DI-H-LI B18 and AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) B23, from which the name of a deity, probably 'Amon', has perhaps dropped.[62]

Abbreviation is a phenomenon well known in Egyptian, where it is used in pet-names or to facilitate the pronunciation of long and cumbersome names in daily speech.[63]

3* Structure of names

I i Because the discussion of the structure and content of Meroitic names will need an entire volume by itself, the present writer has satisified himself by compiling Appendices C-H, J-Q, included in Volume I, in the

hope that in the future he will expand them so that they may form a separate work dealing with these subjects. The lists in Appendix C give a general idea of the important forms Meroitic names take.

I ii As is the case with groups, so in names Meroitic employs agglutination to form whatever complexes are felt to be necessary, whether the components involved are nouns, nouns and adjectives, verbs and their prefixes and suffixes, or combinations of any of these.[64] One's lack of knowledge of adverbs has made it difficult for one to identify many of the names that would contain sentences with adverbial predicates or clauses.[65] In the process of agglutination one notices a remarkable mobility of components, association between one component and another, or more than one other component, in appearing often together, parallelism between one or more components in occurring with the same additional component parts, and versatility of components and compounds in performing more than one function. These features will be explained in turn below.

II i Permutation

Studying the groups of names in Appendix D, the reader will notice that from a limited number of component parts Meroitic can form different names simply by grouping

these components in one order and then regrouping them in another, sometimes adding extra elements. This can be aptly described as permutation. Part of this process is the addition of a component, or component parts, to a complex already known as a separate unit in order to build a new complex. This may be described as "incremented repetition" or, for variation, "incremental repetition".[66] According to the position the additional component occupies, whether it is initial, medial or final, the type of components adjoining the extra component, whether they are verbal prefixes or suffixes or others, and their initial or final letters, there can result certain changes to the older components of the new complex or to the new component itself. These can be the loss of an initial a-[67] or of a verbal prefix[68], or various changes or omissions of the vowel.[69] There are examples where components forming one name are compounded with others forming another name to build yet a third name.[70]

II ii The following are the best examples of 'incremented repetition' using ye-d, and its variants, as the base:

3* II ii-iii a

a.	ye-d:	Ins 94 9,16,19 L	A12 II ii & nn. 7,8
1. plus	-xi >		
	ye-d-xi	Ak I 5-6 OS	
2. plus	w- >		
	w-ye-d:	Ins 94 10 L	
3. plus	qe- and -wi >		
	qe-yi-de-wi	MacN 0 Plqe	
4. plus	-ye >		
	Yi-dē-ye	B691	
5. plus	-t >		
	ye-de-t:	Ins 94 14,30 L	
b.	ye-de-t itself:		
1. plus	-ye >		
	Yi-d-t-ye	@ B692	
2. plus	-beli- and -le >		
	Yi-dē-t-beli-le	@ B690	
3. plus	tre- and -li >		
	Tre-yi-d-t-li	@ B629	

II iii Whichever one of the methods of compound formation, mentioned in 3* I ii,II i,is employed in the construction of names,one observes the following:

II iii a <u>Mobility of Components</u>

This has two features:

3* II iii a 1,2 - b 1,2 - c 1,2

1. A mere change of position by one component, or two.[71]

2. A complete change of order by <u>reversal</u> of the sequence of all or the main components[72], or <u>rearrangement</u> of the entire structure, of a complex.[73] Sometimes both operations take place at once.[74]

II iii b <u>Association</u>

1. One component may occur with another component, or other components, very often, as, for example, does bele- with -de[75], -s̆-[76], all in their different spellings, and -x-.[77]

2. Two or more components, of different meanings but similar functions, may, on different occasions, be found each one of them in occurrence with the same component as that of the other, or others.[78]

II iii c <u>Parallelism</u>

There are four types of parellelism:

1. Two or more components, seemingly of unrelated meanings, may more than once occur with the same or similar compounds.[79]

2. Two different components, probably of the same meaning and function, may occur with the same elements.[80]

3* II iii c 3,4 - d - e

3. Two components of the same or related meanings can alternate in occurring with the same components.[81]

4. Two components of opposite meanings may be found with the same components.[82]

II iii d Both <u>association</u> and <u>parallelism</u>, pointed out in sub-divisions II iii b-c are reflected in a remarkable phenomenon in Meroitic names, which may perhaps inform us of one aspect of the Meroitic social customs. This is the <u>sharing</u> of one or more components by the names of two or more members of the same family.[83] The best example one may quote is the commonness of -m(ē)- [84] to the child's, mother's and father's names, two of which are certainly theophorous, containing wēs (Isis' and mš- 'Mash', of one family.[85] Here we have <u>parallelism</u> in the theophorous character of at least two names and <u>association</u> in the omnipresence of -m(ē)- in the family's names and, particularly, with deities' names.

II iii e <u>Versatility of Components</u>

Owing to the principle of <u>Mobility</u> of <u>Components</u>, a Meroitic component seems capable of being any part of speech according to its position in its context.[86] Study, for instance, the usages of the adjective as an epithet, as a predicate and as an adverbial phrase.[87] Such a usage

3* II iii e - 4* I - II i

is not peculiar to Meroitic, for it is shared by many living as well as dead languages. The verbalization of nouns, and probably of the adverbial (?) element -k(e,i)-, and the employment of compounds of a verbal nature as substantives are, however, Meroitic peculiarities.[88]

4* Content of Names

I The examination of the contents of Meroitic names reveals the simple but nevertheless important fact that Meroitic names are not mere meaningless words but that they can in most cases be divided into recognizable component parts that, though the meanings of the majority of them are unknown, can yet be parsed. So far, one may conclude two things from the analysis of these names; one is that they appear to be of antiquity, the other is that they, naturally, reflect the people's culture. These points will be expanded below.

II Antiquity of Meroitic names

Meroitic names appear to be of antiquity, originating in periods perhaps pre-Napatan, as is evidenced by two things:

II i Not only component parts, but also some entire Meroitic names have Napatan [89] or even pre-Napatan (?) [90] prototypes. Owing to the lack of enough instances, the

4* II i - ii - III i

claim about the preservation of pre-Napatan prototypes in Meroitic names is not strongly supported, but if it be considered that the un-Egyptian Napatan royal names, with which the Meroitic are so much related, could not have suddenly sprung from nowhere but must date to the period prior to the rise of the Sudanese Dynasty, there will perhaps be justification for such a claim.

II ii Certain Meroitic peculiarities, such as permutation [91], its consequential mobility of components [91] and the ungoverned genitive [92], are found in early Napatan or pre-Napatan names. An example of the first phenomenon is in the names found on the 'Dedication Stela' of Aspelta [93] and of the latter in the name of .[94]

These conclusions do no more than confirm, or are perhaps supported by, Dr Macadam's statement, JEA 35 140, that 'the personal names of the Napatan period, royal and otherwise, to be seen there, should be found to form a series merging smoothly into the Meroitic, and it is encouraging to be able to report that some of the Napatan names can be translated as Meroitic.'

III Meroitic Names and the Meroitic Culture

III i The study of Meroitic names leaves one with the impression that a great deal about Meroitic ideas will

one day be learnt from them. Evidence for this is forthcoming from the relationship that can be established between the contents of certain names and words known to us from the funerary and other inscriptions, and particularly from the funerary formulae. There are also indications suggesting that the religious feature is dominant, as one may conclude from the abundance of names with a religious content. According to their contents, the names may be divided into two classes; religious and secular. Each one of these classes will be merely pointed out below as they are discussed in detail in the places stated.

III ii a Names with a religious content

These are names of a content similar to that of certain members of the funerary formulae, showing the first and second constants [95] or verbal complexes [96] or a combination of all these elements.[97] Perhaps also of a religious nature are the names related in content with certain complexes, outside the funerary formulae, found in the funerary,and other, inscriptions and somehow appearing to have a religious implication.[98] One may also include the theophorous names listed in Appendix Q.[99]

III ii b Names with a Secular Content

The names of this class fall into two

categories.

1. Of one category are the names formed by, or containing, descriptive phrases, not of a religious nature or implication, known from the funerary inscriptions.[100] These can be merely descriptive of the kind of kdi-, apēte-, etc.

2. Of the other category are the names similar to, or identical with, groups, of no obvious or definite religious implication, found in Meroitic inscriptions, funerary or otherwise.[101]

From the above one concludes that, like any other names, the Meroitic must reflect the culture of their bearers and that in this culture the religious characteristic is outstanding. It is perhaps suitable to conclude the discussion of the content of Meroitic names by reference to Ranke's conclusion about the Egyptian names, that 'Der Gedanke, dass im Namenschatz eines Volkes die Eigenart seines Geistes ihren Niederschlag findet, ist ja geläufig', RaPA 297, and 'nous savons tous que les noms propres d'un peuple reflètent son histoire et plus spécialement les idées qui se sont développées au cours de cette histoire. Eh bien, c'est la même chose pour les noms des Égyptiens', RaN 293. Both quotations fit the Meroitic names quite well.

INTRODUCTION - FOOTNOTES

1. See Appendix L II for some verbalized nouns. So far, I have classified as compound-verbs tk-ide, tn-ide, wi-de, th-ide, lh-ide, mk-ide, tr-q-ide and s̃-x-ide, in their various forms. See A2 I ii a,b on compound-verbs in general, A8 I ii on tk-ide and A2 I iii a-c on wi-de in particular.

2. The position of the dash indicates whether the component can be prefixed, suffixed, or both, to the verb. Of its functions -k(e,i)- may be a verbal suffix. See A1 I ii, IV i-iii on -k(e,i)- and A5 V i-vi on -t(e,ē)-. In the form -t(e,i)-, the last, as is pointed out in 1* I iii, can function as a prefix. Except for the occasional description of -l(e,ē,i)-, -y(e,i) and -r(ē-r) as suffixes, the term suffix, as also is prefix, is used in the present work to refer to verbal suffixes, as the latter is to verbal prefixes. As will be noticed in A3 III i a ff., the aforementioned exceptional use of 'suffix' has become necessary for the sake of variation, lest the excessive description of -l(e,ē,i),etc., as 'endings', 'terminations', 'elements', etc., should make these terms threadbare.

3. See A1 I ii, iv, IV i-iii on -ñ(n,nē,ni)- and A3 III i c on -s.

4. See A7 VI i-iv e.

5. See A7 VI ii d,A3 II iii.

6. See A7 VI iv f.

7. See Appendices A and B.

8. A4 II i-iv.

9. A12 II i-viii.

10. A6 I ii & n. 3, IV i-iv f.

11. A5 II ii,IV i a,b , ii a-d.

12. Appendix A II.

13. Appendix A III.

14. Appendix A VI.

15. Appendix A IV.

16. Appendix A V.

17. See n. 2 above,also A3 III i a,b,IV i-x b,A12 III i, IV i a-x, A19 I, II i,ii.

18. See A5 V i.

19. Appendix O II iii a,b.

20. See A3 III i c, A5 VII ii.

21. Appendix C II iv b 1,3.

22. See sub-division§1* II i a 2,4* II ii below.

23. See 3* II ii b below.

24. Appendix C II i a.

25. Appendix C I i.

26. Appendix C IV i a.

27. Appendix C III i.

28. See Appendix C IV i c for the latter type of genitive.

29. Appendices C II i b 1-3, N III, V. See sub-divisions 1* I iv b, for the ungoverned genitive in verbal constructions, and 4* II ii below for an older instance of this genitive in a non-verbal construction.

30. See 1* III below.

31. Appendix N I ii 1 for the name with abere- and for the reference for both names.

32. Appendices C II i b 4, N IV ii.

33. See A7 I ii, All I for an introductory discussion of the usages of adjectives. For details , see A7 III i on -he, as a way of writing mhe and its variants, and All II i a,b n.6, ii. Study the epithetic compounds in AlO I ii a.

34. There is not as yet strong evidence that the adjective may function as an adjectival verb. Nevertheless, this has been suggested as a possibility in A7 V i, All V ii.

35. Appendices C III ii 1-2, L I ii 1-2, O I i a-c 1,2.

36. Appendices C III vi b 1,2, L I iii. See also A7 I ii, All I VI i-iii c.

37. Appendix C IV ii a 1-5.

38. Appendix C IV b 1,2.

39. Appendices C IV ii b 1,2, O I i c 1-4.

40. Appendix C III v 1,2.

41. Appendix C IV v 1,2.

42. Appendix C III vi a.

43. Appendix IV vi a 1,2.

44. See also A7 I ii.

45. See Appendix L I i 1. Under this reference may be found three usages of mlē(-wi), with approximately the same verbal complex, as an adjectival substantive (I i 1,2), an epithet (I ii 1,2) and as an adverbial phrase (I iii).

46. See A17 I & n.1. For the general principle see A2 I iii c & n.18.

47. See A7 I i,ii, II i b, VI i, A11 I, II i a, sub-division 2* II i below and Appendix O I i a,b.

48. See A1 I ii, A11 IV ii a.

49. A2 I iii a n.12.

50. A7 III ii & n.20, A22 I i.

51. Appendix F I ii.

52. Appendix F II i,ii.

53. Appendix F III.

54. See A3 IV x b, A7 VII i.

55. See the end of 1* I ii.

56. See A3 III i a about -l(e,ē,i), A7 I i, VI i about (a)x-, x(e), etc., and A11 I, II i a and A7 I i about mx(e,ē), mh(e,ē,i) and ml(e,ē,i).

57. Appendix O I i a,b. See also A7 III i for the use of atē he instead of atē mhe. The epithet 1h may sometimes

be replaced by -x- and -hi-, as is suggested in A7 III iv.

58. A23 III ii.

59. See A2 I iv.

60. A14 IV v.

61. See A8 I i n.9 on N-TX-L-B-TE*, a variant spelling of AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE*.

62. See A7 VI iii a & n.43, c.

63. See RaPN II 95-99, 102, RaN 321-2.

64. Appendices C and D.

65. See 1* II i c for a few adverbial sentences.

66. Appendix L. This kind of repetition is markedly noticeable in Meroitic. See the examples given in II ii below. See A3 IV x b & n.147 for the explanation of the similar term 'partial incremented repetition' and 'partial incremental repetition'.

67. Appendix E III 1-3. See also 2* I ii above.

68. Appendix E VII i-ii, VIII 1,2. But compare the examples nos. 3* II ii b 1,3 below, where the verbal prefix is retained.

69. Appendix E I 1-3, II 1-3.

70. Appendix D I ii a-e, iii a-c, II i a-c, III i b-d .

71. Appendix G, particularly II 1-3, VI 1,2, X 1-3.

72. Appendix G IV 1,2, V 1,2.

73. Appendix G VIII 1-3, IX 1,2.

74. Appendix G III 1-3

75. Appendix H I.

76. Appendix H II.

77. Appendix H III.

78. Appendix IV i-ii and 3* II iii d & n.84 below.

79. Appendix J I i-ii.

80. Appendix J II a,b, III i-ii.

81. Appendix J IV, V i-iv, VII i-ii.

82. Appendix J VI i-ii.

83. Appendix K.

84. The component -mē- has been found in association with -txe- and ple-, both of which are verbs of the funerary formulae, and together with -xr and -mēme these are the components meant in 3* II iii b 2 & n.78 above.

85. Appendix Q III 1, VII 7.

86. See A1 I iv.

87. See 1* III i-ii & n.45 above.

88. Appendix L II i-v, III i-iv.

89. Appendix M I i-iv. The comparisons made in Appendix M deal with the subject of the relationship between the Meroitic and Napatan names from the point of view of the former, so far as they and their component parts are traceable into the latter. A more comprehensive study of the subject would be to deal with it from the point of view of both of the Meroitic and Napatan, giving Meroitic-Napatan equivalences.

90. Appendix M I v.

91. See 3* I ii, II i, iii a above.

92. See sub-divisions 1* I iv b, II i a 2 above.

93. Appendix M II i.

94. Appendix M II ii.

95. Appendix O I i-ii. See All I & n.1 for the term <u>first</u> and <u>second constants.</u>

96. Appendix O II i-viii.

97. Appendix O III i-iii.

98. Appendix P I i-v, II ii b 1,2, iv 1,2, vi a,b, and perhaps the names containing (a)t- and yet- in iii a-c in the same appendix.

99. Because of their large number, the names with (a)mn(i) have not been listed. Amounting to 43 instances out of 750 names (B and C lists), they form about 5.6% of the names.

100. Appendix P II i,ii a, iii a-c, v, with the exception of those containing (a)t- and yet-. See n.98.

101. Appendix III i-v.

THE COMPONENT k(e,i)

I i Whatever its way of writing, the present component seems to be the same word whether it is used as an adverb (?) suffixed to certain nouns, or as an adverbial phrase added to verbs, or as a verb prefix or as a verb in its own right. When prefixed with a- the variant spelling of the component -ki- produces aki-, which is graphically identical with what appears to be a noun, while its writing -k(e)- resembles the particle that, suffixed with either -ñ or -l-w, sometimes follows numerals. In the present section I propose to examine the names and relevant groups in which this component occurs.

In order to understand the behaviour of this component as a suffix to nouns and a prefix to verbs, or as a suffix to one and a prefix to the other of these, in one and the same complex, it is essential to cite the relevant names and groups first. These are

1. Arē-k-ye B78
2. Ar-ki-ye B87
3. Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B68
4. A-KE-D-XE-TI(S-LI)-WL & B30
5. Ten-[ḳ]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) B566
6. Teñ-ki-tn-ide @ B567
7. AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE B104
8. At-ki-li @ B103
9. AT-KE-LĒ-L B101
10. At-ke-wi-tr @ B102

11. tere-ki:tk-b-xe-lē Far 21 26-27 TA

12. a-ki-tk-tē: Tañ 123 OS

From the above citations one concludes the following:

1. The suffix -k(e,i)- may be added to nouns, such as ar(ē)- [1] (nos.1 and 2), at-[1] (nos.8 and 9) and tere-[1] (no.11), where -li, also -l(ē-l), and ye may sometimes occur as endings.[1]

2. A prefix written ke- and ki- may be added to verbs, whether or not they contain the dativa1 postposition, such as -d-xe- (no.4) and -tk-.[2]

3. The compound -ke-d-xe- (no.4) is the same thing as -k-d-xe- (no.3). But are-k- (no.3) is also identical with ar(ē)-k(i)- (nos.1 and 2). It therefore follows that -ke and -k(i)- should be merely different ways of writing one and the same component, which may be added to nouns, as in Arē-k-ye and Ar-ki-ye, or to a verb, as in A-KE-D-XE-TI(S-LI)-WL, or suffixed to the one and prefixed to the other in one and the same complex, as in Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē).[3]

4. At-ki- (no.8), having a variant form as at-ke- (no.9), is identical with at-ki- (no.7), while -ki-tn-ide is the same compound in no.7 as in no.6. Therefore, -ke(i)- may be received by the noun at-, in At-ki-li @ (no.8) and AT-KE-LĒ-L (no.9), or shared by the same noun, or another

(i.e. teñ- ^{4}), and the compound-verb -tn-ide ^{4}, as in AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE (no.7) and Teñ-ki-tn-ide (no.6). We undoubtedly have the same at- and -ke- in At-ke-wi-tr @ ^{4}.

5. From the comparison of the names employing -k- with -d-xe- (no.3) and -ki- with teñ- (no.6), it is easy to conclude that -k(i)- is the missing letter with ten- and -d-xi- in Ten-[k̇(i̇)]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) (no.5). To simplify matters, this name will henceforth be written without -i- (i.e. -k̇- alone), as is given in the above list. Moreover, the name serves as a link between the names using -k(e,i)- with ar(e,ē)- and -d-xe-, separately or combined (nos.1-4), on the one hand, and those using -k(e,i)- with at-, teñ- and -tn-ide, separately or combined (nos.6-10), on the other.

6. From the comparison of tere-ki:tk-b-xe-lē (no.11) and a-ki-tk-tē: (no.12) one concludes that -ki- may be received by a noun (tere-) as well as by a verb (-tk-).[5] The component a- appearing with -ki- in the second group is a mere verb prefix.[5]

In view of the agreement in construction, between a-ki-tk-tē (no.12) and a-ki-ple-t Ob IV 7 on the one hand and e-ke-de-tē Tañ 143 OS on the other (i.e. a verb -tk/ple/de- prefixed with a-ki/e-ke- and suffixed with -t/tē), and between the suffixless a-ki-pl(e) Ob III 5,8 and e-ke-d:

Al I i- ii

Tañ 5, it is apparent that -ke- prefixed to -d(e)- is the same element.[6]

From these observations, one concludes that -k-, -ke- and -ki- are different spellings of one and the same component, that may be added to nouns (nos.1,2,8,9,11 and perhaps 10) and verbs (4,12) and may be shared by a noun and a verb in one and the same complex (nos.3,5-7). Though it is the same element, this word probably functions differently according to its position in relation to, and the part of speech of, the word with which it occurs.

I ii It is very important to note that, when functioning either as a verb prefix or as a suffix, this component is found in parellelism with -qe-.[7] Although k and q may, though rarely, interchange, such as in pkr-tr: Ibr 5 OS and pqr-tr-lē (H) Ins 5,17,20 [7], -ke- and -qe-, in their different forms, should be distinguished from one another. The reason for this differentiation is that, as suffixes, -ke- and -qe- have been proven to be distinguishable.[7]

When studying the names and relevant groups formed by nouns suffixed with -k(e,i)-, it has been noticed that this component is occasionally preceded or followed by -ñ(n,nē,ni).[8] Since the same phenomenon has been observed with verbs, (IV iii), I am of the opinion that we must be

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dealing with the same elements. Using some of the examples quoted below in the following sub-divisions, one may compare the behaviour of -ñ and -k, and their variant writings, in occurring together or the one of them without the other, in ml-ñ: Kar 12 4-5 LS (=HinD 95), mle-ke: Kar 38 4 LS (=HinD 68), mlē-n-ki: Mer 51 3 L S1, Mhe-n-ke @ B279 and mhē-ke-n Tañ 101 2 OS, where ml(e,ē)- and mhe(ē)- are believed to be adjectival substantives [9], with their behaviour with the verbs -l(e)- [9] and d(e)- [9] in Y-l-x-ñ @ C35, d-q-ni Tañ 157 OS, e-l-x-ñ-ki: Ibr 20 OS, d-q-ni-k: Tañ 39, KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B227 and de-qe-ni-ke-wl: Ob IV 10. It is easy to see that these components occur together, or the one without the other and have their order reversed,with nouns as well as with verbs. No doubt the reversal of the order of -n- and -ke- in mhē-ke-n is again noticeable in -ke-ni-wl of the last name and group using -le- and de-.

The final conclusion, therefore, is that the same -ke, in its various spellings, may be suffixed to nouns, and either prefixed or suffixed to verbs, or both. When suffixed, it is sometimes inseparably preceded or followed by -ñ- or one of its variants.

I iii As was the case with the prefix ke-, in verbal complexes this suffix also occurs in parallelism with -qe-, in its different ways of spelling, as in -le-ke- and

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-le-qe- in the names Š-LE-KE-TE-Y B514 and Š-le-qe-te-yi @ B515, both of which are studied in IV i below. The occurrence of both elements in de-qe-ni-ke Ob I 5 shows that they are in fact different things, performing different functions.

I iv In accordance with the view which I have come to hold about Meroitic components, that a large number of them appears capable of being more than one part of speech, the function of the present component (i.e. ke) seems to be determined not only by its intrinsic meaning, but also by its position in relation to, and by the nature of, the word with which it occurs. In other words its part of speech is determined by its context.[10] If any one should see this as by nature unlikely, it is only necessary to remind him that in classical Chinese, as Dr Macadam informs me, a word can function as any part of speech. This seems likely to have been at any rate partly so in Meroitic.

It is difficult to define the function of -k(e,i) and -$\tilde{n}$(n,n$\bar{e}$,ni) when, together or separately, they are added to a verb. It is possible that they might function as adverbial phrases, in one way or another modifying the verbal act. This is perhaps supported by their tendency to follow the verb as closely as possible, being separated from it only by such verb suffixes as the dative [10a].,singular

and plural, and -qe-, which have precedence over them. Unless -s-, preceding -ñ(ni) in y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 8,9 L Bl, ye-re-s-ni: Mer 9 6 and t-d-x-s-ñ: Tañ 154 OS, is different from the verbal suffix -s[11] following -ke- in p-š̌i-xr-ke-s Formula B Kar 61 7-8 L/TS, Sh 5 7-8 LA/S, this element may precede the former infix but not the latter. Zyhlarz, ZyM 444 7 g, mentions Meinhof's supposition that -k(e)- in verbal complexes resembles the Hamitic durative ke and adds that 'diese Auffassung würde analog zu dem ägyptischen Wunsch der Ewigkeitsdauer des Totenopfer an den Toten auch für das Meroitische durchaus plausibel sein'. Should this view about the role of -k(e)- be accepted, the Meroitic infix might mean "always", or the like. When suffixed to certain nouns, defined or undefined, it might mean something like "(a, the).....for ever", which may perhaps be changed into a sentence meaning "(a,the)....who/which remains (for ever)".[12]

The prefix k(e,i)- on the other hand does not forgo its position of being nearest to the verb when either p- or š̌- is present, in which case these elements have to precede -k(e,i)-, as is evident in Š̌-KE-DI-YE (?) B508, alternatively written Š̌-k-id-ye, in which the situation is to be contrasted with that in N-š̌-di-ye B381,

where -s̆- is directly attached to the same verb.

After this lengthy introduction, in the following sub-divisions I wish to cite the names and relevant groups in which ke, in its different forms with or without -ñ(n,nē,ni), occurs as a suffix to nouns, as a prefix and suffix to verbs, and as a verb in its own right. I will also mention the instances where it resembles aki-, which seems to be a noun, the postposition -ke- probably meaning 'from, out of' and the particle -k(e)- following numerals.

II i Suffixed to the noun, or proper name, ar(e,ē,i)- [14], the component -k(e,i)- appears in Arē-k-ye B78, Ar-ki-ye B87, both of which have already been mentioned in sub-division I i 3 above, Are-ki-k-li B70, Ar-ki-wl @ C4, Are-ke-te @ B69, are-ke Kh 5587 4 LS (=HinD 302), AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R £ B85 and AR-K-X-TNI £ B86.[14] In the last two names the infix -k- is believed to be added to the name of "Horus", in which case it will be present with a proper name. The same thing is supposed to happen in Ax-mn-k-rē-r @ B27, where -mn- is apparently the name of "Amon", TRĒ-KE-NI-WL £ B628 and S̆ĒR-K-RĒ-R (H) £ B484. On the analogy of the names containing ar(ē)- and -mn-, the last two names might contain the names of "Hathor" and "Osiris".[14]

According to the way I look at these names and groups, Priese's identification of ar(e,i)k(e)- with the C-word of filiation, whether as a verbal or a nominal form, here as well as in Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B68, studied in II ii below, is unjustifiable.[14a] Clearly, as is shown in I i 2,3 above, ar(e,i)k(e)-,likewise arēki-, is not a single word, but rather it consists of a noun ar(e,ē,i)- ,or a proper name,with -k(e,i) added. Moreover, the element -ki-, considered by him as being part of arki-, as a single word, in Ar-ki-wl @, is separable from ar-, for it recurs, in the form -ke and again with -wl, with the proper name tre- , in TRE-KE-NI-WL £, and with the verbs de- and -le- in de-qe-ni-ke-wl Ob IV 10 and KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B227.[14a] The intrusion of -ni- between -ke- and -wl in the last two names need not worry us, for, in addition to its being familiar, the occurrence of -ni- with -ke- demonstrably proves that the latter is surely the well-known suffix. Lastly are-ke exists as a title, which is most likely related to the title ar(e), and if areke, as Priese suggests, may mean 'begotten', it is very difficult to see how a title can have such a meaning.

With the noun at- [15] the suffix occurs in At-ki-li @ B103, already mentioned in I i 4 above, AT-KE-LĒ-L

Bl0l, which seems to end in a reduplicated -l- [15], and At-ke-wi-tr @ Bl02, while with the noun b(e)le-[15], also spelt bl(i)-, it is present in Bele-ki-kdi-li @ Bll7, Ble-ke-wi-te-ke Bl35, BLI-K-R Bl38, i-bl-k-mni: Tañ 2 OS and i-bl-k-mn[i]-s-l: Tañ 34. Ml(e,ē)- and mhe(ē)-, as adjectival substantives [16], receive -k(e)-, with or without -n-, in mle-ke: Kar 37 12 LA (=HinD 68), ...etc., Ml-ke @ B319, mlē-n-ki: Mer 51 3 L, Mhe-n-ke @ B279, mhē-ke-n Tañ 101-2 OS, ml-ke-yē-s Ins 131 8 LA (=HinD 233) and Mle-k-ye @ B292.

As was mentioned towards the end of sub-division I iv, the suffix -k(e,i) is presumed to be an adverbial infix. If it be so, one tends to think of it as being added perhaps with a durative implication to the noun kd(i)- "woman, Lady, Mistress" [17], in kd-ke Ins 94 28 L, the resulting compound receiving the participial suffix -l [17] in Kt-ke-l (H) Ins 4, where kt- is a writing of kd-, and in what is left of Kdi-ki-r... D35. The two groups describe Queens Amanirenas and Amanitēre respectively and seem to accept the literal rendering as "a Lady, Mistress who remains (?)", i.e. "a Lady, Mistress who remains (?) (as a ruler)". If we examine the Egyptian names we find such an employment of the adverb possible in the use of r-nḥḥ

Al II i

'for ever' to mean 'to remain for ever' in the names Imn-r-nḥḥ RaPN II 56 b & n.6 'Amon (remain) for ever!' and Pr-'3-r-nḥḥ RaPN 134 8 'Pharaoh (remain) for ever!' Here might belong kdi:ak-w: Kar 47 11-12 LS, in which ak-w is perhaps of the same meaning as -k(e)-wi, whatever that may be, giving ak- as a variant writing of this element. The retention of the initial a- of ak- might be due to the presence of the word-divider separating the component from the word to which it belongs.[17]

It seems to me that qr-ke Ins 94 3 L and QR-KI-LI B460, both of which contain the word for 'ruler' [18], irrespective of sex, and -ke(i)-, accept a similar rendering to that of kd(t)-ke(-l), and might accordingly mean "a ruler who remains," or even "the remaining ruler". The latter interpretation ascribes to -ke(i)- an adjectival nature. In view of the versatility of Meroitic components, referred to in sub-division I iv above, such an assignment should not be unlikely.[18] There seems to me a striking identity in construction, and similarity in meaning, between the Meroitic kd(t)-ke(-l) and qr-ke, in the group and the name, on the one hand and the Egyptian name Pr-'3-r-nḥḥ on the other. If we realize that kd(t)-, as the earlier groups show, may refer to queens, and that qr- means 'ruler', without reference to sex, in these groups and names, we seem to have the

Al II i - ii - iii

Meroitic and Egyptian words designating kings and queens suffixed with an 'adverb'.

II ii The component -k(i)-, previously seen received by either nouns or verbs [19], sometimes occurs in names combining some of these same nouns and verbs. In other words, it perhaps serves a dual purpose of being a suffix to the one noun and a prefix to the other verb. This situation is best illustrated by Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B68 and AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE B104. More instances having affinities with these are Šn-k-d-xe-te(s-le) & B519, Ten-[k]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) B566, Teñ-ki-tn-ide @ B566 and tere-ki:tk-b-xe-lē Far 21 26-27 TA. The comparison of the names containing -d-xe(i)- with Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B72, in which the alternation of -r- with -k- in the earlier name shows that are- and -k- are to be split from one another, Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B377 and Nš-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B385, in both of which -t- and -ye- [19] seem to be verb prefixes alternating with -k(i)-, supports the above view that this component is a versatile element that can function as both a suffix and prefix.

II iii The same element functions as a verb prefix in A-KE-D-XE-TI(S-LI)-WL & B30 [20], employing the same verbal complex -d-xe- as the names in the previous sub-division

without a preceding noun, a-ki-tk̄-tē Tañ 123, OS, a-ki-ple-t Ob IV 7, a-ki-ple Ob III 8 and a-ki-pl Ob III 5.

III i In this and the following sub-divisions I wish to demonstrate the behaviour of ke-, in its different ways of writing with or without ñ(n,nē,ni), as a prefix and suffix to verbs, using the verbs -de-, -l- and š- and their variant forms as examples.

Prefixing -ke- to the verb -d(e)-, we obtain e-ke-d: Tañ 5 OS, to the verb with the dative, as in de-b-x: Tañ 115-116, e-de-b-x: Tañ 137, we obtain ke-de-b-x Ins 94 20 L, while prefixing it to the verb ending in the verb suffix -tē, as in e-de-tē: Tañ 74 and t-ḍ-b-tē: Ins 101 7 L, we form e-ke-de-tē Tañ 143,144 OS and e-ke-de-b-tē Tañ 149.[21] In the last group and t-ḍ-b-tē one notices that -ke- and t- appear to alternate as prefixes. Though the functions of these elements might be different, yet it looks as if the presence of the one of them results in the elision of the other. Because one has not been able to collect enough instances of the alternation of these prefixes, outside names in particular, one is unable to find out whether or not this is a recurrent phenomenon. However, the comparison of te-d-d: Tañ 147 and ke-d-d: Tañ 127-8, where the last -d

might be an assimilated -t [21], gives one the impression that there is the possibility that this might be the case.

The compound resulting from the addition of this prefix to the verb may further receive an extra prefix such as š- [22] in Š-KE-DI-YE (?) B508, also written Š-k-id-ye, or even the suffix -k- itself as in ke-de-b-xe-k-y: Ins 94 20 L.

III ii With the verb -l(e,i)- 'to give' [23] the prefix ke-, perhaps also appearing as -ki-, forms a compound of the pattern ke-de in Ke-l-hē @ B229, where -hē accepts identification as the dative singular, Wi-ke-le-le B661, where wi- is enigmatic and the final -le might be a participial ending [23], and A-ki-li-ble @ B32, according to one way of looking at this name. The same compound is believed to be present in Ke-le-ke-le B228, and KE-L-QĒ-LI B230, where -ke- and -qē-, without -ni, are further added, and ke-l-ke-ni Kar 28 4 LA, Ins 131 2 LA/S and KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B227, where -ni occurs with -ke-.[24]

The names Ke-ṣ̌-ye @ B233, also spelt K-š̌-ye, and KE-ŠĒ-TE-YE B232 are examples of k(e)- with the verb -š̌(e)-. [25]

IV i As regards the suffix -k(e)-, it occurs without -ñ-, or any of its other forms, with the verb -d(e)-

in e-de-ke: Tañ 48 OS, e-d-ke-te: Tañ 39,43, i-d-k-te-y: Tañ 46 and n-d-ke-te: Tañ 124-25. [26] In Š-LE-KE-TE-Y B514, also S-LE-KI-YE B467, and Ke-le-ke-le B228 on the one hand and Š-le-qe-te-yi @ B515 and KE-L-QĒ-LI B230 on the other we have the suffixes -ke(i)- and -qe(ē)- in parallel constructions involving the verb -l(e)-. Furthermore, in the names without š(s)- [27] we have the prefix ke- [27] added to -l(e)-ke(qē)-, the construction of the names being of the pattern ke-de-k(q)e. [27]

An example of the verb -š- receiving -k(e)- without -ñ- is Š-ke-l-ye @ B509, having a variant writing as Š-K-LI-YE.[28]

IV ii Without -k(e,i)- the ending -ñ(ni)- appears with the verb -d- in d-q-ni: Tañ 157 OS, 154, d-qe-ni-wl: Tañ 120-21 and MŠ-D-NI B351, with the verb -l(i)- in Y-l-x-ñ @ C35, y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 8, 9 L Bl and I-li-ñ @ B205, and with the verb šē(i)- in šē-ni Kar 45 4 LS, Šē-ni B483 and Ši-ni-ye B500.[29]

IV iii Both suffixes are received by the verb -d(e)- in de-qe-ni-ke Ob I 5, d-q-ni-k: Tañ 39 OS, de-qe-ni-ke-wl: Ob IV 10, i-d-n-ki: Tañ 157 and A-DE-QE-N-K Bll [30], by the verb -l(e)- in e-l-x-ñ-ki: Ibr 20 OS, YI-L-HE-N-K

B697, ke-l-ke-ni Kar 28 4 LA, Ins 131 2 LA/S and KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B227 [30], where in the last two names their order is reversed as it is with š- in š-ke-ñē: Serra 13 LS, Š-K-Ñ-YE B513, Š-KI-N-LE̤ B511, also written Š-KI-N-LI.̤[30] The name KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL differs from the group ke-l-ke-ni only in so far as it has -he- and -wl, which the latter lacks. But -he-, as one can judge from YI-L-HE-N-K, is the dativel postposition and -wl is the same factor slightly distinguishing de-qe-ni-ke-wl, from the shorter form de-qe-ni-ke. Therefore, ke-le-...-ke-ni in KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL must be the same thing as ke-l-ke-ni, and the whole name seems to combine the elements of this group and Ke-l-hē @ B229, mentioned in sub-division III ii above. The ending -ke-ni-wl here must be of the same function as -ni-ke-wl in de-qe-ni-ke-wl above, of which it is evidently a reshuffled version. If ke-l-ke-ni, a descriptive phrase introducing the feminine names A-dē-ye B16 and Mt-l-be B360, be parsed as a verbal complex perhaps functioning as a noun, Ke-le-ke-le B228, also a feminine name, might be its participial counterpart using -ke- without -ni and -le as a participial ending.[31]

V On the analogy of y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 8,9 L B1, ye-re-s-ni: Mer 9 6 L B1 and yi-d-xe-s-ni Mer 9 12, in the

three of which -l-, -re- and -d-(xe)- are thought to be verbs [32], one has the impression that ye-k-s-ni: Mer 8 11 L B1, ye-k-s-ni: Mer 8 12 and [ye]-k-s-ni: Mer 8 11 should also be a verbal complex containing -k- as a verb. Removing the verb suffix -s- from this group leaves us with ye-k-ni*, which is an agreeable version of yi-k(e)-ñ- in Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be B694 and Yi-k-ñ-t-rē-r @ B695, in which -t- might be the well known suffix [33], -l- and -rē-r the participial endings, and -be, in the former, the plural suffix.[33] Accordingly, A-ki-ñ-t-rē-r @ C2 presumably uses a- as a prefix instead of yi-. The compounds yi-ke-ñ-...-l-... and yi(a)-k(i)-ñ-...-rē-r in these names seem to be partly preserved in Y-K-LI B713, I-K-RĒ-R & C12, N-k-ñ B373 and ñ-ke-t: Serra 14 LS. The prefix n- of the last name interchanges with y-, of Y-K-LI, in N-KE-LI B371, and these two names themselves are apparently combined in -y-n-k-li, of TB-H-RE-Y-N-K-LI B543 [35] and appear to have a prefixless form juxtaposed with are-ki-, as a writing of ar(ē)-k(i)- in Arē-k-ye B78 and Ar-ki-ye B87, in Are-ki-k-li B70. [35] Both members of the infixed compound -ñ-t-, in Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be, Yi-k-ñ-t-rē-r and A-ki-ñ-t-rē-r @ may be identified as the well-known suffix -ñ-, present in N-k-ñ, and the verbal suffix -t-, present in the group ñ-ke-t:.[35] Of the above, only the last name and the group can be classified as verbal complexes, the rest

appearing to be either themselves, or containing, participles, owing to their ending in -l(i), -rē-r or -ye.

If the view about the durative implication of -k(e,i)- be accepted [36] and that the same component is the verb in the above names, one becomes inclined towards suggesting that, like nouns, this component can be verbalized and might mean "to be (for a prolonged time)", i.e. "to remain", "last", "endure".[36] Consequently, while N-k-ñ might mean "may she remain, last!", the participles Y-K-LI and N-KE-LI might mean "one who remains, lasts". At this point one suggests that the same treatment should be accorded -ke- in Yē-ke-ml-n-tē(s-lē) @ E19. As a verbal complex ending in -tē it perhaps accepts rendering as "may he/she endure well!" and as a participle ending in -s-lē it seems to accept interpretation as "belonging to him/her that endures well!", or the like. In either case, the component -ml(-n)- has been considered as an adverbial phrase.[37]

Without necessarily rejecting Griffith's postulation, JEA 3 27, that W-YE-KI-YE B669 might be formed from the Nubian word for 'star' furnished with -ye, one might alternatively analyse the name as a participle using -ki- as a verb prefixed and suffixed with -ye- to form

-ye-ki-ye that further receives w-. The last component has been encountered many times added to verbal complexes using the prefix y(e,i)-.[38] This analysis gains more plausibility if we compare -ye-ki-te, in w-ye-ki-te Far 21 10-11 TA (=HinD 118), Far 21 11-13 TA (=HinD 138), Meroe 6 1 OS, with which Griffith, loc.cit., also realizes this name is related , with yi-ke-ñ-t- in Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be above, from which it differs in lacking the suffix -ñ- .[39] Therefore, it seems that, while -ye-ki-te, in w-ye-ki-te, might accept interpretation as a verbal complex, -ye-ki-ye, in W-YE-KI-YE, might accept treatment as a participle.

Lastly, in this sub-division, one mentions A-ke-s-ye B31, which, according to this splitting, might contain the same verb prefixed with a- and suffixed with -s-, previously seen with -k- in ye-k-s-ni above, and -ye of W-YE-KI-YE.

VI The occurrence of aki-, which is graphically identical with the compound resulting from the presence of a- with the verb prefix -ki-[40], with -lē in aki-lē Ins 129 8 LS (=HinD 339) makes one wonder whether this aki- is a noun. This view agrees with one alternative analysis of Aki-li-ble @ B32, namely as a defined noun (aki-li-) juxtaposed with an undefined one (-ble).[41] If the same word is retained in

the place-name aki-ñ, known from aki-ñ-te-lē: Kar 47 1-2 LS (=HinD 109), to quote but one of its instances, this place-name will perhaps be derived from aki- by means of -ñ. Such a derivation calls to mind the same means used to build certain names and groups by the addition of this suffix, or one of its variant spellings, to ml(ē)- , yielding ml-ñ: Kar 12 4-5 LS (=HinD 95), and a few others.[42] Other such nouns and compounds in names that one may mention are perhaps the place-name tm-ñ, in tm-ñ-te-lē: Kar 47 4 LS (=HinD 115) and the compound tme-ñ- in Tme-ñ-s-l B602.[42]

From here one is led on to the name AKI-NI-D-D £ B33, to use its best known version, in which aki-ni- might be a varying writing of aki-ñ- in view of the fact that -ni and -ñ interchange. According to this analysis, the name is considered to consist of a noun suffixed with -ni- and added to a verbal complex of the pattern -de-te, since the second member of the reduplicated -d seems to be the suffix -t changed into -d.[43] This is one interpretation. The second interpretation is to treat both aki-, accepting further splitting as a-ki-, and -ni- as prefixes received by the verbal complex -d-d, the resulting construction being of the pattern ke-de-te.[43] Should the first alternative analysis of the name be more acceptable, one may compare

Al VI - VII

Tme-y-d-d @ & B605, which, together with the above name, forms yet another pair in which aki- and tm(e)- are found in parallelism.[44]

VII There might be yet another -ke- that is perhaps a postposition meaning 'as far as (?)', as one may infer from Griffith's rendering of qeš-w:adere-ke:mtr:ws:

hr-w:pilqē-ke:mtr:ws: Ins 94 22 L

as 'qeš-wards to Azere', 'northwards to Pilak (Philae)', M II 31. Dr Macadam takes the same suffix as meaning 'from', while Zyhlarz, ZyM 462 E, translates it as 'of, out of'. In its meaning as 'from, out of', -ke- appears to be present in Šyē-ke-li B541 [45], which might mean "one from Sai". In view of the fact that this lady's husband is described as being šye-te-li, which Griffith, RecCh 568 & n.3, translates as '(dwelling) in Sai', one feels that this name might be linked with the name of Sai. Another such example is npte-k: Mer 7 13 L S1, preceded by amnpte: Mer 7 12, which Griffith, Meroe 67, interprets as 'at (?) Napata'. The groups npte-te, known to us from many sources, and npte-k, will therefore form a pair parallel to šye-te- and šyē-ke-. One should also mention medewi-ke: Ibr 1-2 OS, and medewi-k: Tañ 53 OS, of which the former is translated by Dr Macadam,

in his as yet unpublished notes on the stela from Ibrim, as '...'and of Meroe.'

VIII The last type of k(e) to be mentioned is the one that sometimes appears with numerals. This element interests us because it behaves in a manner similar to that of k(e,i) in the names and relevant groups studied above. It similarly appears with or without ñ(n,ni) or fails to appear with the last where it is expected. When these component parts occur together, either of them may likewise precede the other.[46]

To give a few examples of this phenomenon with the numerals one mentions 14 ke-l-w Ins 64 2 L [47], 4 ke-l-w: Ins 70 L, 12 ke-ñ Ins 101 4 L, 5 ke-ñ Ins 101 8 L, 10 ke-ñ Ins 101 9 L, 5 ni Ins 89 11 L/TS and 34 ñ-k-w Ins 89 13 L/TS.

In ZyM 447 n.62, Zyhlarz draws attention to Qy following the numerals in Nast.St. 35,39,43-44,48,49 and Hars.St. 140. The same word recurs in Kawa XII 5 and Kawa X 7.[48]

A1 THE COMPONENT k(e,i) - FOOTNOTES.

1. See A13, especially V i, for the names with ar(ē)-. At- here is evidently a noun. There are two known nouns written in this way. One means 'bread', Kar vi 49 (=Kar 15), and the other means 'prophet', op.cit.60 (Kar 34). See at- in the names in A15 II ii. The word tere- is thought to be the name of "Hathor". See A14 IV v and A13 IV i, where it is known to interchange with arē-, believed to be the name of 'Horus', and amni- as a prefix to -tn-ide in TERI-TN-I[D]E £ B578 and, spelt terri-, in Terri-tn-ide @. See A3 III i a,b on -li, -l(ē-l) and -ye.

2. See II ii, iii below and A2 III i a 3 & n.56 for -d-xe- and A8 I i, II ii for -tk-. Both -ke- and -ki- are here preceded by a-, which is evidently a verb prefix. See A12 II i. See also the alternation between a- and e- in II i n.17 below.

3. See A5 V ii b & n.45, A3 IV ii c on -tē(s-lē) and -ti(s-li).

4. See A14 I i, iii, IV i, ii for the noun teñ-, of which ten- is a different writing, A14 III ii b for the compound-verb -tn-ide and A22 I i, iii for -(wi-)tr in the last name.

5. See point 1 n.1 on tere- and point 2 n.2 on -tk as

well as for the reference for the prefix a- in a-ki-tk-rē. See also the alternation between a- and e- below.

6. That -pl(e) is a verb needs no proof, for the word is known from i-pl—te Formula D1 Kar 101 19 LA. See also A5 V i for this component with -te, A5 V ii a for -tē, in its various forms, with the verb -d(e)-. For -d(e)-, in its different spellings with k(e,i)-, see A2 III i a 1,3, III iv a & n.100 and for the initial a- and e- of ak(e,i)- and eke- see n.17 below.

7. See sub-division I iii on the distinction between -ke- and -qe-, and A22 II ii for pk(q)r-tr-. Citing the instances in which verbal groups were introduced by e-qe-, Hintze, Kush 8 143-4, thought that this prefix perhaps indicated that the past tense, since the texts in which these occurred were historical. For the names and relevant groups containing this element and ke-, in their different forms, see A2 III i a 1,2,b,iv a,c.

8. See sub-division II i (end) below.

9. See All IV i a for ml(e,ē)- and mhe(ē)- as adjectival substantives and IV ii a for the same components with forms of -ñ and -ke. See also IV i-iii below for these suffixes with -l(e)- and -d(e)- and

II i for the addition of -k(e,i) to nouns and personal names. Compare TRE-KE-NI-WL £ B628 as another example of the reversal of the order of -ni- and -ke- but with a personal name.

10. See sub-divisions V, for -k(e) thought to act as a verb, and VI, for aki- which seems to be a noun. The last word resembles -ki- prefixed with a-. See I point 2 n.2 above.

10a. See A7 VI i for the dativa1 postpositions.

11. See A3 III i c, A5 VII iii on the verb suffix -s.

12. See sub-division II i below for some such nouns and also A7 III iii n.21 for a remark in favour of the probable durative aspect of -k(e,i)-.

13. See A6 IV i on s̆(e,ē,i)- and IV ii for s̆- in these names. See also A2 III i b.

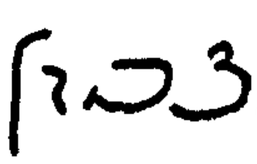
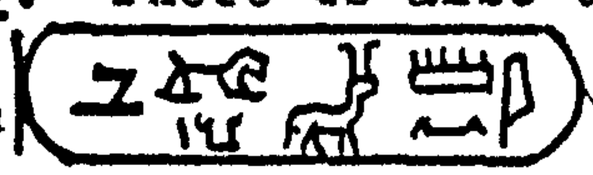
14. See sub-division I i 2,3 and A13 V i on the names with ar(e,ē,i)-, A21 I i and A7 II iv for those with (a)x-, A14 IV i & n.30 on AR-K-X-TNI and AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R, sub-division V below for more on Are-ki-k-li and A12 III iv a for -ye in the first two names above. In TRE-KE-NI-WL the order of -ni- and -ke- is reversed. For this phenomenon see I ii and for the suggestion that tre- is perhaps the name of "Hathor" see I i 1, 6, II ii above, A8 II iii & n.26 and A2 III iii a & n.91.

14a. See MIO 14 185 for Priese's discussion of ar(e,i)k(e). For the occurrence of -ke- and -wl with the verbs de- and -le- see I ii, IV iii.

15. See A3 III i b for the reduplicated -l-, A3 IV vii for the names with at- and -lē(i), both reduplicated and unreduplicated, and A22 I i, II i for the name ending in -wi-tr. For the names with b(e)le- and bli- see A20 II ii & n.6, also A3 III ii d & n.67, IV x a, A10 III vi for more views about some of them.

16. See A11 IV ii a for mle- and mhe-, and their variants, as adjectival substantives, also A12 III iv a for more about the name and the group ending in -ye(ē)-.

17. See A10 I i for kd(t)- and sub-division III ii, of the same reference, for the name and the groups, also A3 III i a on the participial ending and A3 III v on the groups and the names with both of the suffixes and the endings. See also A5 V i & n.38. If ak-, as it seems, is a way of writing the suffix -k(e,i)-, there is the possibility that ake- and aki-, discussed in I point 2 above, are variants of the verb prefix k(e,i)-. But since ake- and aki- occur in verbal complexes, where they seem to interchange with (e)ke- (I i point 6), it has been seen best to consider a- and e- as verb prefixes and to split ake- and aki- into a-ke- and a-ki-.

18. Qr- is a variant form of qēre, meaning 'ruler' without reference to sex. See MacN 56,58, also CSSH 7 no.4 471 n.34. The rendering of the Meroitic groups in a verbal sentence form implies that -ke may also behave as a verb, for which point see sub-division V below. The mention of qr-ke and the name related with it reminds one of the Meroitic king's name written in Demotic as  Dak 17, for which one suggests a Meroitic transliteration as A-QR-K-MNI*. See Hintze's vocalisation as Aqrakamani in HinS 56. There is also a Napatan King whose name is written  Nu 7, JEA 35 pl.xv 32a,b, vocalized by D.Dunham and M.F.L.Macadam, op.cit.144, as KARKAMANI. It appears to me that both the Demotic and the hieroglyphic versions are different ways of delineating the same name (borne by two different persons separated by centuries), the former part of which is perhaps identical in sense with qr-ke(i) above. The initial a- of the Demotic version is either prothetic or a verb prefix facilitating the rendering of the name in a sentence form, being in this case something of a copula. "Amon is an enduring ruler", or the like, is an attempt to interpret the content of these kings' name. Note that the construction of the Demotic version is similar to that of i-bl-k-mni:

Tañ 2 OS, mentioned above. See above & n.15.

19. See sub-division I i & nn.1,2. The medial -ye- in the last name may belong to either nš̃- or the verbal complex, or it might conceal two components written only once. On this point see A12 II ii & n.8, III ii a & n.31. See also A3 IV ii c for more on these names.

20. See sub-division II i above and A5 IV ii c on the name with -d-xe.

21. See A2 III i a 1 & n.46 for the groups of the pattern ke-de-, A2 II i & n.25 for those containing the verb and the dative, A2 III iii a for the groups of the pattern de-tē and A2 III iv a for those of the pattern ke-de-tē, whether or not they contain -b-.

22. See sub-division I v & n.13 on the situation when š̃- is added, A2 III i b for more such examples and A2 III i a 1 for the further addition of the suffix -k-.

23. See A3 II i on the verb -l(e,i)- and A3 II ii for the verb with the dative. On the participial ending see A3 III i a,b, on the two alternative views about A-ki-li-ble see sub-division VI below and A20 II ii, and for a few other instances of the enigmatic wi-, in its various spellings, see A12 II ii & n.7.

24. See sub-division IV i for the names containing -ke- and -qē- without -ni- and sub-division IV iii for those containing the former suffix with -ni-.

25. See A12 IV iii & n.70.

26. See A2 III ii a 2 & n.63.

27. See A6 IV iii & n.30 for the names with š(s)-, sub-division III iii above for the constructions involving the prefix ke- and its variants. For the pattern ke-de-k(q)e see A2 III i a 1. See also A3 II iv for more on the above names.

28. See A6 II i b, A3 IV v & n.114, A12 IV iii.

29. See A2 II ii, III ii b 1 for the name and the groups using -d-, A3 II ii & n.6 for the names and the groups employing the verb -l(i)-, especially A12 II iv for those with the prefix y-, and A6 II i b & n.12, A12 IV ii for the title and the names containing the verb šē(i)-.

30. See A2 III ii b 1 for the forms with the verb -d(e)-, A3 II ii, A7 VI ii c for the names and groups with the verb -l(e)-. In š-ke-ñē we have one more instance of a vowel after -ñ- , for which fact see A6 III n.21.

31. For verbal complexes appearing to function as nouns see (mke-)š-xe, šē-ni, š-ke,....etc., discussed under A6 II i a, A7 VI iv c. More about the name is said in sub-division III ii above and A3 IV iii & n.110.

32. See A3 IV x b.

33. See A5 V ii a & n.43, VIII ii & n.72, A3 IV x a & n.136.

34. Compare aki-, resulting from the occurrence of a- with -ki-, here with aki- studied in division VI below. See also the end of n.17 above.

35. See A3 IV x a. See also A7 II ii for the explanation of tb-h-re-, A12 II vi & n.16 for the names prefixed with y(e,i)-, sub-division II i above for Ar($\bar{e}$)-k(i)-ye, A5 V i for the verb suffix -t- and A5 VIII ii for more on the above names and the group containing it.

36. See sub-division I iv above on the possible durative implication of this component, also A9 II iii for -bre- as an example of a verbalized noun in Š-BRE-YE B476 and Yi-bre-te-y B689.

37. See A11 VI iii b, A5 VII ii, A12 II vi & n.16.

38. See A12 II ii & n.7 on w- in w-ye-d: Ins 94 10 L and compare the analysis of W-YE-TE-YE B670 in A12 II iii.

39. See A5 VIII ii.

40. See sub-divisions I i, ii, II i & n.17 above.

41. See sub-division III iii & n.23.

42. See A11 IV ii a for the names and groups with ml($\bar{e}$)- and A3 III ii c for Tme-$\tilde{n}$-s-l. It is relevant to cite Tm-l-$\tilde{n}$-mk-s-l B609, the -$\tilde{n}$- of which is separated from tm- by -l-. See A3 IV xi a,b & n.158 and A16 II.

43. See III i & n.21.

44. See A12 II ii & n.8, III ii a & n.33, A2 III iii a.

45. See A3 III v for more on this name.

46. See sub-divisions I ii, IV i-iii above.

47. Griffith, JEA 3 29, reads 24 ke-l-w instead of 14. See ZyM 444-7 for more on the numerals.

48. See Kawa I 69 11, 72 11 for Macadam's view about , op.cit.71 for Gunn's and ZAS 95 42-47 for Priese's discussion of these views. Dr Macadam thinks that Priese is right in believing in the Egypto-Napatan inscriptions to be a corn-measure and that this hieroglyph and the Meroitic -k(e)- to be two entirely different things. See JEA 3 116 for being equivalent of the Meroitic k.

THE VERB id(e), d(e,ēi)

I i It seems to me that no proof is needed for the above being the various ways in which the word, thought by Dr. Macadam, MacN 60, to mean 'to give', is written, for this fact will become evident in the numerous citations that will be made in the course of the lengthy discussion soon to follow.[1] Dr. Macadam's rendering of ide(i-de), MacN O Plqe, which he splits into the prefix i- and the verb -de, seems to be vindicated by the noticeable parallelism between certain constructions involving the verbs de- and l-, in their different forms.[2] Since the meaning of the verb -l 'to give' is more certainly established, there is therefore evidence that the former should have the same meaning.

As is always the case when certain verbs begin with a-, e- or i-, when one finds any one of the forms of (e,i)ade, or something similar beginning with a vowel, one is not sure whether to take this vowel as part of the word itself or as a verb prefix. For instance, ide MacN O Plqe, mentioned above, accepts analysis as a prefixless verb or as a verb prefixed with i-. According to the suggested standardized splitting of such compound verbs as -tn-ide, -tk-ide and even -mk-ide, the component -ide appears as a

A2 I i - ii a

single word.[3] The occurrence of de-b-x: Tañ 115-116 OS alongside e-de-b-x: Tañ 137, i-de-b-x: Tañ 27, i-de-b-xi: Tañ 127, and of de-qe-ni-ke: Ob I 5, ...etc., alongside A-DE-QE-N-K B 11, prompted me to isolate e-, i- and a- from the verb -d(e) and to treat them as prefixes.[4]

I ii a On a number of occasions the view has been expressed that Meroitic appears to have compound-verbs formed by the addition of the verb -ide, or its variant, to a noun or a verb, or to a word that can function as both, the construction of the resulting compound-verb being N+V or V+V, or N/V+V. The best known compound-verbs are believed to be tk-ide, tn-ide, mk-ide and wi-de. Since tk- is certainly a verb, found in very few cases perhaps acting as a noun, the construction of tk-ide is thought to be V/N+V.[5] While tn- is almost as frequently used as a noun as it is as a verb, mk- is best known as a noun though it can sometimes act in a verbal capacity, the construction of both of tn-ide and mk-ide therefore being N/V+V.[5]

Wi-, in wi-de, is problematical, for it can be a verb or a particle or the unidentified element that so peculiarly appears prefixed to verbs and verbal complexes. Whether or not this obscure element is the same thing as the particle

-wi, is something as yet undetermined, though there seems to be some indications suggesting their identification with one another.

The mention of tk- probably justifies the inclusion of th-(i)de as a compound-verb, since th- has been suggested to be related to, if not a variant spelling of,this word.[6] We have not many instances of th-, and the few that we have, these being written the(i)-, suggest that it is perhaps a noun, in which case the construction of th-(i)de is possibly N+V.[6] To the above compound-verbs one may also add š-x-ide, also spelt š-x-di, and tr-q-ide, having a variant writing as -tr-qe-de. From what has been said about the former elsewhere, this should contain a substantive (š-x-) and the verb -ide(-di), while from the analysis of the latter below one considers it to contain a verb -tr-q(e)- (it is perhaps more apt to describe it as a verbal complex) and -(i)de.[7]

Though the individual component parts of Lh-id-mni @ £ B 245 are very familiar, yet it is difficult to interpret the name because one cannot determine the possible relationship between any one of its components and the others. Whether lh- is here used as a predicate or as an adjectival substantive or whether lh-id- is a compound-verb of the type of tn-ide (i.e.N/V+V), formed by lh-, as

an adjective verb or as an adjectival substantive, and the verb -id, is something far from being determinable.[8] Since the last possibility seems to me to be the least unlikely of the three, lh-id- might be a compound-verb.[8]

I ii b The view that Meroitic appears to have compound-verbs, especially in the case of those compound-verbs formed by the addition of -(i)de, or its variant, to a noun, calls to mind the practice of forming such compound-verbs in Coptic by suffixing substantives to verbs in their construct forms, the former acting as objects thereof.[9] For example in Sa'idic ⲙⲉϩⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'to draw water', the word ⲙⲟⲟⲩ 'water' is the object following the verb ⲙⲉϩ- 'to fill' in its construct form, the absolute form of which is ⲙⲟⲩϩ .[9] Because in Coptic the compound-verb is treated as a single word, neither the verb nor the complement (i.e. the noun) can accept the treatment usually accorded it when occurring separately. Therefore, in such cases when the simple form of the verb must occur in its absolute form, for example when it receives ⲣⲉϥ- , because of its being part of a compound the verb retains its construct form. Again, as object of the verb the noun, in normal conditions, would be expected to receive either the definite or

indefinite article. But here it does not. It is because the verb and the noun are so tightly bound together that, again using ⲙⲉϩ and ⲙⲟⲟⲩ above, one could speak of ⲡⲣⲉϥⲙⲉϩⲙⲟⲟⲩ. Had it not been so, Coptic would have said ⲡⲣⲉϥⲙⲟⲩϩⲛ̄ⲙⲡⲙⲟⲟⲩ *, using the absolute form of the verb with ⲣⲉϥ- and ⲛ̄ (changed into ⲙ̄) and the definite article with the noun.

If this practice were extended to Meroitic one would expect the nominal object of this kind of compound-verb, consisting of a noun and a verb, to precede the verb in accordance with Meroitic Grammar. This is precisely what not only tn-, in -tn-ide, but also mk-, in -mk-ide, th-, in th-(i)de-, and š-x(e,i)-, in -š-x-ide and š-x-di, are doing by preceding the verb -(i)de. But, as might have been noticed, whether it is a noun or a verb, the word with which -(i)de, or its variant, is compounded always precedes this verb in Meroitic. That, as in Coptic, the Meroitic compound-verb is treated as a single word is proven by the occurrence of, for example, -tn-ide in yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l: Ak I 1 OS, where the entire compound-verb receives the prefix yi-, the plural dative and the participial ending -l.[10]

I do not want to be carried away by the comparison of Meroitic compound-verbs with Coptic into taking -(i)de

"to give", when it is compounded with verbs in the construction V+V, as effecting causativeness, thus equating it with Coptic ⲧⲁϩⲓ and translating tn-ide, for instance, as "to cause tn-", but it does seem not to be beyond the bounds of probability.

So much for the subject of the compound-verbs in Meroitic. Since the occasion did not arise for the compound-verbs wi-de and tr-q-ide, in their various forms, to be discussed fully anywhere else, it is necessary that they be examined here, especially when the names and relevant groups containing them will be studied comparatively with those using the simple verb -ide and the other compound-verbs in the course of the following discussion. These two verbs will be dealt with in sub-divisions I iii and I iv respectively.

I iii a In the present sub-division I will examine the compound-verb wi-de, also we-de, analysing its contents and suggesting a standardized way of splitting it as well as similarly formed verbs. I do not intend to study here more of the names and relevant groups, in which this word occurs, than is enough to make us understand the nature of this verb, for some of such names and groups will be studied in comparison with those using the simple verb -ide and the other

compound-verbs in the discussion below,the rest being studied in a separate division on their own.[11]

When ide or one of its variants follows the component w(e,$\bar{e}$,i) forming the compound -wid(e,$\bar{e}$)-,also -we-de-, it is always difficult to split this compound owing to the inability to determine whether the medial -i- belongs to wi- (in which case -d(e,$\bar{e}$) will be the component needed to complete the compound -wid(e,$\bar{e}$) to be split as wi-d(e,$\bar{e}$))or to -id(e,$\bar{e}$) (in which case the writing of the first component part will be w(e,$\bar{e}$)- and the splitting of the compound will be w-id(e,$\bar{e}$)), or whether it belongs to both of them, both components being fully written, yielding wi-id(e,$\bar{e}$)* of which the two medial -i-'s are assimilated and written as one letter (i.e. wid(e,$\bar{e}$))[12] I am under the impression that there are at least two types of this compound; the first consists of the particle -w($\bar{e}$,i) and the verb -(i)de and the second of the verbs -w(e,$\bar{e}$,i)- and -(i)de. Though one cannot allocate all such compounds in the respective categories, yet one can probably identify a few as belonging to the one (particle+verb) or the other (verb+verb).[13]

I iii b The compound -wide in Mli-wi-de @ B 316 appears

to me to consist of the particle -w(ē,i)- and the verb -(i)de, the former one of which occurs very often with ml(e,ē,i)-.[14] This is a useful evidence for the presence of the particle in this compound.

The other type of w(e,ē,i) involved in this compound seems to be a verb. Comparing TE-WI-DE B 580, also accepting splitting as TE-W-IDE, with Te-wi-ñ-ye B 581, one has the feeling that the compound te-wi-, consequently the component -wi-, in the first name are respectively identical with te-wi- and -wi- in the second name. But -wi- in the latter is one of the many ways of writing the verb -w(e,ē,i)-, known, among many other names and groups, in Te-we-li B 579, N-WE-LI (?) B 393 and N-we-nē-ke @ B 394. While retaining the prefix te- of the first name, replaced by n- in the last two names and with i- and -n- in i-n-we-tē Tañ 136 OS, Te-wi-ñ-ye shows -ñ-, the variant of -nē- in the last name, without -ke, and -ye, which is known to function like -li present in the first two names.[15]

My impression is that -we(i)- in these names and the group is most likely identical with the verb in the funerary formulae p-wi-h-te: Formula A Kar 125 17 LA, p-ši-we-k-te Formula B Kar 36 15-16 LA, p-wi-xr-tē Formula B Kar 22 12 LA, p-wi-tx: Formula C Kar 68 8 LS and yi-we-b-x-te Formula F Ins

137b 5 LA.[16] The compounds -wi-xr- and -wi-tx-, formed by -xr- and -tx-, the original verbs of Formulae B and C respectively, with -wi-, in my opinion are compound-verbs. If -wi- is compounded with -xr- and -tx- here, there is no reason why in its various forms it cannot be compounded with -(i)d(e,$\bar{e}$) to yield -w(i)d(e,$\bar{e}$) and we-de.

I iii c Now we have the particle -w($\bar{e}$,i)- and the verb -w(e,$\bar{e}$,i)- both of which occur with -(i)de and its variants to produce different forms of the compound -w(i)de. The following is the standardized splitting I suggest for this compound.[17] When the verb or particle w- (in other words, when the component has no vowel) is taken to be the component involved, -ide will then be the suffix, the splitting of the resulting compound being w-ide. But when it is the component -wi-, whether it be the particle or the verb (in other words, when the component preceding -(i)de ends in -i) that is considered to be involved, either -ide, or simply -de, is suffixed. In the event of -ide being the one suffixed to -wi-, the result is -wi‿ide*, written -wide because one of the two identical medial letters (-i‿i-) is assimilated with the other, only one -i- being written. But when it is -de that is suffixed to -wi-, the resulting compound automatically splits

into -wi-de. It seems to me that in both cases it is best to standardize the splitting of this compound as wi-de so that it may be immediately understood that -(i)de is suffixed to a component ending in -i. Finally, when it is thought that the particle -wē- or the verb -we(ē)- is present with -(i)de to yield different forms of the compound-verb, the addition of -ide makes the final -e(ē) of we(ē) coalesce with the initial i- of -ide, the resulting compound-verb being split as w-ide.[18] On the other hand, if -de is the one that is added the compound we(ē)de is formed which automatically splits into we(ē)-de. I have not as yet encountered the form wē-de*, but -we-de- forms part of A-WE-DE-Q-RĒ-R B 112.[19]

In conclusion, one may summarize the above discussion of the splitting of -we(ē,i)de as follows. When the compound in question is here split as w-ide, this means that -ide is considered to be suffixed to both the particle and the verb -w-, having no ending at all, or to the particle -wē- and the verb -we(ē)-, respectively ending in -ē and -e(ē)-. Whereas when it is split as wi-de, this means that either -ide or -de is thought to be suffixed to the particle or the verb -wi-. But when it is split as we(ē)-de it is to be understood that -de is added to the particle wē- or the verb we(ē)-, bearing in mind that wē-de* as a variant of we-de has not.

A2 I iii c - iv

as yet been found. This system of splitting may be applied when we are in a position to know what the writing of the different components is. When, however, I am not sure of this I am compelled again to split this compound as wi-de, this being a compromise solution. It must be noted that whether this compound is split as wi-de or w-ide, this does not affect its meaning because the respective components are of the same meanings in both cases.[20]

I iv From what has been said under A22 I iii there seems to be enough reason to believe that tr-q- is perhaps formed by a verb -tr- and the suffix -q- and that it might be prefixed with the well known prefix p- in p-tr-q Ins 103 5 L, the construction of which classifies it as a verbal complex. The same compound might be reversed in qe-tr-ri Ins 85 2 LS.[21] Both compounds will therefore be of the patterns de-qe and qe-de.[21] Therefore if -tr-q and qe-tr- correspond to -de-q- and -q-d- of Pe-de-q-ye B407 and P-q-d-ye B426, the group p-tr-q will correspond to pe-de-q- of the former name.[21] When suffixed with -ñe, [22] the former compound, written tr-qi-, produces Tr-qi-ñe @ B633, and with -ye it gives Tr-q-ye @ B635, this, with or without -ye, being contained in the theophorous name MS-TR-Q(-YE) B356.

Furthermore, the addition of -ide, or probably merely -de if we are dealing with the compound tr-qi- of Tr-qi-ñe, produces Ṭr-q-ide B 632, itself forming a part of the theophorous name MNI-TR-Q-IDE & B 330 and the non-theophorous name Mli-tr-q-ide B 314, alternatively spelt Mli-tr-[q]ẹ-de. It therefore appears justifiable to consider -tr-q as a simple verb (it is not quite a simple verb, but rather a compound according to the terminology used in this work) and -tr-q-ide as a compound-verb.

That Tr-q-ye @ and Ṭr-q-ide only need the names of the deities mš̌- 'Mash' and mni- 'Amon' so as to be transformed into MŠ̌-TR-Q-YE, using this writing of the name, and MNI-TR-Q-IDE immediately raises the question whether the former two names are in fact shorter writings of the theophorous names and that the deities' names being understood are omitted from them.[23]

In the light of what has been said in this and the previous sub-divisions, I will next study the names and relevant groups using the different writings of the verb -ide, both in its simple and compounded forms. These will be followed by a classification of the compounds containing the verb into the patterns k(q)e-de (sub-division III i), de-k(q)e

A2 I iv - II i

(sub-division III ii), de-te(ē) (sub-division III iii) and k(q)e-de-te(ē) (sub-division III iv), to be concluded with a final sub-division (III v) in which only the names using the simple verb directly suffixed with -ye(i) will be mentioned. In division IV I wish to discuss the names and relevant groups employing the compound-verb wi-de, in its various spellings, which have not been studied elsewhere.

II i In the study of the names and relevant groups using the various writings of -ide, in its simple or compounded form, outside the above-mentioned patterns, I will include the constructions containing the adverbial infix ñ(n,nē,ni). Though the last element is usually studied in conjunction with -k(e,i), it has been thought more appropriate that this should be studied in this section.[24]

The same verb, prefixless or prefixed with i(e)-, used with the plural dative in the verbal complexes i-de-b-x: Tañ 27 OS, i-de-b-xi: Tañ 126, e-de-b-x: Tañ 137, de-b-x: Tañ 115-116,[25] seems to appear, but with the dative singular, prefixed with ye-, in ye-d-xi: Ak I 5 OS, and with a- in the participles A-d-xi-ye @ B 17 and A-DI-H-LI B 18, it being prefixless in -d-x-r, in NT-D-X-R B 386 and TEN-D-X-R B 565.[25]

The adverbial element -ñ̃(nē)-, in one instance preceded by -s-, appears with -d-x-, the resulting compound receiving y-, in y-d-x-nē MuGr 31 1-2 O, y-ḍ-x-nē Kawa 73 2 T Gr, and [y-d]-x-nē MuGr 28 2 O, ši- in ši-de-x-nē Ins 91 2 O Gr (=Kush 9 283 n.2) and t-, in t-d-x-s-ñ̃: Tañ̃ 164 OS and t-d-x-s-ñ̃-li: Ob I 7.[26] Without -ñ̃(nē), the compound -d-x(e)-recurs with t- in t-d-x-s: Ibr 4 OS and -t-d-xe-s in Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 377, losing its t- in Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B 72 and Nš̆-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 385, according to one way of looking at these names,[27] in which case -lē will function like -li in t-d-x-s-ñ̃-li above.

With the dative spelt -h-, the verb is written -de- prefixed with p- and -š̆- and suffixed with -ye in P-Š̆-DE-H-YE B 430.[28]

II ii The same elements added to the verb with the dative are again used with the dativeless writings of -ide, whether or not extra components are present. So we have ye-d: Ins 94 9, 16 L, w-ye-d: Ins 94 10 (cf.ye-d-xi:), A-dē-ye B 16 and Yi-dē-ye B 691 (cf.A-d-xi-ye @), losing their prefixes when suffixed to ax- and mš̆- in Ax-dē-ye B 22 and Mš̆-dē-ye @ B 350, and finally A-de-li-ye @ B 9, which is similar to the prefixless -dē-lē added to amni- and -xe- in Amn-xe-dē-lē @ £ B 43.[29] Since -lē(i) and -ye interchange as participial endings, one considers the compounds formed

by -de(ē)- and either, or both, of these suffixes as participles. In three of the last four names we see the verb used in participles prefixed with the noun ax- once, with a deity's name (mš- 'Mash') once and with both -xe-, the variant of ax-, and a deity's name (amn- 'Amon') once more.[29]

The -s and -ñ of t-d-x-s-ñ: above, the latter one spelt -ni, again appear but with the dativeless verb -d(ē)- to form the verbal complexes -dē-s and -d-ni suffixed to ax- and mš- in Ax-dē-s B 21 and MŠ-D-NI B 351, both of which form a pair corresponding to Ax-dē-ye and Mš-dē-ye.[30]

The compound t-d-, remaining after the removal of the dative and the suffixes -s- and -ñ of t-d-x-s-ñ:, seems to recur in its entirety with np-, believed to be the name of "Anubis", in Np-t-d-le @ B 378, and to have varying writings as t-id-, -ti-dē and -te-de present with -bli, he- and kdi- in T-ID-BLI B 590, He-ti-dē @ B 192 and Kdi-te-de £ B 221.[31] Variants of the same t(e,i)- and -id/de(ē)- are separated from one another by -mli- in Te-mli-de @ B 563 and d-te-mlē-de-te Tur 16 LS, and by -qēr- in TE-QĒR-IDE-(A)MNI £ B 573.[32]

The association of -mlē(i)- with -de reminds

us of the names Mli-de-b-s @ B 304, Mli-d-w-s @ B 305, in which it occurs with the simple verb, and X-dē-k-mli @ B 174 where it is présent with the verbal complex -dē-k-..[33] While N-š-di-ye B 381 retains the dateiveless verb, -š- and -ye, replacing p- with n-, of P-Š-DE-H-YE B 430, the name Pi-de-ye B 417 and the compound -pe-de-yi, in Te-pe-de-yi B 569, retain the same verb and its accompaniments p(e,i)- and -ye(i).[34] P(i)- and t(i)- directly connected with, or separated by -ñ- from, one another appear with the dativeless verb in Pi-ñ-ṭi-ḍe B 418 and Wl-amni-p-ti-de & B 666, both prefixes being perhaps replaced by t- and -y- in T-Y-TI-DE B 643.[35]

II iii a Looking at the names and relevant groups using the compound-verbs we observe a certain parallelism between them and those using the simple verb, with or without the dative, in that they all occur with the same prefixes and suffixes.[36] While neither the verb prefix nor the suffix appears with the simple verb in de-b-x: or the compound-verbs Tk-id @ B 594, -ten-ide, in Šr-be-ten-ide @ B 526, Tñ-yi-di @ B 617 and TÑ-YE-WI-DE B 616, and Tr-q-ide @ B 632, also in Mli-tr-q-ide B 314, the suffix -s- and -ñ, known from t-d-x-s-ñ:, are shared by a-š-x-dē-s: Tañ 147 OS, where -š-x-dē- seems to be a varying way of spelling

A2 II iii a:

š-x-ide prefixed with a-, MŠ-D-NI B 351 and Š-x-di-ñę @ B487.[37]

Š(i)-, in ši-de-x-nē, P-Š-DE-H-YE B 430 and N-š-di-ye B 381 again appears with -tk-id in Ši-tk-id @ B 506 and with -wi-dē in š-wi-dē: Ak I 23, 33 OS, while p(i)-, in the last name and Pi-de-ye B 417, recurs as p(e)- with the same compounds or their variants in Wēš-p-tk-ide @ B 655, p-wi-de:(mlē-l) Mer 8a 3 L Bl, 9a 2 L Bl, pe-wi-de:m[lē-l] Hin 8a (= HinS 46 pl.ix fig 50)and p-wi-dē: Ak II 9 OS.[38] TE-WI-DE B 580 and te-wi-dē: Ibr 35 OS are prefixed with the same te- so often seen withthe simple verb, which, combined with p(i)- in Pi-ñ-ṭi-ḍe B 418 and -p-ti-de, in Wl-amni-p-ti-de & B 666, reappears with the same element in T-p-wi-de @ B 621 and P-t-mk-ide @ E 12.[39]

In ye-d:, ye-d-xi:, Yi-dē-ye B 691, (ar:)yi-wi-ḍe: Mer 7 5 LS, Yi-w-id-ye B 711 and yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l: Ak I 1 OS, we see yi- prefixed to the simple verb -d(ē)- as well as to the compound-verbs -w-id-, also written -wi-de, and -tn-ide-.[40] As in the above two names using -dē- and -w-id-, the suffix -ye perhaps also functions as a participial ending in Tk-id-ye B 596, alternatively written Tki-dē-ye, and Th-de-ye B 587, where tk-id/tk-i-dē- and th-de- are compound-verbs.[41]

II iii b The particle w-,[42] present in w-ye-d: Ins 94 10 L (cf. ye-d: in sub-division II ii), is written we(i)- and added to the compound-verb -tk-id(e) in Wi-tk-ide @ B 663. (Tk-id @), We-tk-id-l-be @ B 648 and S̃-WE-Y-TK-IDE B 539, it being inserted between the component parts of the compound-verb in T̃N-YE-WI-DE B 616 (cf. T̃n-yi-di @).[42]

In the same way ax-, as an adjectival substantive, is added to the simple verb -dē- in Ax-dē-s B 21, Ax-dē-ye B 22 and others, so it is again added to the compound-verb -tkk-id in AXE-TKK-ID B 24.[43] Another adjectival substantive, namely mle(i)-, familiar with -d(e)- in Mli-de-b-s @ B 304, Mli-d-w-s @ B 305, ...etc., is part of Mli-th-ide B 312, Mli-tr-q-ide B 314 and Mli-wi-de B 316, in which -th-ide, -tr-q-ide and -wi-de have been argued to be compound-verbs.[44]

II iii c Lastly, we have the theophorous names containing the simple verb, as is in MS̃-Ḍ-NI B 351 and Mš̃-dē-ye @ B 350, and the compound-verbs -tk-id(e)-, as is in Wēš̃-p-tk-ide @ B 655, TK-IDE-MNI (H) £ B 595, TK-Ṭ-ID-MNI £ B 598, tn-ide, having variant forms as -ten-ide and t̃n-yi-, in its different spellings, as is in AMNI-TN-IDE B 50, ARĒ-TN-IDE £ B 80, Arē-tn-ide @,

TERI-TN-I[Ḍ]E £ B 578, Terri-tn-ide @, MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) £ B 327, TÑ-YI-D-MNI £ B 618 and -tr-q-ide, as is in MNI-TR-Q-IDE £ B 330,[45] and possibly lb-id-, as is in Lb-id-mni @ B 245.[45]

III i a 1 In this sub-division I wish to study the names and relevant groups formed entirely, or partly, by the various writings of compounds of the patterns ke-de and qe-de. These are best represented by e-ke-d: Tañ 5 OS and e-qe-de: Ibr 29 OS.[46] So far as the verb -d(e)- in its various spellings is concerned, there seems to be no name combining k(q)e- with -k(q)e.[47] Of the groups, we have e-qe-de-ke Kawa 32 O Gr, of which I have not as yet found an exact word for word parallel either in the form e-ke-de-ke* or e-ke-de-ke-te*. However, a fairly close one may be seen in ke-de-b-xe-k-y: Ins 94 11 L, an extension of ke-de-b-x: Ins 94 20 L by adding -k- and -y, the last group itself being an extension of de-b-x: Tañ 115-116 OS.[48] If one removes the plural dative -b-xe- and the suffix -y from ke-de-b-xe-k-y the remainder is ke-de-k*, which could be the parallel of -qe-de-ke.

In addition to the above, ke-de- occurs in ke-de-kdi-li Far 21 23 TA (=HinD 335), which has a parallel

A2 III i a 1

with the compound-verb -tn-ide in AT-KI-TN-IDE-YE B104 and Teñ-ki-tn-ide @ B567.[49] It also seems to be written -k-id in DĒRE-K-ID B162, where dēre- itself is likely to be a variant spelling of the place-name dēr-, in dēr-te-lē-wi Kar 69 10 LA (=HinD 121).[50] At this juncture one asks leave for a short digression concerning dēr(e)-. There is a place-name adere-, found in the groups adere-ke Ins 94 22,32.L, adere-te Kar 56 6 LS (=HinD 304), written aderi- in aderi-mk-mlē, Kush vi pl.xxvi no.57 S 2, and adr- in Adr-mk-d-d @ E2 and Adr-mk-de-te-li @ E3.[51] Griffith, Kar vi 82, observes that adere- is a place-name that is mentioned with atiye and šdes, both of which places are allocated in the Second Cataract region. Dr Macadam identifies adere-, in its variant forms, with Soleb.[51] So if dēr(e)- is meant for ad(e)r(e,i)-, then the present name includes the name of Soleb. It must be remembered that DR (?) B167, looking like adr- without a-, and Adērē @ B14 are names in their own right borne by people from the northern Meroitic region and might be derivatives of the same word above.

What has been said about -k-id in DĒRE-K-ID may be said about it in W-D-K-ID B645, alternatively spelt W-ID-K-ID, and Tb-k-id @ B547. The component w-d- in the former name is obviously a vowelless wi-de-, while

A2 III i a 1 - 2

the first part of the latter name (i.e. ṯb-) looks like a variant of the noun tbi-, familiar from Tbi-ye @ B 546.[52]

III i a 2 At this point one may include a-qe-di-s-lē (H) Ins 9, the epithet of Khons in the Lion Temple at Nagaa, a-qe-di-s (H) Ins 23a, b, 36a, b, 38a, b, in the title of amni:nēte-te in the Amon Temple at Nagaa, and qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l): preceded by ar-t-w-te, Kar 30 4-5 LA. Griffith, M I 59, 63; M II 64, Kar vi 82, and Brugsch, ZÄS 25 13 r, agree that a-qe-di-s-lē is the Meroitic name for Khons, pointing out its above-mentioned occurrence in the title of Amon. The latter observation worries Brugsch in case it disproves the equation of the Meroitic group with the god 'Khons'. In Kar vi 82, Griffith takes qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l): to be in the genitive with ar-t-w-te, suggesting the meaning of the whole phrase to be 'Thoth-priest of Khons'.[53] Before progressing in the discussion of the above equation it will be necessary to stop here and continue with the names and groups of the rest of the patterns. When all the different patterns have been studied I will return to the subject of the above equation, since its discussion depends on some names and groups that are not as yet discussed.[53]

A2 III i a 3

III i a 3 Since the verb -dx(e)- of the B-word of filiation, so far as I know, has not been found spelt -dxi-, it seems that any word written in this way should contain the verb -d- and the dativel postposition, -xi- as a spelling of -x(e)- being very familiar.[54] For this reason Ten-[ḳ]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) B 566 is considered to contain the verb -d- and -xi- and that, despite -[ḳ]-being restored, -[ḳ]-d- appears to be a vowelless form of ke-de-, in which case the name will belong to the names and groups containing this compound. Therefore -[ḳ]-d-xi- accepts treatment as the singular counterpart of the plural ke-de-b-x:, mentioned at the beginning of III i a 1.[55] On this analogy, it sounds reasonable that the names using -dxe-, with or without -k-, with which this name is related, should also contain the verb -d- and the dative -xe-. Where, in these names, -k- or its variant immediately precedes -d-xe- the resulting -k-d-xe- may be considered as being of the pattern ke-de- with the dative. Of such names are A-KE-D-XE-TI(S-LI)-WL £ B 30, Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 68 and Šn-k-d-xe-te(s-le) (H) £ B 519. These and the previous name will belong to this sub-division only when their -te(ē,i)- is split into -s-le(ē,i)-, these suffixes being reminiscent of -s- and

A2 III i a 3 - b

-li in t-d-x-s: and t-d-x-s-ñ-li: cited previously,[56] or else they must be allocated in a different category.[56]

III i b So far as one may judge from the constructions of P-k-di B 422, P-q-d-ye B 426, Š-KE-DI-YE (?) B 508, also spelt Š-k-id-ye, Š-q-d-ye B 523, e-qe-te-d-b-xe: Ak I 16 OS, qe-te-de-li: Far 21 28-29 TA and qe-yi-de-wi MacN O Plqe, it seems that, whereas neither p- nor š- can separate k(q)e-, or their variants, from the verb, -te- and -yi- appear to be capable of doing this, at least with -qe-.[57] If -te, in amni-š-k-di-te(s-le) Tañ 51 OS, accepts splitting as -s-le we may then have a participle -š-k-di-s-le, showing -s- and a variant of -li of t-d-x-s-ñ-li mentioned at the end of the previous sub-division, which will be of the same pattern as the third name above. Alternatively, -š-k-di-te will belong to a different type of names and groups, namely to the pattern ke-de-te(ē).[57]

When ke- and -de occur in their reduced forms, especially if the latter is written -di as in P-k-di and -š-k-di-te(s-le) above, it becomes difficult to know whether -kd(i)- is not the word for 'woman, lady'.[58] This situation does not seem to arise here since P-k-di and š-k-di- are evidently verbal complexes very similar to the names of the pattern ke-de and in parallelism with those of the pattern qe-de- above.

A2 III i b - ii a 1

It seems to me that Qe-di-s̆i-ye @ B 437, of which qe-di-s̆i- is presumably written -qe-de-s̆e in Mli-qe-de-s̆e @ B 307, is a reshuffled version of S̆-q-d-ye above.[59] Less -ye, and with an intrusive -bele- between s̆- and -qe-di, the last name is most likely partly preserved in S̆-bele-qe-di B 472.[59] The word -bele- known to be a noun, can also be verbalized and, in either case, it might in this name form a unit with -qe-di- that has further received the prefix s̆-. The formation of complexes from various components of different parts of speech and their treatment as single units is a practice very familiar in Meroitic, as one may see in, for example ye-t-re-mle-wi-de-te Tañ 30-31 OS and d-te-mle-de-te Tur 16 LS.[60]

III ii a 1 In this and the next sub-divisions I propose to study the names and relevant groups of the patterns -de-ke and de-qe-. Dealing with the former one first, one proposes that this compound resulted from the addition of the infix -k(e,i)- to the verb -de- in its different forms.[61] Because we have few names of this pattern in which -te(s) occurs with -k(e) it has been thought best not to assign such names and similarly constructed groups

a separate sub-division, but rather include them here. Furthermore, forms of the infix -ñ(n,nē,ni)-, seen in II i to be present, without its associate -k(e,i), with different writings of the verb -d(e), sometimes appear with -k(e,i)- in some of the constructions discussed in this and the next sub-division.[61]

From the citations that will be made, it will be noticed that -d(ē,i)-k(e,i) interchanges with de-ke as a writing of the present compound. Since -dē-ke has been found in a few of the rare writings of the verbal complexes of Formulae A,B and C, such as pi-ši-dē-ke-te Formula B Kar 48 5-6 LṢ and yi-dē-ke-te Formula A Kar 43 7-8 LA and others to be pointed out in their right places, one concludes that in this particular combination with -k(e,i) the verb -d(e,ē,i) should be capable of expressing the idea of "offering, giving, granting", or the like. Such a view and the suggestion that this verb means "to give" have mutual support.[62]

III ii a 2 Of, or related to, the pattern de-ke are e-de-ke: Tañ 48 OS, i-d-n-ki: Ibr 21-22 OS, e-d-ke-te: Tañ 39, 43, n-d-ke-te: Tañ 124-25 and i-d-k-te-y: Tañ 46, the last one of which seems to be a participle. The

comparison of n-d-ke-te with the rest of the groups warrants the treatment of e-, i- and n- as prefixes.[63]

The group mke-de-ke-l (H) Ins 84, variant of mke-d-ke-l (H) Ins 34, confirming the above interchange between -de- and -d-, may be taken as consisting of a participle -d(e)-ke-l qualifying the noun mke- "god, lord" prefixed to it and rendered as something like "a god who gives, grants".[64] The inclusion here of mke-d(e)-ke-l brings in mke-dē-ke-li Mer 13 3 0 Gr and mke-dē-ke-li-s-l-w Ins 94 6-7 L,[65] which are essentially variants of the previous complex consequently accepting more or less a similar rendering. The latter group obviously expresses more ideas than do the first two owing to the extra suffixes -s- and -l(-w).[65]

In mke-dē-ke-li-, of mke-dē-ke-li-s-l-w, we have most, or all of, the component parts of mke-dē Tañ 11 OS, Mke-dē-ke-tme @ B 287, Dē-ke B 157 and DĒ-KE-LI B 158.[66]

III ii a 3 To this sub-division naturally belong the numerous names and groups consisting wholly, or partly, of the verbal complex dē-ke. Of these are Dē-ke B 157, which is a prefixless verbal complex likely to mean "may he/she give/

A2 III ii a 3- 4

be given! ", and its participial counterpart DĒ-KE-LI B 158, dē-ke-li Serra 13-14 LS, perhaps meaning "one who gave/gives/will give/is given", or the like.[67] The finding of Dē-ke and DĒ-KE-LI as respectively feminine and masculine names gives one the impression that such names as these must express the general idea of "giving, granting, offering" with no reference to, or distinction of, the sex of the name-bearer. One would therefore presume the suitability of either of them as a name for both sexes. It is unfortunate that one of the two instances of Dē-ke (i.e. Mer 23 2 LA) is of an undetermined sex and that the instance dē-ke-li, from Serra, is not certainly a name. Had the last one been certainly a name and had this and the instance from Meroe been of the opposite sex to DĒ-KE-LI and the certainly feminine name Dē-ke (this is the other instance which is undoubtedly feminine), respectively, my thesis would have had unquestionable support. Notwithstanding this lack, it seems that the finding of DĒ-KE-LI and TE-WI-DE B 580, Dē-ke and Te-wi-de, as names of both males and females, is by itself ample evidence for the probability of this thesis being true.[68]

III ii a 4 The same dē-ke, also spelt -dē-k(i), is

suffixed with -tē-ñ and -kdi-s [69] in Dē-ke-tē-ñ B162 and Dē-ki-kdi-s B160, and, prefixless or prefixed with d-, it is believed to be changed into a participle by means of -r(ē-r), -y and -r-lē in DĒ-K-RĒ-R & B161, D-DĒ-K-R B150 D-dē-ke-y @ B149, and D-dē-ke-r-lē @ E7.[69] One expects these participles to have the same meaning as, or a similar meaning to, DĒ-KE-LI B158 above.[69] Note that -dē-k-rē-r has a parallel of the pattern de-qe- compounded with -we- in A-WE-DE-Q-RĒ-R B112.[70]

III ii a 5 The compound -dē-ke is prefixed with ay-, possibly a- and -y- combined or merely -y- with a prothetic a-, yielding the verbal complex Ay(A-y)-dē-ke B114, with yi- or i- producing the verbal complexes yi-ḍē-ke-te Formula A Kar 43 7-8 LA and yi-dē-te-di-k-te Formula C Kar 27 12-13 LA, 78 19-20 LA, 100 10-11 LA, Formula E Kar 18 8-9 LA, 25 16-17 LA, i-dē-te-di-k-te: Formula E Kar 125 19 LA, and with p(i)- and -š̃i- giving pi-š̃i-ḍē-k-te Formula B Kar 48 5-6 LS[71] and p-š̃i-dē-te-di-ke-te Formula C Kar 17 13-14 LS.[71] Prefixed with either one, or both, of š̃i- and ñ- in the apparently participles Ši-dē-ke-ñ-ye @ B498 and Ñ-š̃i-dē-ke-ye @ E12, the compound, written -de-k-, receives both prefixes in addition to yi- in yi-n-š̃i-de-ke-li Mer 13 2,3 O Gr. Though this is not

their right place, but one may compare the verbal complexes yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te Formula C Kar 99a 9-10 LA [71] and yi-dē-te-di-ye-ke-s: Formula E Kar 125 9 L/TS.

Since -š- and -s- sometimes interchange, one expects n- and -s- to function like ñ- and -ši- above in n-s-dē-ke Formula E Ins 94 27 L, with -l(i) suffixed to the resulting complex in n-s-dē-ke-l Formula E Kar 25 14-15 LA, 61 9-10 LS, 72 16-17 LA, 79 12 LA, 117 11 LA, n-s-dē-ke-li Formula E Kar 18 7-8 LA, 125 18 LA and n-s-dē-ke-š: Ins 94 12 L.[72] In Formula E this group occupies the place normally occupied in other formulae by nouns. If n-s-dē-ke- is a substantive it might originally be a verbal complex acting in this capacity.[73]

The compound dē-k(e) is found with -mle(i)- in M[ị]e-b-s-dē-ke @ B 291 and X-dē-k-mli @ B 175, but its relationship with this word is believed to be different in each case.[74] Without -mli, the last name recurs with mn- in Mn-x-dē-ke £ B 325, which has great affinities with Amn-xe-dē-lē @ B 43, from which it differs in having -ke where the last has the participial ending.[75]

The name Ke-te-l-dē-ke @ B 234 has -dē-ke suffixed to ke-te-l-, which, itself, is likely to be a participle consisting of ke-, the verb -te- 'to give' and

A2 III ii a 5 - 6

the participial suffix -l-, meaning "one who gives", or the like.[76] Something like "the one who gives/will give has been granted", the name being presumably an exclamation uttered by someone at the time of birth of the name-bearer, wishfully describing the child born as someone who will be charitable when he or she is grown up, might be a reasonable rendering of this name.

III ii a 6 Di-ke, as a variant of dē-ke, is perhaps present in the participle -di-ke-yę, in We-re-di-ke-ye @ B 647 and in T-di-ke-ye @ B 549. The latter name seems to be built on the likely verbal complex TE-DĒ-KE B 554, t- and te- being the same thing.[77] In the last sub-division I have suggested the dissection of the verbal complexes (y)i-dē-te-di-k-te of Formulae C and E and p-s̄i-dē-te-di-ke-te of Formula C in such a way that, among two other complexes, an hypothetical verbal complex -te-dị-k(e)-te* is extracted from them. Less its final -te, which is the well-known verb suffix frequently falling off when its verbal complex is changed into a participle, and with a suffixed -ye, this hypothetical verbal complex yields yet another hypothetical form, a participle te-di-ke-ye*, which approximates to T-di-ke-ye above.[77] Removing the prefix t- and suffixing

what remains of the last name to we-re- one obtains We-re-di-ke-ye @. According to the view taken about wē(i)- and -rē(e,i)- in Wē-rē-te-li-ye B 662, alternatively spelt Wi-re-te-li-tē(s-lē) and Wi-ri-te-li-tē(s-lē), the former forms a compound-verb with the latter as it does so with -d- in (p-)t-w-d-ke-te, the verbal complex of Formula L.[78] Since we-re- occurring with -di-ke-ye in the first name can hardly be other than the one written each time differently in the second name, while we-...-di-ke- in the same name appears to be a more fully vowelled form of -w-d-ke- in (p-)t-w-d-ke-te, one seems justified in identifying we-, -re- and -di-ke- in We-re-di-ke-ye with w(ē,i)- ,-re(ē,i)- and -d(i)-ke- in the other name and the group. It is therefore inevitable to conclude that We-re-di-ke-ye must be formed by two verbal complexes; i.e. we-re- juxtaposed with -di-ke-, the entire structure receiving the participial ending -ye. This calls to mind W-(I)D-K-ID B 645, in which w-(i)d- has been analysed as a compound-verb (this is equivalent of w-d- here and is of the same construction as we-re-) in juxtaposition with -k-id.[78]

III ii b 1 Of the pattern de-qe-, with or without -te, we have the groups de-qe-ni-ke Ob I 5, d-qe-ni-k: Tañ 39 08,

de-qe-ni-ke-wl: Ob IV 10, de-qe-ni-wl: Tañ 120-21, d-q-ni: Tañ 54, d-q-ni: Tañ 157, d-q-ni-br-ñ Tañ 45 and te-de-qe-l: Tañ 35, and of the names we have A-DE-QE-N-K B11, ~~Te-de-qe-ñ~~ B553, -de-qē-li, in Mke-de-qē-li B288, Pe-de-q-ye B407, A-DE-QE-T-LI (H) £ B12 and A-DE-Q-TE-Y B13.[79] Showing the prefix a-, A-DE-QE-N-K preserves the components of the entire first two groups and also the third group without -wl.[80] The name ~~Te-de-qe-ñ~~, containing a variant form of the entire groups d-q-ni and d(e)-q(e)-ni-, the latter one of which is part of longer complexes, shares -de-qe- and the prefix te- with te-de-qe-l, from which it disagrees in its ending. Without te-, the last group has a variant writing as -de-qē-li, in Mke-de-qē-li, the whole name corresponding to mke-d(e,ē)-ke-l(i) mentioned earlier on.[81] Therefore, according to our criteria of classifying Meroitic forms, ~~Te-de-qe-ñ~~ will be a verbal complex, whereas te-de-qe-l and the prefixless -de-qē-li will be participles.[81]

Since -y(e,i) may interchange with -l(ē,i), the meaning of Pe-de-q-ye is expected not to be much different from that of (te-)de-qe(ē)-l(i) above. The slight difference in nuance between the two would be attributable to the use of pe- in the one and te-, or its absence, in the other.[82]

Omitting -n(i) and -k(i) and using the well-known verb suffix -t(e)- in their stead, the names A-DE-QE-T-LI and A-DE-Q-TE-Y combine -de-q(e)- with the prefix a- of A-DE-QE-N-K and the interchangeable -l(i) and -y(e) of te-de-qe-l, -de-qē-li, of Mke-de-qē-li, and Pe-de-q-ye.[83]

III ii b 2 A-WE-DE-Q-RĒ-R B 112 forms a separate class, since it belongs to the names and groups containing the compound-verb wi-de on the one hand and to those using the pattern -de-qe- on the other.[84] From its ending -rē-r, one presumes that it is a participle.[84]

III iii a This sub-division consists of the names and relevant groups which themselves are, or form compounds, of the pattern de-te(ē). The compound de-te(ē) is formed by the verb -de- and the suffix -te(ē).[85] Dealing with the dativeless constructions first, we have e-de-tē Tañ 74 OS, ye-de-t: Ins 94 14,30, MNI-DI-TĒ C 19, hi-de-te: MacN O Plqe, MHI-D-T(D) B 283, te-d-d: Tañ 147-8, t-d-b-tē: Ins 101 7 L, Tme-y-d-d @ £ B 605, Yi-dē-t-beli-le @ B 690, Beli-li-d-t @ B 121, yi-dē-te-di-k-te Kar 27 12-13 LA, 78 19-20 LA, 100 10-11 LA, yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te Kar 99a 9-10 LA, all of which are of Formula C, yi-dē-te-di-k-te: Kar 18 8-9 LA, 25 16-17 LA, i-dē-te-di-k-te Kar 125 19 LA and

A2 III iii a

yi-dē-te-di-ye-ke-s: Kar 61 10 L/TS, which are of Formulae E, Yi-d-t-ye @ B 692, Tre-yi-d-t-li @ B 629, Adr-mk-de-te-li @ E 3[86] and Adr-mk-d-d @ E 2.[86] Although one of the instances of the overlapping verbal complexes of Formula C contains the dative, it has been thought relevant that this example should be quoted with the groups with which it is related rather than with the forms containing the dative below. Of the dativeless instances of the compound-verb are y-tk-ide-tē-wi: Mer 7 6,9, 12 LS, w-d-tē: Tañ 139, i-t-w-d-tē: Tañ 33, d-wi-dē-te FO 23 1-2 L and Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 710. The dative occurs in constructions of this pattern in a-d-xi-te: Ak I 5,10,14 OS, Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē) @ B 156, T-d-x̣i-ñ-t-rē-r @ B 548, and perhaps Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B 72, Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) (H) B 377, Nš̆-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 385 and TERI-TE-D-X-TE-Y £ B 576. The above categories of names and groups will now be discussed in greater detail.

The comparison of Adr-mk-de-te-li @ with its version Adr-mk-d-d @ and of MHI-D-T with MHI-D-D, the last two being variant spellings of the same name of the same person, shows that -dete-, -dd and -dt interchange. This I think confirms the general view that -dd is a writing of -dt,

where -t was written -d under the influence of the preceding letter. Such a phenomenon should not be unexpected in view of the interchange between the same letters.[87] Consequently, -dd and -dt will have to be split like -de-te in Adr-mk-de-te-li, i.e. -d-d and -d-t respectively, giving -d- as the verb and -d(t) as the verb suffix.[87] Further support for the view about -d-d, -d-t and -de-te is provided by hi-de-te:, quoted at the outset, where hi-, assumed to be an adjectival substantive, functions like mhi- in MHI-D-T(D), once more giving -de-te and -d-t(d) as equivalents.[88] Therefore I am led to believe that, whether prefixless or prefixed with e-, y(e,i)- or t(e)-, the compounds -d(e,ē)-t(e,ē)- and -d-d form verbal complexes, of the pattern de-te, used independently, as ye-de-t:, t-ḍ-b-tē[89] and te-d-d:, or added to such nouns or personal names as mni-, hi-, tme- and adr-mk- in MṆI-DI-TĒ, hi-de-te:, Tme-y-d-d @, and Adr-mk-d-d @.[89] It is not certain whether in Tme-y-d-d @ we have a suffixless noun added to a verbal complex prefixed with -y- or whether we have a prefixless verbal complex added to a noun suffixed with -y-.[90]

The compound de-te is also found in participial form, used independently, as Yi-d-t-ye @ (cf. Yi-dē-ye), or added to nouns in Tre-yi-d-t-li @ and

A2 III iii a - b - c

Adr-mk-de-te-li @.[91] On the analogy of the last name (?) and also Adr-mk-d-d @, and MNI-DI-TĒ, where we have a deity's name or his title in constructions involving the verb -d(e,i)-, one assumes tre- in Tre-yi-d-t-li @ to be the name of "Hathor".[91] In Yi-dē-t-beli-le @ and Beli-li-d-t @ we clearly have the defined noun -beli- suffixed to the verbal complex yi-dē-t- in the first name and prefixed to its prefixless variant form -d-t in the second.[92]

III iii b The compound-verbs wi-de and tk-ide are also found in formations of the pattern de-te. Such are y-tk-ide-tē-wi: Mer 7 6,9,12 LS, w-d-tē: Tañ 139, i-t-w-d-tē: Tañ 33, both of which use vowelless forms of wi-de, d-wi-dē-te FO 23 1-2 L, where d- is a verb prefix, and the participle Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 710.[93]

III iii c Also of the pattern de-te(ē), but containing the dative, are a-d-xi-te:, a verbal complex of which variant writings seem to be used in the participles T-d-xi-ñ-t-rē-r @, Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē) @, TERI-TE-D-X-TE-Y £, and perhaps in the verbal complex -d-xe-tē, prefixless in Are-r-d-xe-tē @, and prefixed with t-, in Np-t-d-xe-tē and probably with -ye- in Nš-ye-d-xe-tē.[94] Here again we have a group of theophorous names containing teri- "Hathor", are- "Horus"

and np- "Anubis".[95]

III iv a As the pattern de-te($\bar{e}$) and de-k(q)e-te($\bar{e}$) and their variants resulted from the addition of the verb suffix -te($\bar{e}$) to various writings of -de- and -de-k(q)e-, so the patterns ke-de-te($\bar{e}$) and qe-de-te($\bar{e}$)in their different forms, resulted from the occurrence of the same suffix with varying spellings of ke-de- and qe-de-.[96] The patterns ke-de- and qe-de- themselves are obviously derived from the simple verb -de- prefixed with ke- and qe-.[97] The typical examples of the patterns under discussion are e-ke-de-t$\bar{e}$: Tañ 143, 144 OS, e-ke-de-b-t$\bar{e}$: Tañ 149-50 and e-qe-de-t$\bar{e}$: Ibr. 10-11 OS.[97] Such is believed to be the construction of k-id-te-, in the participle K-id-te-li-ye B 236, and of the verbal complex qe-di-te Ins 126 8 L/TS.[98]

Previously, attention was drawn to the phenomenon of -t- being susceptible of changing into -d- under the influence of a preceding -d- in -d-d. In the names and groups of this construction the same phenomenon is noticeable in ke-d-d: Tañ 127-28 (cf. te-d-d:), being itself part of Tn$\bar{e}$-ke-d-d @ B 612.[99] According to one alternative analysis, the name A-KI-NI-D-D £ B 33 may belong to the present pattern, in view of the fact that a-ki- perhaps

contains -ki- prefixed with a- and of the fact that in two of its writings this name is spelt without the medial -ni-, namely as A-KI-D(E)-D.[100] If so, these varying spellings probably indicate that -ni- may or may not accompany -ki- not only when the latter is used as a suffix but also when it is used as a prefix. This observation furnishes new evidence for the identification of the prefix ki- with the suffix -ki.

III iv b If -tē(i) in A-KE-D-XE-TI-WL ℄ B30, Are-k-d-xe-tē B68, Šn-k-d-xe-te (H) ℄ B519 and Ten-[ḳ]-d-xi-tē B566 does not accept splitting as -s-lē(i) these names will appear to form compounds of the same pattern as the above using -d- and the dative.[101]

P- and š-, previously encountered with the patterns ke-de and qe-de forming the names P-k-di B422 and P-q-d-ye B426, Š-k-id-ye B508, also written Š-KE-DI-YE (?), and Š-q-d-ye B523, appear again with the patterns ke-de-te and qe-de-te in P-q-d-tē-li B425, -š-k-di-te, in amni-š-k-di-te Tañ 51 OS, and š-q-ḍ-te-li-s Tañ 86.[102]

III iv c This is a suitable place to resume the discussion of the group a-qe-di-s(-lē), begun in III i a 2

A2 III iv c

above, which has been thought by Brugsch and Griffith to be the Meroitic name of the god 'Khons'. According to the given splitting of the word, the compound -qe-di- is graphically identical with that in Qe-di-š̃i-ye @ B 437, and Š̃-bele-qe-di @ B 472 above, which is interchangeable with -q(e)-d(e)- in Mli-qe-de-š̃e @ B 307 and Š̃-q-d-ye B 503.[103] But from what was said previously it becomes apparent that -q-d- in the last name and P-q-d-ye B 426 is the same thing as in š̃-q-ḍ-te-li-s Tañ 86 OS and P-q-d-tē-li B 425.[103] These comparisons link qe-di- in a-qe-di-s(-lē) with the last three names and the group, in which -q-d- is a vowelless writing of the pattern -qe-de-. Therefore, -qe-di- in this group appears to belong to this pattern, being prefixed with a- and suffixed with -s- and the participial ending -lē.[104]

It may be recalled that the verb suffixes -t(e,ē)- and -s- have been observed to occur together or the one without the other, and that when a verbal complex containing both, or either, of them is changed into a participle by one, or two, of the necessary elements, both, or either, of -t(e,ē)- and -s- are wont to remain or disappear.[105] A look at the above constructions detects the same phenomenon, for, whereas P-q-d-ye and S̃-q-d-ye show neither verb suffix, P-q-d-tē-li and š̃-q-ḍ-te-li-s

contain -te(ē)-, while a-qe-di-s(-lē) retains -s-.[106] Consequently, a-qe-di-s may be classified as a verbal complex. Until now no mention has been made of qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l) Kar 30 4-5 LA, which apparently contains the same qe-di-s, in this sub-division. Preceded by ar-t-w-te, with which it is in indirect genitive, this word must be a noun. Apart from this piece of information, this group also reveals that a-, in a-qe-di-s, is either a verb prefix, as was suggested above, or prothetic. One may therefore conclude that, from the comparisons made above, -qe-di-s-, in a-qe-di-s(-lē), may be parsed as a verbal complex which, so far as one can judge from qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l), perhaps functions as a noun.[107]

The final conclusion is that it seems to me that a-qe-di-s cannot have been the Meroitic name of 'Khons', but rather descriptive of him, his attribute perhaps being, according to the Meroites, something dealing with the meaning of the verb -d(e,ē,i)- "to give, grant",....etc., as modified by the prefix -qe-, an attribute that is also shared by Amon.

III v a In this sub-division I will list the names containing the simple or compounded form of -de-, or its variants, immediately suffixed with -ye(i). These are:

AA. Forms using the simple verb:[108]

1. A-dē-ye B16
2. Yi-dē-ye B691
3. Pi-de-ye B417
4. Te-pe-de-yi B569
5. N-š-di-ye B381
6. Mš-dē-ye @ B350
7. Ax-dē-ye B22

BB. Forms using the patterns ke-de- and qe-de prefixed with š- and p-: [109]

1. Š-KE-DI-YE (?) B508
   S-k-id-ye
2. Š-q-d-ye B523
3. P-q-d-ye B426

CC. Forms using the compound-verbs th-de-, tk-id(ē) and -w-id-:[110]

1. Th-de-ye B587
2. Tk-id-ye B596
   Tki-dē-ye
3. Yi-w-id-ye @ B711

Examining these names, one concludes the following:

aa. Whether in its simple or compounded form, or in the patterns ke-de and qe-de, the verb -de- may also be written -dē-, -di-, -id- and -d-.

A2 III v a - b

bb. Depending on its position in the word in which it is used, i.e. whether or not it is suffixed to a preceding noun, this verb may occur prefixless or receive a-, yi-, p(e,i)-, -š̆-, the last with or without n-.

cc. Though they may receive prefixes, compound-verbs may occur prefixless.

dd. Except for one uncertainly masculine name (BB 1) and two names of an indefinite sex (AA 6, CC 3), the names are feminine. This point appears to support Zhylarz's suggestion that -ye is used to build feminine names. But see A 12 III i.

The above is a mere summary of some of the views expressed in the previous sub-divisions relating to the verb -de-. Nevertheless, the above constructions are believed to represent the different positions in which the verb may occur and the forms it may take.

III v b This sub-division is reserved for T-w-mk-ṭk⌊i⌋-dē-ye @ B 639, which has affinities with the names, especially those in category CC, of the previous sub-division. Though the reading of two of its letters is doubtful, the present name is very interesting, for it

illustrates the often alluded to principle of mobility of components and the overlapping of compounds in one and the same complex. Griffith read this name as Twmklk.dēye. The above-given reading of the name will be seen to be confirmed from the comparisons I will soon make between its overlapping compounds and entire names and groups found elsewhere. The compound -ṭk[i̇]-dē-ye* in it is preserved as the name Tki-dē-ye, cited as CC 2 in the previous sub-division.[111] If we put -w- and -[i̇]dē- together, we obtain -w-[i̇]dē-*, with which compare wi-dē: Ibr 15 OS, a variant writing of wi-de, prefixed with p- in ṗ-wi-dē Ak II 9 OS, with s̆- in s̆-wi-dē: Ak I 23,33 OS and with d- and receiving -te in d-wi-dē-te FO 23 1-2 L. When the initial t- of the name is included t-w-[i]dē-* results, which resembles te-wi-dē: Ibr 35, (cf. TE-WI-DE B 580) and s̆-te-wi-dē: Ibr 30-31.[112] Now when -w-, -mk- and -[i̇]dē- are pieced together such that the second component comes last yielding -w-[i̇]dē-mk-* one only needs n- to prefix to the resulting compound to obtain n-w-[i̇]dē-mk*, a version of N-w-ide-mk £ B 395 and N-w-i[ḍ]-ye B 396 if instead of -mk one has the final -ye.[113] Agglutinating t-, -mk- and -[i̇]dē, one forms t-mk-[i̇]dē*, of which a variant as -t-mk-ide is present in P-t-mk-ide @ £ E 12.[114] The combination of -w-, -ṭk[i̇]- and -dē- in the form

-w-ṭk[i̤]-dē- makes one immediately think of Wi-tk-ide @ B 663 and its related constructions.[115]

In addition to demonstrating the mobility of components and the overlapping of compounds in one and the same construction, the above comparisons also confirm the given readings of this name.

IV i In this and the next sub-divisions I will study the names and relevant groups using different forms of wi-de. It will be noticed that some of the examples to be cited below have already been mentioned in their relevant places above. As an introduction to the study of such names and groups it is perhaps necessary that I should demonstrate the method of application of the standardized system suggested previously for the splitting of this compound-verb.[116] The names using wi-de that are involved in this introduction are TE-WI-DE B 580, accepting the alternative splitting as TE-W-IDE, N-w-ide-mk £ B 395, N-w-i[d̤]-ye B 396 and Yi-w-id-ye @ B 711.[117]

In order to understand the way in which TE-WI-DE and the rest of the above names developed, we must study them in conjunction with Te-we-li B 579, Te-wi-ñ-ye B 581, N-WE-LI (?) B 393, N-we-nē-ke @ B 394, i-n-we-tē:

Tañ 136 OS, y-wi-tē: Ins 94 9 L and ye-we-b-x-te Formula F Ins 137 6 OA.[118] There is no need to argue again for the identity of the verb -we(i)- in both the names and the groups, for this identification has already been dealt with.[118] When te- is prefixed to this verb the compounds te-we- and te-wi- are yideld.[119] Upon receiving the suffix -li, the former gives the name Te-we-li, whereas upon receiving the infix -ñ- and -ye the latter yields Te-wi-ñ-ye.[119] Now when n-, present in the above group, is prefixed to -we-, the compound n-we- is produced, whereas n-wi- is produced when n- is prefixed to -wi-. Adding -li to the former, one obtains N-WE-LI (?), while the suffixing of -nē- and its companion -ke gives N-we-nē-ke @.[119] According to our criteria for the classification of Meroitic complexes this name is a verbal complex, while the names ending in -li and -ye are participles.

These compounds te-we-, te-wi- and n-we-[120] are believed to be at the base of the names using the compound-verb. The suffixing of the verb -ide to te-we- gives TE-W-IDE, while its addition to te-wi- gives the alternative splitting TE-WI-DE. On the other hand when -id(e) is suffixed to n-we- the oompound n-w-id(e)- results, which probably has a meaning as slightly different

from that of TE-W-IDE as that of N-WE-LI (?) is from the meaning of Te-we-li. Therefore, like TE-W-IDE, the compound n-w-id(e)- should be treated as a verbal complex. It is therefore in juxtaposition with -mk "god, lord", in N-w-ide-mk £ and is changed into a participle by -ye in N-w-i[d̤]-ye B 396 .[121] From the groups,mentioned at the outset, we have ye-we- and y-wi- corresponding to n(te)-we- and te-wi-. The addition of id(e) to the former pair gives ye-w-id(e)- and y-wi-d(e)- respectively, which are parallel to TE-W-IDE, n-w-id(e)- and TE-WI-DE. A variant spelling of the first compound receives -ye to form the participle Yi-w-id-ye @, while the second occurs, perhaps suffixless, as y-wi-de̤, alternatively read y-wi-d-l̤, in the context ar:y-wi-de̤: Mer 7 5 LS.[122]

IV ii a The compound-verb wi-de($\bar{e}$)occurs in different combinations as will be shown below. Having no clue to decide whether the compound in these examples consists of w(e,$\bar{e}$,i)- suffixed with -ide($\bar{e}$) or -wi- suffixed with -(i)de($\bar{e}$), I propose to split it as is given. [123] I have the suspicion that -w(e,$\bar{e}$,i)- here, whichever its writing, is probably the verb rather than the particle. The compound-verb is present in, for example, p-wi-d$\bar{e}$: Ak II 9 OS,

p-wi-de:mlē-l: Mer 8a 3 L Bl, 9a 2 L Bl, pe-wi-de:m[lē-l] Hin 8a (= HinS 46 pl. ix fig.50), te-wi-dē: Ibr 35 OS, te-wi-de-b-wi-t(s-l): Tañ 149 OS (cf. TE-W-IDE B 580), T-p-wi-de @ B 621, bē-wi-de-lē Mer 7 2 LS, s-wi-de: Ins 94 9 L, š-wi-dē: Ak I 23,33 OS, š-te-wi-dē: Ibr 30-31, where, in view of its receiving prefixes associated with verbs, it seems to be used as a verb.[124]

In wi-de-l Tañ 144 OS, Mer 12a 3-4 OS, wi-de-lē: Ins 77b 3 0 Gr, Ins 78 2 0 Gr, wi-de-lē-wi: Kar 10 5 LA (= HinD 147), wi-de-[lē-wi] Argin 4 T Lintel (= HinD 179), wi-de-mete-lē-wi: Kar 67 8-9 LA (= HinD 17), wi-de- is seen suffixed with -l(ē)-, with or without -wi, from which it is separated by -mete- in one instance. From the construction and contexts of these examples one might have the impression that wi-de- here seems to be used as a noun juxtaposed with -mete-, which is both an adjective and a substantive, in wi-de-mete-lē-wi.[125] If we compare wi-de-mete-lē-wi with bē-wi-de-lē and p-wi-de:mlē-l: we find the first group having an ending identical (graphically and in employment) with the one in the second group and agreeing with the third group in having an adjective (if -mete- is an adjective) immediately after wi-de-.[126] But whether -mete- is an adjective or not there is no objection to its following a

verb or a verbal complex, since, as an adjective, it may act as an adverbial phrase.[126] Therefore, even if wi-de- is a noun, though the evidence does not seem to me to be conclusive, it might be one of those words that is capable of functioning as both a noun and a verb. We have already encountered verbalized nouns aswell as verbs used as substantives.[127]

IV ii b Concerning y-wi-de:, in the context ar:y-wi-de: Mer 7 5 LS and p-wi-de:mlē-l, having a variant spelling as pe-wi-de:m[lē-l] [128], Griffith, Meroe 67, renders the former as 'Horus the Child (?)'. Reisner and Macadam's views agree with Griffith's and that is why Macadam, MacN 53, translates p-ke-tr-l:wi-de-lē: Ins 77b, 78 as 'the child of the pkrtr'.[128] Macadam proceeds to redder p-wi-de-mlē-l:ye-s-bē-he: as 'is the incarnation (?) of the Good Child' linking this notion with the Napatan kings' practice of calling themselves p3 ḥwn nfr, 'the Goodly Youth', MacN 61. On these lines, he thinks of N-w-ide-mk £ B 395 as 'God hath begotten' or 'A god is born'.[129] Zyhlarz on the other hand treats wi-de in ar-y-wi-de: as something different from the one in p-wi-de:mlē-l:. Equating the former group with Egyptian Ḥr-wr 'Haroeris', ZyM 460 B 3, Kush 4 26, he

obviously considers y-wi-de to be the Egyptian loan-word wr 'great, senior, elder',....etc., in its general sense, and 'the Elder' in this particular case. Regarding the latter group, he, Kush 9 244 no.3, splits the first part as p-w-ide (which is possible) and equates p-w- with an Old Nubian ⲡⲁⲩⲟⲩ , rendering it as 'Ordnung, Gesetz' (= order) and giving the meaning of the compound as 'einer der Ordnung schaft' (= one who establishes order), i.e. 'Herrscher' (= lord). He then translates all of p-wi-de:mlē-l: as 'the good lord'. It appears that Zyhlarz, loc.cit., still considers p- here as the equivalent of the Egyptian p3-, he having alréady done so in ZyM 460 C b 2, where he equated the Meroitic p- and t- with Egyptian p3- and t3-, the respective masculine and feminine definite articles. This cannot be so, for T-p-wi-de @ B 621, according to Zyhlarz's view, would have been receiving both the masculine and feminine definite articles at once. This is impossible, hence the conclusion that neither p- nor t- in Meroitic has got anything to do with the definite article.[130]

IV ii c In p-wi-de:mlē-l: one is able to recognize the component parts of Mli-wi-de B 316, which looks as if it is a reshuffled writing of the group, in which p- is left out

and -mlē-, written -mli-, is transposed to an initial position. Both this name and Ye-t-re-mli B 685 seem to overlap in the verbal complex yē-t-re-mle-wi-de-tē Tañ 30-31 OS. In other words, Ye-t-re-mli+Mli-wi-de yields Ye-t-re-mli-wi-de*, which only needs the verb suffix -tē to be identical in meaning with the group in question.[131] Though -mli- is the same component in both names, its being the last component in the one and the initial component in the other has been considered as an indication that it perhaps is of two parts of speech. Therefore, where it is the last component, it is suggested to be an adverbial phrase and where it occurs initially it is thought to accept two interpretations; one is that it might be the adjectival predicate in a sentence in which the compound-verb -wi-de-, rendered as an infinitive or a gerund, is probably the subject, and the other is that it might be an adjectival substantive object of the verb -wi-de.[132]

IV iii The vowelless w-d-, best known from the verbal complex of Formula L where it is written prefixed with p- in, for example, p-t-w-d-ke-te (H) Ins 60 9-10 LA, and without p-, in t-w-d-ke-te Ins 59 10 L/TA, recurs prefixed with be- and -y- in be-y-t-w-d-y[e]: Mer 9, 7 and

A2 IV iii - IV iv

alternates with w-id- as the first part of W-(I)D-K-ID B 645, of which the second part, familiar from certain names, belongs to the pattern ke-de-, and of W-d-tr @ B 646.[133] In accordance with the principle of mobility of components, alluded to in the Introduction, the last name is reshuffled with w-d- fully vowelled and reversed in DE-WI-TR B 154 and MR-DE-WI-TR B 339, in the latter of which mr- is a new element, and partly vowelled but still reversed in PI-DE-W-TR B 416.[134] Compare pi- and the reversed form here with p- with the vowelless form of wi-de in the verbal complex of Formula L quoted above. One can only explain DĒ-DE-WI-YE B 155 as a participle using the same compound-verb prefixed with dē- and suffixed with -ye.[135]

Like wi-de, the compound-verb we-de- may also be reversed as de-we-, to which -kdi- and -l are further added in De-we-kdi-l @ B 153.[136]

IV iv Containing the compound-verb -we-de- as a variant spelling of -wi-de- followed by the infix -q-, the name A-WE-DE-Q-RĒ-R B 112 appears to belong to the names and groups of the previous sub-division as well as to those of the pattern -de-qe-. These similarities with two

A2 IV iv

different types of constructions explain the allocation of the name in an anomalous class; hence its treatment independently of its respective related names and groups. Therefore, one may be able to analyse it as a participle using -we-de-q- prefixed with a- and suffixed with -rē-r.[137]

A2 THE VERB id(e), d(e,ē,i) - FOOTNOTES.

1. See, for example, III v a below

2. See A12 II i on the subject of the prefixes i-, e-, ...etc. For some parallel constructions containing various forms of -de and -l see A7 IV i b, A3 II iv.

3. See sub-division I iii c below for a standardized system of splitting compound-verbs, A14 I i, III ii b, IV v for the construction and usages of -tn-ide, A8 I ii for -tk-ide, and A16 I v for -mk-ide, See also II iii c.

4. See sub-division III ii b 1 below for de-qe-ni-ke and the name and also III ii a 2 for the remark on the group n-d-ke-te and the groups with which it is studied. See A12 II i on e-, i- and a-.

5. See A8 I i & nn.3,6,ii, II ii, iv a, III i on the different aspects of tk- and for its possible relationship with th-, A14 III ii a, b on tn- and A16 I i, v on mk-. For the different types of wi-, as a particle, see A11 IV i a, as a verb, see A12 II v, IV v, A7 VI iv e, A3 IV viii a, and as an unidentified element added to verbs and verbal complexes see, for example, A12 II ii & n.7, A8 II v and sub-division II iii b below. See also the elaborate discussion of wi-de in

sub-divisions I iii a - c and IV i below.

6. See the previous note under tk-.

7. See A6 II i a, III, A7 VI iv c on s̆-x(e)- as a verbal complex and as a verbal complex performing the function of a substantive. Tr-q-ide is discussed in great detail in sub-division I iv below.

8. See All IV i a, iv a, especially iv b where some names and groups involving the verb -d(e) are discussed, and A7 I ii for the view that adjectives may function as adjectival substantives, and also All V i for the suggestion that Meroitic might have adjective verbs.

9. See PluCG 177, CrCD 198a. It may be objected that in Meroitic an expression involving a verb and a noun is not a true compound-verb if the noun is the object of the verb. This may be admitted, yet it is probable, as has been shown elsewhere, that such an expression could be as much a compound in Meroitic as the above-mentioned Coptic compound-verbs. Reference may again be made to -tk-ide and -tn-ide, for which see n.5 above.

10. See A14 III ii b & n.26.

11. See II iii a - c, IV i -iv.

12. Theoretically speaking, owing to the interchangeability of -de with -dē, the component -ide should have -idē as

a variant. A name like Tk-idē-ye B596, a way of writing Tk-id-ye, may accordingly accept splitting as is given. Because I have not as yet encountered an instance in which -idē is fully written, it will be noticed that, throughout the present work, I have consistently isolated -i- from -dē whenever they occurred together. In consequence Tki-dē-ye will be found used as the current splitting of the above name. The same thing applies to -idē in the compound -widē which will be split as -wi-dē.

13. At this stage it seems best not to include the enigmatic w(e,i)-,sometimes appearing with verbal complexes, as being present in the compound wid(e,ē), also spelt we-de, ...etc. As was mentioned earlier on, this element might be identical with the particle -w(ē,i)-. See sub-division I ii a & n.5.

14. See All IV i a.

15. See IV i. For more instances of the verb -w(e,ē,i)- see A7 IV iv e, A5 V iii. See A5 IV i a for the prefix te-, A5 IV ii b for te- with this verb and A3 IV viii a for -li and -ye with the same verb. The elements -ñ(nē)- and -ke, occurring together or the one without the other, are studied in Al IV i - iii.

16. See HinSS 365, also A8 I i on -tx- and A21 III i on -xr-.

17. Indeed this may be adopted as a workable system whenever -(i)de is suffixed to a component that has a final -e(ē) or -i or no vowel at all. Particularly, one may mention š-x(e,i)-, forming the compound-verb š-x-ide, alternatively spelt š-x-di, alluded to previously. See I ii a & n.7 above.

18. A similar thing has been suggested might have happened to -e of -mēme- when this component was followed by -ide in MNI-TEN-MĒM-IDE (H) £ 327. See A17 I.

19. Theoretically speaking, wē-de* should exist. On the name see III ii b 2.

20. The above theory is best elucidated in the attempt to retrace the way of development of TE-WI-DE, alternatively split as TE-W-IDE, made in sub-division IV i below. See there.

21. See A22 I iii for more instances of qe-tr-ri, sub-divisions III ii a 1, for the names and groups of the pattern qe-de, and III ii b 1, for those of the pattern de-qe. For p- see A4 II i - iii.

22. See A6 III n.21 for more on Tr-qi-ñe,

23. See A14 IV v & n.47 for similar instances and for reference to some more others.

24. See A1 IV i - iii for -$\tilde{n}$(n,n$\bar{e}$,ni) and -k(e,i) and sub-division III ii below for the names and groups formed by the verb suffixed with -k(e,i).

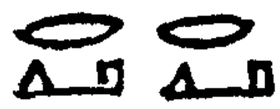
25. See sub-division I i on i-, e- and a- in the forms with the plural dative, A12 I i, II ii for more on these as well as y(e,i)-, and A7 VI iii a & n.43 on -d-x(i)- and -di-h-. For -li and -r as interchangeable participial endings see A19 I, II ii. See also A12 IV i a for more on the name ending in -ye and A14 IV ii for more on the name containing ten-.

26. See A7 VI iii b on -d-x-, A1 I iv on -s-, note 25 above for the reference to y-, A6 IV ii for $\check{s}$i- and A5 IV i a, especially IV ii a, on t-.

27. See sub-divisions III i a 3 n.56, III iii c & n.94, for more on the three names. The component -ye- in N$\check{s}$-ye-d-xe-t$\bar{e}$(s-l$\bar{e}$) is of an uncertain function, accepting treatment either as a suffix to n$\check{s}$- or as a prefix to -d-xe-t$\bar{e}$(s-l$\bar{e}$). See A12 II ii & n.8, III ii a & n.31.

28. See A7 VI iii a,b, also A4 II iv & n.10 for p-, A6 IV ii on -$\check{s}$- and A12 IV i a for -ye.

29. See n.25 on a- and ye(i)- and also A12 II ii & n.7 for the groups and names with ye(i)- and -ye, A3 I, III i a,b, especially IV ii a, where the above names are mentioned,

for -lē(i) and -ye as interchangeable participial endings, and A7 IV i b for more on the names with ax- and -xe-. On mš̌- see A3 III ii d & n.70, and with Amn-xe-dē-lē compare Mn-x-dē-ke £ B 325 adding the same first two components to the verbal complex -dē-ke which uses the same verb. On the analogy of Ax-dē-ye, Lp-x-id-ye B 248 and Xd-x-di-ye B 175 might be the splitting of the last two names, giving -x-id-ye and -x-di-ye as the equivalents of the first name. If xd- is a vowelless form of -x-di-, in which case it will have to be split as x-d-, the compound -x-d-x-di will look like a repeated N+V, i.e. (N+V)+(N+V), being in this case comparable in construction with the Egyptian name  Rdi-rdi, RaPN II 163, formed by the verb rdi 'to give' reduplicated.

30. See n.29 on ax- and mš̌- and A1 IV ii for more on MŠ̌-D-NI.

31. See A8 II iii & n.27 for np- "Anubis", also A5 IV ii a, especially A10 III iv & n.19, for more on the name with kdi-, A20 II iii for more on the name with -bli, with which compare Qere-mte-bēli-de @ B 441 and Mere-mte-bēli-de @ B 262.

32. See A11 VII i, A5 IV ii a, d & n.29.

33. See All IV iv b on the names with -d(e)- and sub-division III ii a 5 below for the name, and for another instance of mle($\bar{e}$)-, with -d$\bar{e}$-k-.

34. See Al2 IV i a. See A6 IV ii, for more on N-$\check{s}$-di-ye, and A5 II i & n.5,for more on Te-pe-de-yi.

35. See A5 VIII iii.

36. See II i above for the names and groups using the simple verb with the dative and II ii for their dativeless parallels.

37. See A8 II i a for Tk-id, Al4 IV v for the names with -ten-ide and t$\tilde{n}$-ye(i)-, sub-division I iv above for Tr-q-ide, and A6 III & n.21 for $\check{S}$-x-di-$\tilde{n}$e.

38. See A6 IV iv b for $\check{s}$- with -tk-ide and A4 II i, A8 I ii, II iv a for p- with -tk-ide, A4 II ii for p(i)- with -de- and -wi-de($\bar{e}$)-. For the different interpretations of the last compound see sub-division IV ii b below.

39. The compound-verb -mk-ide is studied in A16 I v, being quoted in connection with p- and -t- in A4 II v and with -t- alone in A5 IV ii d.

40. See II ii & n.29, also Al2 II v & n.14 for yi- with -w-id(wi-de)-, sub-division IV ii b for ar:yi-wi-de: and I ii b & n.10 for yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l:.

41. See I iii a & n.12 above, A8 I i, A12 IV i a, IV vi.i.

42. See A22 I iii for the suggestion that w- is the well-known particle. See also A12 II ii & n.7 for w- in w-ye-d:, A8 II v for we(i)- with -tk-id(e) and A14 IV v for TÑ-YE-WI-DE.

43. See sub-division II ii & n.29 for the names with the simple verb, and A7 IV i a, iii, A8 II i b for the name with axe- and -tkk-id.

44. See II ii & n.33 above for the names with the simple verb and mle(i)-, I ii a & n.6 on -th-ide, I iv on -tr-q-ide and I iii b on -wi-de.

45. See II ii for the names using the simple verb, A8 II iv a & n.31 for those using the compound-verb -tk-id(e)-, and A14 IV v for the names with -tn-ide and its variants. There are some more names, employing the same last verb and discussed under the same reference, that are not certainly theophorous. See there. For MNI-TR-Q-IDE see I iv above and for lh-id- see I ii a & n.8 above.

46. See A1 I i 2-6, ii & n.7, III i for the different forms of ke- and qe- and for the possible function of the latter. As in other components one is here again uncertain whether the initial e- is yet another verb prefix or part of -k(q)e-. See I i on e-. See also

Al I iv, II ii for these components with the verb -de-.

47. Contrast this lack with the presence of the prefix ke- and the infix -ke- with the verb -l(e)- in ke-l-ke-ni, Ke-le-ke-le B 228 and KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B 227, studied under Al IV iii.

48. See I i above.

49. See A3 IV ii c on ke-de-kdi-li. This group is not the only instance in which -kdi- is involved with -de($\bar{e}$)-, for they occur together in D$\bar{e}$-ki-kdi-s B 160, quoted in its right place in IV iii & n.136 below, and De-we-kdi-l @ B 153, where de- is part of the reversed compound-verb we-de-. See A10 III vi. For we-de- see I iii c & n.19 and for de-we- see IV iv below, while for more on the names with -tn-ide see A14 IV v, Al I i 4, II ii.

50. See III i [b] below on Š-k-id-ye B 508 and III iv a on K-id-te-li-ye B 236, in which ke-de- is believed to be spelt in the same way as here.

51. See the discussion of Adr-mk-d-d and Adr-mk-de-te-li in III iii a below. On adr-mk- see the important reference to aderi-mk-ml$\bar{e}$ in a footnote in MacN 59 n.46. Dr. Macadam's chain of reasoning is this. Adere,

from the position it has in the geographical descriptions of Ins 94, can be equated with high probability to the Third Cataract region, and could well be Soleb, since the territories which that inscription describes frequently begin and end at Adere. At Soleb the deity of the temple is the long-since deified Amenophis III, whose name would no longer be remembered by the Meroites. He became merely the 'god of Ader' or, as we have it here, adr-mk. This seems to be confirmed in the above-mentioned graffito from Soleb, where the deity is called aderi-mk-mlē, '(the) good god of Aderi', echoing in tradition the ntr nfr of Amenophis himself, understood on the temple of Soleb. Hence,Dr. Macadam concludes, Adr-mk-d-d must mean 'servant', 'beloved', or something of this kind, 'of the god of Adere', and that the graffiti at Kawa (E 2, 3) mentioning it were written by a visitor from Soleb, not very far distant.

52. See IV iii & n.133 on w-(i)d and compare some of the namęs at the end of III ii a 6. See also A12 III ii a, v a. on Tbi-ye. Tbi- is also known in the group tbi-tn-ide-b-x-l: Ak I 28 OS, for which see A14 III ii b & n.26, IV v.

53. Griffith takes -twte as a single word meaning 'Thoth', about which a different view is taken under A13 V iii & n.23. The discussion of a-qe-di-s(-lē) is resumed towards the end of III iv c below.

54. See II i, ii and III iv b, also A7 VI i.

55. See A1 I i 4, 5 for the restoration of -ḳ- and A7 VI iii a(end) on the name.

56. See A7 VI iii a (end) for more on the names. See also the end of II i & n.27, A3 III i c on -tē(i)- concealing -s-lē(i), A3 I, III i a, b. on the function of -lē(i) and A3 IV ii c where the above names as well as some more names, with which they are related, are mentioned. The same treatment of -d-xe-tē(s-lē) may be accorded the compound in Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @, Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) and Nš-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē). See A1 II ii, iii for more on these and the above names. According to the alternative view taking -tē(i) as the indivisible verb suffix, the above names with -k-, or its variant, will be of the pattern -ke-de-tē (sub-division III iv 6 below) and those without it will be of the pattern -de-tē (sub-divisions III iii a, c below).

57. See A1 I iv (end) on the subject of the addition of extra prefixed to the compounds ke-de- and qe-de-,

A4 II iii for more on the names with p-, A6 IV ii for more on the names and the group with š-. See also A12 IV i b for the names ending in -ye, A3 III i c on -te concealing -s-le and A3 IV ii c on-š-k-di-te(s-le). If -te is indivisible the compound -š-k-di-te will belong to the pattern -ke-de-te of III iv b below. See n.56.

58. See A10 I i on kd(i) and A10 II i n.9.

59. See A6 IV ii, V ii c. For the name ending in -ye see A12 IV i b, for the name with mli- see A11 IV iv c and compare the names with mle(i)- in II iii b n.44 above, while for the name with -bele- see A20 I, II iii & n.11, II iv.

60. See IV ii c & n.131 below for yē-t-re-mle-wi-de-tē and n.32 for references for d-te-mlē-de-te.

61. See III ii b 1 for de-qe, A1 I ii, iii, IV i - iii for -k(e,i) and its behaviour with -ñ(n,nē,ni), both elements being capable of occurring together or the one without the other. See also A5 V i, especially V ii a where the names and relevant groups discussed here are cursorily mentioned, for the suffix -t(e,ē)-.

62 See III ii a 5 & n.71 for the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae and compare the rendering of

mke-d(e)-ke-l in III ii a 2 & n.64. See also A3 II iv for the comparison between some constructions involving -dē-ke and -le-ke, the latter being the verb -le- "to give" and -ke. For -de- meaning "to give" see subdivision I i above.

63. See I i for the view about i- and e- as prefixes.

64. For mke- "god, lord" and the group see A16 I i,iv, v & n.19, A3 IV ii b and for the view that -d(e)-ke has something to do with the idea of "offering, giving, granting" see III ii a 1. The above rendering of the complex seems to be reasonable and fitting in its context. So AR-K-X-RĒ-R £ (Ins 34)/ŠĒR-K-RĒ-R £ (Ins 84) mke-d(e)-ke-l:mde-s-l: (H) may mean something like "Arikagharēr/Shērakarēr, the beloved of the god who gives". One may recall the Egyptian phrase ỉr n ỉrr n.k 'act for him that acts for thee' which describes the mutually beneficial activity of kings and gods (see Kawa I 21 n.b, and the other references in Index, p.133 s.v. ỉr, also MacN 60) whereby kings offer to gods who in turn grant them things, mainly life, prosperity, health and victory. The Meroitic mke-d(e)-ke-l would presumably be describing the deity's part of such a tacit arrangement. For the meaning 'beloved' for mde-s-l see

Griffith, M II 12, who renders it as such and adds, loc.cit.n.1, that the meaning is perhaps rather 'of the seed (or 'kin') of '... . Brugsch, ZÄS 25 30, makes a similar guess of the possibility of amni-mde-s-l Ins 84 being like the Egyptian mry ỉmn. For the vocalization of the prince's name as 'Arikagharēr' see A7 II iv n.12.

65. The extension -s-l-w is evidently a writing of -s-lē-wi. See A3 III i a & n.21 on -l(ē)-w(i). In his as yet unpublished notes on the stela from Ibrim, which he has kindly let me see, Dr. Macadam, MacIbr. 1,3, thinks that this ending means 'by the virtue of', 'by the power of', 'because of'. Availing oneself of this suggestion, one may render mke-dē-ke-li-s-l-w as "by the power of (the) god who gives". With these groups compare Mke-de-qē-li B288, of sub-division III ii b 1 below, in which -de-qē- is classified as one of the pattern de-qe-.

66. See A16 I ii on mke-dē. The word -tme in the first name is a noun found on two occasions with the names of 'Amon' and 'Aamanap', in MNI-TME B329 and MNP-TME B334. See A12 III ii a n.33. Dē-ke and DĒ-KE-LI belong to the next sub-division.

67. See no.64 for the meaning of dē-ke- and also III ii a & n.66 above for the name and groups using the same

compound. For -li as a participial ending see A3 I, III i a, b, IV ii 6.

68. Of the Egyptian personal names expressing ideas having no reference to the holder one may mention Wr-b3w-ptḥ RaPN 80 27 'the might of Ptaḥ is great' and Pr-'3-r-nḥḥ RaPN 134 8 'may Pharaoh (endure) for ever!'. These are given both males and females indiscriminately, without the slightest means of distinguishing either sex. Occasionally, the pronoun, masculine or feminine, when it is written, or the -t of femininity, in feminine participles, remains the only means of distinguishing the sex of the name-bearer. Compare for example Int-ḥtpw RaPN 36 6 'one who brings offerings', a feminine name, with Int-ḥtp RaPN 35 20, marked by Ranke, RaPN II 23 b & n.2, as a possibly masculine name, and Gmt-mwt.s RaPN 352 3 'one who found her mother' and Gm-mwt.f RaPN 351 5 ' one who found his mother'. See also RaPN II 24a. The first name Int-ḥtp(w) suits the translation I have proposed for dē-ke-li.

69. See A5 V ii b on the name containing -tē-ñ, A10 III iv & n.22, vi. on the above, as well as an alternative, view about Dē-ki-kdi-s. For d- as a prefix see A5 IV i b and for -r(ē-r), -y, -li and even -r-lē as participial endings see A3 I, especially III i a,b,IV ii b.

70. See III ii b 2 below.

71. See A6 IV ii for the names and groups with -s̆i- and A12 II i, ii & n.8 for those receiving y(i)-, with or without a-. For yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te and the name following it see III iii a below. It seems to me that this long verbal complex as well as (y)i-dē-te-di-k-te and p-s̆i-dē-te-di-ke-te, above, look like containing compound-verbs or being themselves overlapping verbal complexes. The following is the way I suggest for disentangling them. To take the second verbal complex first, this seems to contain three overlapping verbal complexes; (y)i-dē-k-te*, te-di-te* and te-di-k-te*. The first part exists in the not very certain yi-ḍē-ke-te of Formula A above, whereas -te-di-k-te* as well as -te-di-ke-te*, to be discovered later in p-s̆i-dē-te-di-ke-te below, probably have their compound -te-di-k(e)- preserved in Ṭ-ḍi-ke-ye @ B 549 and only partly in We-re-di-ke-ye @ B 647. Both these names are quoted in III ii a 6 below. Returning to the first verbal complex yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te, this may be dissected into yi-dē-ye*, -te-di-b-x-te*, yi-di-b-x-te* and -di-ye-b-x-te*, of which the first and the second ones are preserved in Yi-dē-ye B 691 (sub-division II ii) and e-qe-te-de-b-xe:

Ak I 16 OS, respectively. Of the remaining hypothetical verbal complexes yi-di-b-x-te* might have as its variant i-de-b-x: Tañ 27 OS (II i above), while -di-ye-b-x-te* might be considered as a way of writing the plural form of the singular di-ye-hē-ke-te (H) Ins 26, 30, 32, completely restored from the three texts, in which -hē- appears to be a rare, but possible, variant of -xe-. Compare -di-ye-ke-s, in yi-dē-te-di-ye-ke-s: Formula E Kar 61 10 L/TS, as a dativeless version of the last group. See A7 VI iii a, c, A12 II ii & n.8. Finally, p-ši-dē-te-di-ke-te may be disentangled so as to yield p-ši-dē-ke-te*, -te-di-te* and -te-di-ke-te*, of which the first one is preserved as the verbal complex pi-ši-dē-k-te above, with a few additions and reductions in Ši-dē-ke-ñ-ye @, Ň-ši-dē-ke-ye @ and yi-n-ši-de-ke-li, all of which are mentioned above, ši-de-x-nē Ins 91c 2 O Gr (II i above) and N-š-di-ye B 381 (II ii above). For -te-di-ke-te*, the last hypothetical verbal complex, see -te-di-k-te* above.

72. For the interchange between -š- and -s- see A6 IV i.
    See also A6 IV ii, iv d, V ii a,b,c & n.46, A3 IV ii b.

73. See I ii & n.7 for a verbal complex assumed to be functioning as a noun.

74. See All IV i a n.20, iv b & n.32 for M[ḷ]e-b-s-dē-ke and All VI i for X-dē-k-mli @ and more references on the name. Compare the occurrence of the same word with the simple forms of the verb -d(e)- in Mli-de-b-s @ B 304, Mli-d-w-s @ B 305, Te-mli-de @ B 563 and d-te-mlē-de-te Tur 16 LS, studied in II ii & nn.32,33.

75. See II ii & n.29. The occurrence of -mli and mn- with the same components in X-dē-k-mli @ and Mn-x-dē-ke reminds one of a similar phenomenon in Mli-tr-q-ide B 314 and MNI-TR-Q-IDE £ B 330, where -tr-q-ide is thought to be a compound-verb. See I iv above.

76. See A5 III i for the verb -te-.

77. See A5 IV i a on t(e)-, III ii a 5 & n.71 above on the overlapping verbal complexes of the funerary formulae. For more on TE-DĒ-KE see A5 IV ii a and for -ye in Ṭ-ḍi-ke-ye see Al2 IV i b. The frequent loss of the verb suffix -t(e,ē), when its verbal complex is changed into a participle, is described in A5 V i.

78. See A3 IV x b, A5 IV ii b for more on Wē-rē-te-li-ye and (p-)t-w-d-ke-te. For more on the latter see IV iii below and for W-(I)D-K-ID see the end of III i a 1 & n.52.

79. See Al I ii, iii, IV ii, iii and the comparisons made

between some of the above names and groups on the one hand and names of similar constructions using the verb -l(e)- on the other in A3 II iv.

80. See I i above on a- and AI IV iii and A3 II iv for more on the name.

81. See A5 IV ii a for te-, A3 II iv, IV ii c, d for more on the names and the groups. For mke-d(e,$\bar{e}$)-ke-l(i) see III ii a 2 & n.64.

82. See A3 I, III i a, b, especially IV ii d where some of the above names and groups are mentioned, on -l($\bar{e}$,i) and -y(e,i) as interchangeable participial endings. See also A4 II ii for the name prefixed with pe-.

83. See A5 V i, ii b on -t(e)-. For more on the different aspects of the names see A3 II iv, IV ii d, A12 IV i b.

84. See I iii c & n.19 on -we-de-. Needless to say, -de-q-, evidently the same thing as -de-qe- of the previous sub-division, forms with -r$\bar{e}$-r a construction parallel to D$\bar{E}$-K-R$\bar{E}$-R & B 161, studied in III ii a 4 & n.69. See there for the last point and for the references to -r$\bar{e}$-r. The name is discussed in its other relevant place IV iv below.

85. See A5 V i on -te($\bar{e}$) and V ii a for the suffix used with -d(e,$\bar{e}$,i)-.

86. For the isolation of e- from -de- in e-de-tē:
see I i and for the analysis of the verbal complexes of Formulae C and E see III ii a 5 & n.71 above.

87. See n.85, also A5 IV i b for the interchange between -t- and -d-.

88. See A11 I, IV iv b & n.31.

89. Here one may include the verbal complexes of Formulae C & E quoted above. For e-, i- and y(e,i)- see I i, A12 II i, especially A12 II ii, where some of the names and groups of this sub-division are studied. As a prefix, t(e)- is discussed in A5 IV i a and in some of the present names it is examined in A5 IV ii a. I disagree with Zyhlarz, who, ZyM 455 7, splits the group t-ḍ-b-tē as t-ḍ+b-s-lē and gives the meaning of -d- as 'to send', taking t- as referring to 'the king's mother'. Leaving the last two guesses aside, I question the splitting of -b-tē as -b-s-lē and find it unnecessary. His argument that the finding of yi-ni-txe-lē Ins 101 12 L alongside yi-ni-txe-b-tē Ins 101 11 L suggests the splitting of the latter as yi-ni-txe-b-s-lē, making both complexes agree in having -lē as a termination, does not hold good, for it can be argued differently that whereas yi-ni-txe-b-tē, as it stands, can be a verbal

complex ending in -tē, the normal verbal ending, yi-ni-txe-lē may be a participle. Therefore t-ḍ-b-tē is a better splitting of the group in question, since support for this is forthcoming from its comparison with e-ke-d-b-tē Tañ 149-50, wherein e- and -ke- have displaced t- as a prefix, itself having a singular counterpart in e-ke-de-tē Tañ 143, 144. See below for the last two groups.

90. See A12 II ii & n.8, III ii a & n.33.

91. See III i a 1 & n.51 on adr-mk- 'god of Soleb' and n.95 for a different writing of the name of 'Hathor'. Compare the above constructions with Np-t-d-le @ B 378, studied in II ii & n.31, in which np- is perhaps the name of "Anubis". See the last reference for this name and for the reference to np-.

92. See A20 I, II iii for more on -beli- and these names.

93. See A8 II iii & n.26 on the groups with -tk-ide, I iii a -c on wi-de and the end of III ii a 6 for more examples of the vowelless -w-d-. See A5 IV i b for d- as a prefix and A5 V iii, A12 II v & n.14, A3 IV viii b, x a n.135 for more on the names and groups with -w-(i)d(e)- and -wi-dē.

94. See III iii above, also A7 VI iii a, b on -d(ē)- with

the dative. As was pointed out in II i the compound -d-xe-tē in the last three names accepts further splitting into -d-xe-s-lē, in which event it will belong to the names and relevant groups of the said sub-division. See also III i a 3 & n.56.

95. See above & n.91 for more theophorous names, particularly for tre- as a way of writing the name of "Hathor" and for another mention of np-. For np- being the name of "Anubis" see A8 II iii & n.27 and for teri- being the name of "Hathor" see A8 II iii & n.26 and for are- "Horus" see A13 V i.

96. See III iii a - c, for the pattern de-te(ē), III ii a 1 - 2, 5 & n.71 on de-ke-te(ē) and III ii b 1 on de-qe-te(ē). For the suffix -te(ē) see A5 V i and for its occurrence with different combinations involving the verb -de- see A5 V ii b.

97. See also A1 I i 2,3,5,ii, II ii, III i and sub-divisions I i, III i a I & n.46 above for more on e-ke-de and e-qe-de and for the splitting problem created by the initial e-. See also n.100.

98. See A5 V ii b, A3 IV ii d on the name, with the compound k-id- of which compare the one in W-(I)D-K-ID and others studied at the end of III i a 1. Compare

Š-k-id-ye of sub-division III i b above.

99. See III iii a & n.87 above. For the name see A14 IV ii.

100. See A1 I i 6 on aki(a-ki)-. On the acceptance of the above analysis, one is again confronted with the problem of whether to take aki- as a single word, in which case a- will be prothetic, or as consisting of -ki- and the prefix a-. See n.97.For the other alternative analysis of the name see A1 VI.

101. The splitting of -tē(i) as -s-lē(i) allocates these names in the category of the constructions of the pattern ke-de-. See III i a 3 & n.56. See A1 LL ii, iii, also A7 VI iii a,b, on -d-xe-, A3 IV ii c, A5 V ii b on -tē(i) and -s-lē(i).

102. See III i b & n.57.

103. See III iv b & n.102.

104. See the names and groups using -de-, in its different forms, with -s-, studied in II i & n.27. See also A3 IV ii c.

105. See A5 V i.

106. Admittedly, P-q-d-ye and Š-q-d-ye have been classified in III i b as being derived from the pattern qe-de-. But as was said in A5 V i, whether or not a verb ends

in -t(e,$\bar{e}$) it seems capable of expressing an idea in a verbal form. Therefore it makes little difference whether these names originated in qe-de- or qe-de-te for both of these appear to express the same idea and in the same way. In other words P-q-d-ye and Š-q-d-ye could just have well have derived from qe-de- as from qe-de-te.

107. See A7 VI iv c, A6 II i a, b, III for -š-xe, š-ke- and others believed to be originally verbal complexes acting as nouns.

108. See II ii & nn.29, 34.

109. See III i b & n.57.

110. See II iii a & nn.40, 41. For more on Tk-id-ye and Tki-dē-ye see I iii a & n.12. To this category naturally belongs T-w-mk-ṭk[i]-dē-ye @ B 639 and N-w-i[ḍ]-ye B 396, which have not been added to the list because they are restored. See III v b for the restoration of the former and IV i for the latter.

111. As was said in I iii a & n.12 Tk-idē-ye may well be the splitting of this name.

112. See IV ii a below.

113. See IV i below.

114. See II iii a & n.39.

115. See A8 II v.

116. See I iii a, b on the compound-verb and I iii c on its splitting.

117. TE-WI-DE is also found as a feminine name, but in the present discussion only the masculine form will be used. See the end of III ii a 3 above.

118. See n.116 and also A12 II v & n.14.

119. See I iii b & n.15.

120. The compound n-wi- will no longer be used in the present introductory discussion due to the fact that none of the limited number of groups I have collected for the present work show n- with the verb -wi-. No doubt, these two elements might be found together in one text or another.

121. See A16 I i, iv for -mk and the name in which it is present. See also IV ii. For more on N-w-i[d]-ye see A12 IV v and A3 IV viii b.

122. See IV ii b below for more discussion.

123. See I iii c above.

124. See A4 II ii for p(e)-, A5 IV i a, ii b for t(e)- and A6 IV i for s̆(s)-. More will be said about p-wi-de:mlē-l: in IV ii b.

125. See A23 I, II on -mete-.

126. For adjectives functioning as adverbial phrases see A11 VI i - iii.

127. See I ii a & n.7 for an example of a verbal complex believed to function as a noun, and see A14 III i, ii a for a noun verbalized. Hintze had the same difficulty with wi-de. In HinD 17 he classifies it as a N/V in wi-de-mete-lē-wi, while in HinD 147, 79 he treats it as a verb in wi-de-lē-wi. See HinSS 361, See also the discussion of p-wi-de:mlē-l: and y-wi-de below.

128. See IV ii a above for the references to p(e)-wi-de:mlē-l:. Griffith, M II 5, interprets p-kr-tr-l:wi-de-lē: as 'wize of Pakartar'.

129. See a different analysis of the name in IV i above.

130. See also HinSS 361 and A5 II ii.

131. In Kush 8 161 n.158, Hintze wonders whether yē-t-re-mle-wi-de-tē is all one group, a verb, op.cit. 160 n.15, prefixed with yē- and suffixed with -tē, or divisible into yē-t-re-mle and wi-de-tē. See A12 II vi for the splitting of the name and the group. The existence of the name, at first sight, seems to support his latter thesis, especially if the prefixless w-d-tē: Tañ 139, using the vowelless form of wi-de, be

considered as providing the second part of the group.

It is obviously better to treat the entire complex

as one word using yē- as a prefix and -tē as a suffix.

See A12 II i on yē- and A5 V i for -tē, both of which

have been found together in a fairly/large number of instances.

For mle(i) see A11 IV i a, and for similarly overlapping verbal complexes see III ii a 5 & n.71.

132. See A11 IV iv a, b.

133. See III ii a 6 and A3 IV x b for the verbal complex of Formula L and see ZyM 443 e. More examples of the vowelless -w-d- are given in III iii b & n.93. For p- see A4 II v (end), for k-id see the end of III i a 1 above and for -tr see A22 I i, ii.

134. For pi- and -tr see n.133, and for more instances of mr- see A6 V ii a.

135. With -dē- as a prefix compare de-, in de-wi-dē-te mentioned in III iii b & n.93 and for more about the name see A12 IV v.

136. The compound-verb we-de- is so far known in only one instance to be discussed in the next sub-division. See A10 III vi and A3 IV viii b & n.129. Compare ko-de-kdi-li in III i a 1 & n.49.

137. See I iii c & n.19, III ii b 2. For a- as a prefix see A12 II i and for -rē-r see A3 I, III i a,b, A19 I,II ii.

A3 THE VERB 1(e,i) AND THE ENDING -1(e,ē,i)

I There are at least two different words written 1(e,i). These are the verb meaning 'to give' and the definite article, also spelt -1ē, which additionally serves as a relative adjective and, consequently, as a participial ending. The latter role of -1(e,ē,i) is inferred from its presence in what seem to be relative sentences and participial constructions. In this sense it is comparable with Egyptian nty, and this similarity suggested the borrowing of the term 'relative adjective' from the Egyptological terminology. Strictly speaking, in participial constructions, -1(e,ē,i) acts like Coptic, for example Sa'idic, ⲡⲉⲧ(ⲉ)-, to quote the masculine singular form, and the participle corresponds to the Coptic relative substantive.[1] This comparison illustrates the dual role of Meroitic -1(e,ē,i) as both a definite article and a relative adjective. It is hoped that no confusion will be created in the mind of the reader when, in the course of the ensuing discussion, this ending is sometimes referred to as a relative adjective and sometimes as a participial ending, according as fits the type of complex in which it

occurs. As a relative adjective and a participial ending this component may occur with verbal complexes, nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

There is also a certain -lē, which occupies the place of -qē(-wi).[2] Since this does not seem to be relevant to the study of the personal names, it will not be discussed.

First I shall deal with the verb -l(e,i)- and then the definite article -l(e,ē,i) in all its roles.

II i The verb -l(e,i)- occurs with or without the dative, singular (i.e. -x(e,i), -h(e,ē)) and plural (i.e.-b-x(e)), sometimes receiving other prefixes and suffixes. It is present with the dative singular in e-l-x: Ibr 6 OS, Tañ 35 OS, (at mlē) e-l-x Formula B Mer 27 7 OA, (atē mlē) y-l-x Formula A Mer 25 8 OA, and (mlē) l-h: Ak I 19 OS. These complexes appear to be preserved as l-h- of L-H-LĒ-YE B 246, -l-hē of Ke-l-hē @ B 229, where ke- is believed to be the well-known prefix, and -li-xe of Amme-li-xe @ £ B 41.[3] The components -te- and -s, together or the one without the other, are added to the verbal complex in (atē mlē) e-l-x-te: Mer 27 5 OA, (atē mlē) y-l-x-te: Far 43 6 OA, of Formula A, and in (mlē) l-x-te-s: Ins 45 OS, with which Yi-l-h(e)-mli B 696 seems to be connected, and in (atē he) e-l-x-te

A3 II i - ii

Formula A Mer 34 4-5 LA, which is similar to ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE] B 97.[4]

II ii . Sometimes the suffixes -ñ(n,ni) [5] and -k(e,i),[5] together or separately, are added to the verb -l(i)-, whether or not it already contains the dative singular, and the resulting complex is occasionally prefixed with (y)i- or e- or other elements. Of such type of names and groups we have y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 8,9 L B1, I-li-ñ @ B 205, Amnị-x-lṭ-k £ B 44,[6] ḥ-l̤i-k̤-mli Ins 112 3 L,[6] mš̤-l̤i-n-ke: Ibr 35 OS, Y-l-x̤-ñ @ C 35, e-l-x-ñ-ki: Ibr 20 OS, YI-L-HE-N-K B 697, KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B 227,[6] ke-l-ke-ni: Kar 28 4 LA and its participial counterpart Ke-le-ke-le B 228.[6]

Probably using d(e)- as a prefix, which is perhaps a way of writing t(e)-, the compound -l(i)-k, probably resulting from the occurrence of -k- with the verb -l(i)-, is assumed to form the participles De-l̤i-k-rē-r @ £ B 151, and D-li-ke-te-l @ E 8.[7] The same participle as in the former name recurs prefixless with mk- "god, lord" in Mk̤-l̤-k-rē-r @ C 18.[7] Though they show neither -ñ nor -k, nor any one of their variants, the names ATĒ-HE-LI-YE B 98 and Mit-le-ye B 284 might still contain the verb -li(e)-

suffixed with -ye.[8] If mit- in the last name be the name of "Mūt",[9] in which case the name might mean "Mūt is the giver", or the like, we have a theophorous name to be added to the list of Amni-li, Amne-li-xe @ and Amni-x-li-k and to the group ms̆-li-n-ke, which contains the name of "(the god) Mash".

II iii In order to understand the construction of the names Ye-le-b-ye @ B 672, Mt-l-be B 360, Mit-s̆-l-be B 286,[10] and Teri-h-l-be B 574, we must compare them with the texts (p-w-ri-te:) l-b-x-te: (H) Ins 6-8, 13-16, 18, 19, (n-tke/i:) l-b-x-te: (H) Ins 13, 15, 16, 18 and (mlē-wi:) l-b-x-te: (H) Ins 6, 8 and the name AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE (H) & JEA 35 pl.xv.9a,c,d.[10] The first idea that occurs to one is the possibility that the compound -l(e)-b(e)- in these names might be formed by the verb -l- and -b- of plurality of the texts; i.e. by the verb without the dativel postposition -x-. Despite the absence of this dativel postposition, the compound -l(e)-b(e)-, as Dr. Macadam plausibly suggests to me, might be capable of expressing the idea of 'to give to them'. In other words, -l(e)-b(e)- in the names and -l-b-x- in the texts perhaps mean the same thing. Dr. Macadam's

A3 II iii

suggestion, being a reiteration of his view in Kawa I 128 n.2, as is evident in his rendering of AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE as 'Amani is the giver of life (?)', and in his remark that the plural form of the verb arises from an unexpressed plural object (?), is strongly supported by the identity of the construction of this name with that of the texts (especially Ins 13, 15, 16, 18); namely a deity's name followed by n-tk and a verbal complex containing the verb -l-. But n-tke/i, as are p-w-ri-te and mlē-wi, is the direct object of the verbal complex l-b-x-te, of which the subject is the deity and the indirect objects are the recipients (i.e. King Natakamani, Queen Amanitēre and Prince Arikagharēr).

Applying the same treatment to AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE, amn- should be the subject, n-tk the direct object, and l-b-te the verbal complex in which -b- should express the indirect object. The name might literally mean 'Amon gives life (?) to them'. Since the recipients are unspecified, the indirect object can be anybody, or the people at large. From this, one tends to think, comes Dr. Macadam's rendering of the name as a generalization.

As a result of all this, one sees in Teri-h-l-be a parallel of AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE, in which teri-, probably the

name of "Hathor", replaces amn-, the noun -h- "boon, benefit" replaces -n-tk-, and is therefore the direct object of the verbal complex -l-be, which seems to be a suffixless form of -l-b-te (i.e. omitting -te).[11] "Hathor gives (a,the) benefit (to) them" is perhaps the meaning of this name. This view about teri-h-l-, in Teri-h-l-be, tallies with the parsing of Amni-x-li-k £ B 44, in which amni- appears to be the subject, -x- the direct object and -li-, as here, is the verb.[12] Both the direct and indirect objects seem to be suppressed in Mt-l-be and Mit-š-l-be, where m(i)t-, probably the name of "Mūt"[13], occupies the place of amn- and teri-. In the previous sub-division, Mit-le-ye B 284 has been analysed as containing the name of "Mūt" and a participle built on the verb -l(e)-. Mit-š-l-be will be considered as an example of the verb with the dativel postposition -x- suppressed. The above analysis gains plausibility when we observe how in mn-š-l-he, parsed as the name of "Amon" suffixed with a verbal complex containing the verb -l- and the dative singular prefixed with -š-, the compound -š-l-he,[14] appears as the singular counterpart of the plural -š-l-be.

According to this thesis, the name Ye-le-b-ye might mean

"one who gives (to) them".[14]

II iv In this sub-division I wish to study the names and some relevant groups using the verb under discussion, with or without the dative, prefixed with š(e)-, alternatively s-.[15] Of these are ŠE-L-XI-YE B 482, -š-l-he in mn-š-l-he , Kush 7 190 & fig.2. Mit-š-l-be B 286, -bi-ši-l-h in Te-bi-ši-l-h @ B 552, Š-L-X-TE-Y B 517, S-LE-KI-YE B 467, (A)PE-ŠI-LI-K-R B 53, Š-LE-KE-TE-Y B 514, Š-ḷe-qẹ-te-yi @ B 515 and the title š-le-qe(ē)-, also spelt š-le-qe-ñ.[15]

The names Š-LE-KE-TE-Y, S-LE-KI-YE, (A)PE-ŠI-LI-K-R and Š-ḷe-qẹ-te-yi @ and the title š-le-qe-ñ:(pestē-li-tē(s-lē)-wi:) Kar 83 3 LS (=HinD 96a), š-le-qe-ñ: (mnp-s:) Kar 89 13 LS (=HinD 270), š-le-qe-ñ Sh 13 5 LA (=HinD 223), š-le-qe-l: Qus LA (=HinD 176), š-le-qē-l Kar 96 8-9 LA (=HinD 155) and š-le-qe-ñ-lē Far 10 4 LS (= HinD 12) are of special interest. If we classify them, using the patterns of the verb -de- as a measure, they seem to correspond to de-ke and de-qe prefixed with either, or both of, (a)pe- and š(i)-, alternatively spelt s-, and, in two cases, suffixed with -te-.[16] With the exception of the title, the ending -l of which, where this occurs, is the definite article, all the names appear to be participial in construction, as one may conclude from

the presence of -y(e,i) and -r.[17]

Starting with Š-LE-KE-TE-Y, S-LE-KI-YE and -ši-li-k-r, in (A)PE-ŠI-LI-K-R, first, one notices that the first name differs from the second name and from -ši-li-k-r in containing the verb suffix -te-. Therefore, if we compare these with some names and groups using the various forms of the verb -de-, we observe that -le-ke-te of the first name corresponds to -dę̄-ke-te, in yi-dę̄-ke-te Formula A Kar 43 7-8 LA, while š-le-ke-te, of the same name, corresponds to -ši-dę̄-k-te of pi-ši-dę̄-k-te Formula B Kar 48 5-6 LS.[18] While s-le-ki- and -ši-li-k-, of S-LE-KI-YE and (A)PE-ŠI-LI-K-R, seem to have a parallel in -ši-de-ke-, of yi-n-ši-de-ke-li Mer 13 2,3 0 Gr, the entire former name corresponds to Ši-dē-ke-ñ-ye @ B 498 and Ñ-ši-dē-ke-ye @ E 12, without the mobile -ñ-, and the second name corresponds to pi-ši-dē-k of pi-ši-dę̄-k-te with a participial ending.[18]

Next are Š-le-qe-te-yi @ and the title. Dealing with the title first, we notice that the compound -le-qe- is comparable with the pattern de-qe.[19] Notice how the compound -le-qē- in š-le-qē-l appears as the parallel of -de-qē- in Mke-de-qē-li B 288, while -le-qe-l and -le-qe-ñ in š-le-qe-l and š-le-qe-ñ correspond to -de-qe-l and -de-qe-ñ of te-de-qe-l: Tañ 35 OS and Te-de-qe-ñ B 553

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respectively. The compound -de-qe-ñ has a variant form as -de-qe-n in A-DE-QE-N-K B 11. Regarding Š-le-qe-te-yi, one again is able to find parallels of it with -de- and -qe-. While -le-qe-te- compares with -de-qe-t- of A-DE-QE-T-LI £ B 12, the compound -le-qe-te-yi compares with -de-q-te-y of A-DE-Q-TE-Y B 13. Since A-DE-QE-N-K and Te-de-qe-ñ Te-de-qe-ñ are considered to be verbal complexes, whereas -de-qē-li, A-DE-QE-T-LI and A-DE-Q-TE-Y are considered to be participles, it sounds plausible to classify š-le-qe(ē), with or without -ñ, as a verbal complex and Š-le-qe-te-yi as a participle. The suffix -l(ē) in the title appears to be the definite article in Kar 96 and Qus, and a participial ending in Far 10. But it is evident that the title is being used not as a verb but as a noun. Therefore it falls in the category of šē-ni, šē-b-xe, š-ke and (mke)-š-xe, all of which have been classified as verbal complexes employed as substantives.[20]

III i a There has been the tendency by some scholars to distinguish between the writings -l(e) and -lē(i) of the definite article. I consider them to be mere variants of one and the same word that, because of its position in the word in which it occurs, has to take different forms.

Admittedly, some writings of -l(e,ē,i) tend to be more specialized in certain usages than some others, as will be shown below, and that only -l(ē)- may be followed by -w(i).[21] Furthermore, though I am of the opinion that the participial suffix is no other than the definite article used in different circumstances, meaning "the one who", the ending -l(ē) appears to be more associated with participles than -l(e,i) is. Before studying the names containing -l(e,ē,i), in both its roles of a definite article and a participial ending, I wish to review the different views about it.

Griffith, Kar vi 23, distinguishes -l(i) from -lē, and did not at first recognize in it the definite article. However, in rendering the meanings of the inscriptions in M II, he appears to have decided to treat -l(i) as the definite article as is evident in his translation of, for example, (qē) pelmēs atē-li-s (MNI-TWWI:qē) Ins 105 1-6 L as 'The honoured (?) pelamês (strategus) of the water, Manitawawi', M II 37, and others. He also seems to have decided to take -lē for the participial ending in such constructions as šš̄ēr-li-tē(s-lē) Kar 111 2 TA, which he interprets as 'belonging to a shashêr'. The group

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is literally translatable as "one who is of the scribe (?)".[22]

Making -li correspond to the Egyptian definite article p3-, Zyhlarz, ZyM 430 3 E', suggests that -li as a whole should either be identical with the definite article -l, or consist of the article and -i, which he postulates to be a strengthening suffix (Verstärkendes Suffix). In op.cit. 432 4 a, he seems to have preferred the second alternative and so describes -i as a special suffix of an unknown nature that is perhaps deictic giving the word a syntactic emphasis. He does not elucidate this and so one is unable to see what he means by it. Regarding -lē, which he, op.cit. 432 4 a, considers to be a modification of the definite article in pelmēs ad-b-li-tē(s-lē) Ins 89 9 L, he describes it, together with -ke and -wi, as copulas used by the language to express verbal action.[23] In Kush 4 27 e, he treats -lē as a copula for the statement of ideas, meaning 'es ist' (= it is a fact that) and desdribes it as a 'Kashitic particle' which he thinks is preserved in the 'strongly Kashitic-influenced' Old Nubian. Vocalizing -lē as -lō and reading *a-kṛa-lō instead of a-xr-lē Ins 125 4 L B1, he translates the group as 'es ist, ich habe rezitiert' (= it is a fact that I have recited).[24]

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Schuchardt, WZKM 27 169, believes -l(i) to be a shorter form of, and identical in meaning with, -lē present at the end of the B- and C- words of filiation, but he thinks that both writings have different employments. He quotes examples of these words of filiation when they are reduplicated or triplicated, in which case -l(i) terminates the first group (or first two groups if the word is triplicated), while -lē terminates the last one. Suggesting -lē(-wi) to be participial, related to Nubian (FM) -li-n and to the (KD) participial ending -l, he, op.cit. 170, proceeds to distinguish this type of -lē from the one suffixed to A-names [25] and to enumerate its usages. Of these usages, he thinks is its capability of giving the verbal complex a passive sense. Consequently, he finds this role of -lē comparable with that of Nubian bu-l and ſī .

From his renderings of the four inscriptions in MacFI 43-47, Dr Macadam shows that he considers the A-name and the descriptive phrases to be in a juxtapositional relationship. In consequence, he translates drp-lē Serra W 1 2 LS as 'the drp', wi-de-[lē-wi] Argin 4 T Lintel as 'the wide' and apēte-l(i) Geb.Deb. 5 LS, Argin 4 T Lintel as 'the envoy'. Again, MacN 61, he accords the same treatment to qēre-lē: MacN O Plqe, which he translates as 'the ruler'.

One therefore understands that he takes -l(ē,i) as being the writings of the definite article.

Hintze, HinD p.2, thinks that -lē appears to be a relative or participial ending in which -l could be identical with the definite article -l-. The vowel -ē, according to him, would then be the element affecting the participial sense. Since -le-b-k-wi is the plural form of -lē-wi, and -le-b is the plural form of -lē-, Kar vi 23, Hintze concludes that -k(wi) consequently appears to be the plural form of -ē, which he describes as the participial ending.[26] In fact this is not the only time Hintze ascribes a participial implication to -ē, for he has already done so, HinSS 367, when discussing -sē, in ye-sē: Ins 116 L.[26]

Such are the views of the scholars about -l(ē,i). It seems to me unnecessary to give the presence or absence of the vowels -ē and -i such a great importance as has been done by Meinhof, Zyhlarz and Hintze. When the vowel appears, whether it is -ē or -i, it does not strike me as effecting the participial nuance, which Meinhof and Hintze ascribe to -ē, or having the deictic nature and the syntactical emphasis, which Zyhlarz postulates for -i.

When studying the components (a)x-,[27] mhe[27] and

mlē,[27] and their variants, I pointed out that the vowels -e, -ē and -i appear or disappear or interchange more or less at will. Admittedly, these phenomena vary with circumstances, being determined by the usages of the components in which the vowels are present. Therefore, in some cases one finds one vowel appearing more often than one or both of the others, and in some other cases one finds it rarer. It so appears to me that the behaviour of these vowels with -l- should not be different from their behaviour in (a)x-, mhe and mlē, in their various spellings, or in any other components. This, in my opinion, is a Meroitic peculiarity that has to be accepted as such.[28] I therefore treat -l(e,ē,i) as the definite article, that is interchangeable with -r(ē-r) and -y(e,i) and capable of acting as a participial ending.[28] I do not think -lē is a copula in the sense Zyhlarz considers it to be, nor that its relative sense is derived by the presence of -ē, as was postulated by Meinhof and, later, by Hintze, but that, when it is used as a participial ending, it acquires this quality by the idea of "the one who...." which it seems to express.[29] Therefore, in a-xr-lē, of which this is the better reading, -lē makes the group function as a relative sentence accepting

the rendering as "...which (he) makes", or the like, as was rightly proposed by Hintze, HinSS 368.[30]

Concerning Schuchardt's postulation that -lē is capable of giving the B- and C- words of filiation a passive sense, one can say that this passive sense need not necessarily be due to the presence of -lē, for these verbs might themselves have passive infinitives. Compare for instance the Egyptian verb msi 'to bear, give birth', 'be born'.[31]

III i b After this rather lengthy introductory discussion of the different views about -l(ē,i), I proceed to substantiate the claim that it is perhaps the definite article -l(e,ē,i)[32] that is being used in a new sense as a participial ending. Though -l, -le and -li do occur as participial suffixes, it is -lē that is by far the commonest employed, especially in the funerary inscriptions, where it terminates the words of filiation and the descriptive phrases. Whether it is -lē, or any one of its variant spellings that is being used, the tendency at present is to take the constructions, formed by these elements and the component parts with which they occur, as relative clauses of which the A-name is the antecedent.[33] So, while the

complex kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi, as an example of the descriptive phrases and other words of filiation, accepts rendering as a relative clause meaning "<u>one who</u> is <u>a sister</u> (of)",[33] the complexes involving the B- and C-words accept rendering as passive participles meaning "one who is born of (begotten by)". The B- and C-words of filiation can be alternatively translated as relative forms, of which the B- and C-words may be the subjects, meaning "one whom X bore" and "one whom Y begat", respectively.

That in the group kdi-te(s-le)-lē-wi:

EKE 26 6-7 LA (<u>= HinD 310</u>)[34] the components -le- and -lē- are seen side by side is clear evidence that the former is the definite article and that the latter is the participial suffix, This also proves that the relationship between the A-name and the group is one of an antecedent with its relative clause. The same thing may be said about kdi-te(-s-le)-be-tē(s-lē)-wi: Post 72 12 LS,[34] which, according to Hintze's theory about -bes-, <u>HinD p. 4 (=HinD 275)</u>, <u>HinSS 371</u>, might literally mean "<u>one-who-is</u>-of-them (namely X,Y,Z) <u>the sister</u>", i.e. "<u>one who</u> is <u>the sister</u> of X,Y,Z". Kdi-s-be-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 89 12 LS (<u>=HinD p.4 275</u>) is the undefined counterpart of the last example, which

one may translate as "one who is a sister of X, Y, Z"

In view of the fact that -le̅-wi has the plural form -le-b-k-wi, Kar vi 23, and that the same -le-b- of this compound is also found as the plural form of -l(i), loc.cit., surely -le̅- and -l(i) must be the same thing. But -le̅-wi has just been shown to act as a participial ending. One therefore concludes that -l(i) should also be able to perform the same function. Griffith simplifies matters for us by concluding in his results, loc.cit.no.5, that the locative -te- accepts the addition of -l(i) and -le̅-wi, yielding -te-l(i) and -te-le̅-wi respectively. But we all know that when these suffixes follow the locative -te- the construction can hardly be anything but participial. Griffith's observation supports the view about the interchange between -l(i) and -le̅ as participial endings. Conversely, since -l(i) is the definite article, so must -le̅- be a writing of it used as a participial suffix.

In the interchange between -l(i) and -le̅- one should also include -le, since -le alternates with -li in occurring with the locative -te- in pe-de-me-te-li Kar 125 12 LA, [pe]-de-me-te-le (H) Ins 84, translatable as "one who is in pedeme", pe-de-me-te-le-b Ins 129 13 LS

"those who are in pedeme" and (X:mes-n:mnp:)

pe-de-me-te-li-ti(s-li): (te-rike-lē-wi) Far 34 5 LA

"(begotten by X, the mes-n) of Amanap-who-is-in-pedeme".[35]

Likewise aret:te tebwe-te-le Ins 125 3-4 L Gr, "Harendotes who is in the Abaton".

Concerning -l, as a participial suffix, we only have to remember that -l-w as a writing of -lē-wi is very familiar.[36] In addition we have the text meñ-te-l:kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi: Ins 87 3-4 LA (=HinD 126),[37] perhaps accepting translation as "one who is a sister of him who is in meñ ", where we see both -l and -lē used as participial endings, the former being added to an adverbial clause, containing a place-name and the locative -te- (one who is in meñ), and the latter to a noun (one who is a sister (of)) Furthermore compare wēš-pilqe-te-l: Ins 95 2 L "Isis (who is) in Philae" with mde-k:pilqe-te-lē:mde:phrs-te-lē: Ins 129 9 LS "one who is a mde-k in Philae and (one who is) a mde in Faras".[38]

From these and the above examples, one sees that -l(e,ē,i), familiar as the writing of the definite article, may be used as a relative adjective. One should also add that the general impression one has from studying the occurrences of -l(e,i) and -lē is that the latter has something more distinctive about it. This is evident

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whenever there is a series of relative sentences and participles occurring together, in which -lē and any other form of -l(e,i) are used, for in this case -lē consistently appears with the last group of the series. This is best illustrated in the reduplication of the B- and C-words of filiation, as was pointed out in sub-division III i a. As Dr. Macadam describes it -lē seems to be more comprehensive, in the sense that the effect of the relative sentence or participle, which it helps to form, includes the foregoing groups. There is no need to go too far in this respect, since it is not the intention in this work to discuss the usages of -l(e,ē,i) any more than is enough to make us understand its function in names.

Since -l(e,ē,i), when functioning as the definite article, interchanges with -r(ē-r) and appears to do so with -y(e,i), one concludes that when it is used as a participial ending the component should be interchangeable with these components, which will consequently have participial implication.[39] This is easy to deduce from the comparison of Tni-k-r @ B 614, and ŠĒ-TN-K-R B 485 on the one hand with ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I), of which the last name is a varying spelling, on the other.[40] Clearly, -r here

functions like -l(i), and since the construction of these names is evidently participial, there seems to be little doubt that these endings are all participial. This evidence is corroborated by the comparison of DĒ-K-RĒ-R & B 161, D-DĒ-K-R B 150, D-dē-ke-y @ B 149 and D-dē-ke-r-lē @ E 7 with the participle DĒ-KE-LI B 158.[41] At a glance one realizes that dē-k-rē-, in DĒ-K-RĒ-R, -dē-k(e)-r-, in D-DĒ-K-R and D-dē-ke-r-lē @, -dē-ke-y, in D-dē-ke-y @, and DĒ-KE-LI should be identical in both construction and meaning, and that -r(ē)- and -y are interchangeable. The element d-, found in some of these names, is perhaps a verb prefix acting like t(e)-.[42]

The equivalence of -r(ē) and -l(i) is further consolidated by the comparison of yi-k-ñ-t-r(ē)-, in Yi-k-ñ-t-rē-r @ B 695, with yi-ke-ñ-t-l-, in Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be B 694[43] and of amēt-r(ē)-, in Amēt-rē-r @ E 4, with amete(ē)-l(i), in AMETĒ-l B 38 and Am[e]te-li-š B 36.[43] Concerning the second -r of -rē-r, this has been shown from DĒ-K-RĒ-R and -dē-ke-r-lē, in D-dē-ke-r-lē @, to be no different from -lē. The reduplication of -r is therefore the same as the reduplication of any one of the writings of -l(e,ē,i) and should be equivalent of the writing of

-l(e,$\bar{e}$,i) together with -y(e,i). Compare, for example, -li-li in x-ml$\bar{e}$-li-li Formula D2 Kar 36 17 L/T A/S, -l-li in x-mhe-l-li Formula D2 Kar 127 4 TA, -l-l in h-h-l-l Kar 78 20 TA and -l$\bar{e}$-l in AT-KE-L$\bar{E}$-L B 101 (cf. At-ki-li @ B 103)[44]. Admittedly, Kar 36 and 127 are badly inscribed, but Kar 78 is good and neatly done.[45] For the occurrence of -l($\bar{e}$,i) together with -ye(i) one may quote A-wi-x-l$\bar{e}$-ye B 113, He-l$\bar{e}$-yi @ B 191 and Š-ke-l-ye @ B 509, alternatively written Š-KE-LI-YE.[46]

III i c A last word to be said about -l(e,$\bar{e}$,i), whether it is the definite article or the participial ending, is concerning its very frequent coalescence with -s- to form -t(e,$\bar{e}$,i).[47] Hintze, HinS 67, thinks that this phenomenon is restricted to the texts of the later period, the beginning of which he dates to 40 B.C. There are at least three known types of -s-. One is the genitival -s-, another is the suffix -s- that is sometimes used to derive nouns, of which it becomes an integral part,[48] (e.g. kdi-s, mde-s, ...etc.) and a third is the verb suffix (e.g. ye-tx-ke-s Formula J Sh 19 10-11 LS). While one can in most cases be sure about the presence of the genitival -s- and the "-s- of derivation", in such nouns as are

known to one, one is not sure about the presence of the verb suffix -s- unless the complex involved ends in -ti. When a complex containing a verb ends in -t(e,ē), one wonders whether this is the verb suffix [49] or whether it accepts splitting into -s-l(e,ē), i.e. into the verb suffix -s- and the participial -l(e,ē). But when the complex ends in -ti, it seems to me obvious that this ending accepts splitting into the verb suffix -s- and the participial -li.

To give a few examples of the behaviour of -s- and -l(e,ē,i), one mentions be-lēlē-ke:mnp-t(s-l): ye-t-mde-lē-wi: Kar 30 5-7 LA, "<u>one who</u> is <u>mde-related</u> to <u>the be-lēlē-ke</u> of Amanap", as an example of the genitival -s- being followed by the definite article, and kdi-te(s-le)-lē-wi: EKE 26 6-7 LA (=HinD 310)[50] "<u>one who</u> is <u>the sister</u> (of)", as an example of -s- of derivation and the definite article.[50] Followed by the participial ending -lē, the genitival -s- changes into -tē-, as in šē-ni mni-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 45 4 LA (=HinD 7), "<u>one who</u> is <u>a priest</u> (?) of Amon", [51] in the case of the indirect genitive, and in š-šēr-li-tē(s-lē): Kar 111 2 TA, "<u>one who</u> belongs to <u>the scribe</u> (?)",[51] where there is no noun governing the genitive, while the -s- of

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derivation coalesces with the same -lē- into -tē in kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 125 5 LA, "<u>one who</u> is <u>a sister</u> (of)".[51]

An example of the uncertain presence of the verb suffix -s- is perhaps (A)mni-š̃-x(e)-te(ē) & B 48 . If one splits the compound -š̃-x(e)-te(ē) as -š̃-x(e)-s-le(ē) one obtains something similar to š̃-x-s-li: Tañ 146 OS.[52] At this point one should add that even when one is sure of the presence of -s- in -te(ē) at the end of a verbal complex, this does not mean that one is always able to identify -s- as being the verb suffix or genitival. In such a name as Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B 706, although -s- at the end of yi-s-x-te-s- is more likely to be the verb suffix, the meaning of the name accordingly being "<u>one who</u> offers", or the like, it might also be genitival, in which case the name might mean "<u>one belonging</u> to him <u>that offers</u>", or something similar.[53]

Lastly, one may point out that the mere occurrence of -s- before -l-, whether or not they are integral parts of other components, may result in -t-.[54]

In the light of the above discussion I will now examine -l(e,ē,i) in the names containing it as a definite article or a participial suffix added to nouns, qualified or unqualified, to adverbs and verbal complexes.

A3 III ii a - b

III ii a In the present sub-division I wish to study the names in which -l(e,ē,i), appended to, or with, other suffixes, follows a noun. On the analogy of kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi, meaning "one who is a sister", one thinks that Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye B 223 should mean "One who is a sister", i.e. "the sister". Kdi-l B 212 will accordingly mean "the woman, lady, Mistress (?)".[55] BR-S-LĒ-YE B 143, according to this splitting, might contain -lē-, which probably functions as the one in Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye.

Translating qēre-lē: MacN O Plqe as "one who is a ruler" suggests the same thing for Qērē-lē-ye B 455,[56] the treatment of both of which is analogous with that of kdi-s-lē-wi and Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye above. Queen Nawidemak, whom qēre-lē describes, is considered to be the antecedent of the relative clause. Alternatively, "the ruler", adopted by Dr. Macadam, MacN 61, as a rendering of qēre-lē, is also fitting, in which case the descriptive phrase and the queen's name will be in apposition with one another.[56]

III ii b According to Griffith's rendering of mete-l: Kar 17 16 LS (=HinD 188) as 'the second (?)', Kar vi 57, the word mete- will be a noun and -l the definite article. Therefore, -l(i) and -rē-r must perform the same function as -l above in Am[e]te-li-š B 36, AMETĒ-L B 38 and Kmēt-rē-r @

A3 III ii b - c

E 4, in the last two of which amete- and amet are perhaps ways of writing (a)mete-.[57] It interchanges with -ye in (A)mete-ye B 37 and occurs together with -ye-, as a version of -ye, in METE-YE-L B 270.[58] Compare the intrusion of -ye- before -l here with that of -y- before -re-r in Mli-y-re-r @ B 318.[59]

III ii c There are some cases where -l(e,i), as a definite article or a participial ending is sometimes separated from its noun by -ñ(n).[60] M(e)qe(e)- appearing to be a noun defined by -l in MQE-L-TE-MEYE B 338,[61] reduplicated in M[E]QE-L-LI B 257, is perhaps written meqe- and separated from its article by MEQE-N-LI B 258. The penultimate -n- in the last name is easily identifiable as the one in Meqe-ñ B 260.[62] The same component is separated, this time from the participial suffix -li, by means of what might be the genitival -s- in Meqe-ti(s-li) B 261, which one presumes to mean something like "one of Meqe", whatever meqe may mean. Comparing Meqe-ñ with the title mes-n: (mni-te(s-le)-wi) Kar 105 3-4 LA (=HinD 69), "one who is a mes-n of Amon", and MEQE-N-LI with the defined version of the same title mes-n-l: Geb Deb 7 LS (=HinD 151) and with the name MES-N-L(I) B 263, in all of which mes-n,

treated as a single word for the time being, is a noun, one concludes that meqē(e)-ñ should also be a noun. But from Meqē-ti(s-li), and perhaps MQĒ-L-TE-MĒYE, one realizes that -ñ(n) is not indigenous to the word, and that meqē(e), also mqē-, alone is the noun. The same argument applies to mes-n-, in which mes- alone must be the noun. For the participial implication of -li and the possessive meaning of -s- in Meqē-ti(s-li) one may compare the construction of the name with that of Tme-ñ-s-l B 602, seeming to mean "one of Tmeñ" and probably containing a form of the place-name Tmñ, known from the descriptive phrase tm-ñ-te-lē: Kar 47 4 LS (=HinD 115) and others.[63]

The same treatment of MEQE-N-LI and mes-n-l, also MES-N-L(I), might be accorded pe-n-li-, in Pe-n-li-š-hi B 409, which might be an extended form of API-LE B 57, that itself seems to have extended versions as the writings of Api-l-ye B 5 and as -pē-lē-yi in Kdi-pē-lē-yi B 216.[64] In consequence, one is also able to identify -l(e,ē,i) in the last four names as the definite article. Šb- appears to be a noun recieving -ye alone in Šb-ye B 478 and the same suffix with the definite article in ŠB-L-YE B 475, also Šb-l-ye @.[65]

III ii d The definite article -l(e,ē,i) defines bele(ē,i)- and bl(e)- in BLE-LI B 135, Beli-li-bre @ B 120, Beli-li-d-t @

B 121 and Yi-dē-t-beli-le @ B 690, interchanging with -ye in Bl-ye B 140 and occurring with it in Belē-lē-ye @ B 118.[66] One of two alternative analyses of BLI-K-R B 138 is to consider it as a noun suffixed with -k- and defined by -r.[67]

The component -l- following meš- in MEŠ-L-X-BLE B 264 and Meš-l-[x]-rē-r @ B 265 [68] might be the definite article. Meš- looks as if it is a variant writing of mš-. The latter has in Meroitic the semblance of a divine name and has been suggested by Dr. Macadam to be the name of the harem-god Bēs,[69] for, as he tells me, it would be strange if so African a deity were unrepresented in the Meroitic pantheon. One has the feeling that both words might mean the same thing, in which case the presence of the definite article with meš- will be problematical, for, if it is a deity's name, meš- will not need definition by the article, because it is already defined. Therefore the suggestion comes to mind that at least in meš-l we have not Bēs but the Nubian ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲗ, which is the word for 'sun' preserved in modern Nubian (for example in Dongola dialect masil‿ ArmDN 139a).[70] As a result one wonders whether meš-l has any reference to the 'sun-god', the

presence of the article here being similar to its occurrence with ari-teñ.[71]

The comparison of axi-l:pl-ke: Ak I 36-37 OS on the one hand with ax-ple-te: Tañ 77-78 OS and xe-ple: Tañ 50-51 on the other reveals that axi-l is the defined counterpart of the undefined ax- and xe-,[72] in which case -l will be the definite article, which, written -li, seems to occur again with x- in X-WI-LI B 189, where it is separated from its noun by the particle -wi-.[72]

Qe-, looking like a noun, appears to be defined by -lē- in QE-LĒ-HR B 438, and, written qē-, by -le- and -ye in QĒ-LE-YE B 445.[73] Dr. Macadam tells me that he thinks telepe might mean 'wine'. So TELEPĒ-L B 557 probably contains a variant of the same word and might consequently mean "the wine".[74]

III iii In this sub-division I wish to study the names, and a few relevant groups, consisting of two juxtaposed nouns receiving -l(e,ē,i), the relationship between the one member of which and the other is sometimes genitival and sometimes indefinite. Of such names and groups is ari-teñ-l (just as frequently found without -l), which according to one of

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Griffith's alternative ways of rendering it, M II 28, might mean 'Horus the Sun' [75] and will therefore be formed by two nouns in apposition with one another.

If -tke-, according to one alternative, though less likely, analysis of the group mni-tke-l (H) Ins 1, be a noun, we might have it defined and in direct genitive with mni-.[76] The same thing will perhaps apply to Ds-tke-l @ B 167 if ds- is a noun. On the other hand tke- appears to be a substantive in juxtaposition with another substantive in TKE-MRĒ-LI B 593. [76]

Since one is unable to determine the relationship between the components of Kdi-mn-li B 214, also Kdi-mn-le, and their reshuffled version Mn-kdi-li B 332, one is in no position to identify -le(i) either as the definite article or as the participial ending.[77]

Met(e)- is evidently a noun[78] in indirect genitive with -mni- in Met(e)-mni-ti(s-li) B 267, which seems to mean "the met(e) of Amon". The suffix -li is evidently the definite article. According to one way of looking at it, Qē-dē-t(s-l) @ B 444 might contain two nouns in indirect genitive receiving the definite article.[79] The similarity between (A)hpe-s-li B 29 and Hpēt(s-l)-wi @

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B 198, the latter one of which is perhaps participial in construction, suggests that -l(i)- is a participial ending. The component -s- is most likely to be genitival.[80]

The noun at-, perhaps having t(e)- as a different spelling, occurs juxtaposed with -qē- in an indeterminable relationship, and both nouns seem to receive the definite article -le(i) in AT-QĒ-LI B 111, T-QĒ-LE B 622, which interchanges with -ye in T-qē-ye @ B 625 and is separated from its noun(s) by -ni- in Te-q[ē]-ni-li B 572.[81] The separation of the article from its noun(s) in the last name reminds one of the same thing happening in MES-N-L(I) B 263 and MEQE-N-LI B 258.[82]

Whether with or without -qē-, at- is thought to be in juxtaposition with the defined noun -mete- in at-qē-mete-l: Kar 59 10 LA (=HinD 294) and At-mete-li B105 , or with its variant -mt- in At-mt-l[i]-tē(s-lē) @ D 8.[83] As will be shown in sub-division III iv below, the same compound at-qē-, in the above names and this group, occurs qualified by -lh- and defined by -l in at-qē-lh-l. The place of at(-qē)- is occupied by meqē- and tr-q- in Meqē-mete-li B 259 and Tr-q-mete-li @ B 634.[84] Reduplicated or occurring with mr-, -qē- receives -l(i), apparently the

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definite article, in QĒ-QĒ-LI B 447 and MR-QĒ-L B 343.[85]

If -xe(i)- and -ḥe- in BER-XI-L B 125, BR-XE-T(S-L) B 141 and BR-ḤE-TE(S-LE)-Y B 142 be the noun thought to mean "boon, benefit",....etc., in these names we might have two juxtaposed nouns, the relationship of the one of which with the other is difficult to determine, suffixed with -l(e).[86] One is not sure of the nature of -l(e) here.

III iv Next I will examine the names and some of the relevant groups considered to contain one or two nouns in juxtaposition with an adjective, which may be either an epithet or a predicate, and suffixed with -l(e,ē,i).

One of the known adjectives that qualify nouns, that are further determined by the definite article, is -lh-, found interchanging with -ḥi- once, thought by Griffith, M II 63, Kar vi 10 u, to mean 'great', 'chief', and by Erman, ZAS 35 158, to be equivalent of Egyptian ntr '3 or nb pt in the context amni lh Ins 24a. Griffith's rendering is now generally accepted by scholars and will be adopted in the rendering of the names of this sub-division. Other epithets are mhe and mlē, in their variant writings, considered to mean 'plentiful' and 'good' respectively.[87]

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As is pointed out in the places where these components are discussed, the meanings of these adjectives have been proposed by Griffith.

The definite article defines the qualified noun aqē- [88] in Aqē-lh-li @ B 61, which, on the addition of the noun at-, [88] forms the title at-qē-lh-l: Kar 59 9-10 LA, of which ate-q-ḫi-l-w Kawa 48B 1 0 Gr is a version employing ate- for at-, -q- for -qē- and -ḫi- for -lh-. In the last two instances at(e)- and -q(ē)- are both nouns forming the compound at(e)-q(ē)-, which is perhaps identical with at-qē- studied in III iii above. Whereas -l(i) in the name and the title is the definite article, -l- in the descriptive phrase from Kawa looks as if it is a participial ending.

If MS-LH-LĒ B 344 is a name and not a title it will consist of the noun ms- [89] qualified by -lh- and suffixed with the participial ending -lē, being obviously of approximately the same sense as the descriptive phrase ms-lh-s-lē-wi Far 18 5-6 LS (= HinD 18), "one who is a great ms".

The definite article -l(i), sometimes reduplicated, interchanges with -r and -ye in determining

the noun (a)x-, assumed to mean "boon, benefit", ... etc., qualified by -mh(e)-, having as variant spellings -mx- and -b-, and -mlē- , as is evident in x-mhe-l-li Formula D2 Kar 127 4 TA, preserved in X-mh-r @ B 177 and in -xe-mx-r, of Tb-xe-mx-r @ B 542, and in h-h-l-l Formula D2 Kar 78 20 TA, preserved in -xe-h-ye, of TBI-XE-H-YE B 544, and in (a)x-mlē-l(i) of Formula C, preserved in X-mlē-ye @ B 178.[90]

As was said in A7 III ii, ATĒ-HE-LI-YE B 98 might mean "the plentiful water", it being thought to contain the qualified noun atē-he- defined by -li- and -ye.[91] Though one is familiar with the component parts of MK-ŠĒR-MLĒ-LI B 290, formed by two nouns and an adjective, one is not sure of the relationship of these components with one another.[92] The suffix -li is most likely to be the definite article.

Also formed by a noun, an adjective and the definite article is Ml-x-li B 303, also Ml-x-l @, in which the adjective ml-, being the predicate, precedes its subject -x-, rendered in All III as "the boon is good". If -tek(e)- in Ml(i)-tek(e)-li B 310 is a noun and not a verb, in which case -tek(e)-li will be a defined noun,

and not a participle subject of the predicate, we will again have a sentence with an adjectival predicate, meaning "the....is good". Consequently, -li here will be the definite article.[93]

III v Since our knowledge of adverbs and adverbial phrases in Meroitic is still scanty one has not been able to select more than a handful of names formed by a noun and what one thinks might be an adverb, the resulting complex receiving -l(i). The element -k(e,i)-, with or without -ñ(n,nē,ni)-, has been treated throughout this work as an adverbial element.[94] On the assumption that this suffix implies continuity, the group kt-ke-l (H) Ins 4 has been suggested to mean something like "a Lady, Mistress who remains (?)", and on this analogy QR-KI-LI B 460 has been rendered as "(a,the) ruler who remains" or "the remaining (?) ruler". What has been said about the above group perhaps applies to Kdi-ki-r ....D 35. There are a few more names, formed by a noun and -k(e,i)- suffixed with -li, -lē-l and -ye, in which one would presume the function of -k(e,i)- to be adverbial. But since there is no clear indication as to the possible meaning of the noun to which this suffix is added, one has not been able to

offer any possible interpretation of these names. Of such names are At-ki-li @ B 103, AT-KE-LĒ-L B 101, Arē-k-ye B 78, Ar-ki-ye B 87 and possibly Mle-k-ye @ B 292.[95]

The name Šyē-ke-li B 541 becomes less obscure in meaning if it be thought to contain the name of 'Sai' and the postposition -ke- in its probable meaning as 'from, out of'.[95a] 'One from Sai' might therefore be an adequate interpretation of this name.

IV i In the next division I will study the names and the relevant groups in which the participial suffix -l(e,ē,i) is considered to be added to verbal complexes which it presumably changes into participles. The verbs and verbalized nouns involved are -de-, -l-, -te-, -š-, -h-, -tk- and -teke-, -w(e,i)- and -wi-de, -tn- and -tn-ide-, -qēre-, -mk-, -ke- and -pēte, in their variant writings. Since the names and groups of this type are discussed in detail in their right places, there will be no need to do so here again, and so only brief comments will be made about them, giving reference to the places where they are elaborately analysed.

IV ii a Beginning with the participles containing the verb -de-, in its different forms, probably meaning 'to give',[96] the verbal complexes in these participles will be treated in the same way as those of the names and groups studied in A2. Namely, I will start with those employing -de-, in its variant forms, with or without the ordinary verb prefixes and suffixes, then the compounds of the patterns de-ke and de-qe, ke-de and qe-de, de-te, de-ke-te and de-qe-te, ke-de-te and qe-de-te.

Prefixed with pe(i)-, the verb -de- is perhaps changed into a participle by -l in pe-de-l Kar 30 11 LA (= HinD 244), the ending interchanging with -ye in Pi-de-ye B 417, while, prefixed with a-, it is changed into a participle by both -li- and -ye in A-de-li-ye @ B 9.[97] The compound -dē-lē in Amn-xe-dē-lē @ £ B 43 accepts classification as a prefixless participle, which, together with A-dē-ye B 16, yi-dē-ye B 691 and -dē-ye, in Ax-dē-ye B 22 and Mš-dē-ye @ B 350 appear to share the endings of A-de-li-ye.[98] In Np-t-d-le @ B 378 and qe-te-de-li: Far 21 28-29 TA we have the verb prefixed with t(e)-, where in the latter qe- is an extra prefix.[99] The same verb is perhaps present with the dativel postposition in the

participle A-DI-H-LI B 18.[100]

IV ii b Next are the names and relevant groups of a participial construction containing the compound de-ke in its different forms. The simplest participle of these is the prefixless DĒ-KE-LI B 158, the -li of which interchanges with the reduplicated -r (i.e. -rē-r) in DĒ-K-RĒ-R £ B 161, which is present in its entirety in mke-d(e)-ke-li (H) Ins 34, 84, mke-dē-ke-li Mer 13 3 O Gr, mke-dē-ke-li-s-l-w Ins 94 6-7 L, qēre-de-k-lē: Kar 47 4 LS, Far 20 2 TA.[101] Prefixed with d-, n-s- and yi-n-s̆i-, the compound forms part of D-dē-ke-r-lē @ E 7, where -r, also present in D-DĒ-K-R .. B 150 and interchanging with -y in D-dē-ke-y @ B 149, occurs with -lē, and of n-s-dē-ke-l(i) Formula E Kar 25 14-15 LA, ...etc., and yi-n-s̆i-de-ke-li Mer 13 2, 3 O Gr, the ending of which is replaced by -ye in ñ-s̆i-dē-ke-ye @ E 12 and s̆i-dē-ke-ñ-ye B 498.[102]

IV ii c Of the pattern -de-qe- we have -de-qe(ē)-l(i) in Mke-de-qē-li B 288 and in (adē-l:)te-de-qe-l: Tañ 35 OS, while of the pattern of ke(qe)-de we have ke-de-...-l, in ke-de-kdi-li Far 21 23 TA (= HinD 335), aqe-di-s-lē (H) Ins 9, qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l): Kar 30 4-5 LA, and -s̆-k-di-te(s-le), in amni-s̆-k-di-te(s-le) Tañ 51 OS.[103]

The ending -l(e,i) in these names and groups appears to interchange with -ye in Š-KE-DI-YE (?) B 508, also found as a feminine name spelt Š-k-id-ye, and Š-q-d-ye B 523.[104] In amni-š-k-di-te(s-le), as in a-qe-di-s-lē and its variant form qe-di-ti(s-lē)-, the component -s- is likely to be the verb suffix.

If we split their -te(ē,i)- as -s-le(ē,i) the names A-KE-D-XE-TI(S-LI)-WL £ B 30, Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 68, Šn-k-d-xe-te(s-le) (H) £ B 519 and Ten-[k]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) B 566 might perhaps contain the present compound followed by the dative singular, the verb suffix -s- and the participial ending -le(ē,i).[105]

IV ii d Of the pattern de-te(ē) we seem to have the dativeless participles -yi-d-t-li, in Tre-yi-d-t-li @ B 629, the ending of which is replaced by -ye in Yi-d-t-ye @ B 692, and -de-te-li, in Adr-mk-de-te-li @ E 3, all of which are dativeless, and dē-h-te-li-, forming a part of the longer participle Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē) @ B 156, which contains the dative.[106] A-DE-QE-T-LI £ B 12, the -li of which interchanges with -yi in A-DE-Q-TE-Y B 13, perhaps contains a form of the pattern de-qe-te.[107]

Of the pattern ke(qe)-de-te[108] we have the

participles K-id-te-li-ye B 236, P-q-d-tē-li B 425 and š-q-ḍ-te-li-, in š-q-ḍ-te-li-s Tañ 86 OS, in the last two examples of which p- and š- alternate.[108]

IV iii Next are the names and relevant groups of a participial construction using the verb -l(e,i)- "to give".[109] The dative singular appears with the verb in (yetē)-l-x-l: Ins 94 8 L, presumed to have the same meaning as ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE] B 97,[109] and in L-H-LĒ-YE B246.[109] Here also belong De-l̤i-k-rē-r @ £ B 151, -l̤-k-rē-r, in Mk-l̤-k-rē-r @ C 18, D-li-ke-te-l @ E 8 and Ke-le-ke-le B 228.[110]

IV iv The verb -te-, deduced by Griffith, M II 40, to mean 'to give', appears to be the verb in the participles Yi-te-li B 708, -ye-te-li(-ye), in Axe-ye-te-li-ye B 25 and Hi-ye-te-li B 193, YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B 703, Ye-te-ñ-ye B 683, YE-T̤E-MHE-YE B 682, Ši-te-li B 504, X-s̤ē-te-li B 188, -be-t-li, in are-be-t-li: Serra 6 LS and B-te-ke-ñ-ye B 146, in all of which ye(i)-, yi-ñ-, s̤ē(i)- and b(e)- alternate as prefixes, and -li and -ye alternate, or occur together, as participial endings.[111]

The ending -r(ē-r) takes the places of -li and -ye in Tpē-te-mhe-r @ B 620, Š-t-rē-r @ B 536 and

-be-ṭ-rē-r, in Tē-be-ṭ-rē-r @ C32. [112]

IV v Probably meaning "to make (offering)" [113], the verbs š(e,ē)-, with or without the dative -x(i)-, is found prefixless in participial constructions. Of these participles are Š-XI-L B490 and -š-x(i)-li, in MLĒ-Š-X(I)-LI B296.[114] The ending -li, interchanging with -ye in Š-xi-ye @ B491 and with -r in MṢ̌Š-X-R B352, according to this splitting of the name, is present, in its variant form -lē-, with -ye in Š-X-LĒ-YE̤ B492. [114]

We also have š-x-s-li: Tañ 146 OS, which seems to be a part of (A)mni-š-x(e)-tē(e)/s-lē(e) £ B48 [115], and -š-x-ñ-l, known from mk-š-x-ñ-l: Tañ 4 5-6 OS, which only needs -te- to be transformed into Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI B493. Here also belongs Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B706, in which -s- is used as a verb instead of -š-.[115]

Suffixed with -k(e,i)- and -ñ(n)-, or with the one without the other, the present verb forms the participles Š-ke-l-ye @ B509, also spelt Š-K-LI-YE, where in both names -l(i)- occurs with -ye, Š-KI-N-LE(I) B511, where -le(i)- is the ending, replaced by -ye in Š-K-Ñ-YE B513, and -š-ke-l(i) in Kdi-š-ke-li B219 and Mṣ̌š-ke-l @ B353.[116] One notices that all these names contain the same components as, or variant forms of š-ke-, known to

A3 IV v - vi - vii

us in the title mlē š-ke-lē-wi EKE 26 13 LA (=HinD 3).[117]

IV vi The verb -h- of Formula A, believed to have something to do with the idea of "offering", is thought to be the one changed into a participle in He-lē-yi @ B 191, N-h-li B 367, N-h-rē-r @ B 368, I-[ñ]-h-rē-r @ B 206, N-k-h-rē-r @ B 372 and Š-h-ñ-rē-r @ B 494. [118] In these names, -lē(i), followed by -yi in the first name, interchanges with -rē-r.

IV vii The component -tk(e,i)- [119] being the verb, we have the following participles: (teri:) tk-b-xe-lē: Far 21 26-7 TA, perhaps meaning "it is Hathor that gives (?) to them", tki-te-lē-wi: Far 32 5-6 LA, Post 72 10 LS,[119] yi-tki-te-lē: Ins 132 5-6 LA/S (=HinD 320), tk-l-w Ins 75 2 0 Stte, n-tke-lē Ins 132 6-7 LA/S, N-tki-li B289 , n-tke-l-w Mer 8 5 L B1 and y-n-tke-l-w Ins 111 8-9 L.[119] With some of these might be linked the compound -ñ-tke-l in ŠBĒ-Ñ-TKE-L B 473.[119]

Sometimes a name or a group is formed by the addition of a deity's name or a noun to a participle. Of such a type are believed to be mni-tke-l (H) Ins 1, Wēš-tke-l @ B 656 and Qēre-tk-r @ B 454, the last name containing the participle Tk-r @ B 597.[120] Taking we-

A3 IV vii - viii a-b

in We-tk-id—l-be @ B 648 for the enigmatic but familiar particle, I tend to think of -tk-id—l-be as a participle resulting from the occurrence of the plural form of the participial ending with the compound-verb -tk-id—.[121]

IV viii a There are some names and certain relevant groups using the component -w(e,i)- in participial constructions. Of these are -we-li, in kd-we-li: Ak I 1 OS,[122] seeming to have a form with an intrusive -ñ- as w-ñ-li: Kar 78 13-14 LA (=HinD 127). The former group and -we-ñ-yi, in kd-we-ñ-yi: Ibr 3-4 OS, which is a variant spelling of the former group replacing -li with -yi and showing the intrusive -ñ- of the latter, only need the prefixes n- and te- so as to form the names N-WE-LI (?) B 393, Te-we-li B 579 and Te-wi-ñ-ye B 581 and the apparent participle -te-wi-l in ari-te-wi-l: Ins 101 5 L.[123] The last group probably has a variant form as the name Ar-w-t-l @ B 91.[124] The verb is thought to occur with the dativ al postposition -x-, alternatively spelt -hi-, in A-wi-x-lē-ye B 113 and perhaps W-HI-LI C 33.[125]

IV viii b The word -wi-de, in its different forms and according to its various ways of splitting, thought to be a compound-verb, seems to be the essential element

A3 IV viii b - ix

in the participial constructions wi-de-l Tañ 143 OS, wi-de-lē: Ins 77b 3 O Gr, b*ē-wi-de-lē Mer 7 2 LS to quote but a few examples of the groups, and the name Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 710.[126] Itself accepting analysis as a participle ending in the genitival -s- and the participial suffix -lē (one belonging to),[127] the name contains another participle (i.e. yi-w-id-te-li- "one who...") and seems to mean "one belonging to him who...." Less its medial -te- (i.e. yi-w-id-li-*), the participle yi-w-id-te-li- has a variant form as Yi-w-id-ye B 711, using -ye instead of -li, while Yi-w-id-ye itself has a slightly varying writing as N-w-i[d]-ye B 396, in which n- occupies the place of yi-.[128] De-we-kdi-l @ B 153 appears to be a participle employing the same compound-verb in a reversed order.[129]

IV ix Whether the participle contains a prefix or not, the components tn(i), also spelt tñ, in its simple form or in the compound-verb tn-ide, forms some participles.[130] It is present in the participles ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I) B 485, also written ŠĒ-TN-K-R, Tni-k-r @ B 614, Tni-ñ-t-rē-r @ B 615, the extension to the Invocation qe-tñ-yi-ñ-qe-li Sawārda l

A3 IV ix - x a

L B1, and its different versions, 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 28-29.[131] In almost half of the different examples quoted -r(ē-r) alternates with -l(i) as a termination.

IV x a In this sub-division I wish to study a miscellaneous group of participles. Of these are T-N-BELI-LE B 611, Ni-beli-l @ B 370, N-beli-le @ B 364 and -ne-bli-lē, in Šn-ne-bli-lē @ B 520, all of which seem to employ -b(e)li- as a verbalized noun.[132] According to one of the alternative ways of analysing them, Bele-ke-kdi-li @ B 117 and BLI-K-R B 138 look like being prefixless participles using bele- and bli- as verbalized noun.[133]

On the acceptance of its restoration as Š-qēri-[ṭē(s-lē)]-wi @ B 625, this name accepts analysis as a participle, perhaps meaning something like "one who makes/is made a ruler", the ending of which alternates with -ye in T-qērē-ye B 623 and ṭ-qerē-s-ye Kawa 32 1-2 O Gr.[134] If YI-MK-LI B 700 means "one who is a lord", the name Yi-mk-l̤i-t(s-l) @ B 701 appears to mean "one belonging to him who is a lord".[135] Y-K-LI B 713, of which a prefixless form might be present in Are-ki-k-li B 70, has

its y- replaced by n- in N-KE-LI B 371, with which it overlaps in TB-H-RE-Y-N-K-LI B 543.[136] With or without either or both of the prefixes y- and n-, the component -k(e)- seems to be verbalized in these participles.

Of a participial construction also appear to be Ye-pētē-li B 675 and A-ptē-li E 5, with which, according to its splitting as T-pēte-mhe-r @ B 620, this name appears to share the verb.[137]

The name Š-MEDE-LI C 27, looking as if it is a form of ši-mde-l-w Tañ 2 OS, without its final -w, and of š-ñ-mde-t(s-l) Kar 79 7-8 LA (= HinD 172),[138] less -ñ- and -s- gives one the impression that it perhaps has a prefixless version as MD-LI-YE B 254, using the vowelless md- and having -ye in addition. There is a possibility that the groups te-mey-l Ak II 3 OS, te-mey-ye Ak II 13, te-mey-ye-š Ins 94 12 L and the comparable names TE-MEY-LI B 561, TE-MEY-YE B 562, and consequently Te-mey-kdi-ye B 560 and Š-TE-MEY-YE B 532 might be participles of some sort, showing the interchange between -l(i) and -ye.[139]

The behaviour of š- with -mr- in š-mr-te: Ibr 16 OS, šš-mri Sh 8 4-5 LS, šš-mr-te-l: Tañ 26 OS, šš-mri-le-b: EKE 26 8-9 LA, with which should be compared

the behaviour of -te in s̆s̆i-me-te: Ins 129 6-7 LS (=HinD 48) and s̆s̆i-me: Tañ 24-25 OS, is confusing. However, one has the feeling that -l(e-b) is perhaps the definite article, singular and plural, and that -mr(i) is perhaps a noun, as is suggested by its occurrence together with -te- in MRI-TE-L-YE B 342,[140] which appears to contain the elements in s̆s̆-mr-te-l, only that it uses the variant form -mri-, without s̆s̆- and with an additional -ye.

IV x b The name We̅-re̅-te-li-ye B 662, also written Wi-re(i)-te-li-te̅(s-le̅), deserves a special treatment. One cannot discuss the name directly but will have to start at a remote point. The starting point is xri-h:mle̅:ye-re-tx-n-ke: ye-re-s-ni: Mer 9 6 L Bl. There seems to be little doubt that ye-re...-n-..., in ye-re-tx-n-ke, is the same as ye-re-...-ni, in ye-re-s-ni. Judging from the parallelism between ye-re-s-ni on the one hand and y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 7,9 and yi-d-xe-s-ni: Mer 9 12 on the other,one concludes that -re- in the first group should serve a purpose similar to that of -l- and -d- in the other two, both of which as is well-known, seem to be words meaning 'to give'.[141] If -re- in ye-re-s-ni and ye-re-tx-n-ke does not actually mean "to give" it should revolve round the idea of "giving".

A3 IV x b

It has been argued that -x(he)-mlē-, present in, or as, the first constants of Formulae D2 (i.e. x-mlē-le), G (i.e. att-x-mlē-li) and K2 (i.e. at-he-mlē-l-w), seems to be of the same sense as -h:mlē: in xri-h:mlē: of the above text from Meroe.[142] But the verb used in Formulae D2 and G is -tx-, known in the forms pi-ṣi-tx-k-te Formula D2 Kar 36 17-18 LA and yi-tx-b-x-te: Formula G Ins 137 4 OA, and the verb used in Formula K2 is -re- in (p-)t-re-ke-te.[143] Since -h:mlē: in xri-h:mlē: is related to these formulae, in which the verbs are -tx- and -re-, it should not be unlikely that the verbal complex (ye-re-tx-n-ke) used with these words should combine the verbs of Formulae D2 and G. The verbal complex ye-re-tx-n-ke therefore contains two overlapping verbal complexes on the pattern of, for example, yi-dē-te-di-k-te Formula C Kar 99a 9-10 LA.[144]

To corroborate the above observations, one has to examine atē:mlē:w-de-pl-ke:y-t-w-d-s-ni: Mer 9 4 and atē:be-y-t-w-d-y[ẹ]:[w-d-s]:y-l-s-ni:xri-h:be-y-t-r-y[ẹ]:w-r-s: y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 7-9.[145] One observes that in the same way as ye-re-tx-n-ke combines the verbs of Formulae D2, G and K, so in atē:mlē:w-de-pl-ke Mer 9 4 the verbal complex w-de-pl-ke combines the verbs of Formulae L (i.e. -w-d- in

(p-)t-w-d-ke-te) and D2 (i.e. -p̌l- in p-s̆i-pl-te Kar 78 21 LA). That this seems to be the case is discernible from y-t-w-d-s-ni, which is as much a partial incremented repetition of the verbal complex preceding it as ye-re-s-ni is of ye-re-tx-n-ke. But t-w-d- is preserved in its entirety in (p-)t-w-d-ke-te.[146] Before drawing any conclusions from this, we must continue for one step further.

In the lines following these groups, we find atē:be-y-t-w-d-y[ẹ]:[ẇ-ḍ-s̱]:y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 7 and xri-h:be-y-t-r-y[ẹ]:w-r-s: y-l-s-ni: Mer 9 8-9 and one can hardly fail to recognize in these a partial repetition of the previous lines, leaving out the epithet :mlē: and the verbs -tx-, of Formulas D2 and G, previously compounded with -r(e)-, and -pl-, also of Formula D2, previously compounded with -w-d(e)-, in addition to the elision of the vowels -e- of -w-d(e)- and -r(e)-, but adding a large number of prefixes and suffixes. The first one of these new elements is -t-, already known with -w-d(e)- in y-t-w-d-s-ni, the partial incremented repetition of -w-de-.[147] Besides the prefix -y-, we have be-.[148] One therefore concludes that in the parallel groups be-y-t-w-d-y[ẹ]: and be-y-t-r-y[ẹ] we seem to have be-, standing for p-, and

A3 IV x b

-t-w-d- and -t-r- [148] of the verbal complexes (p-)t-w-d-ke-te and (p-)t-re-ke-te of Formulae L and K. The given splitting of the verbal complex of Formula L, which has already been proposed and defended[149] from a different angle, and that of Formula K is no doubt established by contrasting the groups w-de- (in w-de-pl-ke) and -ye-re- (in ye-re-tx-n-ke) with be-y-t-w-d-y[e] and be-y-t-r-y[e], with which they are believed to be connected.

Next I draw nearer to the name Wi-ri-te-li-tē(s-lē), according to this splitting, in its different writings. It may be recalled that at the outset equations were made between the verbal complex ye-re-s-ni Mer 9 5 on the one hand and y-l-s-ni Mer 9 9 and yi-d-xe-s-ni Mer 9 12 on the other, all the three of which conclude new sections, leading to the surmise that -re- should have the same, or a similar, meaning as that of -l- and -d-, both of which probably mean 'to give'. [150] But -d- in yi-d-xe-s-ni is not different from the one in w-de-pl-ke, ye-t-w-d-s-ni and be-y-t-w-d-y[e]. If -d-, with which -re- might be similar in meaning, accepts the prefixing of w-, there seems to be no reason why -r(e)-should not do so.[151] This seems to be confirmed by the existence of w-r-s: Mer 9 9,

immediately following be-y-t-r-y[ẹ], for which one suggests the restoration of [ẉ-ḍ-s̩] as a parallel to follow be-y-t-w-d-y[ẹ]. The next postulation is that the compound formed by the vowelless -w- and -r-, of which w-r-s: is a model, might be the one fully vowelled in wi(ē)-ri(e,ē)- shown in Wi-ri-te-li-tē(s-lē), Wi-re-te-li-tē(s-lē) and Wē-rē-te-li-ye, the different writings of the name under discussion. The medial component -te- might be the verb suffix belonging to the verbal complex, while -li- accepts identification as the first participial ending.[152] The final -tē, in the first two versions, will accept splitting into the genitival -s- and the participial -lē.[153] That the name perhaps contains forms of -w- and -r- in w-r-s, of the text from Meroe, appears to be confirmed by its parallelism with Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) which contains -w-id-, a variant writing of -ẉ-ḍ- of [ẉ-ḍ-s̩] and its related compounds in the text from Meroe. Like the last name, Wi-ri-te-li-tē(s-lē) seems to accept rendering as "one belonging to him that wi-ri s".[154] This disagrees with Griffith's treatment of wi-ri- as a place-name, as one may conclude from his interpretation of the name as 'belonging to the inhabitant of Wiri', Kar vi 68.

There is however one problem. The varying

writing of the present name as W$\bar{e}$-r$\bar{e}$-te-li-ye slightly diverges from Wi-ri(e)-te-li-t$\bar{e}$(s-l$\bar{e}$) in ending in -ye. This ending is explicable if one considers it as interchanging with the participial ending -l$\bar{e}$. But still, the loss of the genitival -s- needs to be accounted for.

IV xi a There is a group of names in which the identity of -l(e,i) is difficult to establish. In Ari-l-$\tilde{n}$-mk-s B 83 and Tm-l-$\tilde{n}$-mk-s-l B 609 we seem to have the nouns ari- and tm- suffixed with -l-.[155] If -l- is the definite article one cannot understand its being followed by -$\tilde{n}$-.

IV xi b Since the component -m$\bar{e}$me[156] has been seen to be associated with a certain -le- preceding it, when this component follows a noun or a verbal complex, that is elsewhere known with the definite article or the participial ending, one is not sure whether -le-, separating -m$\bar{e}$me from the noun or the verbal complex, is the definite article or the participial ending, therefore belonging to the noun or the verbal complex, or whether it belongs to -m$\bar{e}$me. Of such names are A-DI-LE-M$\bar{E}$ME B 19, AR-LE-M$\bar{E}$ME B 88, Bli-le-m$\bar{e}$me @ B 137, LT-LE-M$\bar{E}$ME B 250, Mli-wi-te(s-le)-m$\bar{e}$me @ B 317 and TME-TE(S-LE)-M$\bar{E}$ME B 604. In addition to its

being the -le- of -mēme, the element after a-di- calls to mind -li- in A-de-li-ye @ B 9, that after ar- reminds one of -l- in Ari-l-ñ-mk-s B 83, while that following bli- is reminiscent of -li in BLE-LI B 136.[157] The component -le- preceded by mli-wi-s might be related to -l- in mle-w-s-l-ke: Ak I 15 OS, -le- occurring with tme-s- in the last name looking like -l- in Tm-l-ñ-mk-ṣ-l B 609.[158]

IV xi c The identity of -l(i)- has yet to be established in Abē-t(s-l)-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 5,[159] D-bē-te(s-le)-li-tē(s-lē) @ B 147 and D-BĒ-TI(S-LI) B 148. Likewise in Yere-ki-ñ-mr-ḥ-li @ B 676,[160] MRĒ-ŠI-K-LI B 340,[160] Tek-liṣ-ñ-t-rē-r @ B 556 and Sqi-li B 470. Judging from Tbi-ye @ B 546, which probably contains a noun suffixed with -ye, one surmises that tbi-, in Tbi-tē-l-ye @ B 545 is perhaps formed by the same noun receiving -tē- and the elements -l- and -ye.[161] But the uncertainty concerning the identity of the intrusive -tē- makes one hesitate before taking -l- for the definite article. Note how the construction of this name resembles that of MRI-TE-L-YE B 342.[162] The same thing may be said about -l in Wēš-mē-l @ B652 where -mē- is an obscure intrusive component.[163]

Ms-, known as a noun in MS-YE B 349 and

MS-LH-LĒ B 334, occurs with -mre-,Presumably a noun, in Ms-mre-ke-l-l @ B 347 that seems to end in a reduplicated -l-, the nature of which is yet to be determined.[164]

A3 THE VERB 1(e,i) AND THE ENDING -1(e,ē,i)- FOOTNOTES

1. See CR 11 106-22 for a lengthy discussion of -1(e,ē,i) and Till KG 478 ff. on Coptic relative substantives.

2. See sub-division III i a & n.25 below.

3. These names and the groups are studied in greater detail in A7 VI ii a & nn.34,36.

4. See A7 VI ii b & n.38a for the names and groups discussed above. For more on ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE] see A7 III ii & n.19, VI ii a,d & n.41.

5. See A1 I iv, on -ñ(n,nē,ni) and -k(e,i), and A1 IV i - iii for their behaviour in occurring together or the one without the other.

6. Some of these names and groups are studied in A7 VI ii c & n.40, while Amni-x-li-k and h-li-k-mli are studied in A7 IV i b. KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL, discussed in A7 VI i, ii a, is mentioned together with the name and the group following it above in A1 III ii, IV iii. From the comparison of Amni-x-li-k and Amne-li-xe @, of the previous sub-division, on the one hand with Amni-li B 45 on the other, one concludes that -li in the last name should be the same verb as the one in these names, namely the verb "to give". Amni-li might then mean "may Amon give!", or the like.

Accordingly, M(E)NĒ-TE-L(I) B 255 and MNPTE-LI B 333 might mean "may Amon of Nē give!" and "may Amon of Napata give!" respectively. See the note under the last name.

7. See A5 IV i b for -d(e)- as a prefix, and A16 I i for mk-. For -rē-r and -l as participial endings see sub-division III i b below and A19 I, II ii.

8. See A7 III ii & n.19 for an alternative analysis of ATĒ-HE-LI-YE. For -ye see A12 III i, IV ii.

9. Mit- as the name of "Mūt" is present in the title mde-k:mit-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 88 8-9 LA (= HinD 62), being written mt- in teter:mt-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 69 8-9 LA (= HinD 85). See Kar vi 82. More theophorous names with "Mūt" are discussed in sub-division II iii below.

10. See A7 VI ii d and also M I 58-9, JEA 4 24-26. Mit-š̌-l-be belongs to the names containing -l- prefixed with š̌(e)-, to be studied in the next sub-division. For more on the texts with mlē-wi see A11 IV i a, iv a and for more on the other text and the king's name, using n-tk(e,i), see A8 II ii.

11. On -h- "boon, benefit" See A7 IV i a ff., for the reference for -n-tk- see n.10 above and on teri- being the name of "Hathor" see A8 II iii & n.26. For the

view that a verb may express an idea in sentence form without the assistance of -te see A5 V i.

12. See II ii.

13. See II ii n.9.

14. The group mn-š̆-l-be is mentioned in II iv below. For -ye as a participial ending see III i b below and A12 III i (end), and for more on Ye-le-b-ye see A12 II iv & n.12.

15. On š̆(e)- see A6 IV i and for the prefix in these names and groups see A6 IV iii & nn.29,30. Mit-š̆-l-be was discussed in II iii above.

16. See A2 III ii a 1 & n.61, ii b 1 for the explanation of the patterns de-ke and de-qe, and A2 III ii a 5 & nn.71,72 for the compound dē-ke prefixed with š̆(s)- and suffixed with -te.

17. See sub-division III i b, A19 I, II ii for the view that -y(e,i) and -r may function as participial endings.

18. See A2 III ii a 5 & n.71.

19. See A2 III ii b 1 for the names and the groups using de-qe(ē) studied below.

20. See A6 II i a & n.9, A7 VI iv c.

21. In Kar 37 12 LA (=HinD 68), -le-wi, in (mle-ke:) mš̆-te(s-le)-wi: is obviously meant for -lē-wi. This,

so far as I know, is the only instance of its kind. One agrees with Schuchardt, WZKM 27 172 & n.1, that -lw (i.e. -l-w) and -tw (i.e. -t-w) are shorter writings of -lē-wi and -tē-wi respectively. To prove the latter Schuchardt compares yi-re-t-wi: Mer 7 15 LS with ye-ri-tē-wi: Mer 7 17 LS and n-tme-t-wi: Mer 7 16 with n-tme-tē-wi: Mer 7 18. Support for the former is lent by the comparison of the writings of the royal Formula C x-mlē-l-w Hin 9, 16a, 17, 19 with x-mlē-wi Hin 2, 15, where in the first version both -l- and -w are present, the latter component being fully written as -wi in the second version. See All IV i a and also CR 11 120-21.

22. See All V i & n.40.

23. ZyM 434 f. The component -ke is studied as A1. See there, especially I iv, IV i - iii.

24. See A21 III i & n.20.

25. See HinD p.2 n.7 and CR 11 114 for the instances of -lē as an infix to A-names. The suffix -li, with which Hintze thinks it interchanges in Ins 131, appears to me to be part of the name, though one cannot establish whether it is functioning as a definite article or as a participial ending. See sub-division IV xi c & n.160 on Yere-ki-ñ-mr-ḥ-li @ B 676, the name involved.

26. See HinD pp. 2-3 & nn. 8-9. In effect, Hintze's analysis is the same as Meinhof's, who, MeinSM 11, treats -ē- as a relative pronoun. See CR 11 113 & n.73. In A6 I ii this role of -ē is thought to be unlikely.

27. For (a)x- see A7 I i and for mhe and mlē see All I.

28. See Heyler's conclusion about the different writings of -l(e,ē,i), CR 11 122, although he distinguishes between -l(e,i) on the one hand and -lē(-wi) on the other. For more on -l(e,ē,i), -r(ē-r), studied in A19 I, II i, ii, and -y(e,i), discussed in A12 III i, see sub-division III i b below.

29. See sub-division I above.

30. See A21 III i & n.20.

31. See PluCG § 259; TillKG § 255 for Coptic examples.

32. There is no need to prove that these are all writings of the definite article, for this seems to me obvious and in no need of substantiation. In the course of the study of the names and groups containing this component it will become evident that this is in fact the case.

33. See CR 11 113-114, 118-119. On kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi see A10 I ii b. The descriptive phrases may be alternatively taken as being in apposition with the A-name, as was adopted by Griffith in some of his

translations. Of these is that of (qē AP-MLĒ) pelmēš ad-li-tē(s-lē): Ins 104 L, given as '(The honourable Apamalē), strategus of the az(ab)', M II 41, which, judging from the comparison of the text with (MTE-WWI) plmēš: ad-b-li-t(s-l): (ye-t-mde-lē-wi) Ins 89 9 L/TS, translatable as "one who is (mde-related) with MTE-WWI, strategus of the...", I would render as "(the honourable AP-MLĒ) who is the strategus of the...". In other words, -lē in ad-li-tē(s-lē), is serving as a participial ending, whereas -l, in ad-b-li-t(s-l), is serving as a definite article. Griffith, JEA 3 26, suggests 'navy' (or land-forces (?)) as a meaning for ad-b-li in the last text.

34. See AlO I ii b & n.6.

35. As regards the example in Far 34, I take mnp:pe-de-me-te-li "Amanap-who-is-in-pedeme" as all one word in indirect genitive with mes-n and then all of "mes-n of Amanap-who-is-in-pedeme" as being defined by the definite article -li. In other words, the medial -li- is participial but the final one is the definite article.

36. See III i a n.21.

37. Griffith, M II 17, reads kdi-lē-wi:, though the

photograph and his facsimile show kdi-tē-wi:.
He also reads 'Malañte', instead of meñ-te-, and treats it as a personal name though considering the possibility that the group might be a place-name, which he renders as 'the (chief) in Malañ'. On Meñ- being the possible reading see HinD 114, 116. For more on kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi see A10 I ii b.

38. See A19 II i on mde-k, of which mde is evidently a variant writing without -k.

39. On -r(ē-r) and its interchange with -l(e,i) and -y(e,i) see A19 I, II i, ii, and on -y(e,i) see A12 III i.

40. See sub-division IV ix.

41. See IV ii b.

42. See A5 IV i b.

43. For the names with yi-k(e)-ñ- see IV x a n.136 and for the names with amēt- and amete(ē)- see III ii b.

44. See A7 II i a, b on x-mlē-li-li and x-mhe-l-li. For AT-KE-LĒ-L see sub-division III v & nn.94, 95 below.

45. See Griffith's remark in Kar vi 52.

46. See IV viii a for the name with the verb -wi-, IV vi for the name with he- and IV v for the name with š-ke-.

47. See also A5 VII i-iv. The coalescence of -s- and -l(e,ē,i) into -t(e,ē,i) was discovered by Griffith,

Kar vi 40, and is discussed by Zyhlarz, ZyM 431-32, and Schuchardt, WZKM 27. 177, both of whom add nothing new to what Griffith has found.

48. The term "-s- of derivation" will henceforth be used to distinguish this type of -s- from the other two. It will make the term clearer if I add that I would regard the suffixed -s which forms particular nouns in both Egyptian and Coptic. (e.g. šm'-s 'Upper Egyptian Crown' from šm'(w); ⲥⲟⲣⲥⲉ̄ 'trap' from ⲥⲱⲣⲥ̄ , to name only two) as an exactly similar phenomenon.

49. See A5 V i.

50. See A5 VII ii for -t(ē)- concealing the genitival -s- and -l(ē) and A5 VII i for -te(ē)- formed by the coalescence of "-s- of derivation" and -le(ē). For be-lēlē-ke see A20 II i and for kdi-te(s-le)-lē-wi, of which kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi, mentioned below, is a parallel containing the undefined noun, see A10 I ii b & n.6.

51. See A7 VI iv c for "priest (?)" as a meaning of šē-ni and A11 V i & n.40 for š-šēr. For kdi-tē(s-lē)-wi and the reference for both types of -s- involved in the above groups see n.50 above.

52. See sub-division IV v & n.115 below.

53. See the reference in n.52.

54. See A5 VII i.

55. On kdi-s and br-s-see A9 I i, ii, A10 I ii b, II ii, and on kdi- see A10 II i.

56. See also A12 III iii for more on Qērē-lē-ye. With this name compare T-qērē-ye B 623 which shares -qērē and -ye. While the construction of the first name might be participial involving the noun qērē, that of the latter might be participial involving the same component but verbalized. Notice how the latter name looks like being a parallel of the participle ṭ-qerē-s-ye Kawa 32 1-2 O Gr, presumably containing -qerē-s- as a form of -qērē-s- with which qērē- is known to form a pair. That ṭ-qerē-s- is perhaps a verbal complex seems to be supported by š̌-qēre-s: Tañ 20 OS, š̌-qērē-s: Tañ 47 OS, where š̌- replaces t- as a prefix, and by Š̌-qēri-[ṭ̤ē(ṣ-lē)]-wi @ B 625, which has the appearance of a participle formed by the same elements and -lē. See A6 IV iv c. The component -ye in T-qērē-ye and t-qerē-s-ye, as a particiipial ending, appears to interchange with -lē- in Š̌-qēri-[ṣ-lē]- of the last name. Needless to say that the restoration of the elements in Š̌-qēri-[ṣ-lē]-wi is sustained by the comparison of the name with the groups quoted preceding it here. From these comparisons, one

concludes that T-qērē-ye, as is š-qēri-[s-lē]-, is most likely to be participial in construction and that t- in it is a mere prefix functioning like š- and not forming feminine names from the word qērē, meaning 'the queen', as was pointed out by Zyhlarz, ZyM 427-8, 460 C b 2. For t- as a prefix see A5 IV i a and for it with -qērē- see A5 IV ii d. See also A9 I i & n.2 on qēr(e)-.

57. See A23 I, III i.

58. See A12 III ii a & n.26, iii aswell as the reference in the previous footnote.

59. See A11 V ii.

60. See A11 IV ii a, also A1 I ii on -ñ(n)-. The same component intrudes between -y(,i) and the noun to which it is suffixed, as is shown in A12 III iv a.

61. This name has a variant writing as MQĒ-L-TE-MDE. See A12 IV xii a & n.90.

62. This is a name borne by three different persons and in one of these instances (see B259) it is certainly a shorter writing of Meqē-mete-li. See A23 III ii.

63. For the coalescence of the genitival -s- with the participial -li into -ti in a genitival construction, lacking the noun governing the genitive, see A3 III i c. See also A1 VI for tm(e)-ñ-.

64. See A4 I & nn.1, 2.

65. See A12 III ii a & n.26, where šb- is directly suffixed with -ye, and A12 III iii & n.38, where -l- intervenes between the two components.

66. On the component bele- and its variant forms see A20 I. Belē-lē-ye accepts an alternative analysis as Be-lēlē-ye, as is mentioned in A20 II i. See sub-division II iii & n.10 of the same reference for Beli-li-d-t and Yi-dē-t-beli-le.

67. See sub-division IV x a, below, and A19 III for the other alternative analysis.

68. For more on these names see A7 II iv, A21 I i, II i, A20 II iv.

69. MacFI 47.

70. See Kar vi 56, 82 for more on Μαγαλ .

71. See III iii & n.75.

72. On ax(i)- and xe- see A7 IV iv and for more on the groups see A5 V i. For x-wi- see A7 II iii.

73. See A15 I i, II ii & n.18 for qe(ē)- and the names. For more on QĒ-LE-YE see A12 III iii.

74. To call someone "the wine" is not at all unlikely, for we do have a name as At-mlē-y[ẹ] @ B 107, which must mean "(the) good bread". See A11 II i b.

75. See A14 II i, IV i.

76. For the alternative views about mni-tke-l see sub-division IV vii below and A8 II iv a. On the last name see A8 I i, III i.

77. See A10 III i b.

78. See A23 I, II.

79. See A15 II iii for both ways of looking at the name.

80. See A4 I,II vi d & n.37, A7 VII i & n.65, A21 IV i for the different analyses of these names.

81. See A15 II ii & nn.16, 17.

82. See III ii c & n.60.

83. See A23 III ii & n.11.

84. See A23 III ii & nn. 13, 16.

85. See A15 II ii for the name with the reduplicated -qē- and sub-division II iv of the same reference for the other name with mr-.

86. See A9 II i & n.14, A7 II v on these names.

87. See A11 II i a,b, for mhe and mlē as epithets.

88. See A15 I i, II i on aqē- , A7 III iv & n.22 on -hi- for -lh-. On at- see A15 II ii.

89. See note on the name under B344 and A7 III iv & n.22. That ms- is a noun is deducible from MS-YE B 349, for which see A12 III ii a and n.29. See also IV xi c (end) below.

90. See A7 II i a, b. on (a)x- and h- and A7 II ii & nn.8,9 on these names. See also A19 I, II i on -r as a definite article and A12 III i & n.25 on -ye.

91. But also see sub-division II ii & n.8.

92. See A11 II i b & n.10, A16 I ii.

93. But see A11 IV iv d, A7 IV ii.

94. See A1 I iv on -k(e,i)- and A1 II i on the names and groups discussed in the present sub-division.

95. See n.94. More is said about some of these names in III i b above.

95a. See A1 VII for -ke- as a postposition probably of the above meaning.

96. See A2 I i.

97. See A2 II ii & nn.29, 34, A4 II ii and A12 IV i a.

98. See A2 II ii & n.29.

99. See A2 II ii & n.31 on Np-t-d-le. If we ignore -te- in qe-te-de-li the compound qe-...-de- becomes of the pattern qe-de-, studied in A2 III i a 1, and the intrusion of the verb prefix here compares with that of -yi-, also a well-known verb prefix, separating the same qe- from the same verb in qe-yi-de-wi.

MacN O Plqe. See A2 III i b.

100. Here will also belong a-d-h-l of A-D-H-L-İMN* (H) £. See A7 VI iii a & n.43, iii b, c.

101. See III i b and A2 III ii a 1-3 on these complexes and their possible meanings. Since qēre-de-k-lē falls in line with the groups with which it is quoted above, namely a noun taken as an object by, or in apposition with, the participle, and since this group differs from qērē-de-li only having the infix -k-, I feel that the last group must be similar to it in meaning. Therefore Griffith's rendering of the latter, in the context šēr:qērē-de-li: Ins 89 11-12 L/TS as 'the royal (book)', JEA 3 26, seems to me incongruous with the view taken about these constructions, and, consequently, unsuitable.

102. See A2 III ii a 4 & n.69 for the names prefixed with -d-, A19 I, II ii for -r and its interchange with -l(e,i) and -y(e,i), A2 III ii a 5 & nn. 71, 72 for the names and groups with (yi-n)-šī-, ñ-šī- and n-s-.

103. For the participles with de-qe- see A2 III ii b 1, for those with k(q)e-de see A2 III i a 1 & n.49 and for -š-k-di-te(s-le), and the names with š- prefixed to the patterns ke-de- and qe-de, to be mentioned next, see A2 III i b & n.57.

104. See n.103 for the reference to š- with the patterns ke-de and qe-de.

105. See A2 III i a 3 & nn. 54, 56.

106. See A2 III iii a,c.

107. See A2 III ii b 1 & nn. 79, 80. A-DE-Q-TE-Y differs from Pe-de-q-ye B407 in lacking the prefix pe-, for which see A4 II ii, and in showing the verb suffix -te-. See sub-division II iv above for the comparison made between the names under discussion on the one hand and Š-LE-KE-TE-Y B514 and Š-le-qe-te-yi @ B515 on the other.

108. See A2 III iv a, b & n.102. If -s in š-q-d-te-li-s is genitival one postulates the existence of participles in which the participial suffix is not employed and supposes the group to mean "belonging to them....". This group is preceded by yētē, which might be the word for "water", and the meaning of the text might be "belonging to him that ... yētē (water ?)", or the like. See A7 III ii for yetē - "water" and sub-division III i c (end), in this discussion, for the employment of the genitival -s in participles that are not preceded by a noun governing them.

109. The verb -l(e,i)- is studied in sub-divisions II i-iv above. See there, especially sub-division II i & nn.3,4. and A7 VI ii a,b. The restoration of -ye in the last

name but one is explained in A7 III ii & n.19.

110. See sub-division II ii for these names except Ke-le-ke-le, about which more is said in sub-division II ii above and in A1 III ii, IV i.

111. See A5 III i & nn. 8-10. For more on the names with axe-, ḥi- and x- see A7 IV iv & n.28, for those with -mhe- see A5 III ii, A11 VI ii and for those with b(e)- see A5 III iii.

112. See note 111. T-pēte-mhe-r as an alternative splitting of the above name is considered in sub-division IV x a below. For -r(ē-r) as an ending alternating with -l(e,ē,i) and -y(e,i) see A19 I, II ii, III and sub-division III i b above.

113. See A6 I ii on the verb and A6 II i a on the names studied here.

114. See A7 VI iv d 3, also A11 III, IV iv d for more about MLĒ-Š-X(I)-LI, also A6 II i a n.10 for the splitting of MŠ̬Š-X-R. For the interchange of -r with -l(e,i) and -y(e,i) see III i b above and A19 I, II ii.

115. See sub-division III i c above on the frequent coalescence of the verb suffix -s- when preceding the participial ending. See A7 VI iv c & nn.57, 61

on mk-s̆-x-ñ-l, and A7 VI iv d 1,3 on the rest. Under A6 II i a these names are discussed in greater detail.

116. See A6 II i b & nn.14,16,17, A1 IV i-iii. For the splitting of Ms̆ s̆-ke-l see A6 II i a n.10 and on ms̆- see sub-division III ii d & n.70 above.

117. See A6 II i b & n.15.

118. See III i b above,also A7 V ii on these names and for some references. For more on the name prefixed with s̆- see A6 IV iv c.

119. See A8 I i for the verb -tk(e,i)-. The ending -l-w appears to be a shorter writing of -lə̄-wi, as was pointed out in sub-division III i a n.21 above. See A8 II i a for the groups containing the verb suffixed with -b-xe-, A8 II ii for the groups and the names with -n(ñ)- and A8 II iii for the groups with -tki-te-

120. See A8 I ii, II iv a. See the alternative view, though it is less likely than the above, about mni-tke-l in sub-division III iii above.

121. See A8 I ii on the compound-verb and A8 II v for we-.

122. For this and the other instance containing kd-, quoted below, see A10 III v.

123. See A2 I iii b, IV i & n.118 and A13 V iii.

124. See A13 V iii.

125. See A7 VI iv e & n.64.

126. See A2 I iii a-c, IV i, ii a,b, on the compound-verb and the groups. For the name see A2 III iii a,b.

127. See III i c for -tē- concealing -s-lē meaning "one belonging to".

128. See A2 IV i.

129. A2 IV iii, A20 II ii & n.9 and A10 III vi.

130. See A14 I i on the component in general. For the simple verb see III ii a and for the compound-verb see III ii b under the same reference.

131. See A14 IV iii & n.35a, v & n.45.

132. See A20 II v.

133. See A20 II ii. The other alternative analysis of BLI-K-R is mentioned in sub-division III ii d above.

134. See sub-division III ii a & n.56.

135. See A16 I v & n.19. The construction of Yi-mk-l̤i-t(s-l) compares with that of Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē), suggested in sub-division IV viii b & n.126 above to mean "one belonging to him that....". See also sub-division III i c for -s-lē meaning "one belonging to".

136. See A1 V & n.35. The ending -li seems to be in the plural form in Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be B 694 and interchanges with -rē-r in I-K-RĒ-R & C 12 and Yi-k-ñ-t-rē-r @ B695. See III i b above.

137. See A18 II & nn.10,11. For an alternative view about T-pēte-mhe-r see sub-division IV iv & n.112.

138. See A6 IV iv f, A10 III iv & n.20. For the name ending in -ye see A12 III iii & n.38.

139. See A10 III vi & nn.26,27.

140. See A21 IV ii and A15 II iv & n.25 on mr(i), A5 VIII i on -te- and A12 III iv b for -ye.

141. On -de- see A2 I i, II i, A7 VI iii a-c, and on -l- see sub-division II i-iv above and A7 VI ii a-c.

142. See A11 I & n.1 for the meaning of the term <u>first constant</u>. For the view about -x(he)-mlē- and -h:mlē:, in xri-ḥ:mlē:,see A7 II i a,b, A11 II i a, ii and A21 II ii.

143. The splitting of this verbal complex will be defended below.

144. For this and more instances of overlapping verbal complexes see A2 III ii a 5 & n.71.

145. These texts are quoted in full in A21 II ii.

146. See A2 III ii a,6, IV iii.

147. It is perhaps permissible to use the expressions "partial incremented repetition" and "partial incremental repetition" to describe the situation when a part of a preceding group is, or parts of a preceding group or

groups are, repeated but extended with new elements. For the prefix -t- see A5 IV i a, ii b.

148. For -y- see A12 II i, v, and for b(e)-, with -t(e)- in the examples studied, see A4 II ii & n.16. See also A2 IV iii.

148a. The restoration of the verbal complex of Formula K1 [p-t]-r-k-te Hin 8b, HinS 47, does not weaken the evidence provided by this group that the verb of this Formula may occur vowelless. Note that this is the only instance of its kind.

149. See A2 III iii b & n.93.

150. For the meaning of -d- see A2 I i, and for -l- see sub-division II i above.

151. See the discussion of the compound-verb wide, in its different forms in A2 I iii a-c and compare the names and groups containing it in A2 IV i-iii.

152. See A5 V i on -te- and sub-division V iii under the same reference for the suffix with some of the verbs, simple or compounded, discussed here.

153. See III i c above and A5 VII ii.

154. See sub-division IV viii b for Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē).

155. See A16 II.

156. See A17 I.

157. On a-de(i)- see sub-division IV ii a & n.97, on ar- see A13, especially sub-division II. For bli- see A20 I, II i and compare the names in sub-division III ii d above. That BLI-AMĒME exists perhaps suggests that in this particular case -amēme, the fuller writing of -mēme, may occur without -le- and that in Bli-le-mēme ◎, -le- might belong to bli-. Had -le- been inseparable from -mēme it would not have been dropped from it in BLI-AMĒME.

158. See A11 IV i a for mle(i)-w(i)-s- as a noun and A16 II & n.22 for Tm-l-ñ-mk-ṣ-l.

159. See A7 VI iii d (end).

160. The different component parts of Yere-ki-ñ-mr-ḥ-li are studied in A7 VII ii c & n.68, A13 V ii (end), while those of MRĒ-ŠI-K-LI are discussed in A9 II iii (end) and A6 V ii b & n.43. As was said in sub-division III i a n.25 -li in the former name might be the definite article. But this is uncertain. If -k-li in the latter name is related to the participle Y-K-LI B713, then see sub-division IV x a & n.136 above.

161. See A5 VIII i & n.70.

162. See sub-division IV x a & n.140.

163. See A12 III iv c & n.45.

164. On MS-LH-LĒ see sub-division III iv & n.89 above and also the note under B334 . The compound -mre-ke- might contain a variant form of -mrē-ke in šire-mrē-ke Sh 4 2-3 LS (=HinD 32), in which case -mre- and -mrē- would seem to be writings of the same word. See A9 II iii (end) on mrē-.

A4 THE COMPONENT ap(e,i)- AND p(e,ē,i)-

I Looking at API-LE B 57, Api-l-ye B 58, also written ap[i]-l-y and Pe-le-[y], all but the first of which are borne by women, one is perhaps justified in believing that api- and pe- are here interchanging and that all the names mean the same thing despite the lack of -y(e) in the first.[1] If AP-MLĒ B 59 be considered to contain the same component, then not only will api-, pe- and ap- be different spellings of the same word but they will also be nouns, defined by -l(e) in the first group of names and qualified by -mlē 'good' in the last name.[1] In this case pe- will be separated from its article by -n-, the resulting compound receiving -š-hi, in Pe-n-li-š-hi B 409.[1]

According to Priese's convincing analysis of the name of the Sudanese king , MIO 14 166-73, this name perhaps contains a non-Egyptian word pi/e probably meaning 'to live, life'. The identification of this pi/e- with api-, pe- and ap- in the above names gives the meaning of API-LE and Api-l-ye, and their variant writings literally as "the life" and that of AP-MLĒ as "good life".

Kdi-pē-lē-yi B 216 contains -pē-lē-yi as its latter part which bears great resemblance to Pe-le-[y].[2] In consequence -pē-lē-yi might also mean 'life', literally

A4 I

"the life". Should any relationship be established between pe-, consequently ap(i)- and -pē- of this name, the former component might then be related to -pē- in (A)x-pē-ye B 28, also H-pē-ye @, and H-pē-t(s-l)-wi @ B 198, according to this way of splitting them, the last name of which is apparently a version of (A)h-pe-s-li B 29.[3] Pē- appears to be reduplicated and receiving -ye in Pē-pē-ye B 411.[4] Though the identity of ape-s(-l) in the context ek. 6 ṇ̄:atē:ape-s-l:s̄-d-tē: aš̄r:ape-s-l: Ibr 25-26 OS and ye-r-ki:ape-s:mki:wite:a-d-xi-te: Ak I 11-12 OS is unknown, yet the word seems to me to be a noun in indirect genitive with atē 'water' and aš̄r, related to the first constant of Formula F.[5] One then wonders whether it is found again in indirect genitive with a noun, this time (a)h-, in (A)h-pe-s-li and,written -pē-, in H-pē-t(s-l)-wi. If it is realized that atē and aš̄r, both of which precede ape-s-l in the text from Ibr, are the first constants of Formulae A and F respectively, then it might be reasonable to identify (a)x-, of which (a)h- is a variant, preceding -(a)pe(ē)-s-* in these names as the first constant of Formula C.[6]

The name Akpye B 34 sounds like a slightly varying spelling of AX-PĒ-YE B 28 using -k- instead of -x-, as is the case with the verbal complexes of some funerary

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formulae from Arminna West.[7] If it is a variant of this name it will have to be split like it; i.e. as Ak-p-ye.

LL i Another kind of (a)pe-, p(i)- is the one present in verbal complexes, be they names or groups, and, also spelt pē-, is interchangeable with b(e,ē,i)-, as will be shown, where necessary, in the course of the following discussion.[8] If, according to Priese's logic MIO 14 174, Old Nubian /fi/bu, pe/i (i.e.) and the Nubian Future prefix fa/bi/bu- are related, then the Meroitic p(e,i)-, also b-, might belong to these. He also concludes that if the Meroitic p(e,i)-, b-, is the word meaning 'to be, exist', then it could give the verbal complex,in which it is present, an Optative-Future nuance. Whether or not this is the case it is not possible to say. As a verb prefix the present component is found directly prefixed to the verb involved or separated from it by other elements which the verb may already have.

Of the examples where p(e,i)- comes in direct contact with the verb one had better start with a few examples of the verbal complexes of some of the funerary formulae that will be of use in the discussion. So far I have not yet seen a verbal complex of either Formula A or B

A4 II i

in which p- or b-, or any one of their variants, is not separated from -h(e)- and -xr- by means of -s̆(e,ē,i)-. Furthermore, I have nowhere encountered pē- as a writing of p(e,i)- in any verbal complex of any Formula, the instance sic "pē-s̆i-xr-ke-te" Ins 130 8-9 LA, read thus in M II 60,67, is evidently pi-s̆i-xr-ke-te:, as Griffith himself corrects it, op.cit. 56. Besides, the reading of -ē- is very uncertain because the first two letters (pi-) of the group are at the end of the line on the edge of the altar, the rest of the components being at the beginning of the next line. Note also that the inscription is incorrectly written as may be observed in reading it and understood from Griffith's note, loc.cit.

The verbal complex of Formulae C,K and L may come with or without p-. So we have (p-)hēl-ke-te, (p-)t-re-ke-te and (p-)t-w-d-ke-te as was previously pointed out.[9] Pi-tk-ke-s Arm W 3b LS, one of the instances of the Arminna West versions of Formula D, shows pi- immediately preceding the verb -tk- and is therefore very useful in the analysis of the name Wēs̆-p-tk-ide @ B 655 as the name of 'Isis' prefixed to the verbal complex -p-tk-ide in which -tk-ide is a compound-verb in direct contact with -p-.[9]

A4 II ii

II ii Where p(e,i)- comes in direct contact with the verb outside the funerary formulae is in Pi-de-ye B 417, -pe-de-yi, of Te-pe-de-yi B 569, -pe-de, of te-pe-de: Tañ 12 OS, and Pe-de-q-ye B 407, all of which, except te-pe-de, have been suggested to be, or to contain, participles.[10] To these one may add the verbal complex pi-de- in [a]mni:pi-de-l-ke: Ak I 39-40 OS, amnpte:pi-de-l-ke: Ak I 37 and mk:wite pi-de-l-ke: Ak I 35, with which, especially in the last context, compare the verbal complex (a)pe-de-, variant p(e)-de-, in the following different spellings of the name of the Meroitic god ape-de-mki(mk-i) Mer 5b 12-13, 5c 4-5 O Plqe, MuGr 30 1 O, (H) Ins 18, ape-de-mki(mk-i) MuGr 31 1 O[11], pe-de-mk Mer 9a 1 L Bl, 10 1 L Bl, [p]e-de-mk Mer 7 1 LS, p-de-mk Ins 21 1 L Gr, p-de-m[k] Ins 127 O Stte.[11] Where, in the above examples, the verbal complex in this deity's name is written pe-de- it resembles the compound consisting of the first two components in Pe-de-mēke(mē-ke) @ B 405, Pe-de-mēke(mē-ke)-tme @ B 406 and Pe-de-me-dē-ke B 404, which it is convenient to mention here.[12]

Notice, however, that the compound pe-de-me(ē)-, interchanging as it is in the last three

names, is also a place-name, given pe-de-mē Kar 27 3 LA (=HinD 298) and pe-de-me- in pe-de-me-te-li Kar 125 12 LA (=HinD 297) "one who is in Pedeme", to quote but two examples.[13] P- is directly prefixed to the verb -wē- assumed to be a variant of -w(e,i)- of some of the funerary formulae (pi-s̆i-we-k-te Formula B Kar 36 15-16 LA, p-ẇ-xe (H) Formula A MS 7 b), in P-wē-ye @ B 434, which could be a participle, and to the compound-verb -w-ide(ē) in p-w-ide:mlē-l: Mer 9 2 L B1, pe-w-ide-m[lē-l] Hin 8a (=HinS 46 pl.ix fig 50), T-p-w-ide @ B 621 and ṗ-wi-dē: Ak II 9 OS, it being prefixed to its reversed version in PI-DE-W-TR B 416.[14] It is noteworthy that in all the above examples we have been dealing with the names and groups employing either the verb -de-, in its different forms, or -wē-, and the names and the groups using the compound-verb consisting of these two verbs (i.e. w-ide) and their variants.

One may also mention P-PL B 424, Amni-pi-te-ke & B 46, B-te-ke-ñ-ye B 146, ar(e)-b(e)-t-ke: Kar 92 3-5 LS, EKE 27 2 LS (=HinD 90, 103), are-be-t-li: Serra W 6 LS and Tē-be-ṭ-rē-r @ C 32. If one removes -s̆i- and the verb suffix -te in p-s̆i-pl-te of Formula D2

A4 II ii

Kar 78 21 LA one obtains P-PL.[15] The group pi-pl Ins 102 3 L may be compared, but with great hesitation, with this name and the verbal complex of the said formula. Since there is another group spelt pi-pn Ins 102 5 L this seems to suggest that -pl in the previous group might not be all one word, but rather -p- and -l. As regards -pi-te-ke, in Amni-pi-te-ke, it is thought to be a verbal complex containing the verb -te-, rendered by Griffith, M II 40, as 'to give', and that its pi- is replaced by b(e)- in B-te-ke-ñ-ye and -b(e)-t-ke, in ar(e)-b(e)-t-ke, where its -ke- is retained, and -be-t-li, in are-be-t-li, and -be-t-rē-r, in Tē-be-t-rē-r @, from both of which -ke has disappeared.[16] With the exception of -b(e)-t-ke, all these constructions are believed to be participial.

If -te- is the same in the above names and groups as in p-te-mlē Tur 3 LS, in this group we might have a verbal complex in which -mlē is perhaps an adverbial phrase, meaning "well", or the like, functioning like -mhe- thought to mean "plentifully, generously, frequently" in YE-TE-MHE-YE B 682 and YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B 703.[17]

Finally in this sub-division may be cited p-tñ-yi-ñ: Ibr 91 OS, p-tñ-yi-ñ-ki: Ibr 27-28 OS,

A4 II ii-iii-iv

p-tñ-yi-[ñ]-ki: Ibr 31, all of which have been analysed as verbal complexes.[18]

II iii In P-k-di B 422, P-q-d-ye B 426 and P-q-d-tē-li B 425 we have names of the patterns ke-de, qe-de and qe-de-te(ē) prefixed with p-.[19] The same -q- may be the one intruding between p- and the verb -h- in P-Q-H-YI B 427, assumed to be a participle using the verb of Formula A, and between p- and -šē- added to the verb -tx- in P-q-šē-tx-rē-r @ C 24.[20]

II iv In this sub-division will be studied the names in which (a)pe-, p(e,i)-, or b(i)- is separated from the verb by either -s- or -š(ē,i)-.[21] The prefix -s- follows pi- in PI-S-KR & B 419, analysed as a verbal complex comparable with p-ši-kr-ke-s Formula B Arm W 1a LS.[22]

There are only two names, namely (A)PE-ŠI-LI-K-R B 53 and P-Š-DE-H-YE B 430, in which -ši- intervenes between (a)pe- and the verbs which are this time -li- and -de-, both believed to mean 'to give'.[23]

Outside names we have the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae. Because we are very familiar with these I will not quote more than a few that are interesting and will be useful in subsequent discussions. The forms pe-ši-he-ke-te Formula A Far 45 10 LA and

A4 II iv

pe-s̆i-xr-ke-te: Formula B Kar 96 12-13 LA are, so far as I know, the only instances of pe- used with -s̆(e,ē,i)- in any formula. Pi-s̆i-xr-ke: Sh 13 10-11 LA and p-s̆i-xr-ke-s: Kar 61 7-8 L/TS of Formula B have interesting versions with -k- in pi-s̆i-kr-b-xe-ke-s Arm W 2 LS and p-s̆i-kr-ke-s Arm W 1a LS. The same thing may be said about pi-s̆i-tx-k-te Formula D2 Kar 36 17-18 LA and pi-s̆i-tk-ke-s Formula J Arm W 1b LS. But for the intrusive -q- the compound p-q-s̆ē-tx-, in P-q-s̆ē-tx-rē-r @ C 24, would vary but slightly from pi-s̆i-tx- of the above-mentioned verbal complex of Formula D2 and p-s̆i-tx Formula G Kar 14 8-9 LA.[24] Here also belong pi-s̆i-we-k-te Formula B Kar 36 15-16 LA, p-s̆i-pl-te Formula D2 Kar 78 21 LA and pi-s̆i-ple-te Formula C Kar 127a 3-4 LA, in the last two examples of which the verb -pl(e)- is shared by the verbal complexes of Formula D2 and C.[24]

The reader must be warned that the fact that pi- appears in a fairly large number of the examples given above does not mean that it is so extensively used in the funerary formulae, for p- is the most widely written prefix. All that can be said about pi- in the funerary formulae is that it is frequently employed.

II v The names Pi-ye-s B 420, Pi-y-t-mni @ B 421 and P-ti-mni-wl @ B 433 seem to have more than the initial p(i)- in common. One hesitates before suggesting that the first name might be present in pi-y-t(s-l)- (?) of the second one[25], for the similarity between the first name on the one hand and the second and third names on the other is most likely to be merely graphic and accidental, and that Pi-ye-s might instead have some connection with Pyye B 436[25], also a lady's name. Admitting failure to explain the medial -y- in Pi-y-t-mni @, one may yet believe that this name looks as if it is preserved in P-ti-mni-wl @ and that it perhaps has its components, less -y- of course, reshuffled as -amni-p-ti- in Wl-amni-p-ti-de £ B 666.[25] One wonders whether Amni-pi-te-ke £ B 46[26] helps in identifying -t(i)- in these names, whether in fact it is the same verb or a mere infix that is nevertheless related with it, seeing that amni-pi-te- seems to be hardly different from -amni-p-ti- above.[26]

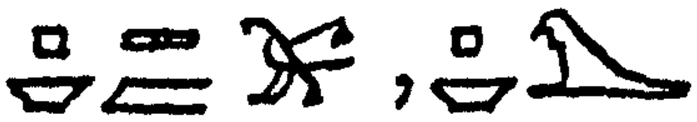
The name Pi-n̰-ṭi-ḍe B 418 serves as a link between those names in which the identity of -t(i)- after p(i)- cannot be established and those in which it is a mere infix.[27] The element -ti- in this name, and perhaps in the names of the previous paragraph, is perhaps an infix.

This is possible to conclude from the comparison of the name with the compound -p-ñ-t-pēte (in BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE B 124) and also the compound -p-ti-de (in Wl-amni-p-ti-de) with p-t-pēte-k-ye Ins 94 9,17 L.[28] Since -p-(ñ)-t- in BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE and p-t-pēte-k-ye contains verb prefixes, one feels that one can say the same thing about p(i)-(ñ)-ti- in Pi-ñ-ti-de and Wl-amni-p-ti-de.

The same prefix as in te-mke-ñ: Formula I Sh 7 9 LS separates p(e)- from the verb in the verbal complexes pe-t-mke-nē-wi Ak I 37-8 OS and P-t-mk-ide @ E 12.[29]

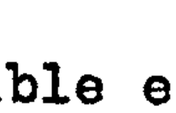
Lastly one may mention p-t-w-d-ke-te (H) Formula L Ins 60 9-10 LA and p-t-re-ke-te (H) Ins 60 7-8 LA.[30]

II vi a In this section will be studied the names and groups thought to contain the Egyptian p3-. These are P-HĒME B 414, in its different writings, PY-EŠI B 435, P-HĒPE B 415, P-HETE (?), according to one way of taking Phete @ B 413, P-TE-NĒTI B 431, P-TE-REMĒTI-YE B 432, p-trēt(s-l),p-trēti(s-li) and p-trēti(s-li)-s-l-w. Below I propose to study them but not necessarily in the order they are here cited.

P-HĒME was identified by Griffith, JEA 3 27,114 hh. as Egyptian  , RaPN 1o3 15, Demotic P3-'hm, GriD I 236-39 565, Coptic ⲡⲁϩⲱⲙ, Greek παχωμιος 'the falcon', PY-ĔŠI being identified, op.cit.114 kk,119 kk, as , RaPN 105 21, Demotic Pa-3st, GriD I 227 523, Coptic ⲡⲁⲏⲥⲉ, Greek παησις 'the one belonging to Isis'.[31]

II vi b Next one discusses P-TE-NĒTI and P-HETE.[32] Before this one should mention that a certain Ty-ĕsi, daughter of Šē-ni B 483 and ŠS-NĒ B 530, is the sister of the former person in Ins 88, and is apparently the mother of P-HETE and Te-bi-ki @ B 551 in Ins 135.[33] In addition to her own name and that of her father ŠS-NĒ, which Griffith, JEA 3 114 cc, thinks is probably the Demotic Ss'n ("Sasan"), GriD I 234 544, 278 750, that are Egyptian, Ty-ĕsi has a child named Te-bi-ki @ which name Griffith, JEA 3 114 jj, equates with Demotic T3-bkt, GriD I 282 775 'the (female)falcon'[33]; i.e. she is female. On the other hand P-TE-NĒTI, brother of Ty-ĕsi (Ins 88), is the father of Te-bi-ĕsi-l-h @ B 552 and the husband of T-sy-iṣe B 637, the latter of which sounds Egyptian though one cannot think of an exact equivalent of it.[34] One immediately concludes that the people in Ins 88, 130, 135 are perhaps of the same family, and that a large number of

them (three at least) have recognizably Egyptian names.

The second half of this conclusion encouraged me to look for more identifications. At first P-TE-NĒTI struck me as a possible equivalent of  , RaPN 124 6 , Greek πετεντηθις 'the one given of Neith', but it might equally well be RaPN 124 14 'the one given of (the) god'.[34] Concerning P-HETE, this might well be the Meroitic writing of Egyptian RaPN 103 12, Demotic P3-ḥwt , GriD I 242 586, 'the fighter'.[35]

II vi c Next is the name P-TE-REMĒ-TI-YE B432 which bears great resemblance to the Demotic Pa-t3-Rnnt, Pa-t3-Rmwt, GriD I 235 551, Coptic ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ . Perhaps it is a Meroitic version thereof.[36]

II vi d Dr Macadam thinks Hpē-yc @ B28[37], according to this way of splitting it, is the equivalent of the name , , RaPN 234 7. Should this be so and -hēpe in P-HĒPE B415 be considered as a different form of hpē- then one would have here the defined counterpart of P3 ḥ'p(y)*, p- in the Meroitic being Egyptian p3 . Two more Egyptian possibilities one may consider are P3 n ḥp(w) 'he of the Apis' or P3 n ḥp ' he of Hapi (one of the sons of Horus)'.

A4 II vi e

II vi e Lastly one mentions p-trēti(s-li) Ins 102 4-5 L, 105 4 L, Kar 68 10 LS, Sh 14 12 LS, p-trēti(s-li)-s-l-w Ins 101 2-3 L, which are derived from trēs: Ins 94 2-3 L, trēt(s-l): Ins 101 7-8,9 L, trēt(s-l)-w EKE 27 11-12 LS (=HinD 45). Zyhlarz, ZyM 453, and Dr. Macadam, MacIbr 2, agree on the derivation of trēs from the Egyptian t3 rsy 'south land' and consequently consider p-, in the above-mentioned forms showing it, to be p3- or p3-n- (pa-).[38] In consequence, when p- is thought to be p3-, one understands that they would consider the word p-trēti(s_s-li), occurring at the end of a few of the funerary formulae, to be p3-t3-rsy(-s-li) 'one of the south land'.[38] Griffith, Kar vi 34, thinks that ptrēti (unsplit) may be the name or appellation of a divinity, and that trēt (unsplit) and trēs (unsplit), with both of which he compares Nubian tirti 'master', may be the same word.

A4 THE COMPONENT ap(e,i)- AND p(e,$\bar{e}$,i)- FOOTNOTES

1. See A3 III i b, A19 I and A12 III i on -l(e) and -y(e) and A3 III ii c (end), A12 III iii on the above names ending in them. For -ml$\bar{e}$ see A11 II i b & n.10 and for -s-hi see A7 VI iv d 2.

2. See A10 III vii & n.29.

3. See the end of II vi d below for an alternative analysis of these names. For more discussion see A7 VII i & n.65, A3 III iii, A12 IV xii a and A5 VII ii.

4. See A12 IV xii b.

5. See the end of A16 I i n.4 for the references to asr and A11 I & n.1 for the meaning of the term first constant.

6. See A7 II i a, VII i for (a)x- and h-.

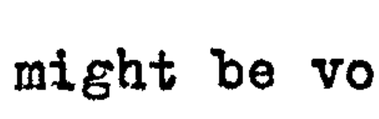
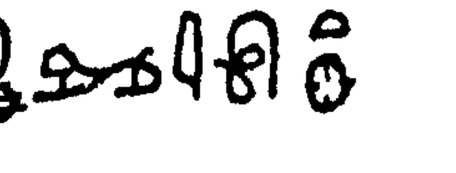
7. See II iv below and JEA 53 159 for the verbal complexes of Formulae B and J.

8. See Kar vi 45-6, 48-9, HinSS 363.

9. See A2 IV iii & n.133, A3 IV x b and A5 IV ii b for the splitting and for more discussion of the verbal complexes of Formulae K and L. See also A8 I i on the simple verb -tk- and A8 I ii, A2 II iii a, c for more on the compound-verb and the name.

10. See A2 II ii & n.34, II iii a & n.38, III ii b 1.

11. See A16 I i & n.2, iv. The final -i in ape-de-mki

might be vocative.  Inscrr. 11, HinLM 26, 27 abb. 9 Tafel xiv b, Kush 10 181 fig.7, 13,13, HinLM 31 & abb. 10 Tafel xi c, is the Egyptian hieroglyphic version of the Meroitic name, employing r for Meroitic d. Compare  for 'Meroe', JEA 15 71a, and see Hintze's note, op. cit. 28 1 & n.1, 33 & n.1.

12. Compare the name and the groups in A2 III ii a 2 & n.66.

13. See Kar vi 82.

14. See A12 IV v & n174, A7 VI iv e & n.64 for the name and the group with the simple verb, A2 I iii a-b, IV ii a,b, iii for the names and the groups with the compound-verb w-ide($\bar{e}$).

15. See II iv below for another instance of Formula D2.

16. See A5 III i, iii & n.13.

17. See A5 III i, ii & n.11 for more on these names.

18. See A14 IV iv.

19. See A2 III i b, iv b.

20. See A7 V ii for the name with the verb -h-.
See also II iv below for more on the name with -tx-.

21. See the references to some of the names and the groups below and also A6 IV i.

22. See A19 IV.

23. See A6 IV ii, A19 III for more on the name with the verb -li- and A2 II i & n.28 on the name with -de-.

24. See II ii on P-PL, also A6 IV iv b,c. For the ending -rē-r see A19 I, II ii, A3 III i b.

25. See A5 VIII iii & n.73, A2 II ii (end), iii a. For the explanation of a medial -y- see A12 I and for Pyye see A12 IV xii b. It is because of the similarity with the above names, as well as with those studied under these references, that the above-given reading of Wl-amni-p-ti-de has been preferred to Wl-amni-[n]pt-ide, proposed in RCK IV 19 no.47, HinS 58, the restoration of which I find unnecessary. Compare more of the names in the rest of the sub-division.

26. See II ii above.

27. See the references in n.25 above.

28. But see A18 II, A5 IV ii d, VIII iii.

29. See A16 I v & n.16.

30. See II i & n.9 for the verbal complexes of Formulae L and K.

31. On these lines Griffith, loc.cit., equates Ty-esi B 641 with , RaPN 357 20, Demotic Ta-3st, GriD I 281 768,

Coptic ⲦⲀϨⲤⲈ , Greek Ταηϭις 'the one belonging to Isis'. See A12 I, A6 II i a n.6.

32. See the beginning of II vi a on p-.

33. See n.31 for Ty-esi and A5 VIII i & n.71, A19 III on Te-bi-ki.

34. See A5 II i & n.5.

35. When in later times 'ḥ3wty came to mean 'male', written ḥwṯ in Demotic, EriDG 297-8, Sa'idic ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧ , Bohairic ϩⲱⲟⲩⲧ , Fayūmic ϩⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲧ , Akhmimic ϩⲉⲩⲧ , CruCD 738 b, p3-ḥwṯ in Demotic meant 'The Male', and though it is found as a personal name, GriD I 242 586, when referring to a deity it meant 'Thoth', as is known from the expression p3 ḥwṯ n p3 nbs 'The Male of the Sycamore' twice referring to Thoth (Philae 11,15) in the temple of Nekhtnebef in Philae, op.cit.12. P3-di-p3-ḥwṯ, GriD I 257 654 clearly means 'Given of The Male (i.e. Thoth)'; i.e. 'Gift of the Male', op.cit. 12.

As to the Meroitic Phete @, this name is present in its entirety in p-ṯi-phe-ṯe:p-s̆e̱-l 8 i-px-te̱: Tañ 113-15 OS. The groups i-px-te̱ and p-s̆e̱-l are either two verbal complexes using -px- and -l as verbs, or respectively a verbal complex and a participle, of which the latter

uses -s̆ē- as a verb and -l as a participial ending. See A5 V i for i̇-px-tē, A3 II iv for -l as a verb prefixed with s̆(e,ē,i)- and A6 II i a for -s̆ē- as a verb. One is therefore left with p-ti-phe-te alone. Unless -phe- be a writing of -px- (cf. i-pxe-te-lē-wi Kar 78 14-15 LA), - which I think is unlikely because we will then be having more or less the same group repeated in the same sentence that consists of only three groups (see text), - this group might be a personal name. If -phe- in it and in Phete @ is a Meroitic word, P-ti-phe-te will be a verbal complex prefixed with p-ti- on the analogy of the names and groups of sub-division II v, and Phe-te, accepting this splitting accordingly, will be a prefixless verbal complex. Both names will be of unknown sex. On the other hand if P-hete is the Meroitic equivalent of P3-ḥwṯ̂ 'The Male', then in P-ti-phe-te @ we might have a version of the Demotic P3-di̇-p3-ḥwṯ̂ 'Given of The Male (i.e. Thoth)' alluded to earlier on in this footnote, and the sex of the name-bearers will in this case be male.

36. See A12 IV xii b & n.91. See also the beginning of II vi a.

37. See the alternative interpretation of this and the

following names in I i above. Under the last reference I consider (A)xpē-ye B 28 and Akp-ye B 34, both names being here split thus to conform with Hpē-ye, to be forms of writing this name with which Hpē-t(s-l)-wi @ B 198 and (A)hpe-s-li B 29, according to this way of splitting them, seem to be linked. If the above-mentioned identification is possible, then the same thing will apply to (A)xpē-ye and Akp-ye. Hpē-t(s-l)-wi and (A)hpe-s-li will then mean something like "one who belongs to the Nile (god)" and will in this case be equivalent of P3-(n)-h'py RaPN 110 2. See A7 VII i for more on these names.

38. See A3 III i c, A5 VII i, ii on the coalescence of -s-, genitival or otherwise, with -l(e,ē,i) into -t(e,ē,i). For the views of Zyhlarz and Dr Macadam about trēt see A13 IV & n.9.

A5 THE COMPONENT t(e,ē,i)

I Despite the fact that there are a number of graphically identical forms of this component, yet they are not always the same words. Without going into details as to the ways in which the component is written, when found as an initial element, we may consider that, of the more probable identities, it can be the Egyptian prefix t3 n(t), 'she of....', 'the one of....' derived from the feminine definite article[1], the noun t3, 'land', or the derivative of the verb dit, 'to give', found commonly in names in the form p(3) di(t), 'the one given of....', or a writing of the Meroitic words at, ate and atē without a- (II i). Apart from these, and capable of occurring in different positions, there are also the verb -t(e)- meaning 'to give' (III i), the verb prefix t(e,i)-(IV i aff.), the verb suffix -t(e,ē) (V i ff.), the locative -te- (VI), which sometimes seems to function as what is called ' -te- of specification', and the ending -t(e,ē,i), resulting from the coalescence of -s- (whether it is of derivation (VII i), or genitival (VII ii) or a verb suffix (VII iii)) with -l(e,ē,i) acting as a definite article, as a relative adjective or as a participial ending as fits the context.[1] In certain cases the mere occurrence of an -s- before an -l-, no matter whether

the one or the other, or both, of them is part, or are parts, of a word, or words, can result in -s- (VII i). Each one of these types of t(e,ē,i) will be studied below.

II i The Egyptian t3 n(t) is present in Ty-ẽsi B 641[2], 'the one of Isis', while -di̇(t), in the form p3 di̇(t), is thought to occur in P-TE-NĒTI B 431, assumed to mean "the one given of (the) god" or "the one given of Neith".[2] The initial t- of trēt(s_s-1): Ins 101 7-8 L,...etc., and the medial -t- of wēs̃-t-s̃ye-[ṯe] Tañ 51 OS and ar-t-s̃ye-te Tañ 52 might be the Egyptian t3 'land'.[3]

T(e,ē)- is perhaps a Meroitic word without a- in Ṯ-mhe @ B 607, where it might be writing of at- 'bread'[4], and tē mlē Formula A ? Mer 8 3 L Bl.[4] Probably a writing of at-, in at-qē-[5], in T-QĒ-LE B 622, T-qē-ye @ B 625, T-qē-s̃ē-te @ B 624 and perhaps Te-q[ē]-ni-li B 572, the component does not seem to have a clear meaning in Te-bi-s̃i-l-h @ B 552 [5], Te-pe-de-yi B 569 [5] and Tē-be-ṯ-rē-r @ C 32.[5]

II ii Zyhlarz's conclusion, ZyM 453 1, that t-dxe Ins 101 1 L, which he distinguishes from the verbal complex te-dxe- in the B-word of filiation, can hardly mean anything other than "the mother", postulates the existence of a

A5 II ii

Meroitic definite article written t-. In ZyM 460 C b 2, he describes t- as a demonstrative pronoun acting as an article (artikelartiges Demonstrativ), and ascribes to it the same function in tsdrtē Ins 101 8, which he, having already analysed it as a nominal expression built from a causative verb, op.cit. 454 3, translates as 'the benefactor, patroness', and in T-qērē-ye B 623, which he translates as 'the queen'. He, op.cit. 427-28 & nos.3,4, compares the postulated function of t- with that of t- in Bilin in that it is likewise a means of deriving feminine nouns from masculine ones. Hintze, HinSS 360, seems to me right in dismissing Zyhlarz's claims about this function of t-, showing that t-dxe and te-dxe interchange with ye-dxe and the prefixless dxe as writings of the B-word of filiation. Should t-dxe in Ins 101 be a noun, Hintze argues, then so should the B-word of filiation t(e)-dxe be a noun, something that does not fit in the translation of this word in the funerary inscriptions, where this word accepts rendering only as 'born'. The prefix t-, in T-qērē-ye B 623, appears to me to be no more than a verb prefix, as will be reiterated below.[6]

III i The existence of a verb -te- 'to give' was suggested by Griffith, M II 40, in the phrase ye-te-b-xe: Ins 101 16 L and (mlē-wi:) yi-te-b-x-te: (H) Ins 3,4,6,7.[7] Since this is parallel to the group (mlē-wi:) l-b-x-te: Ins 6,8, l-b-x-te (H) Ins 84 the equivalence of -te- and l- seems proven.[7] This verb appears to be present in names and some relevant groups, of which the majority are participial in construction. Before citing these, I should analyse one or two examples to show how the participles seem to be derived. Removing the dative from the verbal complexes yi-te-b-x-te and ye-te-b-xe we obtain yi-te-te * and ye-te- *, which, on the addition of the participial ending -li[8] yield yi-te-te-li* and ye-te-li*, expected to mean something like "one who gives, i.e. the giver". The latter participle exists in Axe-ye-te-li-ye B 25, while the former, without its verb suffix -te-, exists in Yi-te-li B 708. If we remember what is said in sub-division V i below about the behaviour of the verb suffix, in remaining or disappearing, when the verbal complex containing it is transformed into a participle, it thus becomes reasonable to suggest that in Yi-te-li the verb suffix has perhaps dropped.

A5 III i - ii

In addition to the above-mentioned names, this verb appears to be present in Ye-te-ñ-ye B 683, showing, besides the intrusive -ñ-, -ye instead of -li, and Hi-ye-te-li B 193, which, like Axe-ye-te-li-ye above and X-s̈e-te-li B 188 below, contains a form of the noun ax-, thought to mean "boon, benefit", prefixed to the participle.[9]

The place of yi(e)- is occupied by s̆(ē,i)- in Ši-te-li B 504, X-s̈ē-te-li and Š-t-rē-r @ B 536, in the last name of which -rē-r replaces -li.[10]

III ii Related with these names are YE-TE-MHE-YE B 682, YI-Ñ-T̈E-MHE-LI B 703 and Tpē-te-mhe-r @ B 620, according to this splitting of the last name, the discussion of which needs a digression. Dealing with the first two names without the last name, if we leave -mhe- out for the moment, we obtain ye-ẗe-...-ye and yi-ñ-te-...-li, both of which bear great resemblance to Ye-te-ñ-ye B 683 and Yi-te-li B 708. The component -ñ-, lacking in ye-ẗe-...-ye and Yi-te-li, is mobile, assuming second position in yi-ñ-te-...-li and a penultimate position in Ye-te-ñ-ye. Such a mobility of -ñ-, or any one of its variants, is elsewhere noted in, for instance,

yi-n-šī-de-ke-li Mer 13 2,3 O Gr and Šī-dē-ke-ñ-ye B 498. Here, as in the last pair, the element ñ(n) is mobile in two complexes using the same verb.[11] It is interesting to notice that, where -ñ(n)- comes second (i.e. YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI and yi-n-šī-de-ke-li) the complex begins with yi- and ends in -li, whereas where it is penultimate (i.e. Ye-te-ñ-ye and Šī-dē-ke-ñ-ye) the complex ends in -ye. But this is perhaps no more than a remarkable coincidence. The final result is therefore that -te- in YE-TE-MHE-YE and YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI is most likely to be the same verb as in Ye-te-ñ-ye and Yi-te-li and that -mhe- might be an adverbial phrase meaning "abundantly, plentifully, frequently",....etc.[11] In consequence, these names might express the idea of "one who gives/is given abundantly, frequently", or the like.

As to Tpē-te-mhe-r @ B 620, according to this way of splitting it[12], if tpē- is considered to be a writing of the word atepē 'orfering(s)' [12], it might be formed by a prefixless participle -te-mhe-r, version of the above two names containing -mhe-, taking tpē- as the object. The whole name then seems to accept translation as "one who gives an offering abundantly, frequently",....etc.

III iii Whether in its form as -te- or -t-, the present component is thought to be prefixed with p(i)- and

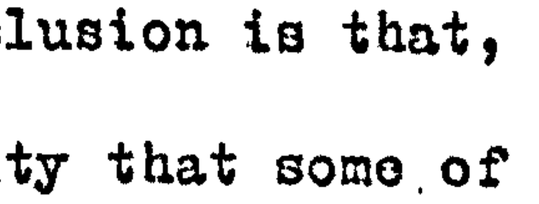
its variant spelling b(e)-[13] in the verbal complexes -pi-te-ke, part of the name Amni-pi-te-ke £ B 46, and B-te-ke-ñ̆-ye B 146, apparently its participial counterpart, where -ñ̆-, previously seen to intrude before the same -ye in Ye-te-ñ̆-ye (III i,ii), again appears. But -ñ̆- is this time accompanied by the infix -ke-.[13] As is the case with some of the earlier names, in which s̆(ē,i)- is the prefix to -t(e)- (III i), we also have participles ending in -li and -rē-r in the group are-be-t-li: Serra 6 LS [13] and the name Tē-be-ṭ-rē-r @ C 32.[13]

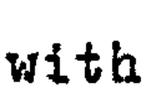
IV i a The verb prefix t(e,i)- occurs as an initial, second or third component, its position in the verbal complex being determined by the presence or absence of such other verb prefixes as p(e,i)-, interchanging with b(e,i)-, s̆(e,ē,i)-, alternating with ss, y(e,i)- and ñ(n,ni)-,to mention the most important ones, all of which take precedence over it.[14] Zyhlarz, ZyM 435 5 h β, agrees with Meinhof that -t- in ye-t-mde-lē- functions like the Hamitic reflexive -t- (by this he means ta- of Semitic "tafa''ala", Arabic تَفَعَّلَ), which he gives the sense 'sich im mde-Verhältniss (zu jemand) befinden' (= to be in mde-relationship (with someone)). He, op.cit. 455 7, distinguishes this type of

-t- from the prefix t- in t-d-b̤-tē Ins 101 7 L, which he thinks refers to the 'Queen mother', in which case the latter t-, according to him, will be the pronoun third person feminine singular. He proceeds to elaborate on the latter type of t- by postulating that, while te- denotes the pronoun third person feminine singular, when the Tense of the verb is present, op.cit. 461-2 2 b, the prefix ti- denotes the same person when the Tense is past. His view about the Tense distinction by te- and ti-, resulting, according to him, from the addition of -e-, which he thinks implies continuity, and -i-, which he thinks implies fulfilment of action, is in agreement with his suggestion, op.cit.437 d, that ye- and yi-, like ya- and yi- of Bedauye and Saho, express the same Tenses, but with the third person masculine singular. In short, Zyhlarz considers te(i)- and ye(i)-, to which he adds a-, op.cit. 461-2, to function in the same way as the Semitic and Hamitic ta-, ya-, both of which are the personal prefixes third person singular, feminine and masculine, and the Hamza (i.e. a-), which is the personal prefix first person singular. So far as one can judge from the confusing behaviour of the Meroitic verb prefixes, in appearing and disappearing or interchanging very peculiarly,

A5 IV i a - b

as Hintze, HinSS 363-5, shows and Dr Macadam agrees, one finds no evidence at all for this supposed relationship between these elements and the above-mentioned Semitic and Hamitic, graphically similar personal prefixes.[15] Zyhlarz's argument is contradicted by his own view about the derivation of te(i)- and y(ei)-. For, if from t- and y- one derives the past and present Tenses with the third person singular it follows that t- and y- should be Tenseless. From what Zyhlarz says about t- in t-d-b-tē one understands that t- and te(i)- perform the same function. We will therefore have a Tenseless t- referring to the same person as the one referred to by the Tense-distinguishing te(i)-, namely the third person feminine singular, which is impossible. The obvious conclusion is that, though one cannot rule out the possibility that some of these and of the other verb prefixes might, in their own way, distinguish Tense and Person, there is no evidence that they do so in the same way as the Semitic and Hamitic prefix pronouns.

IV i b In the same way as we find -t- and -d- interchanging in the writing of the title kt-ke-1 (H) Ins 4 [16], kd-ke Ins 94 28 L,  Pyr N 1, M I 79, kd-ke Ins 94 28 L, Greek Καρδακη , and in the name

of Napata, written with d in  , LD VI 72 c, Kawa IX n.3 d, Kawa II 53, or -t(e)- assimilated with a preceding -d(e), as in MHI-D-T(D) B 483 [16], Adr-mk-de-te-li @ E 3 and Adr-mk-d-d @ E 2 and Tme-y-d-d @ £ B 605, so we find these letters alternating as verb prefixes in š-t-mde-s-lē Ins 78 2-3 O Gr and š-de-mde-s-lē Far 20 1-2 TA.[16]

IV ii a Beginning as usual with the verb -de- "to give" [17], in its different ways of spelling, we find t(e,i)- as a prefix to it in Kdi-te-de £ B 221 [17], He-ti-dē @ B 192 [18], T-ID-BLI B 590 [18] and Np-t-d-le @ B 378 [19]. Here seem to belong t-d-x-s: Ibr 4 OS, t-d-x-s-ñ: Tañ 154 OS, t-d-x-s-ñ-li: Ob I 7, T-d-xi-ñ-t-rē-r @ B 548, Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 377 and TERI-TE-D-X-TE-Y £ B 576.[20] It is difficult to understand the construction of te-...-de, in Te-mli-de @ B 563 and d-te-mlē-de-te Tur 16 LS, but one may compare the intrusion of -mlē(i)-, be it a noun or otherwise, here with that of -qēr- between te- and id(e) in TE-QĒR-ID(E)-(A)MNI £ B 573.[20]

Where -dē-ke, or any one of its variant writings is involved with this verb prefix, is in TE-DĒ-KE B 554, T-di-ke-ye @ B 549 and the latter parts of the overlapping verbal complexes yi-dē-te-di-k-te Formula C Kar 27 12-13 LA,...etc., Formula E Kar 78 19-20,...etc., i-dē-te-di-k-te: Formula E Kar 125 19 LA, and

p-s̃i-dē-te-di-ke-te: Formula C Kar 17 13-14 LS.[21] The compound -de-qe- receives te- in TE-DE-QE-Ñ £ B 553 and te-de-qe-l: Tañ 35 OS.[22]

IV ii b The verb -we-, known from the verbal complex of Formula F ye-we-b-x-te Ins 127 6 OA, perhaps appears with t(e)- in t-w-xi Kar 9 2 LA [23], Te-we-li B 579 [23], Te-wi-ñ-ye B 581 and Mli-te-we-n B 311.[23]

The compound-verb -w(i)-d(e)- [24] receives t(e)- in TE-W-IDE B 580, Te-w-ide, te-wi-dē: Ibr 35 OS, te-wi-de-b-wi-t(s-l) Tañ 149 OS, i-t-w-d-tē: Tañ 33, y-t-w-d-s-ni Mer 9 4-5 L Bl,be-y-t-w-d-y[e]: Mer 9 7, and (p-)t-w-d-ke-te Formula K.[24] The mention of the verbal complex of Formula K makes it relevant to cite (p-) t-re-ke-te of Formula L.[25]

IV ii c In accordance with the view that -br(e)- appears to be capable of functioning as a verb, -t(i)- seems to be a verbal prefix in teri-ti-bre: Tañ 17-18.OS, w-t-br-te: Ak I 22 OS and t-br-te: Ak I 22, 32, all of which are related.[26] But the existence of teri-te: Tañ 2 and TERI-TE-QS £ B 577, in which we probably have the same -te-, but appearing not to be acting as a verb prefix, makes one wonder whether -te(i)- in the above instances really is a verb prefix.[27]

IV ii d There seems to be little doubt about the role of -t(e)- as a verb prefix in T-TK-TE-Y B 638, as one may conclude from ye-te-tke Ins 97 9-10 L, and in te-mke-ñ; Formula I Sh 7 9 LS, pe-t-mke-nē-wi: Ak I 37-8 OS and P-t-mk-ide @ & E 12.[28] The same thing may be said about the component in t-qerē-s-ye Kawa 32 1-2 O Gr, T-qērē-ye B 623 [29] and perhaps in TE-QĒR-ID(E)-(A)MNI & B 573, though the similarity in construction between te-qēr-id(e)- of this name and Te-mli-de @ B 563 [29] makes one hesitate before taking it for a prefix in the last name but one. If -pēte(ē)[30] is the verb in y-t-pētē Ins 94 16 L, p-t-pētē Ins 94 15 L, p-t-pēte-k-ye Ins 94 19, 17 L, and BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE B 124 the medial -t- might be a verb prefix. Here might also belong T-pēte-mhe-r @ B 620, should this splitting be preferred to the one below.

The construction of te-mey-l Ak II 3 OS, TE-MEY-LI B 561, te-mey,ye Ak II 13, TE-MEY-YE B 562 and Te-mey-kdi-ye B 560, te-mey-ye-s̆ Ins 94 12 L and S-TE-MEY-YE B 532 suggests that they might contain the same -te- as above.[31] According to one view taken about YE-TE-MHE-YE B 682 and YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B 703, the component -mhe- might be an adjective verb prefixed with te- in the first name and with ye(i-ñ)- and -te- in the second and third names.[32]

A5 V i

V i More often than not, -t(e,ē) appears as a verb suffix at the end of simple verbs, or compound-verbs, whether or not the verb prefixes and other suffixes are present, more decisively distinguishing the group as a verbal complex. Compare, for instance, i-px-b-x: Tañ 29 OS, pẋ-t: Ibr 8 OS, i-px-tē: Tañ 113,115, i-p[x]-tē: Tañ 112, yē-ple-t Tañ81-2, ye-ple-te Kar 79 11-12 LA and i-ple-te Kar 101 19 LA, the last two groups being of Formula D1, and y-te-ple-tē: Ibr 9-10 OS. Sometimes, when two components occur together, the one of which is a verb without its distinctive verb suffix -t(e,ē), such as in xe-ple: Tañ 50-51, where the noun xe- [33] is added to the verb -ple, at first the part of speech of the word to which the noun is added, and consequently the relationship between the two component parts, is difficult to ascertain until such a group as ax-ple-te: Tañ 77-8 is found, when -ple(-te) becomes identifiable as a verbal complex. The relationship between ax- and xe- on the one hand and -ple(-te) on the other, as is supported by axi-l:pl-ke Ak I 37 OS, can be determined as one between a noun (undefined in the earlier examples and defined in this instance) and a verbal complex.

The mention of the last group makes it necessary that attention be drawn to the significance of -k(e)

as a verb-suffix so closely associated with -te- in the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae. This element seems to have an adverbial implication, as has so often been mentioned throughout the present work.[34] Except when the verb suffix -s is written, the present component, in its different forms, comes at the very end of the verbal complex. But when these two elements occur together the present suffix, consistently written -te-, assumes a penultimate position. This is always the case so far as the funerary formulae and comparably built hames are concerned, and seems to be so in the groups I have so far encountered. Another observation is that, when a verbal complex ending in -te- is transformed into a participle by the addition of either, or both, of -l(e,ē,i)and -y(e,i), the verb suffix -t(e,ē)-, sometimes with -s, may either remain or disappear.[35] To illustrate this point compare y-tx-tē: Ins 89 15 L/TS, yi-tx-b-x-te Formula G Ins 137 4 OA, the verb suffix of which is retained in the participle ye-txe-te-l Kar 54 10 LA (=HinD 310)[36] and dropped in yi-ni-txe-lē Ins 101 12 L. Another example is that of -tē of e-de-tē: Tañ 74, appearing with its verb in the participles -yi-d-t-li, in Tre-yi-d-t-li @ B 629, and Yi-d-t-ye @ B 692, and disappearing from A-de-li-ye @ B 9, A-dē-ye B 16 and

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Yi-dē-ye B 691.[37] One therefore arrives at the obvious and simple conclusion that in the same way as -t(e,ē), as a verb suffix, has the option of appearing with, and disappearing from, verbs and verbal complexes, so it may behave similarly when these verbs and verbal complexes are changed into relative sentences and participles.

This peculiarity of -t(e,ē)- leads to the paradoxical conclusion that, though the component seems to assist a word (here it is the verb) to express an idea, verbally, yet the verbal nuance seems to be indigenous to the word (i.e. the verb) itself, which is sometimes expressed by this word alone or with the assistance of such other verb prefixes and suffixés. This, one may infer from the comparison of px-t, i-px-b-x and i-px-tē, and of xe-ple, axi-l:pl-ke and ax-ple-te, all of which have already been cited at the outset of this sub-division. It therefore seems to me that the role of -t(e,ē) is one of a catalyst. On the other hand, when -t(e,ē) is added to elements that cannot by themselves express an idea in a verbal form, since they need something to act as a copula, it appears that the addition of the verb suffix provides this copula. This is perhaps the case when a complex consists of a noun and an adverbial adjunct[38], be it an adverbial predicate or the

A5 V i

dative. Before citing the instances in which such a thing is thought to happen, it might be best to return to some verbal complexes of, for example, Formula B and to axi-l:pl-ke, so that they may serve as a starting point. Of Formula B we have p-s̈i-xr-k Sh 3 11 LA and pi-s̈i-xr-ke Sh 13 10-11 LA.[38] The presence of -t(e,ē) here is probably implicit and the verb can express its idea without the verb suffix. Therefore, when -k(e), as above, is added to a noun, as is in kd-ke: Ins 94 28 9 Gr and kt-ke-l (H) Ins 8, it seems to me that -ke here is either verbalized by unexpressed prefixes and suffixes[38], or is acting as an adverb and the idea of the complex is expressed in a verbal form with the assistance of the unwritten -te, as is the case in the verbal complexes of Formula B above.

On the other hand, when -te is added to a complex containing an adverbial adjunct, be it the dative or anything else [39], this component perhaps acts as a copula and the complex may accordingly be rendered as a verbal sentence. This was the idea behind the suggestion that Abere-te-h-te @ B 1 (assumed to contain the dative sigular added to a place-name suffixed with the locative -te-) and AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) B 23 (assumed to contain a noun and the dative plural) as "may (the lord of) Abere

protect him/her!", literally "(the lord of) Abere̅ be (?) to him/her (?)", and "one who is beneficient (lit.something beneficial) to them", respectively.[39]

V ii a In the examination of the names and the relevant groups showing the verb suffix -t(e,e̅) I will, as usual, begin with those containing the verb -de- probably meaning 'to give'[40], in its different forms. Whether or not the verb -de- occurs with the dative singular or plural, the resulting verbal complex is classified as one of the pattern de-te̅(e).[40] As will be seen, the verb suffix is sometimes assimilated with the verb producing the compound -d-d. Of such names and groups we have the dativeless e-de-te̅: Tañ 74 OS, MNI-DI-TE̅ C19, hi-de-te: MacN O Plqe, MHI-D-T(D) B283, Yi-d-t-ye @ B692, Tre-yi-d-t-li @ B629, Adr-mk-de-te-li @ E3, also Adr-mk-d-d @ E2, Tme-y-d-d @ £ B605, Yi-de̅-t-beli-le @ B690, Boli-li-d-t @ B121 and certain overlapping verbal complexes of Formulae C and E.[41] The verb -d(e̅)- with the dative is thought to receive the suffix in a-d-xi-te: Ak I 5,10,14 OS,[42] De̅-h-te-li-te̅(s-le̅) @ B156 and T-d-xi-n̅-t-re̅-r @ B548.[42] The identification of -t- in the last name as the suffix permits the mention of Tni-n̅-t-re̅-r @

B 615, Yi-k-ṇ̃-t-rē-r @ B 695, Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be B 694, ñ-ke-t: Serra 14 LS and perhaps Tek-li̇-ñ-t-rē-r @ B 556, which show the same component, though, owing to their different verbs, this is not their right place.[43]

On the assumption that -tē in them does not accept splitting as -s-lē, the compound -d-x(e,i)-tē in Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B 72, Np-t-d-xe-tē B 377, Nṣ̌-ye-d-xe-tē B 385 and TERI-TE-D-X-TE-Y £ B 576 may also be classified as being of the pattern -de-tē.[44]

V ii b In the names and the relevant groups built on the compound -k(q)e-de-, in its various writings, -te(ē,i) appears in the dativeless e-ke-de-tē: Tañ 143,144 OS, e-ke-de-b-tē: Tañ 149-50, K-id-te-li-ye B 236, e-qe-de-tē: Ibr 10-11, ṣ̌-q̣-d-te-li-s Tañ 86 and P-q-d-tē-li B 425 as well as in A-KE-D-XE-TI-WL £ B 30, Are-k-d-xe-tē B 68, Šn-k-d-xe-te (H) £ B 519 and Ten-[ḳ]-d-xi-tē B 566 [45], the last four of which names contain the dative.[45] Should -te(ē) in the names with the dativa1 postposition conceal -s-le(ē) they would not belong to this pattern.[45]

Of the names and the relevant groups containing the compound dē-ke in its different spellings, suffixed with -te(ē) are i-d-k-te-y: Tañ 46 OS [46], yi-d̤ē-ke-te Formula A,

A5 V ii b

pi-šī-dē-k-te Formula B and the overlapping verbal complexes in (y)i-dē-te-di-k-te Formulae C and E and p-šī-dē-te-di-ke-te, while of the names of the pattern de-qe- receiving -t(e) are A-DE-Q-TE-Y B 13 and A-DE-QE-T-LI & B 12.[46] One is not sure whether Dē-ke-tē-ñ B 162 belongs to the former category, for, if it did one would expect -ñ to precede, rather than follow, -tē-.[46]

In parallelism with some of the above names and groups using the verb -de-, we have two names of the patterns de-ke-te and de-qe-te but employing the verb -l-, 'to give', prefixed with š- and apparently changed into participles by -y(i).[47] These are Š-LE-KE-TE-Y B 514 and š-le-qe-te-yi @ B 515.[47] With these compare Š-L-X-TE-Y B 517, lacking the infixes -ke- and -qe- and containing the dativel postposition -x-, and S-LE-KI-YE B 467, which replaces š- with s- and lacks -te-.[47] The names Š-LE-KE-TE-Y and Š-L-X-TE-Y therefore form a pair slightly differing from their respective parallels S-LE-KI-YE and ŠE-L-XI-YE B 482 in so far as the latter lack the suffix -te-, which, as is argued in sub-division V i above, may sometimes remain or drop when its verbal complex is changed into a participle by either one, or both, of -l(e,ē,i) and -y(e,i).

A5 V iii - iv - v

V iii The verb suffix -t(e), present with the simple verb -w(e,i)- in y-wi-tē: Ins 94 9 L, i-n-we-tē: Tañ 136 OS, ye-we-b-x-te: Formula F Ins 137 6 OA, ar-wi-tē: Ibr 33 OS and Ar-w-t-l @ B 91 [48], occurs with the compound-verb -w(i)-d(e) [48] in w-d-tē: Tañ 139, i-t-w-d-tē: Tañ 33, Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 710 and (p-)t-w-d-ke-te Formula L.[48] Since we have touched on Formula L we may also mention (p-)t-re-ke-te Formula K and E-T-RE-TE-Y £ B 172 [49], which appear to have many things in common with one another.

V iv Directly joined to the verb tk(i) in tk-tē: Tañ 152 OS, tki-te-lē-wi: Far 32 5-6 LA, Post 72 10-11 LS, yi-tki-te-lē: Ins 132 5-6 LA/S (= HinD 320), yē-tk-tē: Tañ 48, n-tk-te Tañ 6, a-ki-tk-tē: Tañ 123, teri-tk-tē: Tan 2-3 and the name T-TK-TE-Y B 638, the suffix -t(e,ē) is separated from the verb by the plural dative in e-tk-b-x-t Ak I 38 OS and by the infix -k(e)- in tk-ke-te Mer 51 3 L S1, e-tk-k-te Tur 15,16 LS and Np-tk-k-te @ B 379.[50]

V v In b-šē-ke-te: Formula A Kar 54 12-13 LA, Ši-tē-ye B 505, T-qē-šē-te @ B 624 and KE-ŠĒ-TE-YE B 232, -te(ē) appears with the dativeless verb šē(ē,i)-, while in p-šē-x-te: Formula A Kar 72 13 LA, p-šē-b-x-te: Formula A Kar 45 10-11 LA, be-š-x-te: Tañ 127-28 OS, (A)mni-š-x(e)-te(ē) £

A5 V v-vi

B48, according to this way of splitting it, p-s-x-ke-te Formula B Kar 31b 9-10 LS, Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B706 and Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI B493 it occurs with the same verb containing the dative.[51] Note that in the last name but one, where -s- is the writing of the verb, -te- is followed by what might be the verb suffix -s-.[51]

V vi It is thought that -te, present with the verb -h- of Formula A in yi-h-te: Far 9 8 LA and yi-h-b-x-te Ins 137 5 OA [52], perhaps again appears with it in HE-Ñ-TE-YE C10. If t-bre-te: Ak I 22, 32 OS [53] is a verbal complex, the element -te will have to be the verb suffix in this group as well as in its varying version w-t-br-te: Ak I 22, less the initial w- [53], and in Yi-bre-te-y B689, thought to be a participle, in which yi- is the prefix instead of t(e)-. The group wl-tē: Mer 5a 1-2 O B1, looking very much like a prefixless verbal complex of the same construction as w-d-tē: of sub-division V iii and tk-tē: of sub-division V iv above, perhaps forms part of the participle YI-WLE-TE-Y B712, which has an identical construction with Yi-bre-te-y above. Therefore, -te(ē) in the name and the group with -wl(e)- is most likely to be the well-known suffix.

In Wē-rē-te-li-ye B662, also written Wi-re(i)-te-li-tē(s-lē)[54], the medial -te- might be the

verb suffix. There seeming to be little doubt about i-lēl-tē: Tañ 120, yi-lēli-tē: Far 20 2-3 TA (=HinD 27)[55] and Yi-lili-ke-te @ B 699 being verbal complexes, -te(ē) may be treated as the element under discussion. It might be the same thing in ÑTE-LLE-TE-Y B 400, in which -lle- is apparently identical with the component in Ši-lle-yi @ B 499 and ñte- is the initial word.[56] It is not certain whether -lle- is a way of spelling -lēl(i)- and -lili- in the name and the groups just mentioned.

V vii There is no need to elaborate on the discussion of the role of -te- as a suffix in Abērē-te-h-te @ B 1 and AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) B 23, for these names have been studied in great detail in more than one place.[57]

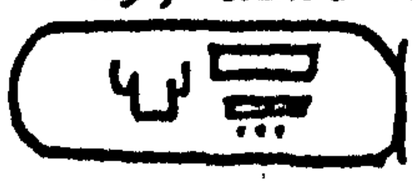
VI Next are the names and relevant groups containing the locative -te-, which is thought to act sometimes as a suffix of specification.[58] Especially in the text wēš:pileqe-te-l(i): wēš:tebwe-te-l(i): Ins 122 4-5 L, 123 3-4 L, Griffith, M II 49, has shown -te- to correspond to Egyptian nbt in 3st nbt Pr-ỉw-lk nbt Pr-ỉw-w'b, 'Isis, lady of Philae, lady of the Abaton'. Equating it with nbt rather than with some similar expression such as ḥr(yt)-ỉb, 'she who is in ...', makes the rendering of abērē-te-,

in Aberē-te-h-te @ B 1, as "(the lord of) Aberē-", and the literal interpretation of the whole name as "(the lord of) Aberē- be (?) to him/her (?)", more plausible.[58] As a place-name, Aberē-, without a-, is known from mni berē-te (H) Ins 31, which Griffith, M I 64 n.1, translates as 'Amon in Berē'.[58] The locative -te- might again be present in Armi-[ṯ]e-l B 89, which would accordingly mean something like "the one from Armi", that is to say, from Roman Nubia (?).[59]

VII i In this division I propose to mention the names and some relevant groups, in which -t(e,ē,i) resulted from the coalescence of the ending -l(e,ē,ṯ) with a preceding -s-. There are at least three known types of -s-. These are the "-s- of derivation"[60], the genitival -s- and the verb suffix.[60] This phenomenon is not peculiar to these cases, for the mere occurrence of -l-, even when it is the first letter of a word, after -s- can result in -t-, as one may observe in wē-mni-th(s-lh) Kar 47 6 LS (=HinD 34,117) 'a great wē of Amon', a qualified form of wē-mni-s Kar 41 3-4 LS (=HinD 34)[60] 'a wē of Amon'.[60]

Kdi-s 'sister' [61], br-s- [61] and qēri-[ṯ]- [61], to which one might perhaps add -hrē-s- [61], are the words thought to contain the -s- of derivation changed into -te(ē,i)- in the names and relevant groups kdi-te(s-le)-lē-wi:

EKE 26 6-7 LA (=HinD 310), Kdi-tē(s-lē)-ye B 223, BR-TĒ(S-LĒ)-YE B 143, Š-qēri-[tē(s-lē)]-wi @ B 625 and T-hrē-ti(s-li)-kde B 589.

VII ii The genitival -s- is inherent in -tē(i) in Met-mni-ti(s-li) B 267 [62], also written Mete-mni-s-li, šē-ni mni-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 45 4 LA (=HinD 77), having another form as šē-ni mni-s-lē-wi Kar 126 4-5 OA (=HinD 77)[62], and Meqē-ti(s-li) B 261.[62] On the analogy of š-šēr-li-tē(s-lē) Kar 111 2 LA [63], 'one belonging to the scribe (?)', one presumes the genitival -s- to be changed into -t(e,ē,i) when preceding the participial ending -l(e,ē,i)[63] in Yi-mk-li-t(s-l) @ B 701 [63], Yi-w-id-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 710 [63], Wi-re(i)-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 662 [63], Yē-ke-ml-n-tē(s-lē) @ E 20 [63], Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē) @ B 156 [63], Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B 706 [63], Hpē(H-pē)-t(s-l)-wi @ B 198 [63] and Ahpe(Ah-pe)-s-li B 29, also written Hpe(H-pe)-s-li. Here belongs the name  Nu 8, generally vocalized as Kashta.

Transliterated and split as QĒŠ-S-LE(Ē,I), this name might mean 'he of Kush', which will be a not wholly improbable Meroitic throne-name for a Sudanese king, hitherto unknown to the Egyptians except as a 'Sudanese' ruling in the South who had sufficient political influence to have his daughter,

re-named Amonirdis, 'adopted' into the line of votaresses at Thebes.[63]

VII iii The verb suffix -s- appears to be changed into -t- in qe-di-ti(s-li)-t(s-l): Kar 30 4-5 LA [64], in which qe-di-ti(s-li)- seems to be a writing of qe-di-s-lē:(H) Ins 23 a,b,....etc.[64] It is probable that the verb suffix of s̃-x-s-li: Tañ 146 OS is again present with -s̃(s)-x(e)- in Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B 706 and (A)mni-s̃-x(e)-s-lē(e) £ B 48, according to this splitting of the last name.[65]

If Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) (H) B 377 and the names containing -d-xe(i)-tē(e,i), whether or not it is preceded by -k(e)-, share the essential elements of the verbal complexes t-d-x-s: Ibr 14 OS, t-d-x-s-ñ: Tañ 154 OS and the participle t-d-x-s-ñ-li: Ob I 7, there is the possibility that the final -tē(e,i) in these names might conceal -s-lē(e,i).[66]

VII iv There is an unidentified -s-, the presence of which in -t(e)- is certain, known from x-mlē-t(s-l):(H) Ins 60 10-11 LA, x-mlē-wi-t(s-l)-xe Formula D Arm W 3b LS [67], Mli-wi-te(s-le)-mēme @ B 317 [67], TME-TE(S-LE)-MĒME B 604, ax-ñ-wi-t(s-l)-w: Mer 7 16-17 LS, also ax-ñ-w[i]-t(s-l)-w: Mer 7 17-18 LS. The comparison of BER-XI-L B 125 [68] with

BR-XE-T(S-L) B 141 and BR-HE-TE(S-LE)-Y B 142 suggests that -t(e)- in the latter two names might perhaps conceal -s-l(e)-.

VIII i This last division will be devoted for the names and relevant groups in which the nature of -t(e,ē,i) cannot be determined. Such a component occurs with mle(ē)- [69] in Mlē-te-y @ B 297, also Mlē-tē-ye @, Mlē-tē-n B 298 and Mlē-tē-[ñ]-ye @ B 299, and with kde(i)- [69] in Kde-yē-t(e) B 208 and Kdi-tē-n-ye B 222. There is also a -te(ē)- suffixed to the apparent nouns -mr(i)- [70], in š-mr-te: Ibr 16,19 OS, šš-mr-te-l: Tañ 40-41 OS and MRI-TE-L-YE B 342, tbi- [70], in Tbi-tē-l-ye @ B 545,and tmi- [70], in tmi-te Far 32 4-5 LA and Tepe-ye-tmi-te @ B 571.

One yet has to identify -te- in Kdi-šr-te-li B 220 [71], MQĒ-L-TE-MĒYE B 338 [71],ARE-RE-TE-LI B 73 [71] Are-ke-te @ B 69 [71], Are-te-bi-k-r @ B 74 [71] and Te-bi-ki @ B 551.[71]

VIII ii If we ignore the initial (abe-)w- [72] in W-YE-TE-YE B 670, ABE-W-YE-TE-Y B 3 and the group w-ye-ki-te Far 21 10-11 TA (=HinD 118), we obtain -ye-te-y(e)* and -ye-ki-te*. While the former will be comparable with Ye-te-ñ-ye B 683 [72], from which it differs in lacking -ñ-,

the latter will appear to be a verbal complex comparable with yi-ke-ñ-t-, in Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be B694 [72], less -ñ-. But -te- in Ye-te-ñ-ye has been suggested to be the verb meaning "to give", and -t- in Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be, as is evident in ñ-ke-t: Serra 13 LS, is the verb suffix. Therefore, there is the possibility that -te- in W-YE-TE-YE and ABE-W-YE-TE-Y might be the verb -te-, and that -te in w-ye-ki-te might be the verb suffix.

VIII iii From the comparison of Pi-y-t-mni @ B421 [73], P-ti-mni-wl @ B433 and Wl-amni-p-ti-de & B666 [73] it appears that, while Pi-y-t-mni and the compound p-ti-mni- (in the second name) seem to be slightly different writings of the same thing, the compound -amni-p-ti- (in the third name) seems to be their reshuffled version. One therefore concludes that pi-y-t- and -p-ti- should be identical in sense, whatever that may be, and usage. The addition of -(i)de to -p-ti- and pi-y-t- yields -p-ti-de, known from Wl-amni-p-ti-de, and pi-y-t-ide*, which does not exist but has its pi- replaced by t- in T-Y-TI-DE B643. The compound -p-ti-de itself is very similar to Pi-ñ-ṭi-ḍe B418, from which it differs in lacking the intrusive -ñ-. With these two compare YE-TE-MHE-YE B682 and

YI-Ñ-TE-MHE-LI B703.[74] Therefore, it is possible to consider -ti- in T-Y-TI-DE and Pi-ñ-ṭi-de as being perhaps the same component as in the earlier names. Note that T-Y-TI-Ñ-LI B644 on the one hand shares t-y-ti- of T-Y-TI-DE (i.e. it probably contains -t(i)- of pi-y-t- and p-ti- above) and on the other, without its t-, (i.e. -y-ti-ñ-li), it looks as if it is a version of Yi-te-li B708 and Ye-te-ñ-ye B683 [75], combined, showing -li of the former and -ñ- of the latter. Furthermore, while -amni-p-ti- (in Wi-amni-p-ti-de) appears to be a way of writing amni-pi-te- (in Amni-pi-te-ke & B46 [76]), i.e. -ti- might be a verb, the compound pi-ñ-ti- (in Pi-ñ-ṭi-de) seems to contain variant forms of the prefixes p-, -ñ- and -t- in BERĒ-P-Ñ-T-PĒTE B124.[76]

From these complicated comparisons, it is seen how difficult it is to identify -t(i)- here as a verb or as a prefix. One wonders whether it has the qualities of both of them. If this is the case, there might be a reason to suggest that the same word, known as a verb meaning "to give", might also serve as a prefix. When used as a prefix, this component perhaps has a causative sense, being in this respect comparable

with $\tilde{s}(e,\bar{e},i)-^{77}$, which is capable of acting as a verb in its own right and as a prefix.

A5 THE COMPONENT t(e,ē,i) - FOOTNOTES.

1. See GarEG § 111, Obs. on Egyptian t(3) n(t). For -l(e,ē,i) see A3 I, III i a,b and for its coalescence with -s- see A3 III i c & n.48.

2. See A4 II vi b.

3. See A13 IV i & n.9 and division VI below.

4. See A11 II i b & nn.6,8.

5. See A15 II ii, A3 III iii on the names with t-qē- , especially A6 II ii on -šē-te of T-qē-šē-te, A7 VI ii a & n.37, A6 IV iii on -bi-ši-l-h of Te-bi-ši-l-h, sub-division III iii below for -be-ṯ-rē-r in Tē-be-ṯ-rē-r and A4 II ii & n.10 on Te-pe-de-yi.

6. See sub-division IV i a on the prefix t(e,i)-, also IV ii d and A3 III ii a n.56, IV x a for the name.

7. See A3 II for the verb l-, A11 IV iv a for a more detailed quotation of the instances of -te- and l- with mlē-wi:, and ZyM 440 h, 460 D a.

8. See A3 III i b on the participial ending -li and also A12 II iii for more about these names and the groups.

9. On axe-, x- and ḥi- and the names, in which they are present, see A7 IV iv & n.28. For the endings -li and -ye see A3 III i b, A12 III i, and for them as

suffixes in some of the above names see A3 IV iv and A12 IV iv.

10. See A6 IV i, iv a for the prefix s̆(ē,i)-, A12 II i, iii for yi(e)- and the end of A3 III i a, A19 II ii on -rē-r.

11. For -mhe- as an adverbial phrase see A11 VI ii and for more on these names and for the group yi-n-s̆i-de-ke-li and for the name S̆i-dē-ke-ñ-ye see A2 III ii a 5, A3 IV iv and A12 II iii, IV iv. The above analysis of the names under discussion does not preclude an alternative interpretation of them. For this see IV ii below.

12. See A11 VI ii on -mhe-, A3 IV iv on the name and A19 II ii on its ending -r. See A18 II & n.10 for an alternative analysis of the name and for atepē and A12 I for more on this word.

13. On pi- and b(e)- see A4, especially sub-division II ii, on -rē-r see A19 I, II iii, A3 IV iv and for more about Tē-be-t-rē-r see sub-division II i & n.5 above. The elements -ñ- and -ke-, together or the one without the other, are studied in A1 IV i-iii. I am of the opinion that -be-t-li, in are-be-t-li, is perhaps a participial version of -b(e)-t-ke, in are-be-t-ke: Kar 92 3-5 LS

(=HinD 103) and ar-b-t-ke: EKE 27 2 LS (=HinD 90).
As regards -b(e)-t-ke, one hardly fails to notice its similarity to, or identify with, b-te-ke-, of B-te-ke-ñ-ye, and -pi-te-ke, of Amni-pi-te-ke. It therefore seems to me that the title ar(e)-b(e)-t-ke is not to be treated as a single word, but rather as the noun ar(e)-, 'door-keeper',...etc. (see A13 III), and the verbal complex -b(e)-t-ke, as a way of writing -pi-te-ke above. More can be said about this title than a footnote will permit. It is hoped that one may be able to write more about it in the future.

14. See A4 II i, especially II v, for p(e,i)- with -t-, A6 IV i on s̆(e,ē,i)- as a verb prefix. For y(e,i)- see A12 II i.

15. For more on this subject see A12 II i.

16. On kt(d)-ke see A10 III ii & n.10, on MHI-D-T(D),...etc., see A2 III iii a, and on s̆-t(de)-mde-s see A10 III i a.

17. See A2 I i on the verb -de-, in its various forms, and the end of A2 II i for some other instances of the verb with t-. See A10 III iv & n.19 on the name.

18. See A2 II ii & n.31.

19. See n.18 and A3 IV ii a.

20. See A2 II i & nn.25,27, III iii a,c & nn.94,95 for

the names and the groups with -d-x(e,i)- and A2 II ii & n.32 for the names and the group with the intrusive -mlē(i)- and -qēr-. For more on Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) see A3 IV ii d.

21. For dē-ke see A2 III ii a 1, for the overlapping verbal complexes of Formulae C and E see A2 III ii a 5 & n.71 and for the names see A2 III ii a 6.

22. See A2 III ii b 1 on -de-qe-.

23. See A7 VI iv e, A2 I iii b & n.15 and A11 IV iv d.

24. See A2 I iii a-c on the compound-verb wi-de in its various forms and A2 IV i, ii a, iii, A3 IV x b on the names and the groups.

25. See A4 II i & n.9, A3 IV x b.

26. See A9 II i.

27. See A14 IV v & n.43, where teri- is suggested to be the name of "Hathor".

28. See A8 II ii on ye-te-tke, sub-division V iv below and A8 II iii for more on T-TK-TE-Y. For the groups and the name with the simple and compounded forms of mk(e)- see A16 I v, A4 II v and A2 II iii a & n.39.

29. See what has been said about T-qērē-ye in A3 III ii a n.56 and about Te-mli-de in sub-division IV ii a & n.20 in the discussion.

30. See A18 II & nn.8,9,10, A4 II v.

31. See A10 III vi & nn.26,27.

32. See A11 V ii & n.41, but also sub-divisions III ii above for another alternative view about these names.

33. See A7 IV iv.

34. See, for instance, A1 I iv, II i (end), V, A7 III iii n.21.

35. See A3 III i a,b and A12 I, III i on the relative adjectives -l(e,ē,i) and -y(e,i).

36. Because of its connections with these verbal complexes and the participle, with which it is quoted above, the participle ye-txe-te-l, be it a name or merely a descriptive phrase, but most likely the latter, cannot be a place-name, as Hintze, HinD 310, thinks it to be. Obviously, it expresses an idea similar to that of the verbal complex of Formula G.

37. See, for instance, A3 IV ii a,d.

38. See n.39 on the adverbial adjunct. Of the names containing verbal complexes ending in -k(e) without the verb suffix, one mentions X-dē-k-mli @ B 175, DĒ-K-RĒ-R £ B 161, Tni-k-r @ B 614, Amni-x-li-k £ B 44, ...etc., ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I) B 485,....etc.

On -ke see Al I iv, and on its relationship with kd(t)-, in kd(t)-ke-, see Al II i (end).

39. The term "adverbial adjunct" will be cautiously employed in the present work to desdribe constructions that are either certainly adverbial or seem to have greater affinities with adverbial constructions than they do with nominal or verbal ones. For the analysis and rendering of the two names see A7 VI iii c & n.50.

40. See A2 I i on the verb -de- and A2 III iii a-c on the pattern de-te($\bar{e}$).

41. See A2 IIL iii a on these names and groups as well as for more examples of the pattern de-te($\bar{e}$), A20 II iii for more on the names with -beli- and sub-division IV ii a & n.21 for the overlapping verbal complexes.

42. See A2 III iii a,c. For more on the group and the name following it see A7 VI iii a & n.44 (end of the sub-division) and for T-d-x̣i-$\tilde{n}$-t-r$\bar{e}$-r see A7 VI iii b & n145.

43. See A14 IV ii & n.35a for more on Tni-$\tilde{n}$-t-r$\bar{e}$-r and Al V " & n.33 on Yi-k-$\tilde{n}$-t-r$\bar{e}$-r and the other name and the group using -ke-.

44. See A2 III iii a,c & n.94.

45. See A2 III iv a & n.97-99, b & nn.101-102 for the above and a few more instances of this pattern.

46. See A2 III ii a 5 & n.71 except for the compound of the pattern de-qe-, studied in A2 III ii b 1, and Dē-ke-tē-ñ, discussed in A2 III ii a 4.

47. See A1 IV i, A6 IV iii & n.29, A3 II iv and A12 IV ii.

48. See A2 I iii b, IV i for the compound-verb and its derivation, sub-division II ii b for names and groups using both types of the verb with the prefix -t(e)-, A12 II v for more on the above forms containing the prefixes y(e,i)- and i- and A13 V iii for the name and the group employing ar-.

49. See sub-division IV ii b & n.25.

50. See A8 I i on tk(i) and A8 II iii & nn.23,25,27 for the above names and groups. See also sub-division IV ii d above for an earlier mention of T-TK-TE-Y and A8 II i a for more examples of -tk- with the plural dative but without the verb suffix.

51. See A6 II ii & n.18 for all the names and groups except KE-ŠĒ-TE-YE, for which see A6 II iii & n.19, and Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI, studied under A6 II i b. See VII iii on -te(ē) of (A)mni-s̆-x(e)-te(ē). For a detailed discussion of the verb -s̆(e,ē,i)- with the dative see A7 VI iv a-d 3 and for -s- in the last name but one see sub-divisions VII ii & n.63, iii below and A3 III i c & n.53

52. See A7 V ii.

53. See A19 II i & nn.15,16, iii & n.19.

54. See A3 IV x b, A12 IV x.

55. See A20 II i & n.5.

56. See A6 IV iii, A12 IV ix on Šī-lle-yi @ and A11 II i b (end), A22 II i & n.9 on ñte-.

57. See sub-division V i & n.39 above.

58. See Kar vi 8,23 5 for Griffith's conclusion that -te- means 'in' and A16 I ii for more on the -te- of specification. See also CR 11 109 & n.44. For the rendering of Aberē-te-h-te @ see A7 VI iii c & n.50 and for more on (a)berē- see A9 II ii & n.18. See also V i (end) above.

59. See A13 II & n.1.

60. Since the subject of the coalescence of -s- and the ending -l(e,ē,i) has been dealt with in great detail in A3 III i c, it will not be discussed here. See note 48 under the same reference on the term "-s- of derivation" and for references on the subject. For wē-mni-s see A15 II iii & n.21.

61. See A10 I ii b, II ii on kdi-s-, A3 III i c, A10 II ii, A9 I ii on br-s-, A3 III ii a n.56 on -qēri-[ṣ]- and A21 IV i on -hrē-s-.

62. See A3 III iii & n.78 for Met-mni-ti(s-li), A3 III i c

& n.51 on the groups with šē-ni and A3 III ii c for Meqē-ti(s-li).

63. See A3 III i c & n.51 on š-šēr-li-tē(s-lē), A3 IV x a & n.135 on the name with -mk-, A3 IV viii b & n.126 on the name with -w-id-, A3 IV x b on the name with -wi-re(i)-, A11 V i on the complex with -ml-n- and A3 IV ii d on Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē). As regards Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye see A3 III i c & n.53, where the nature of -s- is thought to be uncertain; whether the component is genitival or a verb suffix. See also sub-divisions V iii above and VII iii below. For Hpē(H-pē)-t(s-l)-wi see A4 I, II vi d n.37. The name of Kashta was equated by Zyhlarz, Kush 9 227 n.1, with KE-ŠĒ-TE-YE B232. See A6 II iii & n.19 for the view against such an equation. It was Dr Macadam who drew my attention to the above probable rendering of this name.

64. See A2 III i a & n.53, A3 III i c. The final -t(s-l) of the former group consists of the genitival -s- and -l and therefore belongs to the previous sub-division.

65. See A3 III i c & nn.52,53, also sub-division V v above for more on the last name and sub-division VII ii for more about the last name but one.

66. See sub-divisions V ii a (end) & nn.42,44, ii b & n.45.

See also A3 IV ii d, A7 VI iii b.

67. See A7 II iii on the groups and A3 IV ix b & nn.157, 158 on the names, also A11 IV i a & n.21 for more on the name and the group containing -mlē(i)-.

68. See A7 II v & n.16.

69. For the names with mle(ē)- see A11 IV ii b & n.26 and for those with kde(i)- see A10 II ii and nn.11,18.

70. See A3 IV x a (end), A6 V ii a, A15 II iv & n.25 for the groups and the name with -mr(i), A3 IV xi c, A12 III iv b for the name with tbi-, and A10 III iv n.21 for the name with tmi-.

71. For the name with kdi- see A10 III i b and for MQĒ-L-TE-MĒYE, which has a variant form MQĒ-L-TE-MDE, see A3 III ii c & n.61 and compare the names in sub-division IV ii d above. See A13 III for ARE-RE-TE-LI and A13 V i for Are-ke-te. The name Are-te-bi-k-r is studied under A13 III & n.7, A19 III while Te-bi-ki is mentioned in A4 II vi b & n.33.

72. See A2 II iii b & n.42 for other examples of w(e)-, without abe-, prefixed to verbal complexes. For Ye-te-ñ-ye see sub-division III i and for Yi-ke-ñ-t-l-be see A1 V & n.33. The well-known suffix -te(ē) is studied in sub-divisions V i ff above.

73. See A4 II v & n.25 for Pi-y-t-mni and for the reading

of Wl-amni-p-ti-de.

74. See sub-division III i above.

75. See sub-division III i above.

76. See sub-division III i on the verb -te-, III iii on Amni-pi-te-ke and IV ii d on the prefix -t-.

77. See A6 I ii, II i a-iii for s̆(e,ē,i)- as a verb and A6 IV i-iv f for it as a prefix.

THE COMPONENT s̆(e,ē,i)

I i Before discussing the names containing the component s̆(e,ē,i), one should mention that outside names, this component is known in at least three types of inscriptions and graffiti. These are the Philae graffiti, the Buhen and Faras Ostraca and the funerary inscriptions. Because it is in the all too familiar verbal complexes of the last type of inscriptions that the component, as a prefix to the main verb or as a verb in its own right, is best known, there is no need to give any examples of these.[1] On the other hand, in the Philae graffiti it occurs in the form -s̆ē prefixed with a-, ye- and ti- in (apēte) a-s̆ē: Ins 125 1 L Bl, (apēte) ye-s̆ē Ins 95 1 L Gr, 96 3 L Gr, (apēte) ye-[s̆ē] Ins 124 1 L Gr, (qēre-ñ-b-l̤) ye-s̆ē Ins 122 2-3 L, ([s̆-xi]:) ye-s̆ē: Ins 116 L and (apēte:Ye-b-ye:) ti-s̆ē Ins 121 1 L Gr, while on the ostraca from Buhen and Faras it occurs without a verb prefix in eqē-qe-b-li-s̆ē FO 30 T̤, qēr-li-s̆ē FO 31 T, wim..iñ(d)-s̆ē FO 32 T, tiñ-s̆ē FO 33 L, antēs̆-s̆ē BO 4 1-2 L and dske-li-s̆ē (LAAA 11 pl. lxix 4, p.117 & n.2.)[1]

I ii Regarding the component -s̆ē in the Philae graffiti and the ostraca from Buhen and Faras, its verbal

nature is doubted by none of the scholars, and there is general acceptance of Griffith's rendering of it as 'to make, do'.[2] Note however that Griffith, LAAA 11 177 & n.2, describes the component in question in dske-li-s̆e̅ (this also applies to the groups on the ostraca from Faras and Buhen cited above) as a suffix meaning 'from (or by, for)', translating the group as 'from (or by, for) the Zasake'. Though seeming to indicate authorship in these texts, this component need not literally be the equivalent of the prepositions 'from, by, for', for it can also be a noun, namely 'make' as Dr Macadam suggested to me. According to Dr Macadam, the meaning of -s̆e̅ as 'make' is clearly delineated, both on the ostraca and on certain works of art, as denoting the object as of a certain 'make'. Therefore, he thinks, qe̅r-li-s̆e̅, quoted above, will mean 'royal make', and dske-li-s̆e̅ will mean 'dske-li make', in both cases -s̆e̅ being in direct genitive with the name preceding, since it is obvious that a pot labelled qe̅r-li-s̆e̅ must be of 'royal make' and not made 'by' the ruler.

Hintze, HinSS 367, identifies -s̆e̅ in ye-s̆e̅ with -s̆e̅- in the funerary formulae (e.g. p-s̆e̅-he-b-x-ke-te-s: Formula A Ins 131 10 LA/S), used as a verb in its own right

in p-s̆e̅-x-te: Formula A Kar 72 13 LA. I do not disagree with him on that, but I do on his subsequent splitting of it (i.e. in ye-s̆e̅) into -s̆- and -e̅, of which the latter he considers to be some sort of a relative ending.[3] Since -s̆e̅- and -s̆(e,i)- interchange in the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae, Hintze will accordingly have to include -e- and -i- as relative endings and explain them, as well as -e̅-, when this word is used in these verbal complexes. I find them inexplicable according to the way he splits -s̆e̅. I also disapprove of his total rejection, op.cit. 365, of Zyhlarz's identification of -s̆(e,e̅,i)-, after Meinhof, ZyM 443 & n.56, as being causative. Apart from the insistence on its equation with the Hamitic, I do not find Zyhlarz completely wrong. If, instead of treating the component in question as a particle, as he indeed does, Zyhlarz, like Hintze, had equated the verb -s̆e̅ (to do,make') of ye-s̆e̅ with that of the funerary formulae, the causativeness of -s̆(e,e̅,i)- would have become obvious and understandable. In this way, Zyhlarz and Hintze's views would be reconcilable since -s̆e̅-he-, in the above-cited verbal complex of Formula A, can be analysed as a causative verb consisting of two verbs -s̆e̅- 'to do,make' and -he-, meaning "cause to....", being not different in construction from Egyptian ΘΜΕCΙΟC .[3]

II i a The component š(e,ē,i)-, as a verb in its own right or as a verb prefix, occurs in names in different forms. In this section I will study the names and relevant groups employing the present component as a verb. Using the verb -de- as a model, I will attempt to classify such names, according to their prefixes and suffixes, into patterns.[4] Of these we have the de, de-ke, de-tē and the ke-de(te) patterns.

Not to repeat much of what has been said elsewhere,[5] it is the belief of the present writer that most of the names about to be studied can be shown to share one or more component parts with the verbal complexes of the funerary formulas A and B. For instance, in p-šē-he-b-xe-ke-te-s: Formula A Ins 131 10 LA/S, as has been argued before [5], and p-ši-xr-b-xe-ke-te Formula B Kar 55 12-13 LA, if we remove the main verbs -he- and -xr-, as well as one or more of the other elements, we obtain forms of p-šē-xe-ke-te Far 10 8-9 LS, p-šē-x-te: Kar 72 13 LA, p-šē-b-x-te: Kar 45 10-11 LA, of Formula A, and p-š-x-ke-te Sh 9 9-10 LA, p-ši-x-ke-te Kar 12 6 LS, also written p-š-x-ke-te Kar 31b 9-10 LA, of Formula B.

The word -šē-, itself believed to be a verb that is identical with the one in ye-šē, a-šē and ti-šē

of the Philae graffiti, forms the entire name A-s̆e̅ B 94, which is identical with the second group from Philae.[6]

As was already suggested, the component parts of the compound -s̆(e,e̅,i)-x(e,i)-, this being the verb and the dative singular, are perhaps present in the title (mke-)s̆-xe[7]; the latter part of which has a plural counterpart as s̆e̅-b-xe Sh 4 4 LS, and in the group s̆-xi: Ins 114 L, 116 L, 117 2 L, which is itself a part of the name Mli-s̆-xi @ B 308.[7] The dative written -hi, the compound appears to have a version as -s̆-hi in M-ye-qe̅-s̆-hi @ B 363 [8], Tir-li-qe̅-s̆-hi B 591, Le̅te̅-s̆-hi B 244 Ñbe-yre̅-s̆-hi B 298 and Pe-n-li-s̆-hi B 409.[8]

As was said in A7 VI iv c, though the structure of -s̆-xe, in mke-s̆-xe, s̆e̅-b-xe and s̆e̅-ni [9] is one of a verbal complex, yet these complexes somehow seem to function as nouns. The same thing may be said about -s̆(e̅,e)- in abe-s̆e̅-le̅-wi Kar 78 11-12 LA, (are̅) s̆e-le̅-wi Kar 41 7-8 LS and perhaps s̆-l-w: EKE 27 LS, which looks as if it is a vowelless variant writing of the last.[9] Consequently, one may include s̆-, probably qualified by -lh in the combinations s̆-lh and s̆-lh-s̆, though one cannot understand the function of the final -s̆ in the second descriptive phrase and in lh-s̆, as well as s̆- in s̆-qe̅ and s̆-q-kdi.[9] If s̆(e̅,e) in these groups is identical with the component in the three titles mentioned

A6 II i a-b

above, one suggests that, especially in the case of abe-šē-lē-wi and še-lē-wi, it might mean something like "one who is a maker (of an offering)", i.e. "the offerer".

The compound š-x(i)- receives -l(i) to form the participles Š-XI-L B 490, -š-x(i)-li, in MLĒ-Š-X(I)-LI B 296, which interchanges with -r in MŠ Š-X-R B 352 and with -ye in Š-xi-ye @ B 491, and, in its variant writing -lē-, occurs with -ye in Š-X-LĒ-YE B 492.[10]

The name (A)mni-š-x(e)-te(ē) £ B 48 accepts two alternative splittings of which this is one, in which case -š-x(e)-te(ē) will be a verbal complex [11], and (A)mni-š-x(e)-s-le(ē), according to which -š-x(e)-s-le(ē) will be a participle of a sense similar to that of š-x-s-li: Tañ 146 OS, is another.[11]

II i b Suffixed with -ñ(n,ni) and -k(e,i)-, or with the one without the other, the verb š(e,i)- with or without the dative, forms a verbal complex that can sometimes further receive verbal and participial suffixes.[12] Of such a type of names we have Še-ni B 483, this being identical with the title šē-ni (mni-tē(s-lē)-wi) Kar 45 4 LA (=HinD 77) [12], and seeming to have a plural counterpart in šē-b-s-ni Mer 9 11 1 B1, and the participle Ši-ni-yo B 500.[12] Probably a form of this verbal complex is the one occurring with the

noun -tme in Ši-n-tme @ B 501.[12] In accordance with what has been said about the title šē-ni being a verbal complex used nominally [12], the compound ši-n(i)- in the last two names might well be similarly behaving as a noun suffixed with -ye and -tme.

When -ñ is added to the verb š-, which already contains the dative, the verbal complex š-x-ñ results.[13] This further receives qē- [13] as a prefix to build the name Qē-š-x-ñ @ B 457 and is apparently changed into a participle by -l(i) in (mk-)š-x-ñ-l: Tañ 45-6 OS and Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI B 493.[13] Notice that mk-š-x-ñ-l contains the elements of the title mke-š-xe:(mn-tē(s-lē)-wi:) Kar 44 3-4 L/TS (=HinD 64a). The penultimate -te- of Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI is evidently the well-known suffix which indicates the finite verb.

The addition of the infix -k(e,i) [14] to the verb š- forms the compound š-k(e,i)-, believed to be the equivalent of, for example, p-šē-xe-ke-te of Formula A Far 10 8-9 LS, without the prefix p-, the dative -xe- and the verb suffix -te. It is therefore thought to be of the same sense as -še-ke- in b-še-ke-te Kar 54 12-13 LA and p-še-ke-s Kar 84 5-6 LA, both of which are of Formula A. Since these two verbal complexes serve a purpose similar to that of p-šē-xe-ke-te, it follows that the related compounds -še-ke and š-ke- should serve a purpose similar

to that of š-xe. Though the presence and absence of the dative and the infix -k(e) in the one or the other of š-xe and š-ke necessarily means that they should slightly differ in nuance, yet it seems to me best, at the present stage at any rate, to treat them, when used nominally, as being of the same sense. Therefore š-ke, like š-xe, will henceforth be rendered as "make (offering), serve, offer",...etc., when it is used as a verb, and "maker (of an offering), servant (in a religious sense), offerer",...etc., when it is used as a noun.[14]

This verbal complex is thought to act as an undefined noun in š-ke EKE 26 8 LA "a š-ke (i.e. a servant ?)" and (mlē) š-ke-lē-wi EKE 26 13 LA (=HinD 249) "(one who is an/the)offerer (of something good)".[15]

The same compound seems to be changed into a participle, or defined by -l(i), if it is considered to be a noun, in Kdi-š-ke-li @ B 219 "one who serves (the) Lady, Mistress" [16], "the servant of (the) Lady, Mistress", and Mš š-ke-l @ B 353 [16] "one who serves Mash", "the servant of Mash".

One thinks that š-k(e,i)-, with or without -n̆(n)-, should be the same part of speech and have the same meaning as the one in the above names, when it receives

-l(e,i) or -ye or both suffixes at once, as in Š-ke-l-ye @ B 509, also Š-K-LI-YE, Š-KI-N-LE B 511, also written Š-KI-N-LI, and Š-K-Ñ-YE B 513.[17]

II ii On the analogy of be-š-x-te: Tañ 125-26 and p-šē-x-te: Formula A Kar 72 13 LA, (A)mni-š-x(e)-te(ē) £ B 48 [18] is suggested to be an alternative splitting of this name, while on the analogy of p-s-x-ke-te Formula B Kar 31b 9-10 LS, the name Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B 706 might contain the same verbal complex, using -s- instead of -š-, in a participial construction.[18] Removing the dative and the verb prefix p(b,be)-, where this is found, from the first name and the earlier groups, as well as the main verb form p-šē-he-tē: Kar 22 11 LA, 51 6 LS and p-še-h-te Ins 87 5 LA, both of which are of Formula A, and b-ši-xr-tē: Formula B Kar 22 12 LA, 51 7 LS, one obtains š(e,ē,i)-te(ē), that can be analysed as the verb š(e,ē,i)- and the verb suffix -te(ē).[18] To this one might add -še-te, resulting from the omission of the verb prefix b- and the infix -ke- of b-še-ke-te Formula A Kar 54 12-13 LA. The pattern of the compound š(e,ē,i)-te(ē) is therefore the same as that of -de-te(ē).[18] It appears to me that such should be the pattern of ši-tē- in Ši-tē-ye B 505, which

will consequently be participial in construction, and of -s̆e-te in T-qē-s̆e-te @ B 624, which is perhaps formed by the addition of a verbal complex to two juxtaposed nouns (t-qē-). The compound t-qē- is probably a writing of at-qē-.[18]

II iii If k(e)-s̆-, in K(e)-s̆-ye @ B 233, be considered as being of the pattern ke-de- [19], namely the verb -s̆- prefixed with k(e)-, the compound ke-s̆ē-te-, in KE-S̆Ē-TE-YE B 232 [19], seems to accept classification as one of the pattern of ke-de-te- [19], namely the verb -s̆ē- prefixed with ke- and suffixed with -te. In the latter name, the compound -s̆ē-te- is doubtless a version of s̆i-tē- and -s̆e-te in the names of the previous sub-division. This therefore leads one to conclude that Ke-s̆-ye, K-s̆-ye, and KE-S̆Ē-TE-YE are perhaps participles, differing from one another only in the presence of the verb suffix -te- in the latter. In Kush 9 227 n.1, Zyhlarz thinks that the former name is a preserved form of Kashta Ku 8, which he translates as 'Der k' ist geheim' (= the Ka is secret)[19], thereby taking ke- for Egyptian K3- and -s̆ē-te- for Egyptian s̆t3 'difficult, secret'. From the above comparisons one sees that this cannot be so, since the ke- and -s̆ē-te are things that are entirely different from the Egyptian k3-

and š t3. If there is a name written in Egyptian hieroglyphs, with the components of which one may equate ke- and -šē-te-, one ventures to mention present in RaPN 163 9, classified by Ranke, RaPN II 411 3, as a Nubian or African name.[19]

III From what has been said in sub-division II i a above and A7 VI iv c, one realizes that š-x(e,i)- can sometimes act as a substantive, though its original construction is verbal. One also sees that the verb š- and the dative -xe are so inseparably tied together that they may be taken for a single word. Therefore, when the verb -ide, and its variant form -di, are added to this word the construction of the resulting compound -š-x-ide, and its variant spelling š-x-di, should be, not V+Dat.+V, for this only reflects the order of its basic component parts, but N+V. Consequently, š-x-ide in its different writings, appears to be a compound-verb.[20]

Of the names containing this compound-verb we have Š-x-di-ṉe @ B487, Mk-š-x-ide @ E11 and TME-Š-X-IDE B603, also written TM-Š-Ẋ-DI. Looking at these names, one recognizes in them elements forming names and groups that have been previously encountered with š-x(e), which fact proves that it is only -ide and -di that are the new factors.

A6 III - IV i

In Š-x-di-ñe we have š-x-...-ñe,[21] which is merely a way of writing š-x-ñ known from Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI B 493, Qē-š-x-ṇ @ B 457 and mk-š-x-ñ-l: Tan 45-6 OS.[21] As regards Mk-š-x-ide @ E 11, it shows mk-š-x-, which is identical with the title mke-š-xe [22] and with the group mk-š-x-ñ-l without the suffix -ñ- and the participial ending -l.[22] The component tm(e)- present in TME-Š-X-IDE and TM-Š-X-DI occurs elsewhere with ši- and the suffix -n- in Ši-n-tme @ B 501.[23]

IV i In the present division I wish to survey the names and the relevant groups in which the component š(e,ē,i)-, sometimes alternating with -s- [24], is employed as a verb prefix. Unlike the situation in the funerary formulae, where it is always preceded by p(e,i)- or b(i)-, in names š(e,ē,i)- mostly occurs as an initial component.[24] Še- as a prefix does not appear to be extensively used,for, in the same way as we find only one instance of it in the funerary formulae, namely in p-še-h-te Formula A Ins 87 5 LA, so we also seem to have no more than ŠE-L-XI-YE B 482 as an example of its occurrence in names. As was said in sub-division I ii & n.3, this prefix, thought to be identical with the verb -šē 'to make,do', might well be causative, but the names and the groups employing it will not be rendered here,

or in fact anywhere else in this work, as being formed by causative verbs. The reason is that, before such a step is taken the meaning of the verbs, to which this element is added, needs to be established first. It is true that of such verbs, we are more or less certain of the meaning of -l- 'to give' and its synonyms -te- and -de-, but it is also true that there are more such verbs than these, the meaning of which we are not sure about.[24] Of the verbs, receiving the present verb prefix, that will be studied below are -de-, -l-, -te-, tk(i)- and tx-, and -tn(i)-.

IV ii With the verb -de-, in its different forms, the prefix under discussion occurs in šī-de-x-nē Ins 91c 2 O Gr[25], retained without its -nē in the participle P-Š-DE-H-YE B 430 [25], where p- is an extra prefix, and N-š-di-ye B 381, where n- replaces p-, of the last name, and the dative is dropped.

The compound -de(ē)-ke- [26] receives šī- in Šī-dē-ke-ñ-ye B 498, itself being preceded by ñ- in Ñ-šī-dē-ke-ye @ E 12 and by yi- and n- in yi-n-šī-de-ke-li Mer 13 2,3 O Gr. All these names and groups are believed to be participial in construction.[26] Šī- sometimes concedes its place to -s-, as in in n-s-dē-ke Ins 94 27 L, n-s-dē-ke-l(i) Kar 25 14-15 LA, 18 7-8 LA,...etc., of

A6 IV ii - iii

Formula E.[26] No doubt the identity of s̆i-, also -s-, and the compound -de(ē)-ke- are to be sought in p-s̆i-dē-k-te: Kar 48 5-6 LS, which is a rare, but useful, variant form of the verbal complex of Formula B.

Of the k(q)e-de type [27] we have -s̆-k-di-te(s-le), in amni-s̆-k-di-te(s-le): Tañ 51 OS, Š-KE-DI-YE (?) B 508, also written Š-k-id-ye, Š-q-d-ye B 523 and s̆-q-d-te-li-s Tañ 86 OS. The construction of these names and the groups, when -s̆-k-di-s-le is accepted as a splitting of the first complex, seems to be participial.[27]

With the above names one may connect Qe-di-s̆i-ye @ B 437, -qe-de-s̆e, in Mli-qe-de-s̆e @ B 307 and s̆-...-qe-di, in Š-bele-qe-di @ B 472, where in the first two names -s̆e(i)- is added to the verbal complex -qe-de(i)- and in the last one it precedes the complex from which it is separated by -bele-.[28]

IV iii The prefix s̆(e,i)- is added to the verb -l(e,i)- with the dative in ŠE-L-XI-YE B 482, -bi-s̆i-l-h, where -bi- is an extra prefix, in Te-bi-s̆i-l-h @ B 552, -s̆-l-he, in mn-s̆-l-he Kush 7 190 & fig.2, Š-L-X-TE-Y B 517 and -s̆-l-be of Mit-s̆-l-be B 286.[29]

Of the names containing the verb -le(i)- followed by -ke(i)- and -qe(ē)- and further receiving the

prefix š(i)-, alternating with s-, are (A)PE-ŠI-LI-K-R B 53, in which (a)pe-, like bi- in -bi-ši-l-h, of Te-bi-ši-l-h above, is an extra prefix, Š-LE-KE-TE-Y B 514, Š-le-qe-te-yi @ B 515 and S-LE-KI-YE B 467, to which one may add the title š-le-qe(-ñ) Kar 83 3 LS (=HinD 96a), Qus LA (=HinD 176),...etc., also written š-le-qē- Kar 96 8-9 LA (=HinD 155).[30]

One is not sure whether š-le-yi-, in Š-LE-YI-BEDĒPEME B 516, and Ši-lle-yi @ B 499 are related, nor whether either one, or both, of them has any relationship with the prefix š(i)- and the verb -l(e)- above.

IV iv a With the verb -t(e)- "to give", š(ē,i)- is thought to occur in the participles Ši-te-li B 504, -šē-te-li, in X-šē-te-li B 188, and Š-t-rē-r @ B 536.[31]

IV iv b Whether in its simple form or in the compound-verb tk-id(e), the component -tk(i)- receives the prefix š(i)- in the participle Š-tki-ñ-ye(i) B 535 and in the verbal complexes Ši-tk-id @ B 506, having Tk-id @ B 594 as a base, and Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE B 539, having Wi-tk-ide @ B 663 and we-tk-ide-, in We-tk-ide-l-be @ B 648, as a base, though one cannot explain the presence of the particle we(i)- or the intrusion of -y-.[32] The Arminna West versions of Formula J, of which pi-ši-tk-b-xe-ke-s Arm W 2 LS is an

A6 IV iv b - c

example, are very useful in the understanding of the possible contents of these names.[32] Related with these names is perhaps the name P-q-s̆e̅-tx-re̅-r @ C 24, according to this reading, in which p- and -q- are extra prefixes and p-...-s̆e̅-tx- presumably has the same meaning as p-s̆i-tx Formula G Kar 14 8-9 LS and pi-s̆i-tx- in pi-s̆i-tx-k-te Formula D2 Kar 36 17-18 LA.[33]

IV iv c While we are still on the subject of names having some connection with the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae, it is relevant to mention S̆-h-n̆-re̅-r @ B 494, which seems to be a participle containing the verb -h-, probably of a sense identical with the verb of Formula A, prefixed with s̆-.[34] Compare p-s̆-h-te Far 15 8-9 LA

There can be little doubt that s̆i-, prefixed to the verb -we- in pi-s̆i-we-k-te Formula B Kar 36 15-16 LA, a different way of writing the verbal complex of Formula B, is again added to the same verb in S̆i-we B 507.[35] It seems doubtful that si-we-, in the name and the verbal complex, is related to s̆-we- in S̆-WE-YI-BR B 537, in its varying ways of spelling, and in S̆-we-yi-b-ye B 538, for whereas the former compound contains the verb -we-, the latter contains the participle -we-. S̆- and the particle

A6 IV iv c-d-e

perhaps recur in Š-WE-Y-TK-IDE B 539, studied in the previous sub-division.[36]

IV iv d In view of the fact that -br(e)- has been shown to interchange with -ber- [37], one has the impression that the same š-, present with -br in Š-WE-YI-BR in the last sub-divisions, should also be the one in Š-BRE-YE B 476 and š-ber-xi: Tañ 50-51 OS, being mobile and interchangeable with -ši- in n-x-bre-š: Ins 94 12 L, X-BRE-ŠI-BLE (?) B 173, PRE-ŠI-BLE B 428, ..ET-ŠI-BLE D25 [37] and Mē-ñ-beri-ši B 275. But -š of n-x-bre-š: is undoubtedly identical with the final element of te-mey-ye-š: Ins 94 12 L, demonstrably mobile in Š-TE-MEY-YE B 532, and of n-s-dē-ke-š: Ins 94 12 L,[37] since all these three groups are adjacent in the same line. Therefore, one suggests that in these names and groups we are perhaps dealing with one and the same component, that may be added to nouns and verbs alike.[37]

IV iv e Š(ē,i), alternating with -s-, is the verb prefix to the verbs, or perhaps verbalized nouns, -tn(i)- and -qēr(e,ē,i)-.[38] With the former it occurs in ŠĒ-TN-KE-L(I) B 485, also slightly differently spelt as ŠĒ-TN-K-R, and probably in Qe-š-tni @ B 443 and S-tni @ B 471, itself a part of Šb-s-tni-ye @ B 477, while with the latter it

occurs in the verbal complexes Ši-qēr B 503, š-qēre-s: Tañ 20 OS, š-qērē-s: Tan 47 and Ye-s-qēr-be @ B 680 as well as in the participle Š-qēri-[ṭē(s-lē)]-wi @ B 525. [38]

IV iv f Lastly, of such names and groups one mentions Š-tepe-ñ-yi @ B 533, in which -tepe- [39] appears to be a verb of some sort, the descriptive groups š-de-mde-s-lē Far 20 1-2 TA and ši-mde-l-w Tañ 2 OS, the traces of which might be found in Š-d-md[e]-kde B 481 [39] and Š-MEDE-LI C 27.[39]

V i There is a component written š(ē,i), sometimes reduplicated as šš(i)- and šš-, the nature of which is difficult to determine, though there are certain cases when one has the feeling that it is perhaps a noun. It is also mobile, which feature is similar to that of š(i)- of sub-divisions IV ii, iv d above, in the sense that it can be added to verbs and nouns alike, sometimes assuming an initial position and sometimes coming finally. Since š-ber-xi: Tañ 50-51 OS and -x-bre-š, in n-x-bre-š: Ins 94 12 L, Š-TE-MEY-YE B 532 and te-mey-ye-š: Ins 94 12 L should respectively have the same total meanings, one presumes that š-lh, lh-š and š-lh-š should mean the same thing.[40] Either -š- in the last group of descriptive words is a noun, in

which case it will be different from the one in the above name and groups, or it is merely an unknown element, in which event one presumes that it is most likely to be identical with the one above. But it has been suggested that the same mobile -š̆- in š̆-lh, lh-š̆ and š̆-lh-š̆ might perhaps be a noun identical with š̆(i)- in the place-name š̆i-ml(ē)-, in the name Qē-š̆-mlē-ñ @ B 458 and in the descriptive word š̆-qē.[40]

If š̆- in š̆-qē- is the same as the one in š̆-lh,...etc., then the same thing should be said about the one in š̆-q̣-kdi: Ins 94 15 L, which is perhaps an extension of š̆-qē- by means of -kdi [41], and in Š̆-qē-ñ-ye B 524, N-Š̆-QĒ-YE B 383, because these are all thought to be related.[41] It might again be the initial component in Š̆-nš̆-ye @ B 522.[41]

V ii a Š̆- , also reduplicated as š̆š̆(i)- and š̆s-, seems to be the same element in š̆-šēr-lh: Far 7 7 LA (=HinD 16, 146) as in š̆-mt-lh: Kar 52 4 LA (=HinD 224), Ins 131 4 LA (= HinD 244), š̆-mr-te: Ibr 16 OS, š̆š̆-mr-te-l: Tañ26 OS, š̆š̆-mri Sh 8 4-5 LS, š̆s-mri-le-b: EKE 26 8-9 LA, and even in š̆š̆i-mete: Ins 129 6-7 LS (=HinD 48),...etc., thought to be written š̆š̆i-me in iḍḍñ š̆š̆i-me:amni-s 3:

Tañ 24-5 OS. Since mt and mete are believed to be variants [42], it thus becomes understandable that they should be seen prefixed with š(ši)- in š-mt-lh and šši-me(te). One may add that, because of the frequent interchange between š- and s- as prefixes [42] it should not be surprising that šš(i)- should have a variant form as šs- in šs-mri-le-b. If the forms involving š(š,ši,s)- and -mr(i) correspond to š-lh, then one is inclined to think that š-mr-šē:(krērē-lē:) Kar 78 11 LA[42] should correspond to š-lh-š. Carrying this argument to the examples above, one is perhaps able to identify šš(i)-, šs- and -šē with š-, also -š, of š-lh-š and of the names and groups of the previous sub-divisions, whatever its part of speech.

V ii b The mention of š-mr-šē in the previous sub-division reminds one of mrē-šē(i), familiar in the context wte mrē-šē (H) Ka Cone and wte mrē-ši: Tañ 16 OS, [43] and, consequently, of the names MRĒ-ŠI-K-LI B340 [43] and Mrē-ṣ-mete-ye @ B341, both of which seem to contain mrē-š(i)-.

There is also -š(i)-, suffixed to -xre(ē)- in Xrē-š-ye B181 and K-id-xre-ši-[ye] D36, which seems to interchange with -s- in a-xrē-s-l: Ak I 3 OS and

a-xrē-qe-s-l: Ak I 8.[44]

V ii c In the last three sub-divisions, one notices that s̆(e,ē,i), in one form or another, is added to what seem to be nouns. In Am[ẹ]te-li-s̆ B 36 [45] one is almost certain that it is suffixed to a defined noun.

There are occasions when -s̆ appears at the end of verbs and verbal complexes, as is in y-teke-s̆ Ins 76 3-4 O Gr[46], Mli-teke-s̆ @ B 309 and n-s-dē-ke-s̆: Ins 94 12 L.[46] If -s̆ is the same element here as in the name and the groups, then it might be identical with -s̆(i)-, in X-BRE-S̆I-BLE (?) B 173 and the related names and groups, with which -s̆, in n-s-dē-ke-s̆, is suggested in sub-division IV iv d to be identical.

The association of a mobile -s̆- with verbs and verbal complexes above calls to mind the behaviour of -s̆(e,i)- in relation to the compound -q(e)-d(e,i)- in Qe-di-s̆i-ye @ B 437, Mli-qe-de-s̆e @ B 307, and S̆-bele-qe-di @ B 472, [47]. One therefore wonders whether it is again the same element.

Lastly s̆- is prefixed to -mk-s [48] in S̆-mk-s B 518. Comparing this name with Wēs̆-mk-s B 654, one has the impression that this element might be an abbreviation of wēs̆ 'Isis'.

A6 VI

VI As a recapitulation, from the above discussion we conclude that there are three types of -s̆(e,ē,i); one is the verb meaning 'to make,do'; another is the prefix, and it is suggested that this is in fact the verb itself used in a slightly different way; and a third one is the mobile element that can be added, both as a prefix and as a suffix, to nouns, verbs and verbal complexes alike. Whether used as a verb prefix or a mobile component, this word has been seen to alternate with -s-. The mobile element, however, distinguishes itself from the verb and the verb prefix by its occasional reduplication as s̆s̆(i) and s̆s-.

A6 THE COMPONENT $\breve{s}(e,\bar{e},i)$ - FOOTNOTES

1. See A7 IV iv a for the view about the present component when used in the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae. For the interchange between a-, ye- and ti- as prefixes see A12 II i & n.6, A5 IV i a.

2. See M II 51. There is no need for me to go into greater detail as to how Griffith concluded that $-\breve{s}\bar{e}$ meant 'to make'. Concerning its meaning in $ye-\breve{s}\bar{e}$, of the Philae graffiti, he arrived at this by comparing te-wisti:ap$\bar{o}$te $ye-\breve{s}\bar{e}$ $w\bar{e}\breve{s}$ pileqe-te-l: nl ber-wi Ins 95 L with some seven Demotic graffiti, op.cit. 49, expressing more or less the same idea, and gave 'the obeisance made on behalf of (?) the envoy remaineth (?) before Isis of Philae', op.cit.33, as a translation of the text. See ZyM 433-4, where the scheme is explained in greater detail. As far as the ostraca are concerned, the different interpretations of $-\breve{s}\bar{e}$, on these and other objects, are given below.

3. Hintze, HinD p.2, describes $-\bar{e}$ in $-l\bar{e}$ as being perhaps a relative ending. See A3 III i a & n.26. As regards the causativeness of $\breve{s}(e,\bar{e},i)-$, this is

something worthy of serious consideration. In Egyptian we form the causative by prefixing s- to the verb stem, thereby producing a new verb with causative meaning. Thus Egyptian can say smsi.f sy 'he causes her to give birth', but it cannot use the causative as a separate verb in its own right and say s.f msy.s*. It is only by using the independent verb rdi that Egyptian can do this (rdi.f msy.s). By Coptic times however this rdi, though still in use as a separate and independent verb (ⲧ), has nevertheless become fused in the causative verbs with the verb dependent on it, producing a compound causative verb ϩⲙⲉⲥⲓⲟ which is entirely analogous to the Meroitic. In Meroitic such a possibility can be, at present rather dimly discerned. We have seen above that, with high probability, almost amounting to certainty, Meroitic has a verb s̆e 'to do, make'. It could well be maintained that the causative prefix is no more than this verb functioning in a new way, being added to the stem of another verb in a kind of verbal clinch, resembling Nubian compounds like ⲕⲉⲛ-ϩⲟⲩⲕ 'deposit+honour' = 'offer', or Egyptian is-ḥ3k 'go + plunder' = 'ravage, destroy'.

Itslef a verb, the Meroitic š(e,ē,i)- would therefore form with the verb,to which it is prefixed,a compound-verb which would receive the other verb prefixes and suffixes just as any simple verb would. It may be recalled that it has been suggested that such phenomena (i.e. compound-verbs) are likely in Meroitic. Of these one mentions tk-ide, mk-ide , tn-ide,...etc. See A2 I ii b. It will be noticed that,in the rendering of names and groups containing the present component functioning as what seems to be a causative verb,the resulting compound-verbs have not been translated as having causative sense. There is no self contradiction here,but it has been thought best not to do this ~~ak~~ present until one was more sure of the meaning of the verbs to which the prefix š(e,ē,i)- is added.

4. See A2 I iv (end).

5. See A7 VI iv a on the verbal complexes of Formula A and A7 VI iv b on the verbal complexes of Formula B. Under these references more such forms may be found.

6. See sub-division I i & n. 1 above. There is another possible analysis of the name,however remote this might be,by taking it for an abnormal writing of the name of Isis to be added to asi: Ins 49 6 OS, -esi in PY-ESI B435 and Ty-esi B641, -ise in T-sy-ise B637, wis: Kar 74 1 LA, Ins 94 26 L,

wš- in wš-n-l-w UNGr 3 2 0 and wēšē: Kar 111 1 LA. Griffith, M I 73, noting that, beginning with the formulae, the scribe began almost every word in Ins 49 with a- , seems to accept aši as a good writing of 'Isis' in JEA 3 114 11. The Egyptian analogies show us that it is not impossible for a deity's name to be borne by a person, for 'Isis' itslef exists as a name 𓊪𓏏𓐍𓐍 , 𓊪𓏏𓐍 , 𓊪𓏏𓐍 , 𓊪𓏏𓐍 RaPN 3 18. See RaN 309-10, RaPA 312.

7. On (mke-)š-xe , as well as šē-b-xe and šē-ni, to be studied in the next sub-division, see A7 VI iv c, while on š-xi and Mli-š-xi see A7 VI iv d 2 & n. 62.

8. No doubt -qē-š-hi in M-ye-qē-š-hi and Tir-li-qē-š-hi only lacks -n in order to be identical with Qē-š-x-ṉ @ B457, discussed in sub-division II i b below. For qē- see A15 II iii and for the splitting of pe-n-li- in Pe-n-li-š-hi see A4 I & n. 1, A3 III ii c. See A7 VI iv d 2 on all these names.

9. The title šē-ni is discussed in the next sub-division. See A3 III i a,b for -lē- as a participial ending, A15 I iii & nn. 10,12 on š-l-w , š-lh , š-lh-š, š-qē and š-q-kdi , and sub-divisions V i, ii a below for more about (š-)lh(-š) . See also š(i)- in š(i)-mlē- , studied in A11 VII iii.

10. See A7 VI iv d 3 and A3 IV v on these participles. Assuming that in MŠXR and Mškel @ B353, we have -š˛š-, written only once, MŠ˛Š-X-R and Mš˛š-ke-l appear to be likely splittings of these names, the first -š of which will belong to mš- "Mash" and the second to the compound -š-x(ke)-. The compound -š-x-r in the former name may be taken as a version of Š-XI-L and Š-xi-ye, while -š-ke-l in the latter will be identical with š-ke-l- in Š-ke-l-ye @ B509. For the interchange of -r with -l(e,i) and -y(e,i) see A3 III i b, A19 II ii. Mš˛š-ke-l @ and Š-ke-l-ye will be studied in sub-division II i b below.

11. See sub-division II ii below and A7 VI iv d 1 for the analysis of -š-x(e)-te(ē) as a verbal complex. On š-x-s-li: and š-x(e)-s-le(ē) see A7 VI iv d 3 and A3 IV v. On -te(ē) concealing -s-le(ē) see A5 VII iii, A3 III i c, IV v.

12. See A7 VI iv c and A1 IV ii, A12 IV iii on these names and also the previous sub-division for more on the title šē-ni. More is said about Ši-ni-ye and šē-b-s-ni in A12 IV xii b. The presence of the component -tme in Ši-n-tmo, where we seem to have a verbal complex involving ši-, is reminiscent of its occurrence in TME-Š-X-IDE and TM-Ṣ-X-DI

B 603, where -s̆-x-ide and -s̆-ẋ-di are believed to be compound-verbs involving the same verb. See sub-division III below on these.

13. For the compound qē-s̆-x- in Qē-s̆-x-ñ being a version of -qē-s̆-hi see sub-division II i a n.8. More is said about the present names in A3 IV v, A7 VI iv d 3. See A5 V i for the suffix -te- and A5 V v for it with s̆-.

14. See A1 I ii on -k(e,i)- and A1 IV i for the component suffixed to the verb s̆-. As was cursorily pointed out in sub-division II i a above, and in details under A7 VI iv c, (mke)-s̆-xe, s̆ē-b-xe and s̆ē-ni, though they have the semblances of verbal complexes, are actually used as nouns. Under the last reference it is suggested that mke-s̆-xe might mean "prophet" and that s̆ē-ni might mean "priest(?)".

15. Linking the descriptive phrase with the funerary formulae, one may even suggest that mlē is perhaps standing for at(ē)- mlē "good bread/water", the word at(ē) omitted because it might have been understood or its presence feared might make the descriptive phrase cumbersomely long.

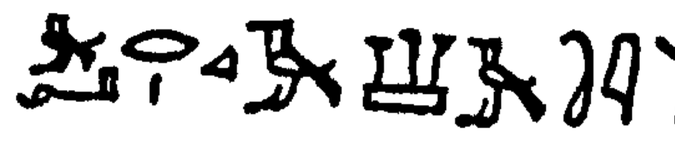
16. For the splitting of Mš̆ s̆-ke-l see sub-division II i a n.10. The alternation between kdi- and mš̆- as initial

components added to -š-ke-l(i), and the fact that the latter is a deity's name, provide strong support for the view expressed in A1O III i b that kdi- might sometimes refer to a deity, who is most likely to be 'Isis'. On mš- "(god) Mash" see A3 III ii d & n.70, and for more on these names see A3 IV v.

17. See A3 III i b, IV v, A12 IV i,iii on the endings, whether they be participial or merely definitive. Under A1 II i & n.16 it was shown that there are certain substantives that may receive the endings -n̄(n,nē,ni)- and -k(e,i).

18. See A7 VI iv d 1 on the above splitting of (A)mni-š-x(e)-te(ē) and the related verbal complexes, and also sub-division II i a (end) above for the other alternative splitting. See A7 VI iv d 3 & n.63 for Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye and A3 III i o & n.52, IV v & n.115 on its ending. For the verb suffix -te(ē) see A5 V i, and for its occurrence with š(e,ē,i)- see A5 V v. The pattern de-te(ē) is explained in A2 III iii a, while t-qē- is discussed in A15 II ii, A5 II i (end).

19. See A1 III ii & n.25, A12 IV iii & n.70. The

patterns ke-de and ke-de-te are explained in A2 III i a 1, iv a. For the probable meaning of see A5 VII ii. When transcribed into Meroitic, the name  might yield something similar to Ml(ē)-k(q)e-š(e,ē,i)-te(ē)-y(e,i). In simpler terms, it might consist of KE-ŠĒ-TE-YE suffixed to mlē-, producing Mlē-ke-šē-te-ye*, written in small letters because the name is that of a lady. But the fact that KE-ŠĒ-TE-YE is a masculine name should not preclude its being part of a feminine name, for it might be expressing an idea, such as "the offerer".....etc., that has no reference to the sex of the name-bearer. The contents of the name are approximately the same as those of the descriptive phrase mlē š-ke-lē-wi EKE 26 13 LA, - for which see sub-division II i b & n.15 -, namely "(one who is a/the) offerer of something good".

20. On the splitting of this compound see A2 I iii o & n.17, and on its treatment as a compound-verb see A2 I ii b.

21. See sub-division II i b for the compounds -š-x-ñ. The final -ñe of Š-x-di-ñe peculiarly shows -e after -ñ-, which is something that should not happen, because -ñ- has an inherent vowel. However, this is not the only instance of its kind, for we also have

-ñe again in Tr-qi-ñe B 633 and -ñē in š-ke-ñē: Serra 13 LS. See A1 IV iii. These examples contradict Griffith's statement, Kar vi 12 no.2, JEA 3 117, that ñ is not followed by a vowel, it being, according to him, n with e. Despite these two occurrences Griffith's statement seems to me to be true, since these, so far as I know, are about the only instances to the contrary, and may therefore be considered as exceptions.

22. On mke-š-xe see sub-division II i a & n.7, and on -l as a participial ending see A3 III i a,b, IV v.

23. Ši-n-tme is analysed in sub-division II i b & n.12.

24. For the alternation of -š- and -s- as prefixes see IV ii & n.26. Because this interchange is familiar, I will confine myself to mentioning the names and relevant groups, showing this phenomenon, in their right places below. As regards the references to the discussion of -l-, -te- and -de-, these will be made in due course.

25. See A2 II i & n.28, ii & n.34, and A7 VI iii b.
For p- see A4 II iv.

26. For the compound -de(ē)-ke see A2 III ii a 1,5 & nn.71,72, and for more on these names and groups see A3 II iv.

27. See A2 III i b & n.57. For more on š-q-ḍ-te-li-s see A3 IV ii d.

28. See A2 III i b & n.59.

29. See A3 II iv for all these names and for the group. With the exception of S̆-L-X-TE-Y, studied in A7 VI ii b & n.38a, A5 V ii b, and Mit-s̆-l-be, studied in A7 VI ii d, all these are discussed in A7 VI ii a. More is said about the names with -ye in A12 IV ii.

30. See A3 II iv. See also A4 II iv & n.23 for more on the names with (a)pe- and -bi-, A5 V ii b & n.47 for those with -te-, and A12 IV ii for those names ending in -y(e,i).

31. See A5 III i & nn.9, 10, for the verb -t(e)- and A3 IV iv & n.111 for these participles.

32. See A8 I i on the verb -tk(i)-. Under the same references see also I ii & n.10 on the compound-verb, II iv a & n.28 on the name and group using the simple verb and II v on the names using the compound-verb. Compare the intrusion of -y- in S̆-WE-Y-TK-IDE with that of -yi- in (mlē:)qe-yi-de-wi: MacN O Plqe and see A11 IV iv c. The component -we(i)- in this and the other names is most likely to be the same as the one in S̆-WE-YI-BR B 537, studied in sub-division IV iv c below. See A8 II v & n.37 for more on this component.

33. See A4 II iii, II iv and A8 II iv b.

34. See A7 V ii & n.32, A3 IV vi.

35. See the end of A2 I iii b (end).

36. See A9 I ii. More is said about s̄-we-y(i)- in n.32 above and A12 II vii & n.21. See A8 II v & n.37 for more about -we- in the last name.

37. See A9 II i ff. on the component -br(e), -ber-, and A9 II iii for S̄-BRE-YE, Mē-n̄-beri-s̆i and X-BRE-S̆I-BLE. The last name and PRE-S̆I-BLE are also studied under A21 I i, A20 II iv & n112. Though ..ET-S̆I-BLE is incomplete, it is an equally good example of the occurrence of -s̆i- before -ble. For -s̆ at the end of verbs and verbal complexes see sub-division V ii c below.

38. See A14 I ii, III ii a & n.23, IV iii & n.37 for the names with -tn(i)- and A3 III ii a n.56, IV x a for the names and the groups with -qēr(e,ē,i). For the alternation of s̆(ē,i)- and -s- see sub-divisions IV i, ii.

39. See A10 III iv & n.21 for -tepe-, and A10 III iv & n.20 on S̆-d-md[ẹ]-kde and for more reference to the descriptive phrases with which it is thought to be related. S̆-MEDE-LI is studied in A3 IV x a.

40. For more on s̆- the noun and for the references for s̆-lh,....etc., see sub-divisions II i a & n.9, V ii a and also All VII iii.

41. See towards the end of AlO I ii a for s̆-q̣-kdi, Al5 Ii, II iv for S̆-qē-ñ-ye and N-S̆-QĒ-YE. The last name accepts an alternative splitting as NS̆-QĒ-YE. As regards S̆-ns̆-ye see Al2 III ii a & n.31.

42. See A23 I, III iii on mt and mete, also sub-divisions II ii, IV i above for the alternation between s̆- and s-. For more on s̆-mr-s̆ē see the next sub-division.

43. See A9 II iii & n.25 for mrē-s̆ē(i) and A3 IV xi o & n.160 for more on MRĒ-S̆I-K-LI

44. See A2l IV i & n.27.

45. See A3 III ii b

46. See A7 IV ii for -teke-. Zyhlarz, ZyM 447, considers -s̆ in y-teke-s̆ to be a resumptive pronoun third person singular referring to dime-l 'the year'. Influenced by Griffith's suggestion, JEA 3 26, that ye-teke-lē and x-tke-lē Ins 89 9-13 L/TS may mean 'reckoning' and 'determining', respectively, Zyhlarz translates the group as 'he knows it'. Again, Kush 4 26, he reasserts the same thing and takes -s̆, which he vocalizes as sú, as the suffix possessive pronoun third person masculine singular. I cannot see how

-š can fit in as a pronoun, whether possessive or otherwise, in the above instances at any rate. See A9 II iii for X-BRE-ŠI-BLE and the related names and groups.

47. See sub-division IV ii above.

48. See A16 I i, II.

THE COMPONENT (a)x, (a)xe, (a)xi, (a)h, ahē, he, hē, hi

I i At first sight the reader might not be in favour of having the above components lumped together. There is no reason why they should not be considered as all variant spellings, for a close look at them shows that the only thing that can be thought to be a significant difference is the writing of x for h, since the appearance and disappearance of the initial a- and the interchangeability of the vowels -e, -ē and -i, or their disappearance altogether, here as elsewhere, are noticeable phenomena in Meroitic. The interchange between x and h, especially in the writing of the present component, is possible and, dare one say, not at all unusual. This will be demonstrated in the course of the elaborate discussion that will soon follow this introduction, but to prepare the reader's mind one may draw his attention to the well-known fact that mx, mh, mxe, mhe, mxē, mhē and mhi are all encountered as forms of the word assumed to mean 'plentiful, abundant'....etc., where the above-mentioned interchange and behaviour of the vowels are demonstrable. These words occur in atē:mx:yi-h-b-x-te: Formula A Ins 137 4 OA, at mh:p-s̄-xr-ke-te Formula B Kar 98 6-7 LA,

atē mxe: bi-šī-he-b-xe-ke-s : Kar 23 10 LS,

atē-mhe: p-šē-he-te: Kar 88 10 LA,atē mxē:p-š-te: Kar 124 3-4 LA,

atē mhē:pi-šī-h-te Kar 100 8 TA and atē mhi:p-šē-he-ke-te-s

Mer 46 5-6 LA. The last five instances are all of

Formula A. It must be admitted that the instances given

of mxē and mhi are the only ones I have found so far.

I ii Having found the component under discussion

occupying the place of mhe 'plentiful, abundant' and mlē

'good', and their variants, as will be pointed out below [1],

I came to the conclusion that in these cases it might have

a similar or at least comparable meaning, probably something

like "profitable, useful',...etc. When these two are

employed as what will be suggested to be adjectival

substantives[1] respectively meaning "what is plentiful,

something plentiful" and "what is good, something good",

(a)x, in its different forms, occurring in parallel

constructions should be interpreted on these lines and

rendered as "what is profitable/useful, something

profitable/useful",....etc., i.e. "boon, benefit",...etc.

Should it be possible for the present

component in its adjectival sense to be verbalized, one

would expect it to become an adjective-verb meaning "to be

useful, advantageous, beneficial, beneficient",....etc.,

when intransitive, and "to benefit (one)",...etc., when transitive.

As will be noticed below, despite its different parts of speech, whether used as a noun, an adjective, a verb or a dativa1 postposition, the present component is written in almost the same way. As a noun it takes the forms (a)x, (a)h, (a)xe, (a)xi and ahē, it being written x, h(e,i) when it is an adjective, xe and h(e,i) when it is a verb, and x(e,i) and h(e,ē,i) when it is dative. Though these are the instances I could collect, so far as they were relevant to the discussion of Meroitic names, and are by no means claimed to represent all the occurrences of this component, yet one notices that when the initial a- appears it is always with the component when this is used as a noun or an adjectival substantive. This is understandable because as an adjective (i.e. epithet), as a verb or as dative, -x-, in its different writings, normally follows other components, be they substantives, prefixes (Tense prefixes) or verbs respectively, in which case the initial a- tends to drop altogether or be assimilated with the end of the foregoing element. One cannot rule out the probability that adjectives may precede their subjects in sentences with adjectival predicates, such

A7 I ii - II i a

as M1-x-li B 303, M1-x-l @, studied in II ii below, but I have not as yet recorded any such instance involving the adjective ax- and its variants.

Having prepared the reader's mind for the lengthy discussion that will soon follow, I next proceed to study the different forms, parts of speech and possible meanings of this word, examining it first as a noun, then as an epithet, as a verb and finally as a dtival postposition.

II i a As a noun the present component is found qualified by adjectives, defined or undefined, or taken as an object by verbal complexes or suffixed with the definite article, but I have not as yet found it in the genitive case. This does not mean that such a construction does not exist, since the amount and scope of the material here collected are limited.

(A)x- is qualified by the adjective mlē 'good' and the resulting complex is left undefined in x-mlē Formula C Kar 105 13-14 LA and w-br-x-mlē Mer 13 1 L Gr ^{2}, defined by -le in x-mlē-le Formula C Kar 30 13 LA, Formula D2 Kar 68 8 LS, and the entire complex is preserved in atet-x-mlē-le Sh 14 11-12 LS ^{2} and att-x-mlē-le Ins 89 14-15 L/TS of Formula G. The article -li is substituted for -le in

ax-mlē-li: Formula C Far 20 6-10 TA, x-mlē-li Formula H Kar 99b 15-17 LA and att-x-mlē-li Formula G Ins 137 3 OA, where in the last, as was seen before, att- is added to the qualified and defined noun. X-mlē-l Formula C Kar 42 16-17 LA, containing -l as a suffix, further receives -w in x-mlē-l-w of the same Formula in Kar 76 8 LS, and is extended by att- in att-x:mlē-l Formula F Kar 14 8-9 L/TS. X-mlē-li-li Formula D2 Kar 36 17-18 LA is an example of the reduplicated definite article, while x-mlē-t(s-l): (H) Ins 60 10-11 LA shows an intrusive -s- before -l, which is also present in x-mlē-wi-t(s-l)-xe Formula D Arm W 3b LS, only being here separated from -mlē- by means of -wi-.[3]

II i b The existence of h-h-l-l Formula D2 Kar 78 20 TA, extended by means of att- to form att-h-x-l-l Formula G Kar 111 5 LA, alongside x-mhe-l-li Formula D2 Kar 127 4 TA yields h- as a writing of x-, and -x(h)- as being meant for -mhe-. It therefore appears reasonable that -he-mhe-l-w, in at-he-mhe-l-w p-t-re-ke-te Formula K Hin 11 L/TA, (H) Ins 60 6 LA (= Hin 14), known as a royal formula, should be a variant form of x-mhe-l-li, and that the complex in which this compound occurs should also be of the same sense as att-h-x-l-l. As a corollary, I conclude that, in addition to the two above-mentioned examples of Formula K,

att-h-x-l-l is identical in meaning with at-he-mhe-[l]-w: (p-t-re-ke-te:) Hin 16a LA, at-he-mh[e]-l-w: (t-re-ke-te) Hin 20 LA, while at(e)t-x-mlē-wi/l(e,i) of Formula G is identical with at-he-mlē-l-w (p-t-re-(ke-te)) Hin 15 LA [4], at-he-mlē-l-w: (t-re-ke-te:) Hin 9 TA and a[t-he]-mlē-l-w: (t-re-ke-te) Hin 17 LA (= Ins 59), all of which are of Formula K. With -h(e)-mlē-, and consequently -x-mlē-, of the above equations one may identify -h:mlē:, in xri-h:mlē: Mer 9 5-6 L B1, of which an unqualified form occurs in xri-h: Mer 9 8-9, which employs xri-, believed to be a noun, in place of at- and at(e)t-.[4]

From this rather complicated comparison, one concludes that at(e)t- and at-, the noun -x- and -h(e)- and the epithets -x(h)- and -mhe- are respectively the same. Furthermore, the <u>first constants</u> of Formulae G and K appear to originate directly in the <u>first constant</u> of Formula D2 and indirectly in that of Formula C, being distinguished from their supposed originals by receiving the prefix at(e)t-, at-, which apparently contains the word for 'bread', the <u>first constant</u> of Formula B.[5] Indeed, with regard to the last point, Dr Macadam, <u>MacN 49 & n.17</u>, translated at-he- of Formula K as 'bread-and-beer', and Hintze, <u>HinS 34</u>, thinks that this royal formula appears to correspond to the private

Formula B. Dr Macadam's suggestion will consequently give the meaning of (a)x-, of which -h(e)- is here considered to be a varying spelling, as 'beer'. This tallies with Griffith's view, Kar vi 51, that x-mlē-l 'is the name of some desirable offering, and perhaps rather liquid than solid'. But the word (a)x- sometimes seems to me to express the general idea of "offering, boon, benefit",...etc, (in such names as X-mlē-ye @ B 178), in view of its parallelism with mhe- and mlē- as an adjectival substantive, as will be pointed out below.[5]

II ii This I hope has paved the way for the important discovery that the present component and its epithets, seen in the previous sub-division as the first constants of Formulae C,D1,D2, G and H, form more or less entire names and constitute important parts of some others.[6] Of these are X-mlē-ye @ B 178 "a good boon", and Ml-x-li B 303, also written Ml-x-l @, which, because of the reversed order of x- and mlē, may be rendered as a sentence with an adjectival predicate meaning "the boon is good" or the like.[7] MLI-X-RĒ-R (?) B 306 may be treated like the last name, -rē-r in it being equivalent of the definite article -l(i)-l(i).[7]

A7 II ii

According to its splitting as X-mh-r @ B 177 this name yields x- as a noun qualified by -mh- and defined by -r [8], therefore having approximately the same meaning as x-mhe-l-li, studied in the previous sub-division, and meaning something like "the plentiful benefit, boon",...etc. It will then be the parallel of X-mlē-ye @ above. This analysis being reasonable, there seems to be no reason why the same treatment should not be accorded -xe-mx-r in Tb-xe-mx-r @ B 542 [9] and -xe-h-ye of TBI-XE-H-YE B 544. [9] Hardly does one need point out that the comparison of these names gives -xe-mx- and -xe-h- as variant compounds forming a pair that corresponds to x-mhe- and h-h(x)- of x-mhe-l-li, h-h-l-l and att-x-h-l-l, discussed in II i b above. So far, the result is that (a)x-, xe- and h- are nouns, while -mlē-, -mhe-, -mh-, -mx-, -h- and -x- are adjectives. It is when one encounters such a name as TB-H-RE-Y-N-K-LI B 543 [9], the restoration of which is influenced by the last two names, that one is not sure whether -h- is a noun (i.e. it is the one in tb(i)-xe-) or an adjective (i.e. it is the one in -h-ye = -mx-r).

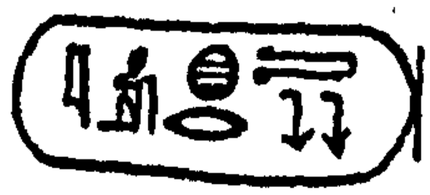
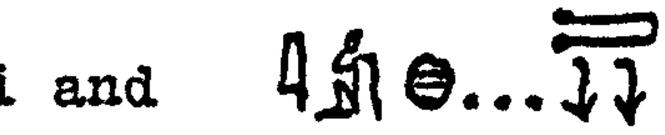
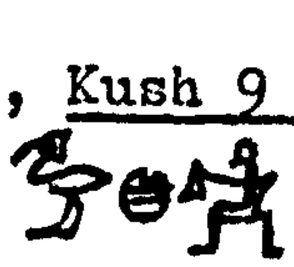
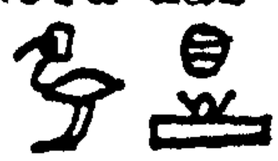
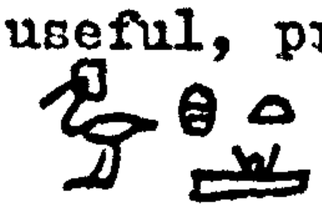
II iii Comparing x-mlē-wi-t(s-l)-xe Formula D

Arm W 3b LS with the group read ax-wē(i)-t(s-l) Ins 91c 5 0 Gr[10], one feels that the former complex contains the component parts of the latter in addition to -mlē- and -xe. Ax- and -wē(i)- in ax-wē(i)-t(s-l) are therefore identified as the noun discussed in II i b and II ii above and as the particle [10], that so often appears with ml(e,ē,i)-, respectively. The same thing may be said about them in ax-ñ-wi-t(s-l)-w: Mer 7 16-17 LS and ax-ñ-w[i]-t(s-l)-w: Mer 7 17-18 LS, where the medial -ñ- and the final -w are accessories to ax-wē(i)-t(s-l), and in X-WI-LI B 189, X-WI-TRĒ-R B 190, x-wi-tr-r-w (H) Ins 23,32 and ŠI-X-WI-TR B 495.[11]

Under A22 I iii (end) x-, in the compound x-wi-tr(ē-r), is seen in parallel constructions with mxe-, mhe- and mlē- in MXE-WI-TR B 278, also written MHE-WI-TR, MLĒ-WI-TR B 301 and Ml-w-terē-r @ B 321, in which case it is evidently an adjectival substantive of a meaning comparable with those of mx(h)e- and ml(ē)-. This is further confirmation of the view expressed in I ii and II i b above that (a)x- perhaps means "what is profitable, profitable thing",....etc., "boon, benefit". More will be said on this point in the next sub-division.

II iv That the compound -x-rē-r in AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R £ B 85, Lit-x-rē-r @ B 247, presumably reshuffled as H-lit-rē-r @ B 195, and Meš-l-[x]-rē-r @ B 265 [12] is the same here as in MLI-X-RĒ-R (?)B 306, which has been proven (in so far as proof is possible with such intractable material) in II ii above to contain the adjective mli-, as an adjectival predicate, and the noun -x-, establishes the nominal nature of -x- in these names as well. The same thing applies to h- of H-lit-rē-r @. But ar(i)-k-, the name of "Horus" [12] and the infix -k-, and meš-l-, the defined name of the god "Mash" [12], both of which are compounded with -x- in two of the above-mentioned names, are again present with the same component in AR-K-X-TNI (H) £ B 86 and MEŠ-L-X-BLE B 264 respectively, while the same -x- and -ble in the latter name are part of (A)MN(I)-X-BLE £ B 42 and XR-N-X-BLE B 186, being separated the one from the other in X-BRE-ŠI-BLE (?) B 173. Therefore one cannot but consider -x- to be the same component in all these names, and identify it with the one discussed in the previous sub-divisions (I ii, II ii). The same thing may be said about ax- in Ax-mn-k-rē-r @ B 27.[13]

The meaning suggested above for (a)x- is perhaps further illuminated by the comparison of

ar-...-x-tni of AR-K-X-TNI B 86 with  3X-R-T̄Ñ & Nu 14, JEA 35 141 & pl.xv no.4a,b, which seems to have the same components but only in a different order.[14] With -x-tni and  one might also link abē-teñ Tañ 141 OS.[15] Zyhlarz, Kush 9 230, identifies  in 3X-R-T̄Ñ with Egyptian 3ḫ 'spirit'. This might be so. Besides being a proper noun, this Egyptian word has three parts of speech; it is an adjective spelt  meaning 'efficacious, effective, useful', a verb meaning 'to be, become a spirit, splendid, beneficial, useful, profitable' and an adjectival substantive written  3ḫt and meaning 'what is good, profitable'. One should consider the possibility that Meroitic (a)x- is perhaps this Egyptian word, borrowed by the Meroitic language and subjected to its rules and usages.

II v Under II i above, -x- in w-br-x-mlē has been identified as the noun meaning "boon, benefit",...etc. Since -br-x- in this group has been proven to be a variant spelling of b(e)r-xe(i)- and br(e)-h(e)- in BER-XI-L B 125, BR-XE-T(S-L) B 141, bre-h l ni: Serra 15 LS and BR-ḪE-TE(S-LE)-Y B 142, therefore -xe(i)-, -h and -ḥe-, in these names and the group should also be nouns having the same meaning as -x-.[16]

A7 III i

III i The component -x-, -h(e)-, as an epithet, interchanges with mxe, mhe and mlē, in their different forms, and is written -x-, -h(i)- when it substitutes -lh. Though I have suggested that there might exist an adjective, related to (a)x-,....etc., that perhaps is of the same forms as the above, but meaning "beneficial, useful"....etc.[17], it is clear that this is none of the above. As Griffith, Kar vi 52, has already observed, -h, consequently -he, is a shorter writing of -mhe in which the initial letter (i.e. m-) is dropped. Therefore, the interchange of this word with mlē will be understandable, it being the same as that of mhe, and mlē. The occurrence of -h(i) instead of -lh may likewise be explained as a deliberate elision of the initial l-, the occurrence of -x- instead of it being merely a writing of -h.

In sub-division II ii above, -h- in TBI-XE-H-YE B 544 has been proven to be a variant writing of -mx- in Tb-xe-mx-r @ B 542, as it was in h-h-l-l Formula D2 Kar 78 20-21 LA a variant spelling of mhe in x-mhe-l-li Kar 127 4 TA, of the same formula. In the form -x-, in att-h-x-l-l Kar 111 5 LA, it also interchanges with mlē in att-x-mlē-l Kar 14 8-9 L/TS, att-x-mlē-le Ins 89 14-15 L/TS, att-x-mlē-li Ins 137 3 OA, atet-x-mlē-le Sh 14 11-12 LS and

A7 III i-ii

atet-x-mlē-wi Ins 87 5-6 LA, all of which are of Formula G.

The epithets mx, mhe and mlē, in š(ḫ)r-mx Ins 137 5 OA [18] and š(ḫ)r mlē Mer 45 5 OA, of Formula F, atē mhe of Formula A, and at mhe of Formula B are replaced by h in š(ḫ)r h Formula F Kar 111 3-4 LA, and by he in atē he Sh 14 9 LS, Mer 34 4-5 OA, 40 5 LA, Kar 68 9 LA, 115 4 LS , EKE 26 12 LA of Formula A, and in at he Mer 40 5-6 LA, of Formula B.[18] There seems to me to be no doubt that -h(e) in these examples means "abundant" in view of the fact that it occurs in the same position as mx(e), mh(e) in their different forms.

III ii Atē-he- "abundant water" might be the meaning of the first two components in ATĒ-HE-LI-YE B98 [19], according to one analysis of this name, which I render as "the abundant water", and ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE] B97 [19], which I parse as a participle containing atē he:e-l-x-te: Formula A Mer 34 4-5 LA, less the prefix e- and the suffix -te, meaning "one who gives (is given) abundant water to...", or something of the kind. If the restored -ye in the latter name is afformative and not indicating the participle, then "may he be given abundant water!", or the like, is also a possible translation. The parallelism of these names with Formula A

of the inscription from Meroe just mentioned argues in favour of atē-he- here being "abundant water" rather than "water-and-beer".

Yetē-, definitely meant for atē in yetē mhe: pi-ši-h-te: Formula A Kar 107 3-4 LS, and probably so in yetē l-x-l Ins 94 8 L, the latter group being comparable with atē he:e-l-x-te:, mentioned above, and atē mlē y-l-x Formula A Mer 25 8 LA, less he, mlē and the prefixes and suffixes of their verbal complexes, perhaps has the same meaning in YETĒ-H(E)-T(E)R B 684.[20] Therefore I feel that yetē-h(e)- in this name is meant for atē (m)he "abundant water".

III iii Atē-he also occurs in atē-he-wi: Ibr 16-17 OS and in the place-name atē-he-te-l Serra W 2 16-17 LS (=HinD 327), in both of which cases it might mean "abundant water", especially in the earlier inscription (Ibr 25,26). Should this rendering be accepted, one would think that the latter perhaps designated a place distinguished by a famous well, spring, 'hafir' (water reservoir), or something of the kind. This is not unlikely, since from the desdription of the Island of Meroe, made by Crowfoot, MI, and Hintze, Kush 7 176-92, one is struck by the numerousness of water reservoirs in the area. Compare, to mention just a few,

such names as 'Bir el Kāfir', meaning 'the well of the infidel' [21], and even 'el Nag'a' which, as I understand the word, means "pool, pond".[21]

III iv The comparison of ms-h-tē(s-lē): Kar 6 9-10 LA (=HinD 216) and mš-x-t(s-l): Kar 23 5-6 LS (=HinD 216) [22] on the one hand with MS-LH-LĒ B344 [22], ms-lh-lē Far 27 4 LA and ms-lh-s-lē-wi Far 18 5-6 LS on the other, and then ate-q-hi-l-w Kawa 48B 1 0 Gr [22] with at-qē-lh-l Kar 59 9 L/TA shows -x-, -h(i)- written for -lh-.

Whether meant for -lh- or -mhe- the component -hi- in Tpē-hi-d-t @ B619 may be treated as an adjective qualifying tpē- which, if it is taken for atepē: 'offering'[23] of Formula J, will probably be the object of the verbal complex -d-t.[23] The group hi-de-te: MacN 0 Plqe apparently contains the same verbal complex taking the adjective (as an adjectival substantive) as its object. This will be discussed in the following sub-division.

IV i a Having examined the present component (a)x-, in its different forms, as a proper noun and as an epithet, I now proceed to study it when, as a noun or an adjectival substantive, it occurs as a prefix to verbal complexes and participles. On the whole, one tends to consider it as

the object of these complexes, but this is a great simplification, for its relationship with such verbal complexes and participles depends on what part of speech it is thought to be; whether it is a proper noun, an adjectival substantive or a mere adjectival predicate. So, as a proper noun or an adjectival substantive forming a part of a participial construction, the component can be either the subject or predicate of a nominal sentence, while as an adjective, whether in a verbal complex or a participial construction, it might be the adjectival predicate of which the verbal complex, rendered as an infinitive or gerund, or the participle will be the subject. To illustrate some of these points I will analyse AXE-TKK-ID B 24, comparable with MHE-TK-IDE (?) B 281, as an example. Judging from its parallelism with mhe- here, axe- may be either an adjective "beneficial, profitable", an adjectival substantive "something beneficial, profitable", or a proper noun "boon, benefit".[23a] If the name is rendered as "may he....a boon!", "a boon has been ...." or "may a boon be....!", axe- will be seen as the object/subject of the verbal complex. On the other hand, if axe- is an adjective it will act as an adjectival predicate of which the subject is the

verbal complex, rendered as an infinitive or a gerund, and the whole name can be interpreted as "to...(....-ing) is beneficial". That x-, in its different forms, may function as an adjectival substantive is further supported again by its parallelism with mx(h)e- and mlē-, or perhaps mx(h)e-wi- and mlē-wi-, in MX(H)E-WI-TR B 278 and MLĒ-WI-TR B 301, in x-wi-tr-r-[w] (H) Ins 28 and X-WI-TRĒ-R B 190.[23a]

When discussing the names and groups in which this component occurs, I will confine myself to the most obvious parts of speech the component can be, without mentioning the other possibilities, since doing so will make matters more complicated than they need to be.

IV i b The component -dē- , -de-, -id-, -di- is the verb in the following verbal complexes and participles in which (a)x- in its variant forms is perhaps the nominal object. These are: Ax-dē-s B 21 [24], (ăsr:)axi-de-b-xe: Ak I 26,42 OS [24], (wte-b:) axi-de-te: Ins 94 23 L, hi-de-te: MacN O P1qe, He-ti-dē @ B 192, Ax-dē-ye B 22 and -x-id-ye in Lp-x-id-ye B 248.[24] Note that ăsr[25] occurs without axi-, but with the same verb, in ăsr-de-b 5000 : Tañ 122 OS, while axi- occurs without it, again with the same verb, in axi-de-te above. Axi-, contrary to what Griffith, JEA 4 171, thought of it, is not an adjective qualifying ăsr, since

it would have been expected to agree in number with the plural noun wte-b: 'lives (?)' it follows in wte-b: axi-de-te. Neither axi-de-b-xe here nor any one of yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l and tbi-tn-ide-b-x-l, is a plural noun as Griffith, loc.cit., thought, for the last two are considered to be participles containing the compound-verb -tn-ide.[25]

In Amn-xe-dē-lē £ @ B 43 -xe- is perhaps in direct genitive with amn-, both names being the object of the participle dē-lē.[25a] The verbs -dē- and -li-, both of which, as is mentioned in A2 I i, A3 II i probably meaning "to give", occur in two parallel constructions. Mn-x-dē-ke £ B 325 and Ammi-x-li-k £ B 44 contain the respective verbs suffixed with -k and taking -x-, in direct genitive with (a)mn(i)-, as the object. Both verbs, also suffixed with -k- and again taking x(h)- as an object, receive -mli 'good' perhaps as an adverbial phrase [25a] in X-dē-k-mli @ B 175 and h-li-k-mli Ins 112 1 L.[25a]

IV ii X- is prefixed to -tek- and -tke- [26], in the verbal complex x-tek-ke Kar 47 12 LS (= HinD 337) and the participle x-tke-lē: Kar 89 12-13 L/TS. Interchanging with -h- and prefixed with arē- and ar-b-, it again occurs with -teke, the variant spelling of -tek-, in Arē-h-teke

B 77 and ar-b-x-teke: Ak I 6 OS respectively.[26] Observe the parallelism of these constructions involving x(h) with those involving ml(i)- in Ml(i)-tek(e)-li B 310, comparable with x-tke-lē, and Mli-teke-s̆ @ B 309, comparable with x-tek-ke,....etc., in all of which the verbal nature of -tek(e)- and -tke- is certain. That the former component is a verb is easy to conclude from studying ye-teke-lē: Ins 89 9-10 L/TS and y-teke-s̆: Ins 76 3-4 O Gr,where -teke- occurs with the verbal prefix y(e).[26] The above parallelism between the names and groups with x- and those with ml(i)- seems to me to support the view expressed in I ii that the component under discussion may sometimes act as an adjective, meaning "beneficial, profitable",...etc., which, when behaving as a noun, should be rendered as an adjectival substantive.

IV iii In AXE-Y-Ñ-TKĒ B 26 and AXE-TKK-ID B 24,axe- is prefixed to a verbal complex containing the simple verb -tkē, as a way of writing tke, in the first name, and its other form -tkk-, compounded with -id to yield the compound-verb -tkk-id, in the second name.[27] In the previous sub-division x- has been seen taken as an object by -tke- in the participle x-tke-lē. Note that axe- in the latter name, as was pointed out in IV i a above, occupies

A7 IV iii-v - V i

the place of mhe- in MHE-TK-IDE (?) B281.

IV iv Whether in its form as axe-, x- or hi-, this component is prefixed to the participles -ye-te-li(-ye), in Axe-ye-te-li-ye B25, Hi-ye-te-li B193 [28], and -s̆e-te-li, in X-s̆e-te-li B188 [28], in which the verb -te- "to give" is introduced by -ye- and -s̆e- respectively.[28]

From the comparison of ax-ple-te: Tañ 77-78 OS and axi-l:pl-ke: Ak I 36-37 OS and xe-ple: Tañ 50-51 OS, one obtains evidence not only for the interchange between ax(i)- and xe- but also for the nominal nature of the component, defined by -l in the second example, and for its being the object of the verbal complex.[28a]

IV v From the above, ax(e)-, ẋ(e)- and h(i)- have been seen to interchange as prefixes to verbal complexes and participles of which, for convenience, they have all been considered to be the objects.

V i As a verb the present componont vacillates between -h(e,i)- and -x(e)-. In the funerary formulae it occurs in the verbal complex of Formula A of which the following will be useful for the study of the names and groups thought to contain the same verb. These are yi-h: EKE 26 12 LA, yi-he-ke-te Ins 136 5-6 LA, yi-he-b Ins 135 6 LA/S, yi-h-b-x-te Ins 137 5 OA, p-s̆i-he-te: Kar 78 7 LA,

A7 V i

pe-šī-he-ke-te Kar 114 6 L/TA, p-šē-he-b-xe-ke-te-s Ins 131 10 LA/S, p-šē-he-b-h-te: Kar 99a 6-7 LA, bi-šī-he-b-xe-ke-s Kar 23 10-11 LS, b-šī-he-tē Kar 1 8 LA and b-šī-he-s Post 72 13 LS. Note that yi- and p(e,i)- and b(i)- are employed as initial prefixes to the verb -h(e)-.

If this verb, generally accepted as meaning 'to offer, give, render'...etc., is linked with the idea of "benefiting" which the present component is thought to suggest (sub-division I ii), it will perhaps be not far-fetched to presume the verb to have derived its meaning from its literal translation as "to benefit (someone by giving)", i.e. "to benefit (someone by offering on his/her behalf)", or something similar. So, regarding the verb and dative in Formula A, one is perhaps in a position to say that, while the verb seems to express the idea of "benefiting"...etc., the dative seems to convey the meaning "on behalf"...etc., "on behalf of.....". Therefore, atē:mhe:yi-h-b-x-te: Ins 137 4 OA may be interpreted as "may abundant water be offered to them/on their behalf!".

V ii As a verb, this component is believed to occur in names. It might be in the suffixless verbal complex Bē-he B 126, of which Bē-he-ye(i) B 127, also spelt B-h-ye, and B-x-ñ-yi B 130 are possibly participial counterparts.[29]

Here might also belong the compounds -bē-he in ye-s-bē-he and -be-he in Š-xi-be-he @ B 488.[30]

While He-lē-yi @ B 191 may be considered as a prefixless parallel of Bē-he-yi with the intrusive participial ending -lē-, HE-Ñ-TE-YE C 10 may be considered as the prefixless parallel of B-x-ñ-yi above with an intrusive -te-, which might be identified as the verb suffix in p-si-he-te, cited earlier on in V i.[31] Without the medial -q-, P-Q-HI-YI B 427 appears as yet another form of Bē-he-yi using p- instead of bē-. If the compound -q-hi- in the first name be thought to be of the pattern qe-de, the compound -ke-hi- in the verbal complex -ke-hi-tē, which is prefixed with the noun met- to yield Met-ke-hi-tē @ B 272, is perhaps its parallel of the pattern ke-de.[31]

N-h-li B 367 seems to me to be a participle containing the verb -h- prefixed with n- and suffixed with -li.[32] The reduplicated participial suffix -r (i.e.-rē-r)[32] occurs instead of -li in N-h-rē-r @ B 368, N-k-h-rē-r @ B 372,

I-[ñ]-h-rē-r @ B 206, where in the last two names n- is separated from the verb by -k- and replaced by i-[ñ]- respectively, and S̃-h-ñ-rē-r @ B 494 [32], in which s̃- substitutes n- and the enigmatic -ñ- is inserted. The intrusive -k- in N-k-h-rē-r @ is perhaps a vowelless form of -ke- in Met-ke-hi-tē @ above.

Believed to contain the same verb as that in the verbal complex of Formula A, these names must therefore revolve round the same idea as expressed by the verbal complex. So those names that are verbal complexes may mean "may he (she) offer!", "may he (she) be given!", "he(she) has been granted", while those that are participles might mean "one who offers/(is) offered)/will be given" or "one who has been given", or any similar idea.

VI i Next I wish to study the employment of -x(e,i), -h(e,ē,i), as a datival postposition in such constructions as will be useful in the understanding of similar names. As will be expected, such constructions are mostly verbal, involving,among others, the verbs l- "to give", -s̃(e,ē,i)- "make (offering)" and -(i)de, -d(i)- "to give". The instances of names consisting entirely of sentences with adverbial predicates are to my knowledge few. These will be

pointed out as they occur.

To start with, from the comparison of p-s̄e̅-he-b-h-te:Formula A Kar 99a 6-7 LA, i-de-b-x: Tañ 27 OS, i-de-b-xi: Tañ 126 [33], ye-tk-b-xi Ak I 13 OS, e-tk-b-xi Ak I 14, tk-b-xe-le̅ Far 21 26-27 TA (=HinD 296), e-l-x-ñ-ki: Ibr 20 OS and YI-L-HE-N-K B 697 it is evident that -x(e,i)- and -h(e)- are interchangeable in the writing of the dativa1 postposition.[33] It seems most likely that di-ye-he̅-ke-te (H) Ins 26,30,32 is a way of spelling the singular form of the plural -di-ye-b-x-te, in yi-de̅-te-di-ye-b-x-te Formula C Kar 99a 9-10 LA which has been suggested to contain overlapping verbal complexes [33], in which case -he̅- might be the dative. In consequence, the same -he̅, perhaps present in Ke-l-he̅ @ B 229, apparently interchanges with -he- in KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B 227. Therefore, these names and the group offer us -he̅- as yet another way of writing the dativa1 postposition. More will be said about the above examples in the next sub-divisions.

VI ii a With the verb -l- and its different forms the dative is found in both the singular and plural.[34] In the singular, the verbal complex having no verb suffix, it occurs in (ate̅ mle̅) y-l-x Formula A Mer 25 8 OA, (at[illegible] mle̅)

e-l-x Formula B Mer 27 7 OA, e-l-x: Ibr 6 OS, mlē l-h: Ak I 19 OS and Amne-li-xe @ B 41.[34] "May Amon give to him (her)!", "may (he,she) give to Amon!" or even something comparable with "given of Amon" might be the meaning of the name. ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE] B 97 and yetē-l-x-l Ins 94 8 L respectively add the suffixes -ye and -l to the verbal complex -l-x- the objects of which are atē-he- "plentiful water" and yetē- "water".[35] Consequently, one presumes L-H-LĒ-YE B 246 to contain -l-h-, as a varying form of -l-x- present in mlē l-h above, receiving in addition the participial elements -lē- and -ye which are jointly performing the function of the suffixes found separately in the name and group just mentioned.[36] This is in spite of the current view that this name is formed by the adjective, or adjectival substantive, lh- 'great, great one' suffixed with the participial endings -lē- and -ye. Hintze, HinSS 359, for instance, translates it as 'der,welcher gross ist (?)', which is slightly modified by Priese, MIO 14 172, as 'ein Grosser ist es', 'der ein Grosser ist'.[36] As variant forms of -h- and -xe-, as is argued in VI i above, the components -hē and -he- interchange as writings of the dativel postposition in Ke-l-hē @ B 229 and

KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B227.[36]

ŠE-L-XI-YE B482 will therefore contain -l-xi-ye, corresponding to -l-x-[ye], of ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE], prefixed with še- [37], while Te-bi-ši-l-h @ B552 will contain -l-h, identified with the one in L-H-LĒ-YE and mlē l-h, prefixed with -bi-ši- [37] that further takes te- probably as a nominal object.[37]

Mn-š-l-he, the descriptive word in the second cartouche of ŠĒR-K-RĒ-R (H) £ B484 from Gebel Geili, Kush 7 190 & fig 2, shares mn-...-l-he, the name of "Amon", the verb -l- and the dative, with Amne-li-xe @ £ above, and -š-l-he with ŠE-L-XI-YE and Te-bi-ši-l-h @.[38]

VI ii b The verbal complex resulting from the combination of the verb -l- and the dative singular is sometimes suffixed with -te, with or without -s, as in (atē mlē) e-l-x-te: Formula A Mer 27 5 OA, (atē mlē) y-l-x-te: Formula A Far 43 6 OA, (atē he:) e-l-x-te: Formula A Mer 34 4-5 LA, l-x-te (H) Ins 6 0, l-x-[te] (H) Ins 1 0, wte l-x-te (H) Tañ OS, mlē:l-x-te-s Ins 45 4-5 OS (cf.mlē l-h: Ak I 19), ...l-x-te-s: Ins 45 1-2 OS.[38a]

Prefixed with š- and suffixed with -y, the verbal complex is believed to be present in Š-L-X-TE-Y B517, which is

evidently of the same meaning as ŠE-L-XI-YE B 482, studied in VI ii a above.[38a]

It is perhaps true to say that the same elements as in the last group and mlē-l-h: Ak I 19 OS, with some additions and reductions, are probably preserved in slightly differing forms and order in (Y)i-l-h(e)-mli B 696. Mlē- 'good', qualifying atē in Formula A in the earlier instances, seems to me to be an adjectival substantive (i.e. something good, good thing) in this group and in the last of the above instances but one, and an adverbial phrase in this name. Hence, if atē mlē e-l-x-te: is to be rendered as "may good water be given to him(her)!", mlē:l-x-te-s: may be translated as "give good to....", "may good be given to ....!", and (Y)i-l-h(e)-mli as "may she give to....well/generously (?)!", "may she be given well/generously (?)!", or the like.[39]

VI ii c The suffixes -ñ(n,nē) and -k(e,i), sometimes together or separately, with or without other elements, are added to the compound -l-x(e)- yielding -l-x(e)-ñ(n,nē)- and -l-x(e)-ñ(n,nē)-k(e,i). The former is present in Y-l-x-ñ @ C 35, extended by [e]qe- in [e]qe-l-x-ñ(y)

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JEA 4 24 & n.1, by eqe-s- in eqe-t(s-l)-x-ñ Ak I 27, 28 OS[40], by sb- and -wi-le [40] in sb-l-xe-nē-wi-le Ak I 22, which, on the intrusion of a penultimate -s-, becomes sb-l-xe-nē-wi-te(s-le) Ak I 33. [40] The compound -eqe-s- intervenes between sb- and -l-xe-, -k-wi [40] being added, in sb-eqe-t(s-l)-xe-k-wi: Tañ 36,56 OS. The elements -ñ- and -ke, and their variants, are suffixed in e-l-x-ñ-ki: Ibr 20 OS, YI-L-HE-N-K B 697, sb- appearing again in sb-l-xe-nē-ke Tañ 79, conceding its place to ar-s- in ar-t(s-l)-xe-n[ē]-ki; Ak I 21, ar-t(s-l)-xe-nē-ke-wi Ak I 30. Here also belongs KE-LE-HE-KE-NI-WL B 227, alluded to in sub-divisions VI i, ii a above.

VI ii d No certain instance of the plural dative with -l- has been found in names, but outside them we have l-b-x-te (H) Ins 6-8, 13-16,18,19,34,84, l-b-x-y (H) Ins 15 [41], eqe-l-b-xe Ak I 7 OS. However, as is argued in A3 II iii, the dativel postposition might be suppressed in Ye-le-b-ye @ B 672, Mt-l-be B 360, Mit-s̃-l-be B 286 and Teri-h-l-be B 574 as it is believed to be so in AMN-N-TK-L-B-TE (H) £.[41] Consequently, -l(e)-b(e)- is perhaps functioning like -l(e)-b(e)-x(e)*, meaning "give to them". Eqe- in the last one of the groups is evidently the same as the prefix in some of the groups quoted in the

previous sub-division.

VI iii a With the verb -de-, in its various spellings, probably meaning "to give", the dative occurs in both its singular and plural forms, but we do not seem to have any instances of -de- and the plural dative in names.[42] I will deal with the occurrences of the dative singular first. The comparison of ye-d-xi: Ak I 5-6 OS and a-d-xi-te: Ak I 5,10,14 OS shows ye- and a- alternating as prefixes to the compound -d-xi and -te, in the latter group, to be a mere suffix.[42] That a-d-xi-te above is always followed by enumerations of people gives one the impression that these must be captives or spoils of war given by the gods to Akinidad, or vice versa, as a result of the campaign. Consequently, ye-d-xi: cannot accept Griffith's interpretation of it as 'born of (?)', JEA 4 168.

Retaining the prefix a-, the name A-d-xi-ye @ B 17 contains either the suffixless compound -d-xi of ye-d-xi: or the entire a-d-xi-te, suffixed with -ye. If the latter group is present in the name its -te will have dropped as a result of the addition of -ye.[43] The same thing might be said about A-DI-H-LI B 18, which varies from the previous name in using -h- as a writing of the dative and

-li as a participial ending.[43] TEN-D-X-R B 565 and NT-D-X-R B 386 appear to be formed by a prefixless and suffixless a-d-xi-te changed into a participle by -r, which is in turn added to ten- and nt-.[43]

The presence of -te in the group allocates it in the special category of names and groups formed entirely,or partly, by compounds of the pattern de-te(ē).[44] These are Are-r-d-xe-tē(s-lē) @ B 72, Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē) @ B 156, Np-t-d-xe-tē(s-lē) (H) £ B 377, Nš̆-ye-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 385 and TERI—TE-D-X-TE-Y £ B 576, if -tē, in some of them, does not conceal -s-lē. The name Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē) @ appears to be a participle containing yet another participle. Therefore, if dē-h-te-li- consists of the verb dē-, the dative -h-, the verbal suffix -te- and tho participial ending -li-, meaning "one who gives/gave to him (her)", or the like, one presumes -tē to conceal the genitival -s- and the participial suffix -lē and the entire name to mean something like "one belonging to him that gives/gave to him (her)". [44] The compound dē-h- will consequently compare with -di-h- in A-DI-H-LI, studied above, and -de-h-, in P-Š̆-DE-H-YE B 430, to be studied in the next sub-division. The a- of a-d-xi-te replaced by, or occurring with, -k(e)-, the group seems to form a compound of the pattern ke-de-te(ē)

in the names A-KE-D-XE-TI-WL & B 30, Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 68, Šn-k-d-xe-te(s-le) (H) & B 519 and Ten-[ḳ]-d-xi-tē(s-lē) B 566, according to the view that -tē(e) is the verb suffix and not -s-lē.[44] Here also belongs -di-ye-b-x-te, in yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te Formula C Kar 99a 9-10 LA, examined in sub-division VI i above.

VI iii b Y- can be seen as the prefix and -nē as the suffix in y-d-x-nē MuGr 31 1-2 O, y-d-x-nē Kawa 73 2 T Gr, [y-d]-x-nē MuGr 28 2 O, while šī- is the prefix in šī-de-x-nē Ins 91c 2 Q Gr [45], the last group, less -nē and with p- and -ye added and -h- used instead of -xe-, is preserved in P-Š-DE-H-YE B 430.[45] The compound -de-h- in this name is identical in sense with -dē(i)-h- in A-DI-H-LI B 18 and Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē) @ B 156, as -de-h-ye is with -d-xi- in A-d-xi-ye @ B 17, studied in the previous sub-division. Notice how this name has three components, p-, -š- and the dative -h-, in common with p-šē-he-b-h-te: Formula A Kar 99a 6-7 LA.

The compound -d-x- is prefixed with t- and suffixed with -s in t-d-x-s: Ibr 14 OS which further receives -ñ, a variant form of -nē in y-d-x-nē, to produce t-d-x-s-ñ Tañ 154 OS. The last group less the medial -s-, in other

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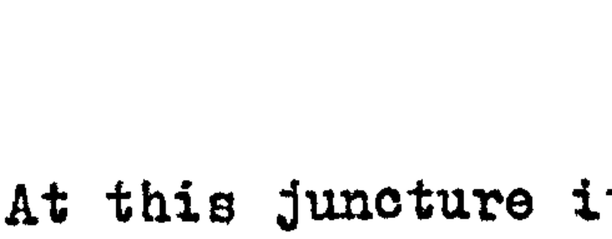
words y-d-x-nē with its y- replaced by t-, slightly differs in spelling from t-d-x̣i-ñ- in T-d-x̣i-ñ-t-rē-r @ B548, in which -d-x̣i-...-t- compares with -d-xi-te of a-d-xi-te, quoted in VI iii a, above, and the reduplicated -rē-r is the participial ending.[46]

So much for the names containing the dative singular.

VI iii c As regards the verb -de-, and its varying forms, with the plural dative, I have so far encountered no name containing it. But there are certain groups of this structure that give us insight in the name AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) B23, which I take for a sentence with an adverbial predicate. To prove the dative meaning of -bi-xe- here, I have to go back and retrace the origin of this compound in de-b-x: Tañ 115-116 OS, e-de-b-x: Tañ 137, i-de-b-x: Tañ 27, i-de-b-xi: Tañ 126, yi-dē-te-di-ye-b-x-te Formula C Kar 99a 9-10 LA, ke-de-b-x: Ins 94 20 L, ke-de-b-xe-k-y: Ins 94 11, eqe-te-de-b-xe: Ak I 16 OS, yi-tn-ide-b-xe-l: Ak I 1, tbi-tn-ide-b-x-l: Ak I 28-29 OS.[47] There can be no doubt that the compound -de-b-xe, in the context a̰sr:axi-de-b-xe: Ak I 26, 42 OS [48], consists of the same verb -de- and the plural dative as these verbal complexes. But axe-bi-xe- in the present name seems to be no more or less

than a version of a contracted axi-b-xe *; i.e. axi-de-b-xe less the verb -de-, axe- and axi- being interchangeable. As was already pointed out in sub-divisions IV i-iii, especially IV i b, above, axe(i)- has the same meaning as (a)x- with which it has been shown to vary. Consequently, axe- in AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) is an adjectival substantive ("something good, good thing",) prefixed to the plural dative, the whole complex being to a certain extent verbalized by -te- and perhaps changed into a participle by -y.[48] The function of -te- is probably one of a copula,[48] so that with its aid and -y the name literally might mean something like "one who is something good for them". Alternatively, axe- might be an adjective and the whole name might accept rendering as "one who is beneficial for them".[48]

At this juncture it is perhaps permissible to digress for a while. Compare axe-bi-xe- of the name under discussion with the latter part of the Napatan king's name, JEA 35 pl.xv 7a,b, transliterated by D.Dunham and M.F.L.Macadam, op.cit. 141 no.7, as 'AMANIBAKHI (?)', whose tomb is unidentified but is presumed to be at Nuri. The writing  , op.cit. 7a, shows x* before bi-xe *, while ,

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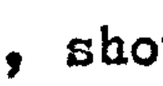
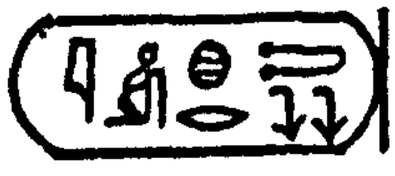
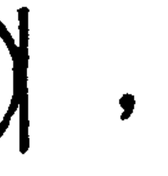
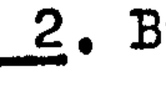
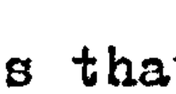
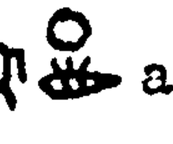
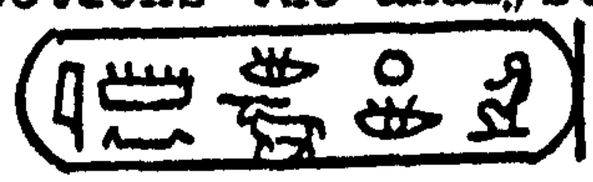
op.cit., 7b, shows , probably meant for 
of  , op.cit. 4a, before  bi-xe- *.
It seems to me very likely that the first 7a is to
be read ax- as the one of ƎX-R-TÑ, op.cit. 4a,b, [49] and 3x-q,
op.cit. 2. But there are two objections that one should
take into account. One is that the reading of  as
ax * assumes it to be an elliptic writing of . The
other is that the reading of  as x * literally gives us
bi-xx * in and  . If, however, in spite
of these objections the analysis proposed above be accepted,
one sees in  a name that might accept
transliteration in Meroitic cursive as AMNI-X-BI-XE * in
which -x-bi-xe will correspond to axe-bi-xe- in
AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) and to the hypothetical contracted compound
axi-b-xe- * found in axi-de-b-xe Ak I 26,42 OS. "Amon is
efficacious for them" is therefore suggested as a possible
meaning of this name. Recalling what has been said in
sub-division VI iii a, above, about A-DI-H-LI B 18 and
A-D-H-L-ỊMN, when they are translated as "one who gives
to him" and "it is Amon who gives to him" respectively, one
sees a parallel pair in AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) "one who is
beneficient (lit.something beneficial) to them" and
AMNI-X-BI-XE* "Amon is he who is beneficient to them". This

makes one wonder whether the names without the name of 'Amon' are actually abbreviated writings of the ones containing it, being in this case comparable with the Egyptian names with m-s3.f RaPN 143 9 for ỉmn-m-s3.f, RaPN 28 20, and m-ḥ3t RaPN 143 7 for ỉmn-m-ḥ3t RaPN 28 8.[49] Besides these names such a notion is hinted at by the writing of Meqē-ñ for Meqē-mete-li B 259 and Ms-me @ for Ms-mete-yi @ B 345, in view of the fact that the respective names are borne by the same persons.[49]

Here is perhaps a suitable place to mention Aberē-te-h-te @ B 1 [50], in which the compound aberē-te- probably stands for mni-berē-te (H) Ins 31 'Amon in Berē, and might be liberally rendered as "(the lord of) (A)berē".[50] One chooses 'Amon' because 'Amon in Berē' is actually found: of course the implied divine name might be a different one; Ape-de-mk for example. In the present name it is suffixed with the dative and the verb suffix -te [50], and the whole name may be thought of as a prayer to Amon of (A)berē (Musawwarat ?) to protect the name-bearer, meaning "may (the lord of) (A)berē protect him/her!", literally, "(the lord of) (A)berē be (?) to him/her (?)". With such an employment of the dative to designate one's

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helper compare the Arabic لى الله "may God be for me!", i.e. "may God be my helper!". For the title alone used with reference to a deity compare the Egyptian New Kingdom lady's name found once as t3-ḥn(t)-Ḏḥwty and once more as t3-ḥn(t)-nb-Xmnw where in the latter Thot has been replaced by his title. See RaPN II 9 & n.3. Alternatively, the dative may refer to the "(the lord of) (A)berē", in which case the name will describe the name-bearer as one belonging to him, meaning "one belonging to (the lord of) (A)berē". One expects "the lord of (A)berē" to be (a)berē-te-l, but since amni... tē-l-k-te-te (H) Ins 24a, 34a, 35a, 37a and amni:nēte-te: Ins 23a, 36a, 38a,....etc., have no -l it is clear that the defining of the name comes about from the presence of the divine name even when it is not expressed but understood. Again, one finds parallel Egyptian names in which reference is made to a deity by his or her title. These are ns-nbwy (?) šdnw RaPN 177 12 'he belongs to the two (?) lords of šdnw', i.e. Horus and Hathor (?), loc.cit. n.2, ns-nbt-ỉsrw, RaPN 177 13, also ns-t3-nbt-ỉsrw RaPN 179 15 'she belongs to the Mistress of ỉsrw', ns-t3-nbt-t3wy RaPN 177 14 'he belongs to the Mistress of the two lands', ns-nb-ntrw RaPN 177 8 'he belongs to the lord of the gods', and finally ns-Ỉmn RaPN 173 19 'he belongs

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to Amon'. In these, as well as the previous name referring to Thot, we have the name-bearer described as one belonging to a deity who is either mentioned by name or referred to by his/her attribute.

VI iii d At this point one may say a few words about ye-s-bē-he Mer 7 2 LS, 9 3 L B1, yi-[s-bē-he] Hin 8a LA,[51] YE-S-BĒ-HE B 678, written with yi- as YI-S-BĒ-HE and with a restored ỹė- as<YE>-S-BĒ-HE. It forms a part of ye-s-bē-he-tē(s-lē)-wi: Mer 7 4-5, 7-8, 10-11 LS, AR-YE-S-BĒ-HE £ B 92, YE-S-BĒ-HE-TNI £ B 679 and ARI-TEÑ-YE-S-BĒ-HE £ B 84. [51] The compound -bē-he might here be the plural dative, but it is nevertheless very difficult to make such an interpretation fit in the above names and groups.

An alternative analysis might be to consider -bē- in the complex as being the same component as -b(e,ē)- in y-s-be-te: Ins 94 18 L, ye-s-be-wi-to-s: Ak I 20 OS, with both of which ye-s-bē-he seems to share y(e)-s-be(ē)-, in which case ye- and -s- will appear as prefixes to -be(ē)- and -he is perhaps the dative singular.[52] The component -b(ē)- might be the one present in YI-BĒ-YE B 688 and Ye-b-ye @ B 671, while ye- and -s- are perhaps present in

Ye-s-qēr-be @ B 680,[52] where the function of -s- is evidently identical with that of -šī- in Šī-qēr B 503.[52]

A second alternative analysis that is equally worth considering is to take -s-bē- for the compound s-be(ē)- in SBE-R B 463, Sbe-d-mn[i] B 462, S-bē-ñ-ye B 465.[53] The last name is thought to have reshuffled, longer or shorter, forms as Abē-s-ñ-ye B 4, Abē-s-ye @ B 2 and Abē-t(s-l)-te-li-tē(s-lē) B 5.[53] Unable to pass a judgement with regard to ye-s-bē-he, one can, however, understand from Dr Macadam's rendering of p-wi-de:mlē-l: ye-s-bē-he: as 'is the incarnation (?) of the Good Child', MacN 61, that he thinks the group might mean 'incarnation'.[53]

VI iv a Of the funerary formulae which use the dative, both singular (i.e. -x(e)-) and plural (i.e. -b-x(e)-), that are of use in the study of names, are Formulae A,B and F. From what Griffith says, JEA 4 24-26, one understands that he means that in the archaic texts, in which -l- is the verb of Formula A and -l(xr)- is the verb of Formula B, the dative both singular and plural may be used, whereas in the later texts, in which other verbs are used in these Formulae, only the plural dative may be used. Hintze, HinSS 371, adds to this observation his conclusion that in the late texts,

where -h(e)- replaces -l- in Formula A and -xr- was the established verb for Formula B, -x- was never found in the singular, whereas in the plural it had to choose between appearing as -b-x- or not at all; hence his inclusion of -x- as one of the 'formula verbs', i.e. as different from the dativa1 -x-. The observations of Griffith and Hintze are unquestionable with regard to Formula B when it uses the verb -xr-, but not when both it and Formula A use -s̆(ē,i)-.

To illustrate my view about the observations of these scholars, I will begin by examining the forms with the plural dative first and then those with the dative singular. Formula A has the plural dative in p-s̆ē-he-b-xe-ke-te-s: Ins 131 10 LA/S, reduced by leaving out the penultimate -te- in p-s̆ē-he-b-xe-ke-s: Ins 15 14-15 LA and bi-s̆i-he-b-xe-ke-s: Ins 23 10-11 LS, and by omitting -ke- and -s in p-s̆ē-he-b-b-te Kar 99a 6-7 LA. Leaving out the verb, the -b- of plurality and -s from p-s̆ē-he-b-xe-ke-te-s results in p-s̆ē-...-...-xe-ke-te-... (i.e. p-s̆ē-xe-ke-te Far 10 8-9 LS)[54], while omitting the verb, -ke- and -s yields p-s̆ē-,..-b-xe-....-te-.... (i.e. p-s̆ē-b-x-te: Kar 45 10-11 LA). The elision of all these elements produces p-s̆ē-...-...-xe-...-te-... which is the verbal

complex p-s̆ē-x-te: Kar 72 13 LA. Besides, p-s̆ē-h Kar 68 8-9 LS [54], in the light of these comparisons, can hardly be other than p-s̆ē-he-b-h-te less the verb, the -b- of plurality and the verb suffix -te (i.e. p-s̆ē-...-...-h-...). Therefore, it is very easy to draw the obvious conclusion that p-s̆ē-xe-ke-te, p-s̆ē-x-te and p-s̆ē-h are the singular forms of the plural p-s̆ē-b-x-te, that -s̆ē- surely is the verb and -x(e)-, -h-, in the first three, is the dative singular. So much for Formula A.

VI iv b Little more need be said about the dative singular in Formula B than that the forms p-s̆i-x-ke-te Kar 12 6 LS, p-s̆-x-ke-te Sh 9 9-10 LA, p-s-x-ke-te Kar 31b 9-10 LS[55], all of the three of which are of the same meaning as p-s̆ē-xe-ke-te of Formula A above, p-s̆ē-h Kar 68 8-9 LS, also found in Formula A [55], and b-s̆i-x Kar 54 13-14 LA, which corresponds to bi-s̆ē-...-...-xe-...-... of bi-s̆ē-he-b-xe-ke-s of Formula A, show that -s̆(i)- is the verb and -x(e), also -h, the dative.

From this and the previous sub-divisions we see Formulæ A and B using the same verbal complex, formed of the verb -s̆(ē,i)- "to make (offering, adoration)", i.e. "offer" [56], and the dative singular, thereby calling to

mind a similar phenomenon in the archaic texts, where they both use the verbal complex -l-x(e)-, "(be) given (to)", as was pointed out in the previous sub-division. One should hardly fail to conclude that the identical employment of these verbal complexes supports the above-mentioned meaning of -š- and its variant writings. It is interesting to note that this parallelism between -š- and -l-, and their variant forms, in occurring with the dative, is carried on even in names. Compare, for instance, Š-X-LĒ-YE B 492 (VI iv d 3) and L-H-LĒ-YE B 246 (VI ii a).

VI iv c Outside the funerary formulae the compound -š(ē,i)-x(e)- is noted. From -šē-b-x-, "offered to them", of the plural p-šē-b-x-te, one has insight into the possible meaning of the title šē-b-xe: (krērē-lē-wi) Sh 4 4,LS (=HinD 29), and possibly šē-b-s-ni: Mer 9 11 L B1 and Šē-ni B 483, having a variant version in the participle Ši-ni-ye B 500.[57] The first of the last two names, a dativeless verbal complex,[57] preserves the initial and the last elements of the group from Meroe and is identical with the title šē-ni, found as šē-ni mni-s-lē-wi Kar 126 4-5 OA (=HinD 77), šē-ni mni-tē(s-lē)-wi Kar 45 4 LA (= HinD 77), šē-ni:mni-[tē(s-lē)-wi] Kar 102 2-3 LS (=HinD 77),

šē-ni: [mni-tē(s-lē)-wi] Kar 34 7 L/TA (=HinD 77),
šē-ni:mnp-s-lē: Kar 123 4,5-6 TA (=HinD 78), š[ē-ni]:mnp-s-lē:
Kar 123 4-5 TA (=HinD 78),šē-ni:mš-tē(s-lē): Kar 128 5-6 TA
(=HinD 79), šē-ni:mš-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 44 4-5 L/TS (=HinD 79),
and šē-ni: tm-ñ-te-lē-wi: Kh 5587 2 LS (=HinD 113).[57]

From the singular -š(ē,i)-xe, "be offered to him/her (on his/her behalf)", one again has insight into the probable meaning of -š-x(e), compounded with mk(e)- "god,lord" [58] to form the title mke-š-xe present in mke-š-xe:mn-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 44 3-4 L/TS (=HinD 64a), mke-š-xe mnpte-te-l: Kar 41 8-9 LS (=HinD 281) [58], mke-š-xe:mš-tē(s-lē)-wi: Kar 65 5-6 LA (=HinD 65). In the same way as we linked the titles šē-b-xe, šē-ni and (mke-)š-xe with the relevant verbal complexes of Formulae A and B, so it seems to me that we can do the same thing with še(ē)- and š-ke- [58], for these might be variant spellings of -š(ē,i)- and -š(ē,i)-...-ke, also -s-...-ke, in p-šē-x-ke-te of Formula A and p-ši-x-ke-te, p-š-x-ke-te and p-s-x-ke-te of Formula B. In simpler terms, while the former seems to contain only the verb of the formulae, the latter might contain the compound -š(ē,i)-x(e)-ke, variant -s-x-ke, less the dative, being different from šē-b-xe and š-xe, which preserve the dative and drop the infix -ke-, and

from s̆e̱-ni which shows neither element.

Because of their link with the above-mentioned verbal complexes of Formulae A and B, the titles s̆e̱-b-xe, s̆e̱-ni, s̆-ke- and the compound -s̆-xe, in the title mke-s̆-xe, are thought to revolve round the idea of "offering", "making (offering)", and this suggests "serving", "to serve", "to be servant". Contrary to these verbal complexes, which are generally rendered in the passive voice, the titles are to be rendered active, since this is what the sense requires. Why the first one contains the plural dative, and who the dative refers to, are something one is at the moment in no position to explain. The dative in the last title can be satisfactorily explained as referring to mke, the whole title will then literally mean "makes (offering) to a god". Though all the four titles, according to our criteria of analysing Meroitic groups, are verbal complexes, yet it appears to me that they are here intended to be nouns (i.e. active participles), and that the transformation of the verbal complex into a participle might have been contrived by some sort of unapparent internal inflexions. Rendered in this new light, s̆e̱-b-xe, s̆e̱-ni and s̆-ke-, and (mke-)s̆-xe might respectively mean "maker (of - in the case of the

formulae - offering) to them", "maker (of offering)" and "maker (of offering) to (the god)"; in other words "their servant", "servant", and "servant (of the god)".[59]

Looking at the contexts of s̆e̱-ni and mke-s̆-xe, one notices that they are in indirect genitive with the same gods, namely 'Amon', 'Amanap' and "Mash", that they are all from Karanog (s̆e̱-b-xe also is from Shablul) and that they on one occasion occurred in one and the same inscription (Kar 44). Their being in the genitive with the names of gods and their employment of the verb s̆(e̱)- clearly indicates that they, as well as s̆e̱-b-xe, are sacerdotal. Furthermore, one would presume that, though s̆e̱-ni (dativeless) and -s̆-xe (containing the dative) are grammatically different, yet they are verbal complexes probably denoting the same kind of service. It is only when mke- is added to the latter that there is any significant difference between them. For this reason, one presumes that the holder of this title actually had, or was theoretically considered to have, direct access to the gods, and consequently was, in the Meroitic religious heirarchy, higher in rank than the s̆e̱-ni. If one can draw Egyptian parallels, one may compare the former with ḥm nṯr 'prophet' and the latter with the (ordinary) w'b 'priest'.[60]

Indeed the literal translation of mkɛ-s̆-xɛ as "servant of (the) god" gives the same meaning as that of ḥm nṯr. It is well-known, however, that the Meroitic borrows this Egyptian title in the form a(n)t, this being a phonetic rendering of the Coptic ϩⲟⲛⲧ , but as is being suggested, it seems probable that mkɛ-s̆-xɛ is the native equivalent in the vernacular.[60]

Returning tb the initial point of discussion, one may conclude the discussion by suggesting that mkɛ-s̆-xɛ:mn-tɛ̄- "prophet of Amon", mkɛ-s̆-xɛ mnptɛ-tɛ- "prophet of Amon of Napata" [61] and mkɛ-s̆-xɛ:ms̆-tɛ̄- "prophet of Mash" are sacerdotal titles of a rank higher than the corresponding title s̆ɛ̄-ni mni-tɛ̄- "s̆ɛ̄-ni (priest ?) of Amon", s̆ɛ̄-ni:mnp-s-lɛ̄ "s̆ɛ̄-ni (priest ?) of Amanap" [61] and s̆ɛ̄-ni:ms̆-tɛ̄- "s̆ɛ̄-ni (priest ?) of Mash" respectively. Note that in Kh 5587 2 LS the name-bearer was described as a mere s̆ɛ̄-ni, the title not being followed by a deity's name.

So much for these titles.

VI iv d 1 In addition to the above, the compound -s̆-x(ɛ)- occurs outside the funerary formulae in bɛ-s̆-x-tɛ̄ in the context amnptɛ:i-dɛ-b-xi:sb-kr-tɛ-ds-li-k:bɛ-s̆-x-tɛ̄: kɛ-d-d:nptɛ-pl-w:qɛs̆:...etc. Tañ125-29 OS. Two things

are here noticeable. One is that this group is virtually graphically identical with p-s̆e̅-x-te Formula A, and is comparable with the rest of the similarly built verbal complexes discussed in sub-divisions VI iv a,b. The other thing is that in this context amnpte:....:be-s̆-x-te̅, less be- and -te̅, gives amnpte:s̆-x- * which the insertion of mk(e)- transforms into amnpte:mk-s̆-x- (in amnpte:mk-s̆-x-ñ-l: Tañ 45-46), reversed as the title mke-s̆-xe mnpte-, while the substitution of -x- with -ñ- gives something of the same value as s̆e̅-ni:mnp-s-le̅. In the last two examples, the order of the words has to be reversed to facilitate the complete identification. Add to these the name (A)mni-s̆-x(e)-te(e̅) £ B 48, the different component parts of which are found here and there in the groups discussed in this and the previous sub-divisions, especially amnpte:....:be-s̆-x-te̅ which, on the isolation of -npte 'Napata' and the prefix be-, not only gives a version of the name but also suggests what its meaning could possibly be. [61a] "May she offer to Amon!", "she is offered to Amon", Amon being the recipient, are some suggestions as to the meaning. On the other hand, if Amon is the subject of the verbal act, and in view of the fact that deities cannot be described as offerers but bestowers, one can also propose "may Amon grant her!",

"Amon gave her" or even "given of Amon" as interpretations. In the last two renderings, the function of the dative is thought to be a means of taking the pronominal object. This is when -s̆-x(e)-te(ē) is treated as a verbal complex. But when -te(ē) is split as -s-le(ē) we perhaps have a participle -s̆-x(e)-s-le(ē) preceded by (a)mni- and the meaning of the name will have to be modified into something like "one who offers to Amon", "Amon is he who gave/granted her".[61a]

VI iv d 2 The same treatment as of s̆-x(e)- in the previous sub-divisions may be accorded s̆-x(i)-, standing on its own as in s̆-xi: Ins 114 L, 116 L, 117 2 L [62], or forming a part of Mli-s̆-xi @ B308 [62] and Qē-s̆-x-ñ @ B457, where in the last name -ñ appears. Judging from the last name and in accordance with what has been said and observed much earlier on (sub-divisions VI i, ii a,c, iii a), one concludes that -hi can substitute -x(i)- as the dativa l postposition, in which case it seems to be present in -s-hi, a part of the names M-ye-qē-s̆-hi @ B363, Tir-li-qē-s̆-hi B591, Lōtē-s̆-hi B244, Ñbe-yrē-s̆-hi B298 and Pe-n-li-s̆-hi B409.[62] That the first of the four names shares the same compound with the remaining three feminine names does not seem to be strong

evidence that its gender may be feminine. This similarity, however, might be an indication that it could be so.

VI iv d 3 Written -s̆-x(i)-, with or without the enigmatic -ñ-, the verbal suffixes -s- and -te-, the compound is changed into participles, assumed to mean "one who offers (to...)", i.e. "the offerer", or "one to whom it is offered", by means of -l(i) and -r in S̆-XI-L B 490, -s̆-x-r, in MS̆ S̆-X-R B 352 [63], s̆-x-s̆-li: Tañ 14 OS, S̆-X-Ñ-TE-LI B 493 (cf. s̆-x-ñ in mk-s̆-x-ñ-l and Qē-s̆-x-ṇ @ B 457 in VI iv o & n.61, VI iv d 2) [63], MLĒ-S̆-X(I)-LI B 296, by -ye in S̆-xi-ye @ B491 and by both -le(ē) and -ye in Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye B 706 and S̆-X-LĒ-YE B 492.[63] Note that with the exception of the last name but one, none of these names has a verbal prefix. The meaning of MLĒ-S̆-X(I)-LI might be something like "good is he who (to whom) offers (it is offered)", when mlē- is treated as an adjectival predicate, and "one who offers (is offered) what is good", when it is treated as an adjectival substantive.

To this sub-division also belong the names employing the compound-verb -s̆-x(i)-do(i), which are discussed in A6 III. Here as well as under the last reference

it is seen that, outside the funerary formulae, the verb -s̆- and the dative -x-, in their different forms, are so inseparably compounded together that one tends to think of them as one word in which the dative nuance is almost, if not entirely lost, and is only felt in the transitive sense which it seems to give the verb. This is the feeling one has when studying the instances of this compound, although the verb -s̆-, in its variant spellings, is already transitive. There is, however, a complication created by the fact that the translation of such participles as S̆-X-LĒ-YE̤ in the active voice, with the sense "one who offers", makes an intransitive verb of s̆-x-. At the present stage of our knowledge of Meroitic both renderings of the compound should be retained until such a time as it can be decided which one of them is the meaning intended. The same thing applies to any other verb having with its dative a relationship that is similar to that of s̆(e,ē,i)-, such as -w(i)-, in the compounds -w(i)-x(i)-, wi-hi- , to be discussed in sub-division VI iv e.

VI iv e The plural form of the verbal complex of Formula F yi-we-b-x-te Ins 137 6 OA has suffixless versions in the singular spelt (atē) p-w̤-xe (H) Formula A MS 7a and t-w-xi

Kar 9 2 LA.[64] The name W-XI B 657, a prefixless and suffixless form of the verbal complex, has a variant writing prefixed with a- and suffixed with -lē- and -ye to yield the participle A-wi-x-lē-ye B 113 and another receiving -ye alone to build the participle Wi-ḥi-ye @ B 660.[64] Compare the construction of the last name but one with that of Š-X-LĒ-YE B 492, studied in VI iv d 3.

The group t-x-wi introduces the A-name Kdi-tē-n-ye B 222 and occupies the place of kdi-qē, introducing Are-k-d-xe-tē(s-lē) B 68 and again Mit-š-l-be B 286, which Griffith, Kar vi 64, renders as 'honourable lady(?)'[64a]. Because -qē-wi occurs with both the A-name and t-w-xi-, it seems appropriate that the latter should be in apposition with the former, therefore. nominal in nature, and that it should be rendered as a participle meaning something like "(the) noble offerer", "the noble one that is offered to". Similarly, A-wi-x-lē-ye and Wi-ḥi-ye @ might mean "the offerer" or "the one offered to", W-XI being merely a verbal complex of the sense "may he offer!", "may he be offered to!", or the like.[64a]

Where the verb and the dative are inseparably tied together to form more or less stereotyped words, such

A7 VI iv e-f

as the titles s̆e̅-b-xe, (mke-)s̆-xe and the compound -w-xi-, and their derivatives, in their varying forms, it is perhaps suitable to render them as intransitive verbs nevertheless, translatable as transitive verbs only when they take such objects as mke- and mle̅(i)- (in MLE̅-S̆-X(I)-LI B296 Mli-s̆-xi @ B308). Admittedly, mke- and mle̅(i)- here might be in direct genitive with the stereotyped 'verb-and-dative' when this is thought of as a verbal complex functioning as a noun, as was said about s̆-xo, as well as s̆e̅-b-xe, in VI iv c above. Whatever its relationship with -s̆-xe, whether it is the object of the verbal complex or whether it is in direct genitive with the verbal complex acting as a noun, mke- is actually its semantic object, and therefore the rendering of mke-s̆-xe as "servant of (the) god" is still thought to be perhaps adequate.

VI iv f Examining the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae using the plural dative, one notices a remarkable phenomenon. This is the exceptional consistency with which Meroitic writes -b-x(h)- when -te is the only suffix, and -b-xe- when -ke-, followed by -s, -te or -te-s, is the suffix of the verbal complex.

VII i In this division I will study the names and groups in which the nature of (a)x-, (a)h-, -x(e)-, -h(e)-, -xi is not quite certain.

Should ape-s(-l): Ibr 25,26, Ak I 12 OS, be thought to be present in (A)h-pe-s-li B 29, according to this way of splitting it [65], ah- might be a noun in indirect genitive (?) with -(a)pe-. The last component, written -pē-, is perhaps in the same relationship with (a)x- and h- in H-pē-t(s-l)-wi @ B 198 and H-pē-ye @ B 28, also spelt (A)x-pē-ye. But, it might be argued, what happened to -s-li and -t(s-l)-wi that are seen substituted for -ye in the last two names ? Though no satisfactory explanation may be given, yet one can mention a comparable phenomenon from other sources. Compare the writings Wi-re(i)-te-li-tē(s-lē) and Wē-rē-te-li-ye B 662, the name of one and the same person, for the interchange of -tē(s-lē), a form of -t(s-l), with -ye.[66] On the analogy of these, H-pē-ye and (A)x-pē-ye are expected to be able to have variant versions as H-pē-t(s-l)* and (A)x-pē-t(s-l)*, respectively, inasmuch as H-pē-t(s-l)-wi is also expected to accept a different spelling as H-pē-ye-wi*. That the hypothetical H-pē-ye-wi*, H-pē-ye and the other two names should mean the same thing, irrespective of the additional -wi in the first one of them, may be further

A7 VII i - ii a - b

defended by quoting TEKE-YE and TEKE-YE-WI B 555, both of which are varying forms of the same name of one and the same person.[66] Therefore, according to this way of splitting up these names, the components (a)x-, (a)h-, might be nouns of the same sense as the one discussed in division II above, meaning "benefit,boon",...etc. One again wonders whether the same meaning may be accorded h- in H-TPI-YE B 202. But this name accepts the alternative splitting as HTPI-YE and it could be a writing of the Egyptian name htpy , , RaPN 260 3.

VII ii a One is not sure of the nature of -xe in x-mlē-wi-t(s-l)-xe: Formula D2 Arm W 3b LS, (wēš) pilqe-te-l-xe 1 Ins 101 5-6 L, (wēš) tebwe-te-l-xe 1 Ins 101 6-7 L and (arē) trēt(s-l)-xe-t 1 Ins 101 9 L.[67] It might be the dativa1 postposition. The numeral 1 following the complexes containing the place-names and ending in -xe(-t) perhaps suggests, as Zyhlarz, ZyM 455 5, has observed, that a portion of certain offerings is to be given each one of the manifestations of Isis.[67] Consequently, -xe might be the dative.

VII ii b From what has been said at the end of A15 I iv, one concludes that -b-x is the plural dative in b-qē-b-x

Ins 94 12, 25–26 L. The group npt-bi-x: Ak I 29 OS, split thus, perhaps yields the name of Napata suffixed with the plural dative in a sentence with an adverbial predicate, "for those in (?) Napata". For three more adverbial sentences see the end of VI iii c above.

VII ii c One is not sure of the identity of -xe- and -h so closely tied to -m(e)r(e)- in Yere-ki-n-mr-ḥ-li @ B 676, mr-xe-b-tē (in the context aṡy:axe:mr-xe-b-tē: Ins 101 14–15 L) and Ts-mere-h @ B 636. The compound -mr-ḥ- in the first name combines -mr- of the group with -h of the second name, and the comparison of the three examples proves the interchangeability of -xe- with -h, and of -mr- with -mere-.[68]

A7 THE COMPONENT (a)x, (a)xe, (a)xi, (a)h, ahē, he, hē, hi. - FOOTNOTES.

1. See All I, IV i a, iii, iv a-d for the use of mhe and mlē, in their different forms, as substantives, See also II i and end of II iii,iv below for the other ways of arriving at the "boon, benefit" meaning of the present component.

2. See All II i b, ii. For -w-br- in w-br-x-mlē see A9 II i, and for at(e)t- see sub-division II ii b n.5. Compare at-he-mlē-l-w of II ii b.

3. The occurrence of the elements -s and -wi-, separately or together, with the different forms of -mlē- is very familiar. See All IV i a. For the reduplicated article see A3 III i b. One does not understand the significance of -xe in x-mlē-wi-t(s-l)-xe. But see VII ii a below.

4. Because the scribe was cramped for space at the end of Hin 15, he stopped at p-t-re and proceeded to write Formula L, the first three letters of the verbal complex of which (i.e. p-hl- (sic)) he placed under p-t-re so that -ke-te could do for both Formulæ K and L. See A4 II i & n.9 for more on the verbal complex of Formula K and A21 II ii for more on xri-h:mlē:.

5. See All I n.1 for the meaning of the term "first constant". The writing at(e)t- means that both -t- 's are to be pronounced and not coalesced. The equation of this word with at- 'bread' necessarily supposes that in the single -t- of the latter another -t (i.e. at$_{t}$t-) is concealed. The fact that otu, with a single -t-, and otte, with a reduplicated -t-, of Kordufan Nubian, are compared with, and thought to be the equivalents of, Meroitic atē, thereby suggesting a reduplicated -t- in atē, Kush 12 189, Kar vi 44, ZyNG 186-7, perhaps justifies a similar treatment of at-. The Kordufan Nubian word itself is apparently a preservation of ϵττω given as the native equivalent of Coptic ΜΟΟΥ 'water' on the Berlin ostracon containing four Nubian-Coptic equivalences, that must have served as a phrase-book for a Copt perhaps travelling in Nubia. See ZÄS 35 108. I therefore disagree with Griffith, Kar vi 48, that at(e)t- is a mere blunder for at-. For the meaning of (a)x- see sub-divisions I ii above, II iii, iv below.

6. See All I n.1 for the meaning of the term "first constant".

7. See II i b above for the probable meaning of -x- and All III on the part of speech of ml(i)-. See also A3 III i a,b,iv, Al2 III i, v b and Al9 I,II i,ii for -l(i), -ye and -r($\bar{e}$-r) as interchangeable suffixes, functioning as definite articles and participial endings, in general and in these names in particular.

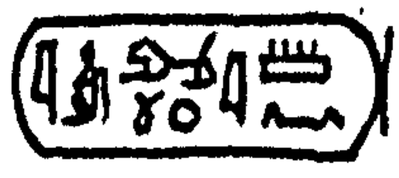
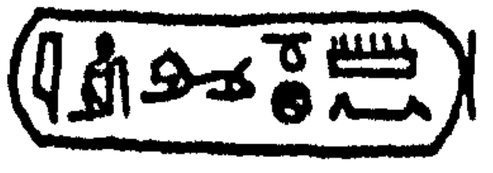
8. See All II i a, A3 III iv, Al9 II i.

9. These splittings leave tb(i)- over, which is present in Tbi-ye @ B 546 and, possibly, Tbi-t$\bar{e}$-l-ye @ B 545. See A2 III i a 1 & n.52. For -y-n-k-li in the restored name see Al V.

10. The given reading of ax-w$\bar{e}$(i)-t(s-l) is Hintze's, Kush 9 283 n.2, which is different from Griffith's ax-w$\bar{e}$-s. What Griffith read as -s in Hintze's -t which, as is seen above, is formed by -s- and -l. For -w$\bar{e}$- after mli- compare Mli-w$\bar{e}$-s B 315 and see All IV i a, and for the coalescence of -s- and -l into -t- see A3 III i c, A5 VII i, iv.

11. See A22 I i, iii & nn.6-8. For ŠI-B-WI-TR as an equally possible alternative reading of the last name see A22 II i.

12. See A21 I i nn.3,4, A20 II iv & nn.13,14. On ar(i)- "Horus" see Al3 II. In Egyptian hieroglyphs in the

shrine of Pyramid Beg N 5 the name AR(I)-K-X-RĒ-R & B 85 is spelt with an intrusive -n- between -k- and -ẖ-. This is an indication that the Meroitic -x- must have sounded nasal to the presumably Egyptian scribe who wrote this name and found the insertion of an -n- before the hieroglyphic -ẖ- the best way of delineating the Meroitic sound that did not exist in his language. For a similar practice compare Greek Καvδακη , the writing of Meroitic kt-ke-l (H) Ins 7, kd-ke Ins 92 3 0 and see Kar vi 14 no.10 and AlO III ii & n.18. Dr Macadam, MacN 53 & n.29, believes that -nẖ- here corresponds to Greek gamma, the sound of which existed in Meroitic but not in Egyptian, and that Egyptian contrived this means of delineating it; hence his vocalisation of the prince's name as Arikagharēr. Applying the same principle to  Kawa I 90 pl.38, Kawa II 19,20,138,173,247, pl.xci,  HinLM 14, pls. iv, vi, which Hintze still reads, as Macadam once had, op.cit. I 90, II 19,173,247, as Arnekhamani, Macadam believes that this person and the 'well-known king called in Greek Ergamenes, if not actually the same person, have the same name', and in consequence that they are probably identical.

It does not seem to me that the same principle is applicable to N-h-rē-r @ B 368 and I-[ñ]-h-rē-r @ B 206, studied in sub-division V ii below, since they do not preserve the elements -nḫ-r-l (i.e. -nḫ-r-r) of the Egyptian version of the prince's name under discussion. Whereas n- and i-[ñ]- in these names are prefixes (cf. (i)-n- with -wi(e)- in N-WE-LI (?) B 393 and i-n-we-tē Tañ 136 OS), the -n- in -nḫ-r-l is inserted to produce the nasal effect. For more on Ergamenes see A13 V ii.

13. See A21 I i.

14. See I ii, II i b and the end of II iii for the proposed meaning of (a)x. For more on the same see A14 II i, IV i.

15. On the identification of -tni with see A14 II i, ii, A13 IV.

16. The compound br-ḥe- also accepts the alternative reading br-s̆e-. See A9 II i & n.14, iii & n.22, A5 VII iv, A3 III iii (end).

17. See I ii, II iv (end) above.

18. On the uncertain reading s̆(ḥ)r see Kar vi 52 and A21 II ii. Kar 92 9 LS reads at he:pmhe p-s̆i-xr which clearly indicates that the scribe realized he had written -he for mhe only after he had actually

begun the verbal complex, and that at mhe p-s̆i-xr is the reading of the formula after the correction. See HinS 34.

19. The component -li- in ATĒ-HE-LI-YE might also mean "to give", in which case the name will be a dativeless verbal complex with a prefixed qualified nominal object, meaning "may he give (be given ?) abundant water!", or something similar, if -ye is merely afformative, and "one who gives (is given ?) abundant water", if -ye is a participial ending. The restoration of -ye of ATĒ-HE-L-X-[YE] is influenced by its presence in the parallel name. See sub-division VI ii a, A12 IV ii.

20. See A12 I on the initial ye- of yetē. On -t(e)r see A22 I i, iii. YETĒ-M-TR, Kar vi 70, and YETĒ-S̆-TR, op.cit. 92, HinSS 360, being different readings of the instance Kar 101 of this name, are shown by the above as no longer tenable.

21. See M I 20 on the origin of the name 'Bir el Kāfir'. Crowfoot, loc. cit., believes the well to be of antiquity. It is not here suggested that the Arabic names have retained the Meroitic place-names, though they might throw some light on the meaning of these names, nor that atē-he-wi and atē-he-te-l refer to

Nag'a, the Meroitic name of which is generally agreed to be tēlkte, op. cit. 64, HinLM 20-21, known from such phrases as amni.... tēlktete, meaning 'Amon... in Nag'a'. However, it is likely that tē-l-k-te, as Griffith, loc. cit., has already observed, has something to do with water. Griffith rendered the name as "water of Lak". This does not adequately explain the reduplicated -te- in tē-l-k-te-te. As an improvement on Griffith's idea, I parse the name so as to make tē- "water" the nominal object of the verbal complex -l-k-te (formed by the verb -l- 'to give', the infix -k- and the verb suffix -te), meaning "water is given,it gives water", and the final -te locative. So, the name of Nag'a appears to me to accept rendering as "(the place where) water is (always ?) given, it (always ?) gives water". If the place got its name from being a permanent water-hole (tē-l-k-te "it always gives water"), this would be an additional argument for Zyhlarz's idea, ZyM 444 7 £, influenced by Meinhof, that -k(e) is a durative particle. See the end of A1 II i on Zyhlarz's idea and A1 IV i, A3 II ii for instances of -k(e,i) with the verb -l(e,i)-. Note that in one of his two alternative renderings of ... abēre-pi-,the name of

Musawwarat, Priese, MIO 14 175, suggests an interpretation similar to this one of Nag'a. See the end of A9 II ii & n.18. Of the places deriving their names directly or indirectly from the presence of pools and reservoirs is Um usūda 'mother of lions' (not Umm Soda 'the Mother of Black' as is wrongly given and translated by Crowfoot, M I 21), which might have acquired its name not because of the presence of lions in the vicinity, but because of the lion statues found there guarding its 'ḥafīr'. See ShiM 95-6.

22. For the writing of -s- for -š- see,for example, A6 IV i, ii. MS-LH-LĒ may not be a personal name, but merely a title. See note on B 28. See also Kawa I 106 on the view that -ḥi- is perhaps meant for -lh- and A3 III iv for more discussion.

23. On tpē- see A18 II n.10, and on the verbal complex -d-t, meant for -de-te, see A2 III iii a.

23a. On -tkk-id and -tk-ide and the names in which they occur see A8 II i b, iii n.23, A2 I ii a, II iii b, and on mx(h)e- and mlē- as adjectival substantives see A11 IV i a & n.19, and for x- with -wi-tr and -wi-terē- see A22 I i. More on x- as a noun is said in I ii, II iii.

24. See A2 I i on the verb -dē-, and its variants, and A2 II ii & n.29 for the above names and groups except hi-de-te, for -de-te of which see A2 III iii a, and He-ti-dē @, for -ti-dē of which see A2 II ii & n.31. Axi- above is obviously the undefined counterpart of axi-l in axi-l:pl-ke: cited in IV iv (end) below.

25. The -r of aš̆r is weakened into -y in aš̆y:axe:mr-xe-b-tē: Ins 101 14-15 L, where axe interchanges with axi. See sub-division VI iii c and A14 III ii b on the groups with -tn-ide.

25a. See A2 III ii a 5 & nn.74,75 for the forms with the verb -dē- and A3 II ii for the forms with the verb -li-.

26. On ar(ē)- see A13 I, II, IV and, especially V iv, and for more about x-tke-lē, ye-teke-lē and y-teke-š̆ see A6 V ii c & n.46. For -tke-, as a verb see A8 I i, II i b, and for the names with ml(i)- see A11 IV iv d & n.37. See also the next sub-division.

27. On tkē belonging to -tk(e,i), -tkk, see A8 I i, II i b & n.18, II ii & n.20, and on the compound-verb see A8 I ii.

28. Xš̆ēṭeli is Griffith's reading in Kar vi 56 and

Xmēteli is his reading in op.cit. 87, 118. Almagro reads Miyeteli for the name read as Hi-ye-te-li. The above readings are preferable because they contain -šē-te-li and -ye-te-li, the latter being familiar from Axe-ye-te-li-ye, which form a pair that compares with Ši-te-li B504 and Yi-te-li B708. In all these names -te-,'to give', is believed to be the verb that is alternately prefixed with šē(i)- and ye(i)-. See A5 III i & nn.9,10. Compare the alternation of š- and yi- in Š-BRE-YE B476 and Yi-bre-te-y B689 and see A9 II iii.

28a. See A5 V i.

29. See A12 IV iv & n.73. Because it is believed that Hintze's theory about the reduplication of the B- and C-words of filiation is not plausible (for reasons see section IV of the Preface), Bē-he and Bē-he-ye(i), treated by him, HinS 14, as being names of the same person, are thought to be grammatically different and borne by two different people.

30. See VI iii d below for the alternative rendering of -bē-he as the plural dative in ye-s-bē-he and the names containing this complex. Š-xi-, in Š-xi-be-he, is perhaps the verbal complex studied in VI iv a-d, in which case we might have two juxtaposed verbal complexes; š-xi- and -be-he.

31. See the refrence in n.29. For the explanation of the patterns ke-de and qe-de, used as a measure in the analysis of names and groups in the present work, see A2 I iv (end), III i a 1, and for met- see A23 I, II, III iii.

32. See A3 III i a,b and A19 I, II ii for -li and -r(ē-r) as participial endings. More is said about these names in A3 IV vi and, especially those of them ending in -rē-r, in A21 I i (end). For š- as a prefix see A6 IV i, iv c. Though š-h-ñ in Š-h-ñ-rē-r looks as if it is the compound -š-x-ñ (š- is believed to be the verb, -x- the dative and -ñ is the same infix) present in mk-š-x-ñ-l, Qē-š-x-ñ @ B 457 and Š-X-Ñ-TE-LI B 493, of sub-division VI iv c & n.61, iv d 1-3 below, yet it seems to me not to belong to this compound, for this judgement is supported by the comparison of the name with those with which it is cited above.

33. See A2 II i & n.25 on -de-, A8 I i, II i a on -tk-, A3 II i on -l- and A2 III ii a 5 & n.71 on the verbal complex of Formula C. For more on Ke-l-hō @ and the other similarly built name see sub-division VI ii a below and A1 III ii, IV iii.

34. See A3 II i, also II ii & n.6 for more instances of

-li- as a verb.

35. See sub-division III i and, especially, ii & n.19 above.

36. See A3 II i, IV iii, A12 IV ii for L-H-LĒ-YE and n.33 above for the references for Ke-l-hē @ and the name related with it.

37. For šе(i)- as a verbal prefix see A6 IV i,ii. With -l- it is studied in A6 IV iii, A3 II iv & n.15. See A12 IV ii for more on the names ending in -ye and A5 II i b for te- left over after the identification of -bi-ši-l-h.

38. See the note on B 484 .

38a. See A5 V i on -te-, sometimes followed by -s, and its frequent disappearance when its verbal complex is changed into a participle by either one, or both, of -l(e,ē,i) and -y(e,i). See also A3 II i, iv, A6 IV iii, A12 IV ii.

39. See A3 II i, A12 II iv. On the employment of mlē(i)- as an adjectival substantive see A11 IV i a, iv a, and for its use as an adverbial phrase see A11 VI i.

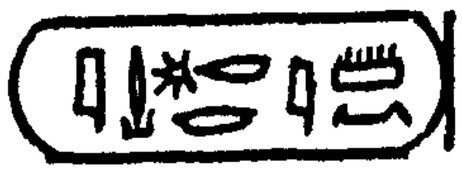
40. For the suffixes -ñ(n,nē) and -k(e,i) see A1 I ii & n.9, IV i - iii. The groups sb-qe-s-wi: Tur 17 LS,

sb-wi:eqe-s-wi-t(s-l) Ak I 23, 33-34 OS, contain all the additional components, except y(i), present with -l-x(e)-$\tilde{n}$(n,n$\bar{e}$)-k(e,i) above. One is not at all sure whether eqe- here is the same as the one found in different forms with -de- discussed under A1 I ii & n.7, A2 III i a 1.

41. See A3 II iii. The suffix -y, in l-b-x-y, is written outside the panel in which is the inscription. Compare [e]qe-l-x-$\tilde{\dot{n}}$($\dot{y}$) in VI ii c. Though -y in the former group is perhaps meant for -te, yet the whole group is worth comparing, on the one hand, with -l-x-[ye] in AT$\bar{E}$-HE-L-X-[YE], studied in sub-divisions III ii and VI ii a above, and, on the other, with Wi-re(i)-te-li-t$\bar{e}$(s-l$\bar{e}$) B 662 and W$\bar{e}$-r$\bar{e}$-te-li-ye for the interchange of -te and -y. See A2 III ii a 6 & n.78.

42. For the verb -de- see A2 I i and for the groups see A2 II ii & n.29. See A5 V i on the suffix -te. The above view about a-d-xi-te is taken with regard to the plausible assumption that the stela of Akinidad describes the king's campaign against the Roman-held territory; i.e. the Dodecasphoenus.

43. See A2 II i & n.25. For the behaviour of -te when its verbal complex is changed into a participle see

A5 V i and compare the instances using the suffix with the verb -l- in VI ii b & n.38a above. For the employment of -h- as the dative see VI i, ii a above, and for more instances of nt- see A12 III ii a and A22 II i & n.9. The name A-DI-H-LI is very useful. Compare it with a-d-h-l in  A-D-H-L-İMN £. Griffith, M II 32, vocalizes the king's name as Azakheramani and observes, loc.cit. n.2, that A-DI-H-LI 'suggests that the king's name might be pronounced Azikhalamani'. See JEA 3 114 aa, where it is again remarked that the name is probably the 'first part of the royal name' A-D-H-L-İMN. Dr Macadam explains to me that the similarity between the royal name and this name led to the vocalization of the former as ADIKHALAMANI as adopted in PMTB vii and the RCK publications. Note how the verb -d(i)- is shown as the equivalent of the Egyptian d3 or simply d. See JEA 3 117. One does not understand whom the dative refers to; whether it refers to the name-bearer, who will then be the recipient of the thing offered, or to someone else, most likely a deity, in which case the name-bearer will be the author of the verbal act. The above-given rendering, making the name-bearer the

author of the verbal act of giving, is likely, but need not always be the case because he can also be the object of it, or even the indirect object, depending on what voice one decides to give the verbal complex. When the verb is taken as active A-DI-H-LI may mean "one who gives to him", whereas when it is passive the name may mean "one to whom it is given". Consequently, A-D-H-L-ỉMN could probably mean "it is Amon who gives to him" and "one to whom it is given, namely (to) Amon"...etc. The impersonal reference in A-DI-H-LI will then be to a deity, this time Amon. Egyptian names furnish such but not exact parallels. Cf. ḥtp-ḥr-s RaPN 259 3 '(may) her face be satisfied!' with ḥtp-ḥr-nfrt RaPN 259 2 '(may) the face of the beautiful one (be) is satisfied!'; nfr-ḥtp.s RaPN 198 19 'her satisfaction is good' with nfr-ḥtp-Ḥthr RaPN 198 18 'the satisfaction of Hathor is good', 'n.f-sw RaPN 62 12 'may he send him back!' with 'n-sw-ỉmn RaPN 62 2 'may Amon send him back!'...etc., RaGr 25. One must admit that in the latter translation of A-D-H-L-ỉMN one has both the impersonal pronominal reference, that is -h-, and the noun referred to, that is Amon. Compare the interpretation of

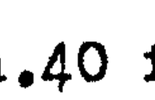
AXE-BI-XE-TE-Y (?) B 23 and AMNI-X-BI-XE* £ in sub-division VI iii c below. Furthermore, we have a nominal sentence in which the subject and predicate are directly juxtaposed. On this see the Introduction.

44. See A2 III iii a,c & n.94,A5 V ii a on the names of the pattern de-te(ē), A3 III i c, IV ii d and A5 VII ii for more about Dē-h-te-li-tē(s-lē), and A2 IV iv b & n.101 on the names of the pattern ke-de-te(ē).

45. See A2 II i & nn.26,28. For the reading s̆i-de-x-nē see Kush 9 283 n.2.

46. See A2 II i & n.26, III iii a. For -r(ē-r) see A19 I, II ii, A3 III i b.

47. See A2 II i for the simple forms of -de-, A2 III i a 1 for those prefixed with ke-, A2 II iii a & n.40 for the groups with -tn-ide and A2 III iii a for the verbal complex.of Formula C.

48. See A5 V i,vii on -te-, A12 IV i a, xi b for -y. If axe- is an adjective the construction of axe-bi-xe- will be Adj+Dat. which compares with the Egyptian nfr n 'it goes well with'....etc., in nfr n.tn 'it will go well with you'. See GarEG §141, and compare the Egyptian name  , RaPN 197 3. But this will suggest similarity between the Egyptian and Meroitic

syntactical systems at least in so far as this construction is concerned.

49. See sub-division II iv on 3X-R-T̄Ñ and A23 III ii & n.14 on Meqē-ñ(mete-li) and Ms-me(te-yi) @ and for more on the subject of abbreviated writing in Meroitic. See also RaN 321, RaPN II 95-7 for more on the Egyptian names.

50. For more on (a)berē- and the name see A9 II ii & n.18, A5 V vii, and for the copulative function of the verbal suffix -te see A5 V i (end), VI.

51. The retoration of yi-[s-bē-he] Hin 8a is suggested by MacN 61 n.50. For the relationship of the last name with the preceding two see under A14 I ii, IV i and B 679.

52. See MIO 14 173-4 for the suggestion that Meroitic has a verb b-, that is a variant spelling of p(e,i)-, the well-known prefix in the verbal complexes of the funerary formulae. On s̆i- and -s- see A6 IV i, and for some instances of their interchange see A6 IV ii, iv e.

53. See A12 IV xii a for the names using (a)bē-, with or without -ñ-, and -ye. For alternative interpretations of p-wi-de:mlē-l: see A2 IV ii b. I disagree with, and find completely unsuitable,

Schuchardt's attempt, WZKM 27 181 & n.1, to equate -s-bē-he with the name of Shabaka or with the Ethiopic ሰበሐ , ፀበሐ Arabic سَبَّحَ , أَصْبَحَ respectively.

54. See A6 II i a. P-s̆ē-h is also the verbal complex of Formula B. In the case of Formula A the component -h- may be taken for either the verb, in which case the complex will be suffixless, or for the dative, in which case -s̆ē- will be the verb. The comparisons made above and the occurrence of the component -h- in Formula B make one decide in favour of considering it as the dative.

55. See A6 II i a. On the interchange of -s- with -s̆- see A6 IV i, while on p-s̆ē-h see the previous note.

56. On the meaning of s̆(e,ē,i)- see A6 I ii.

57. See A6 II i b. Contrasted with s̆-x(e), to be discussed next, S̆ē-ni differs from it in being dativeless and in having the suffix -ni. See the last reference for -ñ, the variant of -ni, with this verb and the dative in the form mk-s̆-x-ñ-l: Tañ 45-46 03, which is a compromise form between these two words, showing the dative of the one and -ñ- (i.e. -ni) of the other. For more on -ni and its various writings see A1 IV i-iii and also n.61 of this sub-division.

58. See A16 I i on mk(e)- and the end of A6 II i b for more on the title s̆-ke- and the names believed to be related with it.

59. See A6 II i a. See more about -s̆-xe in VI iv d 2 n.62 and about mke-s̆-xe at the end of VI iv e, below.

60. See GarAEO 30* 100, 47* 126,49* 127 on ḥm nṯr and op.cit. 53*-54* 128 on w'b. It should be realized that while ḥm nṯr was originally two words, 'servant of god', it had to become one word in both sense and sound by the time it became a loan-word in Meroitic; in sound because in Coptic it was ϩⲟⲛⲧ (passing into Meroitic as ant); and in sense because both ϥⲗ and ϩⲟⲛⲧ were equated in Greek namely with ἱερεύς 'priest' and προφήτης 'prophet'. Had they not been associated together for so long the Coptic equivalent would have been something like ϩⲁⲙⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ* .

61. See A6 II i a. The decision to translate mko-s̆-xo mnpte-te-l as "prophet of Amon of Napata" and not "prophet of Amon in Napata", in spite of the fact that -te- is locative and does not contain the genitive -s-, is for the reasons of concord with s̆e-ni:mnp-s-le̅ in particular and with the rest of

the groups in general. As was pointed out earlier on (n.57), the existence of amnpte:mk-š̃-x-ñ-l: Tañ 45-46 OS, in which -š̃-x-ñ- contains the elements in š̃-xe and šē-ni put together (the whole phrase appears to combine the components of mke-š̃-xe mnpte- and šē-ni mnp-s-lē approximately), in some way seems to support the reading "Amon of Napata" in the groups under discussion. On the confusing alternation of "Amon of Napata" and "Amanap", here as elsewhere, see MacN 59.

61a. See A6 II i a & n.11, II ii & n.18.

62. As regards s̃-xi:, I am convinced from the above results that Hintze's remark, HinD 65, Kush 8 157, that š̃-xe, of which he rightly recognizes s̃-xi as a variant, should mean 'small', is wrong, though one recognizes the grounds for the idea. Equally wrong is the suggestion, ZyM 460 3, Kush 8 157 n.155, that SMETI:s̃-xi:ye-mte: Ins 117, could correspond to the Egyptian 'S-mt-xm. That s̃-xi here is the same as the verbal complex meaning "to offer", leading to "to serve", "servant" and probably "priest" seems to me indubitable. Compared with MLĒ-S̃-X(I)-LI (VI iv d 3), Mli-s̃-xi appears to be as different, in construction and meaning, from it as S̃ē-ni is

from Š̄i-ni-ye (VI iv c), W-XI from Wi-ḥi-ye (VI iv e) and Bē-he from Bē-he-ye(i) (V ii & n.29). For more on these names see A6 II i a & nn.7,8.

63. See A6 II i a & n.10. See also VI iv c &nn.57,61 above for more on -š̄-x-ñ and the end of VI iv b for Š̄-X-LĒ-YE. For Yi-s-x-te-te(s-le)-ye see A6 II ii & n.18.

64. Hintze, Kush 7 181 1, describes the example of Formula A as a 'type of Meroitic linear hieroglyph that is perhaps to be read as atē p-w-xe'. See A3 III i b & n.46, IV viii a, A12 IV v for the names using this verb and ending in (-lē)-ye. W-HI-LI C 33 seems to me to be a better reading than W-MI-LI in view of the fact that this name fits in the above category of names.

64a. See A15 I ii & n.8 for more on kdi-qē and its interpretation. For more about the verb -w(e,i)- see A2 I iii a.

65. See A4 I, II vi d & n.37 for a lengthier discussion of this,as well as the alternative,analysis of these names as (A)hpe-s-li, Hpē-t(s-l)-wi, Hpē-ye and (A)x-pē-ye.

66. See A3 IV x b, A5 V vi, VII ii, A12 IV x on Wi-re(i)-te-li-tē(s-lē), Wē-rē-te-li-ye, and A12 III i & n.24, ii a & n.32 on TEKE-YE(-WI).

67. See II iii above for the group of Formula D2 using x-mlē- and A13 IV for the different views on arē trēt(s-l), perhaps meant for arē t-rēs s-l*. See also Zyhlarz's analysis of ari-te-wi-l, the group intervening between the above names of Isis (Isis of Philae and Isis of the Abaton) and the numeral 2, at the end of A13 V iii.

68. See the end of A13 V ii & nn.12,13 for more about yere-ki-, the end of sub-division III iv & nn.24,25 above about asy, and A21 IV ii & nn.35,36 about -mr(i)-. For -li see A3-III i a n.25, IV xi o.