THE SEMANTICS OF THE VERB *sḏr* IN THE COFFIN TEXTS: ACTANCY AND AKTIONSART

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A Manuel Camporro Vallina, por tantos jueves de conversaciones egiptológicas.

Abstract:

In this study[1], it is argued that the verb *sḏr* is consistently monosemic ('to lie on the side') in the Coffin Text Egyptian language, to judge by its spelling stability: ideogram 'man-on-bed' (and variants) plus absence of determinative. Meanings such as 'lie down', 'sleep', and 'spend the night' are thus better seen as translation effects in the target language than meanings in the source language (ancient Egyptian).

The following meanings (or uses) will be discussed for the verb *sḏr* as it occurs in the Coffin Texts: 'to lie down', so translated when no landmark (Langacker 1987: § 6.3), i.e. the expression of a space, follows or when the landmark is not a bed or a toponym; 'to lay down' (plus patient); 'to spend the night' (plus toponym or action); 'to sleep' (in relation with a bed or awakening); 'to sleep with' (plus preposition *ḥnꜥ* and person). Finally, as previously remarked by Kruchten (1982: 29), the verb *sḏr* can also be used as a (semi-)auxiliary verb; not totally deprived of its basic semantism, *sḏr* can then contrast with other «position (semi-)auxiliary verbs» such as *ꜥḥꜥ* 'stand up' and *ḥmsi* 'sit down', which also keep their essential semantics at a certain degree.

Key words:

Verbal semantics, Aktionsart, Actancy, *sḏr*, Coffin Texts.

Resumen:

En este estudio se propone que el verbo *sḏr* es monosémico ('acostarse') en el egipcio de los Textos de los Ataúdes, de manera sistemática si se considera su estabilidad ortográfica: ideograma 'hombre-en-cama' (y variantes) y ausencia de determinativo. En consecuencia, significados como 'acostarse', 'dormir' y 'pasar la noche' se entienden mejor como efectos de la traducción a la lengua de llegada que como significados de la lengua de salida (egipcio antiguo).

Se estudiarán los siguientes significados (o usos) del verbo *sḏr* tal como este aparece en los Textos de los Ataúdes: 'acostarse', traducido así en ausencia de *landmark* (Langacker (1987: § 6.3), i.e. complemento de espacio, o cuando este no es ni una cama ni un topónimo; 'acostar' (más paciente); 'pasar la noche' (más topónimo o acción); 'dormir' (en relación con una cama o con despertarse); 'dormir con' (más la preposición *ḥnˁ* y persona). El verbo *sḏr* puede usarse también como verbo (semi-)auxiliar, no desprovisto totalmente de su semantismo, y por lo tanto capaz de oponerse a otros «verbos (semi-)auxiliares de posición» como *ˁḥˁ* 'ponerse de pie' y *ḥmsi* 'sentarse', que también mantienen su semantismo esencial hasta cierto punto, como observó Kruchten (1982: 29).

Palabras clave:

Semántica verbal, Aktionsart, Actancia, *sḏr*, Textos de los Ataúdes.

> Egyptian lexicography in its present stage [1941] suffers chiefly from two defects: first, that many words, such as names of plants, birds, garments, implements, occupations, no meaning, except within the limits of a rather large category, can be attached with confidence; secondly, that although the meanings of many words and phrases have been ascertained fairly closely, for us they are still synonymous with other words and phrases, which makes it probable that we do not understand them exactly. Further progress with the study of some words of the former class seems to be at present impossible; we have, for example, a few occurrences of a word for a kind of plant, and we may be sure that the plant meant is known to us, but the data for identification are lacking, and we can only await new examples of the word in contexts which will tell us more about the *differentiae* of the plant meant. For some words and phrases of the second class the prospects are more hopeful, for probably in many cases the material for a more precise determination of the meaning is accessible in known texts, and only requires careful study for distinctions of meaning or usage to emerge.[2]

With these few words, Battiscombe Gunn told referential meaning and lexical meaning apart, a difference which is crucial to study a language. Only the second is a linguistic subject (semantics) while the first one belongs with the philosophy (logic), psychology (categorisation), and natural sciences (taxonomies).[3] The problem dealt with in this article belongs to the second category.

The verb *sḏr* is usually rendered in English by 'sleep', 'spend the night, or 'lie down', and, paraphrasing Gunn, it can be said that its meaning «has been ascertained fairly closely». These meanings could be interpreted like translation effects rather than proper meanings of the ancient Egyptian verb *sḏr* because the verb is consistently spelled with the ideogram 'man-on-bed' (and their variants) and without a determi-

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[2] Gunn (1941: 144).

[3] As a fundamental part of the encyclopaedic vision of the world, lexicography strongly concentrates on referential meaning. For the encyclopaedic influence in Western thought, see mainly Yeo (2001).

native.[4] In other words, this verb might be seen as highly monosemic in Egyptian -excepting perhaps the meaning 'sleep with' that implies sexual intercourse, and which is better understoood as a connotation or «implication» of the verb because of the nature of the complement (animate). In the Egyptian of the Coffin Texts, the verb means:

1. Lie down', when no landmark follows, or when the landmark is other than a bed or a toponym. The verb could even be understood as the causative of a hypothetical IIIª infirmae verb from *ḏr* 'side', meaning thus, literally, *s + ḏr(i)* 'make to be on the side', 'lie on the side'. This interpretation might be sustained by the 'ear' being named *msḏr* 'the thing on which one lies', which may imply liying on one side of the body.[5]
2. Lay down', when a patient follows.
3. Spend the night', when the landmark is a toponym or another action follows.
4. Sleep', when a bed is implied or in co-occurrence with some antonym (e.g. 'wake up').
5. Sleep with', when the complement is an animate introduced by the preposition of accompaniment *ḥnꜥ*.

The verb *sḏr* is also used as a semi-auxiliary verb (6) to introduce other verbs but keeping some of its semantics.[6] Nevertheless, the previous short picture may be too straightforward, as it does not fit well the data in the Coffin Texts. As a matter of fact, in that corpus, the verb *sḏr* occurs in contrast with not less than eight verbs in a more or less direct relation of antonymy, which gives a much more nuanced semantic panorama for *sḏr*.

Method

In what follows, the uses (as traces of meanings), actancy and Aktionsart of the verb *sḏr* will be documented as they occur in the Coffin Texts (see the annexe at the end of the present article), then interpreted.

The spellings of the verbs provide a window on their *meanings*, in the sense that how the verbs are *used* is reflected in how they are «spelled»[7]. Ideograms are mostly stable and related to the «core meaning» of the verbs. At the same time, determinatives are highly sensitive to context.[8] It can never be stressed too much that determinatives

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[4] Gracia Zamacona (fc1).

[5] Gracia Zamacona (2018), with additional arguments.

[6] Kruchten (1982: 29).

[7] A similar concept exists in Egyptian but maybe referred to the phonic word: ▭🐍🔨 *dm* (Wb V 449-450), from ▭🐍 'sharpen (knife's point)' (Wb V 448), 'stab' (Wb V 449), and ▭🐍 *dm*.t 'stein-knife' (Wb V 450-451).

[8] Gracia Zamacona (2001).

are of the utmost interest to identify possible meanings of the verbs.[9] Their information is as essential to the semantics of ancient Egyptian as their use is consubstantial to it. As Louis Speleers clearly and concisely wrote in 1924:

> Quant à l'indication des mots [of his glossary of the Pyramid Texts], nous avons rendu en caractères hiéroglyphiques leur suite «consonantique»; *nous y avons ajouté parfois plusieurs déterminatifs; d'abord le plus usuel, ensuite les plus rares. Il nous a paru indispensable pour la détermination du sens, d'ajouter ces derniers.*[10]

A meaning is basic to a linguistic unit when it is marked by one given determinative frequently. Still, it is mostly contextually-dependant when different determinatives mark it less frequently, infrequently, rarely or very rarely. The collection of all of them is as essential as being aware of their marking of different meanings of a linguistic unit depending on its use in different, specific contexts.

The meanings of a linguistic unit are also retrieved through their contrast with other units such as parasynonyms or antonyms. For the semantic analysis of *sḏr*, antonyms will appear to be of the utmost relevance.

The *actancy*[11] of *sḏr* will be analysed per use (§§ 1-6 below) according to the second actant, locative: the spatial complement (or landmark)[12] that expresses the location of the state-of-affairs. Three are the possible locatives: inessive (inside a space), adessive (outside a space), and essive (in the 'region' of a space)[13].

As for the *Aktionsart*[14], it will be studied by applying a series of tests to each linguistic unit (the verb *sḏr*) in every specific context it occurs. These tests are of general use in linguistic studies,[15] and their value is to be seen as marking a tendency in the use of a given linguistic unit within a semantic feature such as telicity, activity, and duration, rather than indicators of an absolute classification. The tests are mostly morphosyntactic, including morphological transformations, verbal aspect and tense, and compatibility with temporal adjuncts.

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[9] It is well known that the role(s) of determinatives (and ideograms) has drawn much attention in the last 25 years, and cannot be fully dealt with here. For a detailed discussion, see, among others: GOLDWASSER (1995, 1999 & 2002); GOLDWASSER & GRINEVALD (2012); GRACIA ZAMACONA (2001, 2016 & fc3); LINCKE (2011); LINCKE & KAMMERZELL (2012); LOPRIENO (2003); McDONALD (2002a&b, 2004, 2007, 2009 & 2017); POLIS & ROSMORDUC 2015; VERNUS (2003a).

[10] SPELEERS (1924: vol. II, I). Italics are mine.

[11] 'Valency', the usual English term may be misleading. I use 'actancy' instead because it inglobes the semantic-syntactic interface when referring to the entities that are involved in the state-of-affairs by playing different roles– in certain traditions, these are called «deep cases», which is also misleading when studying languages without cases like Egyptian. 'Valency' may render the French 'actance' (which considers the semantic-syntactic interface) but is cognate of the German 'Valenz' (which is mostly on the syntax). This critical distinction is reflected in the English translation of Gilbert Lazard's classical study Actance (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), Actancy (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998; see chapter 4). The seminal work on valency is thought to be TESNIÈRE (1959).

[12] LANGACKER (1987: § 6.3, mainly page 234).

[13] The term 'region' comes down to Soteria Svorou (SVOROU 1994: § 2.1.1)

[14] The Vendlerian frame is adopted: VENDLER (1957).

[15] GRACIA ZAMACONA (2015).

Uses, and meanings

No determinatives are attested with *sḏr* in the Coffin Texts. As for the ideograms, they are better considered as variants of one ideogram ('man-on-bed'), which respond to religious issues and/or visual mechanisms related to the writing-reading process. These variants are irrelevant at the linguistic level.[16] Very shortly, they mainly are ⌂ ('bed'), ⌂ ('man-on-bed'), ⌂ ('mummy-on-bed'), and the Coffin Texts particular variant ⌂ ('arm-on-sky').[17] The verb *sḏr* can be thus seen as monosemic, but a survey of how this verb is used in contrast with its antonyms may point at a different picture, which deserves a closer look.

Eight antonymic verbs are found for *sḏr* in the Coffin Texts, some of them in a general context, other in very particular ones. In the next table (Table 1), these antonyms and their occurrences are displayed according to the uses (1, 3 & 4) of *sḏr*. The second column houses the antonyms; the Coffin text passage and reference are given in the third and fourth columns:

Table 1. Antonyms of *sḏr*.

Meanings of *sḏr*	Antonyms	Passage	*CT*
1. 'lie down'	*nḥzi* 'get up at daylight'[18]	*i ḫd-t3* **nḥz sḏr** Oh, The-one-who-lights-up-the-land (= Ra), **who gets up at daylight** (and) **who lies down**!	V 388 c
		ḫd-t3 **nḥz sḏr** The-one-who-lights-up-the-land (= Ra), **who gets up at daylight** (and) **who lies down**!	V 398 i
	iwr 'conceive'	*sḏr.(i) twr.(w) r⁽ nb* It is **(being) conceived** that **I lie down** every day.	VI 88 j (S10Cb)
	msi 'be born'	*⁽nḫ m m(w)t.(t) ? tw (…) n.w ⁽ff pw* **sḏr.y ms.y** *r⁽ nb* The one who lives of this dead one (?), it is the (…) of the fly the one **who will lie down** (and) **be born** every day.	VII 53 c – d
	msi & iwr	*N pn* **sḏr.f ms.(w) twr.(w)** *r⁽ nb* This N, he **lies down** (being) **born** (and) **conceived** every day.	VI 88 j (B1Bo)
4. 'sleep' / 1. 'lie down'	*rs* 'wake up'[19]	*sḏr.(w) b3.(i) rs.(w) ḥr ḥ3.t.i* My *b3* **will lie down** being **awake** on my corpse.	III 296 i

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[16] Gracia Zamacona (fc1).
[17] Signs are the Adriaan de Buck's handwritten transcription of originals from the Coffin Texts.
[18] *Wb* II, 287 (I.5).
[19] *Wb* II, 449.

4. 'sleep' / 1. 'lie down'	*rs* & *ꜥḥꜥ* 'stand'	***rs*** *rs.w* ***sḏr*** *sḏr.w* ***ꜥḥꜥ*** *iwn.(y)w* **May** the awake **wake up**! **May** the sleepers **sleep**! **May** Those-of-the-pillar **stand**!	II 111 e – f
4. 'sleep'	*rs*	***sḏr.n.t rs.n.t*** *ḏr.(w) rḏw.w ḏbꜣ m iwf.t mḥ.ti ḥtm.ti m ir.t ḥr* **If you have slept (and) woken up**, that is for your fluid which is blocked in your flesh to be pushed, you (being) filled (and) full of the Horus' eye.	VI 414 k – m
		iw.f ***sḏr.f*** *rs.f r tp(.y)-rnp.t* **He sleeps** (and) **wakes up** on new year's day.	VII 496 b
	rsrs 'wake up'[20]	*pḥr.n ꜥšꜣ.t n N pn zš.n N pn (n) ꜣḫ.w ipw imn.w r s.wt imn.t di.sn bꜣ.t n.(t) N pn n.f* ***rsrs.sn*** *N pn* ***sḏr.f*** *ḏd N pn wp.t n sḏm mdw* If the crowds have served this N, if this N has written to these ꜣḫ that are hidden to the seats of the West, that is for them (= the hidden ꜣḫ) to give the bꜣ.t[21] of this N for him, that is for them to **wake up** this N when **he sleeps**, that is for this N to pronounce a trial to the judge (lit. 'one who listens the word').	II 176 k – p
	srs(i) 'awaken'[22]	*ink* ***srs*** *it* ***sḏr*** I am the one **who awakens** the father **who sleeps**.	V 79 a
	psḏ 'shine'	*ḥzꜣ.t nb.t ṯꜣw.w i.n.i im.t(n) ir.t.i wn.ti ir.t.i [ꜥḫn.ti] ?* ***psḏ.i*** *m hrw* ***sḏr.i*** *m grḥ sḏb.i ḥzꜣ.i r ḥꜥ[ꜥ.w.f]* Nursing-Cow! Lady of the Winds! If I have come to you, one eye opened, the other shut, that is **for me to shine** by day (and) **sleep** at night, that is for me to stop my liquid to its level.	V 384 e – i
3. 'spend the night'	*wrš* 'spend the day'[23]	*wr* ***wrš*** *ꜥꜣ* ***sḏr*** Great (*wr*) One of **spending the day**! Great (ꜥꜣ) One of **spending the night**!	I 287 d
		wrš-sḏr*-ḥr-gs.f-iꜣb* The-one-**who-spends-the-day-(and)-the-night**-on-his-left side.	VI 257 j
		sḏr.n *N pn m wr pf ḥr ḥr gs.f* ***wrš.f*** *ꜣ is snd.w sḫm m tp.t.f* If this N **has spent the night** as yonder Great (*wr*) one fallen on his side, that is **for him to spend the day** like an Egyptian vulture, which is feared (and) has power over That-who-(is)-over-it (= the corpse?).	VI 304 h – i
		hꜣ N pn ***ꜥḥꜥ*** *n.k* ***wrš.w sḏr.w*** *nṯr.w* Oh, this N! May those of the gods **who spend the day** (and) **spend the night** stand up for (= assist) you!	VI 393 j – k

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[20] Not in *Wb*. The reduplication may be due to the plurality of the agent (*ꜣḫ.w*).

[21] The term *bꜣ.t* may refer to a ground tamper which was employed when flattening the ground before laying the foundation of a building; see JÉQUIER (1918: 161-163).

[22] *Wb* IV, 200-201.

[23] *Wb* I, 335.

	wrš 'spend the day'	*ṯz ṯw wr r wrš ꜥꜣ r sḏr* Get up, the one who (is) greater (*wr*) than the one **who spends the day** (and) bigger (*ꜥꜣ*) than the one **who spends the night**!	VI 393 q – 394 a
	pri 'go out'	**pr.n.ỉ** *m p* **sḏr.n.ỉ** *m knm.t* It is of Pe **that I have come out**. It is in Kenmet **that I have spent the night**.	III 164 c – 165 d
		pr.n *N pn m p* **sḏr.n.f** *m knm.yt ỉq ḥnꜥ.f* If this N **has come out** of Pe (and) **has spent the night** in Kenmet, that is *Ỉq* (being) with him.	III 205 d – f
		pr.n *N pn m sw* **sḏr.n.f** *m ww ỉnm.w.f pnꜥ.y ḫft šsꜣ.t m ỉmn.t* If this N **came out** of *Sw* (and) **he spent the night** in *Ww*, that is his skin (being) upside down after the night in the West.	IV 41 b – e

From these data, it becomes transparent that the basic meaning of *sḏr* is 'lie down' and not 'sleep': in CT III 296 i, the agent lies down awake. How artificial is the separation between those two «meanings» is evident in CT II 111 e – f, where *sḏr* appears in contrast with *rs* 'wake up' and with *ꜥḥꜥ* 'stand up', at the same semantic level and in the same context. This interpretation is confirmed and further specified by the following occurrence in which it may be interpreted that *sḏr* is described as «falling on the side»:

CT VI 304 h – i (B1Bo)

sḏr.n N pn m wr pf ḥr ḥr gs.f wrš.f ꜣ ỉs snḏ.w sḫm m tp.t.f

It is to spend the day like the vulture that is feared (and) has power over That-what-(is)-over-him (= the head) that this N **has lied down** as yonder Great (*wr*) **fallen on his side**.

To what point contextuality is all-important is displayed by the antonymy of *psḏ* 'shine' with *sḏr* in CT V 384 e – i: the actions of Ra's eyes (to shine by day and to sleep by night) allow the said antonymy, but only because of the specific context of the solar circuit. On the role of the context, the semantic information provided by antonymy, and the consideration about translation requirements, another case may be compared: the case of the verb *pri*, which is translated 'go/come out' when co-occurring with *ꜥq* 'enter', but 'go/come up' when co-occurring with *hꜣi* 'go/come down', while the basic meaning of *pri* is 'sprout, germinate' (a movement out and up of the earth).[24]

To sum up the data from the table, and with the only purpose of providing a general, simple picture of the uses and meanings of *sḏr*, the following chart is proposed in figure 1:[25]

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[24] Gracia Zamacona (2015: § 3).
[25] This is not (nor intends to be) a «semantic map» in the formal sense it is usually employed lately in linguistics, for which see Cysouw, Haspelmath & Malchukov (2010).
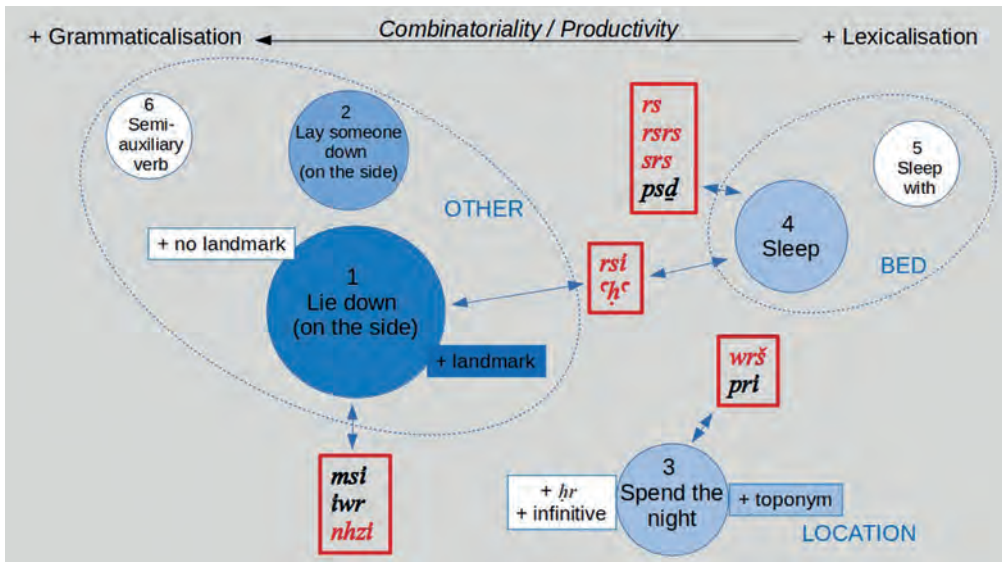
Figure 1. Uses, and meanings of *sḏr* in the Coffin Texts.

In the figure, verb meanings/uses are in circles: dark blue is for the basic meaning (1), lighter blue for the transitive use of 1 (2), lightest blue for the extended meanings closer to 1 (3 & 4), and white for less-related meanings (5 & 6). Typical landmarks with *sḏr* display three semantic poles: location (3), bed (4 & 5), and other (1, 2 & 6). Specific landmarks are inside quadrangles (same colour code as for the verb meanings). Antonyms are inside red rectangles, written in red (*rs, rsrs, srs, rsi, ꜥḥꜥ, wrš, nhzi*) or in black if they are highly dependent on one specific context (*psḏ, pri, msi, iwr*); double blue arrows mark specific relations of antonymy, to show the continuity among meanings 1 and 4.

The chart is arranged from right to left following a gradient of the units to combine with other units and produce new structures along an axis from more lexicalised to more grammaticalised. This arrangement responds to the following interpretation: the meaning 1 with no landmark, which is the most frequent pattern, is most prone to grammaticalisation; the meaning 5 (the furthest from meaning 1) is the less susceptible of grammaticalisation.

Complementary information might be retrieved by the use of parasynonyms with the verb *sḏr*. Still, no variation occurs excepting the case of *hꜣi* 'go down' in CT III 164 d – 165 d, which is the only verb in variation with *sḏr* and is due to a mistake (see below). It seems thus that all possible parasynonyms are illusory, and result from translations to modern languages in use in the Egyptological field, as the next table displays (by meanings of *sḏr*):

Table 2. Illusory (para)synonyms of *sḏr*.

Meanings of *sḏr*	Parasynonyms					
	ḥtp	*inp*	*kḥnḥ*	*h3i*	*qdd*	*ib3n*
1. 'Lie down'	'set (the sun)'	'lie on the belly'	'lie (?)'			
2. 'Lay down'						
3. 'Spend the night'				'go down'		
4. 'Sleep'					'sleep'	'sleep' (?)
5. 'Sleep with'						
6. Semi-auxiliary						

In the next table (Table 3), the Coffin Text occurrences of these illusory parasynonyms are presented (with first actant and context indicated):

Table 3. Illusory (para)synonyms of *sḏr*: occurrences in the Coffin Texts.

Meanings of *sḏr*	Parasynonyms	Agent	Context	CT
1. 'lie down'	*ḥtp* 'set, rest'	Solar/Demiurgic deity (Ra, Atum)	Solar circuit: sunset	II 153 b, 177 p – q, 385 b, 386 c; III 317 s; IV 128 d, 162 b; VI 292 o, 349 j
		Osiris «solarised»		III 319 f, t; IV 28 c – d; VII 239 u
		Horus in the horizon		V 349 c – d, 350 d, 351 h, 352 c
		The deceased compared to Ra in the horizon		V 365 e; VII 2 d, e, 18 l, 24 k
	inp 'lie'	Unnamed	Solar circuit: northern horizon	VI 203 b, 204 g
	kḥnḥ 'The Sleeping one (?)'	*kḥnḥ* (a divinity)	Solar circuit: horizon	IV 103 h
3. 'spend the night'	*h3i* 'go down'	The deceased	Burial	CT III 164 d – 165 d
4. 'sleep'	*qdd* 'sleep'	- (non-predicative)	Osirian	I 189 d – e (sleep), I 292 d (sleep), I 300 f (sleep), IV 383 e (sleeper), IV 384 c (sleep), VII 040 c
			Osirian and solar circuit	VII 040 c (sleep)
			Solar circuit	III 194 j (sleeper), VI 400 b (sleeper), VII 228 o (sleep)
		The Far One with no eyes	Horus' eyes	II 45 d – e
	ib3n 'sleep' (?)	- (non-predicative)		VI 103 b & c (sleeper)

According to these data, parasynonymy is only apparent, as no co-occurrences exist. More specifically:

1. *ḥtp* is an apparent parasynonym of *sḏr* in a solar context: The solar deity (Ra, Atum) does *ḥtp* when it sets in his throne, in the horizon, i.e. the West at dusk, as in CT II 153 b: *iw šzp.n.i s.t.i ḥtp.i r.<i> mi nn* «I have received my seat so that I may rest like that». The synonymity would thus be restricted to a very precise context. Still, the verbs are very different lexically: the position expressed by *sḏr* is 'lying on the side', as proposed at the beginning of the present article. As for *ḥtp*, it may mean 'topping' (lit. «making top/head»),[26] whence its secondary meanings 'make offerings' and 'satisfy' (then 'be in peace')[27], but also 'set' (the sun), as the sun ball seems to set on the Western horizon (cf. CT 230-232 about the deceased's headrest and its solar interpretation). The synonymity would then be based on the element 'lie' common to the two verbs. Similarly, the verb *inp* 'lie (on the belly)'[28], which only occurs in spell CT 585 (CT VI 203 b & 204 g) in the context of the horizon (mentioned in CT VI 202 c). As for *Kḥnḥ* (CI IV 103 h) 'The sleeping one' is just a guess,[29] but the context is undoubtedly that of the horizon in the solar circuit as well (CT IV 109 a).

3. The verb *hꜣi* 'go down' alternates with *sḏr* in CT III 164 d – 165 d is certainly due to a misinterpretation of the scribe of the coffin T3C, because of the preceding verb *pri* 'go out':

CT III 164 c – 165 d

pr.n.i *m p* From Pe have I come out[30]

sḏr.n.i *m knm.t*[31]   **hꜣ.n.i** *m knmw.tyw*[32]

In Darkness-city have I spent the night.   Into Those-of-the-Dark-One-city **have I gone down**.

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[26] Although the lexical morphology and basic semantics which I propose are not in the dictionaries, the expression of success (telicity) *m ḥtp* (WINAND 2006: 60) may well derive from this essential meaning of 'culminating' ('getting onto the top/head' of a state-of-affairs) as it happens with telicity markers in other languages such as 'up' in English, and '-le' in Mandarin (GRACIA ZAMACONA 2015: 38). On the other hand, the existence of a prefix *ḥ-*, even if fossilised in historical times (and in the case of *ḥtp* we are touching at one of the most essential, deeply rooted concepts in the ancient Egyptian civilisation), has long since been proposed in the mainstream Egyptological literature, inter alia: MASPERO (1881: 196-197); PIEHL (1891); SETHE (1911: 80 & n. 2); EMBER (1914: 116-117); THAUSING (1932); EDEL (1955: 189); MALAISE & WINAND (1999: § 328); WINAND (2006: 49, n. 31).

[27] DAVIES (2018: especially 28-33 & 189-202) provides some remarks on this use of *ḥtp*, and other related uses, but the book focuses on the etic concept 'peace', and does not propose a linguistic approach to the problem. On the close connection between the psychological meaning 'satisfaction, compensation, forgiveness' and the physical meaning 'setting on the right place, rest', with the prototypical scheme of putting the bread on top of a mat to appease a divinity, see the fundamental remarks by VERNUS (2003b: 335-336).

[28] MEEKS (1976: 88-89); MEEKS (1977: 77.0334).

[29] MOLEN (2000: 675) leaves it untranslated. Cf. *kḥ.w* 'tired' (*Wb* V, 138).

[30] All documents.

[31] S1Cb, S2Cb, B2Bo, B1Boc, G1T, A1C, B1Boa, B1Bob, B9C, B1C, B5C, B2L, T1L, S1Ca, S2Ca & S2Cc (with non-relevant minor variants)

[32] T3C.

4. The parallel with *qdd* 'sleep' is much looser. The verb *qdd* appears mostly in Osirian context as something the deceased (= Osiris) should avoid in order to revive. The rare *ib3n* occurs only twice non-predicatively ('sleeper').

As for meanings 2, 5 & 6, no (para)synonyms occur in the Coffin Texts.

One last note is needed to reflect on how a given meaning can or cannot be traced, and then determined (or not) on some real ground. It seems relevant to remark that although the verb *sḏr* is used in contrast with antonyms of position (e.g. *ꜥḥꜥ*), time-spending (e.g. *wrš*), and awakening (e.g. *rs*), no written mark of these uses exists. These uses might have been felt as connotations, but what is clear is that no need of semantic clarification was needed by the ancient Egyptian writer, as no determinative was used: the ideogram seems to have been judged enough to grant the communication.

ACTANCY OF *sḏr*

No cases of the *iw sḏm.n.f*, reflexive, or passive structures that are typical of transitive verbs are attested with the verb *sḏr*. The verb *sḏr* is thus to be considered as a typical verb of space, with a low agentive first actant (trajector), plus a spatial complement (landmark).[33] Just one transitive case of this verb occurs in the Coffin Texts (see below § 2). In all the other cases, the verb *sḏr* expresses location, i.e. no change of landmark is involved in its action. This kind of verbs are static verbs of space (the so-called location verbs), and they contrast in this with those verbs of space in which a change of landmark, be it total or partial, is involved (the so-called motion verbs).[34]

The dominant, intransitive pattern of *sḏr* (§§ 1 & 3-5) displays the following spatial preferences:

Table 4. The general actancy pattern of verb *sḏr* in the Coffin Texts.

Essive	Adessive	Inessive	No Space complement	Transitivations
9[35]	0	9[35]	33[37]	0

The absence of transitivations means that all landmarks are always linked to the verb by a preposition. This must be related to the low agentivity of the subject (trajector) of *sḏr*.[38]

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[33] LANGACKER (1987: § 6.3, mainly page 234).

[34] GRACIA ZAMACONA 2010 & 2011.

[35] CT II 176 c, III 296 i, VI 257 j, VI 305 a, VI 305 b, VI 335 j, VII 44 e, VII 44 g & VII 220 o.

[36] CT II 176 c, III 164 d – 165 d, III 205 e, IV 31 g, IV 41 c, IV 351 a, V 53 b, VI 345 m & VII 185 l.

[37] CT II 32 i, II 111 e, II 118 b, II 176 o, II 233 c, II 390 c, II 390 d – e, IV 27 g, IV 58 f, V 79 a, V 108 b, V 369 h, V 384 h, V 388 c, V 398 i, VI 88 j, VI 131 f – g, VI 137 j, VI 218 o, VI 227 j, VI 304 h, VI 414 k, VII 13 g, VII 53 d, VII 95 o, VII 96 c, VII 96 e, VII 98 j, VII 124 d, VII 186 f, VII 189 m, VII 476 g & VII 496 b.

[38] HOPPER & THOMSON (1980: 252 & 264-266).

What follows is a detailed description of the actancy of the six more frequent translations of the verb *sḏr*, which depend mainly on the presence or absence of a landmark, and what specific landmark that is

1. lie down';
2. lay down';
3. spend the night';
4. sleep';
5. sleep with'; and
6. semi-auxiliary verb.

1. The rendition 'to lie down' for *sḏr* is preferred when no landmark follows (or when the landmark is other than a bed or a toponym). In this case, the most frequent pattern is the absence of landmark, with 33 occurrences; for instance:

CT IV 57 i – 58 f
iw
  b3.i ḥnꜥ.i   *n(n) w3i.(w).f r.i*
  ḥk3.w.(i) m ẖ.t.i   *n ꜥw3.t(w).f*
  3ḫ.w.i n.i ḫpr.w.i n.i   *r wnm.(w).i i.š.wt.i ḥnꜥ k3.i im.y t3.i [pn]*   ***sḏr.(w).i** m3.kwi rnp.kwi*

My *b3* (is) with me: he will not be far from me;
my *ḥk3.w* (is) in my belly: it is not stolen;
my *3ḫ*s (belong) to me (and) my transformations (belong) to me as long as I will eat my offerings in the company of my *k3* who (is) in this land (and) **I will lie down**, being seen (and) rejuvenated.

The verb *sḏr* 'lie down/on the side' occurs with two apparent synonyms of position in CT VII 98 j:

CT VII 98 j

*hiw ḫr **sḏr** zbn*

Monster![39] Fall! **Lie down/on your sid**e! Glide on your back!

The text is said of a bouncing snake (*nꜥ.w*) that has bitten Ra (CT VII 98 k), and has to be repelled.

The last verb (*zbn*) may express a very specific motion ('to glide/swim on the back' as catfish do to avoid hypoxia)[40] that one is tempted to interpret an equally specific po-

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[39] Ward 1978.
[40] For the ethology, CHAPMAN ET AL. (1994); for the word, *Wb* III, 433 (with especially the fish-determinative to be noticed). The catfish was recorded in the Egyptian sources since the beginning of historical times (VERNUS & YOYOTTE (2005: 279)). The Egyptian ideogram of the catfish is usually read *nꜥr* (*contra* PÄTZNICK (2015)), a deverbal from *ꜥr* 'ascend' with a terminative *n-* prefix for adjectives (i.e. 'the ascended one'), probably because of the catfish's aptitude to swim at the very surface of shallow waters, so «having ascended from deep water». This morphological pattern is probably used for adjectives resulting from telic states-of-affairs (as a result of a process with an ending point) like in *npr* 'fruit', «the sprouted one» from *pri* 'sprout > go up/out'; for the latter

sition for *sḏr* ('lie on the side') in this text. Notwithstanding this, one broader meaning for *sḏr* is perhaps more natural, if account is taken of the first verb (*ḫr*), which is more general ('fall'). The result would thus be a series of three verbs from more general to more specific. But again this is inconclusive because, in similar contexts of repelling snakes, a particular way of falling is usually made explicit: *ḫr ḥr.k* 'on your face' (i.e. 'to lie face down', 'to prostrate'). The verb *sḏr* seems to have a general meaning 'lie down' because it can be specified as in this obscure passage:

CT VII 220 m – p

k3 is m(w)t ḫnt.(y) im.y nwn sḏr ḥr ḥr.f sn.nw iṯi.n.f n.f ns.t ḫnt.(t) sb3.t

The deceased is a bull indeed, one who (is) in front of the one who (is) in Nun, **who lies down on his face** (as) second one, one who has taken the throne that (is) in fron of the door for him

No co-occurrence of *sḏr* is attested with the frequent expression *ṯz(i)* + reflexive pronoun + *ḥr* + side (right/left), e.g. *ṯz ṯw ḥr gs.k i3b* 'Raise yourself on your left side!' (CT I 234 a).[41]

2. The rendition 'lay someone down' is used when a patient follows the verb; only this occurrence:

CT III 324 g – 325 f

i.nḏ ḥr.t

nb.t ḥtp.w(t)   ḥᶜᶜ.t wsir m33.f s(y)   s3.t.f wr.t

nb.t mḥr.w   ini.t ṯ3w.w   rdi.t ḥtp.wt

ḫnt.t s.t m št3.w dw3.t

wn.t ḥr n k3 ḏdw

wp.t r.f   wp.t ir.ty.f m-ḫt s3š3.n wrḏ-ib

*s3q.t ᶜ.wy.f rd.wy.f   **sḏr.t** wsir m-ḫn.w [(m)sk.tt]?*

[rdi.t] bᶜḥ.w n nb 3gb ḥr wᶜr.t   rdi.t ḥtp.wt

Hail to you,

Lady of Offerings, the one who is delighted with Osiris when he sees her, his great wall,

Lady of Needs, the one who brought air, who gave offerings,

who (is) before the seat in the hidden places of the Duat,

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see Gracia Zamacona (2015: § 3). Other deverbals from the verb *ᶜr* exist: *ᶜr.t* 'lower jaw', with no prefix, probably a participle 'ascending'; and, disputedly, *m(ᶜ)r* 'pyramid', with the instrumental/locative prefix *m-* 'ascending place/instrument' (for a discussion of *m(ḥ)r* 'pyramid, see mainly Brovarski (2009), and also Quack (2003) and Collombert (2010)).

    41   CT I 6 b – 7 b, 190 c, 234 a, *passim*.

who cleared the sight[42] of the Bull of Busiris,

who opened his mouth (and) opened his eyes once the Great-Tired-One had asked for it,

who put his arms and legs together, **who laid** Osiris in the inside of the night bark,

who gave abundance to the Master of the Flood on the plateau, the one who gave offerings!

In this passage, *sḏr* is a transitive verb, 'lay someone down', apparently similar to *w3ḥ* 'put something on the ground'. But its is to be noticed that the object of *sḏr* is Osiris, i.e. the prototypical deceased, and the deceased are prototypically laid down on their left side (*ḏr*) during the Middle Kingdom.

3. The rendition 'to spend the night' is chosen when the landmark is a toponym,[43]

V 53 b – c (B2Bo)[44]

sḏr.n.i m z3tw m ḥz.y im m p.t t3 sḏm

It is as a favourite (*ḥz.y*)[45] there, in the sky (and on) earth **that I spent the night** in *Z3tw*, listen!

or when another action follows *sḏr*:

VI 137 j (M22C)

sḏr.w ḥr wꜥb.w.sn

The one who spends the night at their priestly-duties

4. The rendition 'to sleep' is triggered when a bed or equivalent resting place is implied, or in co-occurrence with some antonym (e.g. 'wake up'). Leaving apart the cases with the antonyms (e.g. 'wake up'), which were discussed above, the only example where a bed is mentioned in relation to *sḏr* is in the spell CT 605, which is explicitly titled *r n ḥnk.wt* 'Spell of/for the bed' (CT VI 218 i):

VI 218 k – o (S1C)[46]

*i.n.i min r bw n.t(y) wsir im m3ꜥ-ḫrw.(w) ḥnk.wt.i m ꜥ.i s.t.i ẖr.i **sḏr** b3.i (wrḏ)*[47]

If I have come here, to the place where Osiris is, being justified, my bed (being) in my possession (and) my seat (being) under me, it is for my (tired) *b3* **to rest/sleep**.

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[42] Literally, 'face'.

[43] See Gʀᴀᴄɪᴀ Zᴀᴍᴀᴄᴏɴᴀ (2018: mainly § 3).

[44] Same version in B6C (nominal subject), B4Bo (nominal subject) & S2C.

[45] Is it a deceased's cube-statue meant by this term? Cf. *ḥz.y* 'cube-statue' in Kᴏᴇɴɪɢ (1994: 98-121), and Hᴀɴɴɪɢ & Vᴏᴍʙᴇʀɢ (1999: 522). The last command («Listen!»), with which the spell ends, could point in the same direction: cf. Cʟèʀᴇ (1968: 139, K).

[46] S1C ends here. This spell (CT 605) is devoted to the bed.

[47] S5C adds the adjective *wrḏ* 'tired'.

5. The rendition of 'to sleep with' (**sḏr ḥnꜥ**), usual when the second argument is an animate instead of a landmark, is an euphemism[48] both in ancient Egyptian and English to express sexual intercourse. Two cases of this pattern occur in the Coffin Texts. The first one, with the preposition *ḥnꜥ*, is clear:

CT II 32 i

sḏr ꜥnḫ ḥnꜥ zꜣ.t.<i> mꜣꜥ.t (B1C)[49]

Life sleeps with my daughter Order

In the well-known spell CT 80 from the group of Shu-spells,[50] Atum speaks about the cosmogonic couple Shu, who acts under the name 'life' (*ꜥnḫ*), and Tefnut, who operates under the name 'order' (*mꜣꜥ.t*).

The second case is much more unclear, because of the preposition *m* (instead of *ḥnꜥ*) introducing the second argument:

CT VII 52 h – i (Sq6C)

mꜣ.k ḥtm-wr **sḏr.wy** *m i.ꜥꜣ.w ib.w.sn mr.(w) n.k mꜣ.sn nwꜣ im.f*

May you see *ḥtm-wr*, the one **who does sleep** with donkeys, their hearts (being) upset for you when they see the look in him!

This may be an allusion to Seth, who is disqualified by the sexual attitude. Nevertheless, the preposition *m* does not fit accompaniment, and could be understood as an *m* «of comparison», 'as donkeys do', maybe 'sleep in the street' as a barbaric sign of the outcast god -one should nevertheless expect the preposition *mi* rather than *m*. Whatever it may be, the exceptional nature of Seth's attitude is marked by the intensive ending *.wy* of the participle[51] *sḏr.wy* ('who *does* sleep').

6. As a semi-auxiliary verb

The verb *sḏr* is also used as a semi-auxiliary verb in the Coffin Texts on two occasions, to introduce other verbs. In those occurrences, *sḏr* keeps its semantics,[52] as it introduces verbs related to 'spend the night' such as some ritual sacrifices (CT V 97 g) or the solar circuit at night (CT VII 406 b). In this, *sḏr* seems to contrast with the auxiliary *ꜥḥꜥ* 'stand up' (more prone to energetic actions but soon grammaticalised with all kind of verbs)[53] and with *ḥmsi* 'sit down' with related actions such as *zwri* 'drink' or

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[48] See now a complete presentation by Vernus (2020) of ancient Egyptian euphemistic procedures.

[49] B1P has this variant which is irrelevant for the discussion: *r sḏr ꜥnḫ ḥnꜥ zꜣ.t<.i> mꜣꜥ.t* '… as Life sleeps with my daughter Order'.

[50] Willems (1996b).

[51] For the participle with the intensive (originally dual) ending, see Malaise / Winand (1999: ex. 290).

[52] Kruchten (1982: 29).

[53] *ꜥḥꜥ.n.Ø*: CT II 276 b – 277 b, II 276 – 277 d, II 278 d – 279 d, II 282 a 1 – 283 a 1, II 340 a, II 340 b, II 341 b, II 342 c, II 354 a (B2Bo, B4Bo, B9C, B2P, B4La, B4Lb, B1L, B17C & B1C), II 355 a, II 356 b, II 357 c, IV 278 d 1 – 279 d 1 (B1P, B9Ca, Sq1C, Sq7C, M4C, M8C, M54C, L1NY, T1Be, L3Li, T3Be, M57C & M1NY) & IV 280 a – 281 a (T1Cb, H, B1P, B9Ca, Sq1C, Sq7C, M8C, L1NY, T1Be, M57C & BH1Br); *ꜥḥꜥ.in.Ø*: CT IV 278 d 1 – 279 d 1 (T2Be); *ꜥḥꜥ.Ø* (perfective): CT IV 280 a – 281 a (L3Li). In CT IV 95, *ꜥḥꜥ* (in the perfective) seems

wnm 'eat'[54]. The alternation, which was mentioned above, of *sḏr* with the verb *hꜣi* 'go down' in CT III 164 d – 165 d adds to this semantic compatibility of *sḏr* with actions that imply the time of cessation of activities, typically at night.

The first of the two occurrences of *sḏr* as a semi-auxiliary verb in the Coffin Texts is CT V 97 g. In this text, *sḏr* plays the role of a semi-auxiliary verb for the statives *rḫs* 'sacrify' and *npd* 'behead', in perfect parallelism with the well-known literary structure *ꜥḥꜥ.n* + subject + stative:

CT V 97 g (T1C)[55]

sḏr.n *kꜣ.w.s rḫs.(w) smn.(w).s npd.(w)*

Then the night came when his bulls were sacrified (and) his geese were beheaded.

In the second occurrence, *sḏr* is a semi-auxiliary for *pḫr* 'march, flank':

CT VII 406 b (B1L, B2L & B3L)

sḏr *pḫr is.wt <rꜥ> m-sꜣ nfr.f*

May be by night (lit. lie down) that Ra's crew march after his beauty!

AKTIONSART

The Aktionsart, i.e. the inner (lexical) temporal structure, of a word (usually a verb) may be tendentially determined by a series of morpho-syntactic tests, of which the following nine are relevant for determining the Aktionsart of the verb *sḏr*.[56]

1. The presence of a second argument telicises the utterance. In particular, typical atelic transitive verbs ('We eat much') are telicised when followed by whether a singular ('We eat the/a potato') or definite plural object ('We eat the potatoes'), but remain atelic when followed by an indefinite plural object ('We eat potatoes'). Similarly, the loss of the second argument detelicises a telic state-of-affairs, which is the case in the following example:

CT II 176 k – p

pḫr.n ꜥšꜣ.t n N pn zš.n N pn (n) ꜣḫ.w ipw imn.w r s.wt imn.t di.sn bꜣ.t n(.t) N pn n.f srsr.sn N pn **sḏr.f** *ḏd N pn wp.t n sḏm mdw*

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to be an expletive verb. This use could be at the origin of the grammaticalisation of *ꜥḥꜥ* as an auxiliary verb, notwithstanding the omission of the verb *ḏd* 'say', which usually follows ('He stood up and said').

[54] CT VII 139 k 2 = 143 b 13: This occurrence (in the inifinitive) is unclear, as it could be seen as an expletive verb more than a semi-auxiliary verb.

[55] Other witnesses with minor variants.

[56] In order to minimise the bibliographic charge on linguistics, the reader is referred to GRACIA ZAMACONA (2015) for full reference and comments on these tests, as well as for the linguistic terms employed. The fundamental reference on this topic in Egyptology remains WINAND (2006).

If the crowds have served this N, if this N has written to these *ȝḫ* that are hidden to the seats of the West, that is for them (= the hidden *ȝḫ*) to give the *bȝ.t* of this N for him, that is for them to wake up this N **when he sleeps**, that is for this N to pronounce a trial to the judge (lit. 'one who listens the word').

2. Perfect expresses the resulting state of telic verbs with static postphase such as the Greek verb ἀποθνήσκω 'die' (cf. the Egyptian verbs *ʿḥʿ* 'stand up', *ii* 'come', *spr* 'arrive', etc. with similar semantics) but expresses the proper state-of-affairs with atelic verbs such as the Greek verb βλέπω 'see' (cf. the Egyptian verbs *ḫdi* 'sail downstream', *ḫnti* 'sail upstream', etc.). To this, the situation in Indo-Iranian languages can be paralleled in which the perfect of transitive verbs may originate from a passive form (itself seen as active with intransitive verbs) which has been reanalysed as an active form because it expresses a situation that affects the present (even though the perfect is in general formally related to perfective forms). In Egyptian, the stative (pseudoparticiple) could be paralleled to the Greek perfect in this semantic extension, as in the following occurrence:

CT V 108 b

T1C: *wnn.i wnnt sḏr.k(w)i*

It is indeed lying that I was!

T1Be & M2C: *wn.i wnt sḏr.kwi*

I was lying indeed!

3. Punctual past forms such as the Greek aorist of telic verbs with static postphase (ἀποθνήσκω 'die') has a terminative meaning, but an inchoative one with atelic verbs (βλέπω 'see'), which has no postphase at all. Egyptian perfective *sḏm.f* could be paralleled to the Greek aorist on this point. See the next example.

4. In a chain of perfective verb forms, telic verbs create a narrative sense while atelic verbs imply a description. For instance:

CT VII 189 m

sḏr.f iri.n.f mrr.t.f

He lied down (and) did what he desired

5. Imperfective past (cf. Egyptian imperfective *sḏm.f* and *mrr.f* in past contexts, and also perhaps the past auxiliary *wn*) is rarely compatible with achievements unless they have a prephase. See the example for test **2**, above.

6. Achievements are mostly used in perfective verb forms. When used in progressive (imperfective) forms, and with time adverbials such as *rʿ nb* 'every day', achievements (and semelfactives) take an iterative sense (as in the example below); the progressive of atelic verbs takes an habitual, non-iterative sense instead. Contrarily to achievements, durative atelic verbs ('activities') are mostly used with imperfecti-

ve verb forms. In addition to this, the (punctual) perfective of atelic verbs takes an inchoative sense. In Egyptian, the stative of verbs of space might be only acceptable with telic verbs, because they have a postphase but not with atelic verbs because they have no postphase.

CT VI 88 j
B1Bo: *N pn sḏr.f ms.*(*w*) *iwr.*(*w*) *rꜥ nb*
This N, he lies down being born (and) conceived every day
S10Cb: *sḏr.*(*i*) *iwr.*(*w.i*) *rꜥ nb*
It is (being) conceived that I lie down every day.

7. Imperative implies that the subject of the state-of-affairs is agentive.

VII 95 o
hiw sḏr
Monster, lie down!

8. Expressions such as 'stop/cease doing…' (cf. Egyptian *rwi*, *ꜣbi*, *fḫ*, *ḥḏ*, *ḫꜣꜥ*) are typical of activities. They detelicise accomplishments and are incompatible with achievements and states. In the same vein, negating the general imperfective of an activity has an implication of 'stopping' which is absent with telic states-of-affairs, as in

CT VI 305 b
n sḏr.n N pn ḫt tꜣ
This N cannot rest in the whole earth.

9. The general imperfective (present) of activities and accomplishments has a habitual present sense which is absent with achievements and states, in some languages such as English. The utterance has habitual sense, but it is detelicised ('sleep') by its co-occurrence with *rs* ('wake up').

CT VII 496 b
iw.f sḏr.f rs.f r tp(*.y*)-*rnp.t*
He sleeps (and) wakes up on new year's day.

The proposed interpretations of the Aktionsart of the verb *sḏr* may thus be collected by test in the following table:

Table 5. Tests to determining the Aktionsart of verb *sḏr* in the Coffin Texts.

Tests	*Occurrences in the Coffin Texts*	*Interpretation*	*Reason*
1	II 176 o, V 79 a, VI 131 f – g, VI 137 j, VI 227 j & VII 496 b	Telic.	It might be relevant that *sḏr* is better translated with 'sleep' or 'spend the night' when detelicised because of the loss of a second argument with an imperfective form. However, this might be just a consequence of the cultural background of the Coffin Texts (Osiris sleeping, priests at their night service).
2	II 176 c & V 108 b	Telic with static postphase.	Statives that express the resulting state of a state-of-affairs.
3	VII 13 g[57] & VII 189 m	Telic with static postphase.	Perfective *sḏm.f* with no inchoative sense.
4	VII 189 m	Telic.	Narrative perfective *sḏm.f*.
5	V 108 b	Telicised utterance.	Past auxiliary *wn* + stative (T1Be & M2C) vs *wnn* (*mrr.f*) + stative (T1C). In both cases, it is the postphase of the state-of-affairs which is moved to the past, not the state-of-affairs itself.
6	VI 88 j, VII 53 d & VII 186 f (& presence of the stative)	Achievement.	Iterative sense with *rꜥ nb*.
7	VII 95 o, *passim*	Agentive.	Compatible with the imperative.
8	VI 305 b	Telic	Negation of general imperfective (*n sḏm.n.f*) with no 'stopping' implication.
9	VII 496 b	Detelicised utterance	Habitual general imperfective (but the utterance is detelicised: cf. test 1)

CONCLUSIONS

According to this analysis, the verb *sḏr* is most probably an achievement (i.e. telic and momentaneous) with static postphase. In a general imperfective context, this verb is frequently detelicised, especially in its meanings 3 ('spend the night') and 4 ('sleep'). Notwithstanding the latter, these meanings of *sḏr* are better seen as translation requirements in modern languages implied by the co-occurrence of *sḏr* with their respective antonyms ('spend the day' for 3, and 'wake up' for 4) than Egyptian meanings. The very stable spelling of *sḏr* (ideogram 'man-on-bed' and variants, and absence of determinative) shows that this verb is to be considered monosemic, meaning 'lie down (on the side)'. Other three secondary uses also occur: a transitive one (meaning

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[57] Doubtful: T1C, the carrier of CT VII 13 g is very lacunar.

2 'lay someone down'), a prepositional one (meaning 5 'sleep with someone'), and as an auxiliary verb (meaning 6).

This study has illustrated as well that the study of the relation between the Egyptian language and script is very complex, and needs an extensive, empirical approach to assess its variated wealth.

ANNEXE. OCCURRENCES OF *sḏr* IN THE COFFIN TEXTS, PER MEANING

In this annexe, all occurrences of the verb *sḏr* in the Coffin Texts' edition by Adriaan de Buck are collected by meaning:

(1)   'lie down' (+ no landmark / no bed / no toponym)
(2)   'lay down' (+ patient)
(3)   'spend the night' (+ toponym / another action)
(4)   'sleep' (+ bed or a synonym)
(5)   'sleep with' (+ animate)
(6)   as an auxiliary verb

For each occurrence, Coffin Text (CT) reference, transliteration, translation, and verbal form are provided.[58]

1. Lie down

I 306 a 3 = g – h (T1C)[59]

sḏr

The lying one!

Imperfective participle (nominalised)[60]

II 118 b – c (S1C)[61]

sḏr.[n msḥ] rr(i) iw rr(i) <iw msḥ> zn.(w)

If the crocodile and the pig have lied down, it is the pig (and) the crocodile having passed.

Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

II 176 b – e (Sq3Sq)

šzp.n N pn tꜣ-rn iri.n wsir im.t (…) sḏr.(w) ḥr pḫr.w m hnhn.w zb.w N pn hnhn.w ḫpr wnm N pn m <wnm.t nṯr.w im> ꜥnḫ <N pn> m ꜥnḫ.t <nṯr.w im sn N pn> m ꜣ.w <sn.w nṯr.w> im[62]

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[58]   In order to minimise the bibliographic charge on the Coffin Text passages, the reader is referred to GRACIA ZAMACONA (2008).
[59]   Same version in T9C, Sq3C & B10C.
[60]   Usually marked with the determinative A40.
[61]   Same version (without restauration) in G2T & S2C (lac.).
[62]   For the restoration, cf. FAULKNER (1994-1996: I, n. 2 on p. 122).

If this N has received Hot-of-name, Osiris has made what is in (…) lying on the offerings in the boat (and) this N will send the *ḥnḥn.w*-boat of Khepri, it is for this N to eat of that what gods eat of, for this N to live of that what gods live of (and) for this N to breath the air gods breath of.

Stative

II 233 c – 234 a

sḏr.n.ỉ[63] *wḏꜥ.k(wỉ)*[64] (/ *wḏꜥ.t(w).ỉ*)[65] *ḥnꜥ.f r-gs im.yw.f ḥr.t-nṯr*

If I have lied down, it is me having been (/ when I am) judged in his company, beside those of him who (are) in the necropolis.

Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

III 296 c – 1 (G1T)[66]

n ḥsqq tp.(ỉ) n zn.t tw wsr.t.(ỉ) n(n) ḥm.(w) rn.i mm ꜣḫ.w n ḫꜣmm.i m iꜣd.t šw n nḥmm ḥw tp r.i n zn.t tw ib.i ḫꜣ.t.i sḏr.(w) bꜣ.(i) rs.(w) ḥr ẖꜣ.t.i n(n) znm.(w) ḥr.i n mḥ.(w) ib.i n(n) ḫm.(w).i wꜣ.t r ḥr.t-nṯr

My head shall not be severed (since) no one will have cut my neck, my name will be not ignored among the *ꜣḫ*, I will not be fished in the net of Shu, Hu will not be taken off my mouth (since) no one will have cut my heart (*ib*) (or) my heart (*ḥꜣ.t*), my *bꜣ* will lie down awaken on my corpse, my face will not be sad, my heart (*ib*) will not be forgotten (and) I will not ignore the way to the necropolis.

Prospective

II 389 c – 390 e

mḥ.t pw pḫr.t ḥꜣ.w-nb.wt pgꜣ.t ꜥ.(wy).s r ḏr.w tꜣ sḏr.t ini.n.s ḥr.t mr.y.s rꜥ nb[67]

The northern wind is the one that surrounds the *ḥꜣ.w-nb.wt*, the one that opens its arms at the limits of the earth, the one that lies once it has brought the affairs of his Beloved, every day.

mḥ.t pw pḫr.t ḥꜣ.w-nb.wt pgꜣ.t ꜥ.wy.s r ḏr.w tꜣ pgꜣ.t ꜥ.wy.s r ḏr.w n.w p.t r ḏr.w n.w nw.t sḏr.<t> rḫ.n.s ḥr.t mr.y.s rꜥ nb[68]

The northern wind is the one that surrounds the *ḥꜣ.w-nb.wt*, the one that opens its arms at the limits of the earth, the one that opens its arms at the limits of the sky, that opens its arms at the limits of Nut, the one that lies once it has learnt the affairs of his Beloved, every day.

Imperfective participle

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[63] S2Cd, S2P, S1P, S1Chass, S1Cb (lac.), S2Ce (lac.), S2Ca, B9C (*sḏr.<n.i>*), B2Bo, Pap.Berl. & S2Cc.
[64] S2Cd, B2Bo, Pap.Berl. & S2Cc.
[65] S2P, S1P, S1Chass, S1Cb, S2Ce & S2Ca.
[66] Same version on A1C (*r{rḫ}<s>.w*).
[67] B1Bo, S2C, B6C, B2Bo, B4Bo, Y1C, M22C, BH1Ox, BH2C, T3C, G1T & A1C.
[68] B3Bo.

IV 27 f – g (Sq6C)

wsir N pn ṯwt ḫȝbs sḏr.f irr.f mrr.t.f

Osiris N! You (are) a *ḫȝbs*-bird (who) lies down, (who) does what he wants.

Imperfective *sḏm.f* (in a virtual adjectival clause with indefined antecedent)

IV 57 i – 58 f (B3L)

iw bȝ.i ḥnꜤ.i n(n) wȝi.(w).f r.i ḥkȝ.w.i m ḫ.t.i n Ꜥwȝ.t(w).f ȝḫ.w.i n.i ḫpr.w.i n.i r wnm.(w).i⁶⁹ (/ wnm.t.i)⁷⁰ i.š.wt.i ḥnꜤ kȝ.i im.y tȝ.i pn sḏr.(w).i mȝ.kwi rnp.kwi

My *bȝ* (is) with me: he will not be far from me; my *ḥkȝ.w* (is) in my belly: it is not stolen; my *ȝḫ*s (belong) to me (and) my transformations (belong) to me as long as I will eat my offerings in the company of my *kȝ* who (is) in this land (and) I will lie down, being seen (and) rejuvenated.

Prospective

IV 349 c – 351 a

nb šȝ.wt nb Ꜥb.w snq.w ḥzȝ.t sr pw n imn.(w) s.wt rdi.y n.f sḏr.w m tȝ⁷¹

(Oh) Master of the shallow waters (?), Master of purity, the one whom the nursing cow suckles, this prince of those who hide the seats, the one for whom those who lie down in the earth have been given!

(i)r.(y) šȝ.wt nb.(w)t m Ꜥb.w snq.w ḥzȝ.t sr pw nn n imn.w s.wt.f m p.t rdi.y n.f sḏr.w m tȝ⁷²

The One in charge of shallow waters with purity, the one whom the nursing cow suckles, this prince of those who hide his seats in the sky, the one for whom the lying ones in earth have been given!

(i)r.(y) šȝ.wt nb.(w)t m Ꜥb.w snq.w ḥzȝ.t sr pw nn n nmi.w s.wt.f m p.t rdi.y n.f sḏr.w m tȝ⁷³

The One in charge of shallow waters with purity, the one whom the nursing cow suckles, this prince of those who have crossed his seats in the sky, the one for whom the lying ones in earth have been given!

Imperfective participle

V 369 h

sḏr.n.i m grḥ⁷⁴

It is during the night that I have lied down

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[69] B3L.

[70] B1P.

[71] S2C, S1C & T1L.

[72] B15C (omits *m p.t*), B1C, B2L, B1Pa & B1Pb.

[73] B6C (phonotactic «liaison»: *rdi.(y) {n} n.f* …; cf. FAULKNER (1978); GRACIA ZAMACONA (fc2)), B2Bo (*rdi.(y)* …), B2Bo & B4Bo (*rdi.(y) <n>.s* …).

[74] B9C, B5C & B1C.

sḏr.(*w*) *N pn m grḥ*[75]

It is during the night that this N will lie down.

Nominal *sḏm.n.f* / Emphatic prospective

V 384 e – i[76]

ḥzȝ.t nb.t ṯȝw.w i.n.i im.ṯn(*y*) *ir.t.i wn.ti ir.t.i* [*ᶜẖn.ti*][77] *psḏ.i m hrw sḏr.i m grḥ sḏb.i ḥzȝ.i r ẖᶜ[ᶜ.w.f]*[78]

Nursing-Cow! Lady of the Winds! If I have come to you, one eye opened, the other shut, that is for me to shine by day (and) sleep at night, that is for me to stop my liquid to its level.

Subjunctive

V 388 c[79]

i ẖd-tȝ nhz sḏr

Oh, The-one-who-lights-up-the-land (= Ra), who gets up at daylight (and) who lies down!

Imperfective participle

V 398 i – j[80]

ẖd-tȝ nhz sḏr im.(*y*) *bȝg im.*(*y*) *ndi.t ẖr-ᶜ.wy.*(*i*)

The-one-who-lights-up-the-land (= Ra), who gets up at daylight (and) who lies down, who (is) in slackness, who (is) in *ndi.t* under my control!

Imperfective participle

VI 88 j

N pn sḏr.f ms.(*w*) *iwr.*(*w*) *rᶜ nb*[81]

This N, he lies down being born (and) conceived every day.

sḏr.(*i*) *iwr.*(*w.i*) *rᶜ nb*[82]

It is (being) conceived that I lie down every day.

Imperfective *sḏm.f* / *mrr.f*

VI 91 n (M22C)

mi rᶜ sḏr wḏb.n.f sw m wẖ

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[75]   B6C & B3L (1st sing.).
[76]   B3L & B1Bo.
[77]   B1Bo (*ᶜš.t*(*i*)).
[78]   B1Bo: *sḏb.f ḥw it r ᶜff.t.f* ('it is to stop Hu, the one who has been taken at his *ᶜff.t*').
[79]   S2C, B2L & B1P (very lacunar).
[80]   B1C, B2L & B1P.
[81]   B1Bo.
[82]   S10Cb.

As the lying Ra, it is in the darkness that he has turned back.
Imperfective participle (adjective)

VI 200 b – e (S2C)

sḏr.[*t*]*i*[83] *sr wȝ.t* [*ḫˁ*].*w*[84] *wr ḥr.(y)-ib-št3.ww wr n.t(y)w-im wr ḥr.(y)-ib-kk.w*

The lying one, the one who foresees the way of apparitions, the Great one Who-(is)-in-the-middle-of-the-secret-places, the Great one of the dead (lit. those there), the Great one Who-(is)-in-the-middle-of-the-darkness,
Adjective?

VI 200 f (S2C)

wr [*ḥr.(y)-gs.f*] *sḏr.(w) tp.(f) <r> p.t tn ḥr.f* [*r*] *iȝb*[85]

The Great one who (is) on his side, the Lying one, his head (being) <to> this sky, his face (being) to the east!
Imperfective participle (nominalised)

VI 304 h – i (B1Bo)[86]

sḏr.n N pn m wr pf ḥr ḥr gs.f wrš.f ȝ is snḏ.w sḫm m tp.t.f

It is to spend the day like the vulture that is feared (and) has power over That-what-(is)-over-him (= the head) that this N has lied down as yonder Great (*wr*) fallen on his side.
Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

VI 335 j (B2L)

sḏr ḥr ḫȝ.t.f mrr.f

What he wants (is) to lie down over his corpse.
Infinitive

VI 345 l – m (Pap.Gard.II & Sq3C)[87]

ink nw n nḫn.w sḏr iw m qȝb mw.t.f

I am that of the child who is lying (and) who is left in his mother's entrails.
Perfective participle

VII 13 g (T1L)

sḏr N p[*n*]

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[83] Doubtful reading.
[84] Doubtful reading.
[85] B2Bo: *tp.f ḥr p.t tn ḥr.f ḥr* [*iȝb*] 'his head (being) towards this sky, his face (being) towards the east!'.
[86] Beginning of spell.
[87] Beginning of spell.

This N lied down
Perfective *sḏm.f*

VII 44 e – f (T9C)
š3s.k wb3.k ṯn sḏr.k ḥr {ḏ}ḏ<n>i.t n.t rꜥ wpp.t mꜥnḏ.t r (m)sk.tt ḫnn.t rꜥ im.s
May you go through, may you penetrate that (and) may you lie down on Ra's dam,
which separates the day bark from the night bark, in which Ra navigates!
Subjunctive.

VII 44 g 1 (T9C)
wḫ.t nṯr.wy sḏr.(w).sn(y) ḥr.s
Darkness, the two gods will lie down in (lit. on) it.
Prospective

VII 51 g – h (Sq6C)
sḏr i.y šd.(w).f r N pn didi.y
The one who is lying down (and) who will come, he will read to this N what is given.
Perfective participle (nominalised)

VII 53 c – d (Sq6C)
ꜥnḫ m m(w)t.(t) tw (…) n.w ꜥff pw sḏr.y ms.y rꜥ nb
The one who lives of this death (is) those (…) of the fly, one who will lie down
(and) will be born every day.
Prospective participle

VII 95 o (S14C)
hiw sḏr
Monster, lie down!
Imperative

VII 96 c (S14C)
hiw sḏr
Monster, lie down!
Imperative

VII 96 e (S14C)
hiw sḏr
Monster, lie down!
Imperative

VII 98 j (S14C)
hiw sḏr
Monster, lie down!
Imperative

VII 114 o – p (B4Bo)
š3s.n N (…) sḏr.t(y)w n.w ḏḥwty
If N has crossed (…) of the lying ones of Thoth, it is for (…).
Adjective (nominalised)?

VII 124 d (T1NY)
sḏr.n.k wḏˁ.t(i) (…)
It is being judged (?) (…) that you have lied down.
Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

VII 185 l – m (Pap.Gard.III)
sḏr.n.i m gs imn.t(y) (…)
If I have lied down on (lit. in) the right side, it is (…)
Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

VII 186 e – f (Pap.Gard.III)[88]
n-ntt ink is (…)n.t ḥr sḏr.t ˁnḫ.(w)[89] rˁ nb
Because I (am) indeed the (fem.) (…) of Horus that (fem.) lies down alive every day.
Imperfective participle

VII 189 m (Pap.Gard.III)
sḏr.f iri.n.f mrr.t.f
He lied down (and) did what he desired
Perfective *sḏm.f*

VII 220 m – p (Pap.Gard.II)
k3 is m(w)t ḫnt.(y) im.y nwn sḏr ḥr ḥr.f sn.nw iṯi.n.f n.f ns.t ḫnt(.t) sb3.t
It is a bull indeed, a Dead one, the one who (is) in front of the one who (is) in Nun, the one who lies down on his second face, one (who) has taken the throne that (is) in fron of the door for him.
Imperfective participle

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[88] End of spell.
[89] Stative lexicalised, with no agreement (the subject is femenine): cf. Vᴇʀɴᴜs (1999).

VII 476 g[90]

wn n.(i) sḏr.ḫr.(i)

Open for me and I will lie down!

sḏm.ḫr.f

2. Lay down (s.o.)

III 325 e[91]

sḏr.t wsir m-ẖn.w [(*m*)*sk.tt*]*?*

The one (fem.) who laid Osiris down inside the night bark.

Perfective participle

3. Spend the night

I 287 d[92]

wr wrš ꜥꜣ sḏr

Great (*wr*) one of awakening! Great (*ꜥꜣ*) one of lying down!

Infinitive (nominalised)

III 164 d – 165 d

sḏr.n.i m knm.t[93]

In Kenmet have I spent the night.

hꜣ.n.i m knmw.tyw[94]

To Kenemtyw have I gone down.

Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

III 205 e – f[95]

sḏr.n.f m knm.yt iq ḥnꜥ.f

(…) and it is *iq* (being) with him that he has spent the night in Kenmyt.

Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

IV 31 g (Sq6C)[96]

tm sḏr.(w) m nm.t

Not to spend the night in the slaughterhouse.

Negative complement

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[90] Beginning of spell. B1Be B1P & B5C.

[91] G1T & A1C.

[92] T2C, T1C, T9C, Sq3C & B10C.

[93] S1Cb, S2Cb, B2Bo, B1Boc, G1T, A1C (*sḏr.<n>.i*), B1Boa, B1Bob, B9C, B1C, B5C, B2L, T1L & S1Ca.

[94] T3C.

[95] B1Bob, B1Boa, B2Bo (1st s.), M22C (very lac.) & S2C (1st s.).

[96] Beginning of spell.

IV 41 b – c[97]

pr.n N pn m sw sḏr.n.f m ww inm.w.f pnꜥ.y ḫft šs3.t m imn.t

If this N has come out of *S*w (and) he has spent the night in *Ww*, it is his skin (being) turned over after the night in the West.

Nominal *sḏm.n.f*

V 53 b – c[98]

sḏr.n.i m z3tw m ḥz.y im m p.t t3 sḏm

If I spent the night in *Z3tw*, it is as a favourite (*ḥz.y*)[99] there, in the sky (and on) earth: Listen!

Emphatic *sḏm.n.f*

VI 131 a – i[100]

nfr w(y) ḥw.w.i im sšm.i [š3].w ḥnꜥ nb šms.w fd.i šw š3s.i[101] *3kr nm.[i d]w3.<t>*[102] *sḏr.i ḥr wꜥb.t.sn(y) wpr.ty.i ḥḏ n.i ḥr n ḥw.t-ḥr di ḥw.t-ḥr ꜥ.wy.s r.i*

How beautiful my commands are when I lead the pigs together with the Master of the entourage, when I climb Shu, when I cross Aker, when I go through the Duat, when I spend the night at their (priestly) service, my plaits' (service), when Hathor's face brightens for me (and) when Hathor puts her arms over (lit. to) me!

Imperfective *sḏm.f*

VI 137 g – j[103]

ink wꜥ m ṯn.tyw.t[104] *ḥw.t-ḥr wnm.w sšt3.w sdb.w nšn.ww sḏr.w ḥr wꜥb.w.sn*

I (am) one of your sacred livestock, Hathor, that eats *sšt3.w* (and) chews *nšn.w*, that spends the night at their (priestly) services.

Imperfective participle

VI 227 g – k (B2La)[105]

ink syn n ib n nṯr sḥmḫ ib.i ini rm.t.i sḏr z3.(w) n rm.wt nṯr.w iri ḥtp

I (am) who smiles to the heart of the god who has amused my heart (and) who has brought my tears, the one who has spent the night watching over the gods' tears, the one who did satisfaction (= offering?).

Imperfective participle

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[97] B1Bo, B9C (*.i*), B2L (*.i*) & B1C (*.i*).

[98] B2Bo, B6C (nominal subject), B4Bo (nominal subject) & S2C.

[99] See foot note 41.

[100] Version on M6C unless indicated otherwise. End of spell.

[101] M23C. M6C has (mistakenly?) *smn.i* 'I establish'.

[102] M23C. The reading of the landmark is doubtful.

[103] M22C & Pap.Gard.III. Beginning of spell CT 542.

[104] Pap.Gard.III adds *pw ḥnw.t.i* here with no significant change in meaning.

[105] End of spell.

VI 257 j – l[106]

wrš-sḏr-ḥr-gs.f-iȝb pr.n.(i) iw.(i) ꜥq.n.(i) ꜥm.n.i sw imn.t im.t ḥw.t n.t ptḥ {ik}

The-one-who-spends-the-day-(and)-the-night-on-his-left-side! It is before that that what (is) in Neith's (and) Ptah's mansion is hidden that I came out, I come, I entered (and) I swallowed it.

Imperfective participle

4. Sleep, rest

II 111 e – f[107]

rs rs.w sḏr sḏr.w ꜥḥꜥ iwn.(y)w

May the awake wake up! May the sleepers sleep! May Those-of-the-pillar stand!

Subjunctive & Imperfective participle (nominalised)

II 176 k – p[108]

pḫr.n ꜥšȝ.t n N pn zš.n N pn (n) ȝḫ.w ipw imn.w r s.wt imn.t di.sn bȝ.t n(.t) N pn n.f srsr.sn N pn sḏr.f ḏd N pn wp.t n sḏm mdw

If the crowds have served this N, if this N has written to these *ȝḫ* that are hidden to the seats of the West, that is for them (= the hidden *ȝḫ*) to give the *bȝ.t* of this N for him, that is for them to wake up this N when he sleeps, that is for this N to pronounce a trial to the judge (lit. 'one who listens the word').

Imperfective *sḏm.f*

IV 366 c (B9C)

iw (r)di.y n.i sḏr.w

Rest has been given to me.

Verbal noun

IV 81 b – e

iw ṯȝw.w m sȝ N pn n ḫsf.n sw kȝ nšn šm.{k}<f> r bw ḥr.(y) sḏr.t iwi.f ḫnt.t ḥw.t sḫ.t n nḥḥ sšm.n.f r kkw mr.w imn.tyw[109]

The winds (are) as the protection of this N, the angry bull cannot repel him, he (= N) goes to the rest-place[110] of He-is-stranded (= Osiris) that (is) in front of the

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[106] Sq3C & Sq4C (very lac.).

[107] G2T & S2C (lac.).

[108] Sq3Sq (unique document): on «unique spells», cf. Gracia Zamacona (2020).

[109] B6C.

[110] *bw* 'place' is literally 'under' (*ẖr.y*) a function, then temporarily owned by/for that function, through the semantic implication 'an inanimate under an entity belongs to the latter' (cf. *ẖr.t-nṯr* 'what belongs to the god' = 'necropolis'). I will deal with this topic in a future study.

mansion of the Field of Eternity (*nḥḥ*), and he has ruled against the painful darkness of the Westerners.

iw Ṯȝw.w m sȝ.i n(n) ḫsf.(w) wi kȝ nšn šm.i r bw ḥr(.y) sḏr iwi.f ḫnt(.y) sḫ.t n nḥḥ sšm.<i> r kkw mr.w imn.tyw[111]

The winds (are) as my protection, the angry bull will not repel me, I go to the rest-place of He-is-stranded (= Osiris) that (is) in front of the Field of Eternity (*nḥḥ*), and I rule against the painful darkness of the Westerners.

Verbal noun

V 79 a[112]

ink srs it sḏr

That is me who awakens the father who is sleeping.

Imperfective participle

V 108 b

wnn.i wnnt sḏr.k(w)i[113]

It was certainly resting that I was!

wn.i wnt sḏr.kwi[114]

I was indeed resting!

Stative

VI 34 m – p[115]

m iri.yw št3.t r.i nṯr.[w] m(w)t m(w)t.t ḥm(w).t-r m sḏr.t wḏ.t n.t grḥ pn sḫt.t ḫpr.t n.t hrw pn m ḥȝm.t [tw] wr.t ʿȝ.t n.t wsir n.tt dns.wt.s r p.t db3.w.s r t3

Do not do anything hidden against me, (oh) gods, the dead male and female, etc. during the compulsory rest of this night (or during) the current (lit. 'happened') net-trapping in this great (*wr*) (and) great (*ʿȝ*) net (*ḥȝm.t*) of Osiris the pounds of which (are) at the sky (and) the floats (are) at the earth!

Verbal noun

VI 218 k – o[116]

i.n.i min r bw n.t(y) wsir im mȝʿ-ḫrw.(w) ḥnk.wt.i m ʿ.i s.t.i ḥr.i sḏr bȝ.i (wrd)[117]

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[111] D1C.

[112] T1C, Sq1Sq, Sq2Sq, Sq1C (*it.f*), T1Be (*it.f*), M2C (very lac.), T3L, Ab1Ph (very lac.) & Sq7Sq (*it.f*). Omitted in T2L.

[113] T1C.

[114] T1Be & M2C.

[115] B1P.

[116] S1C ends here. This spell (CT 605) is devoted to the bed.

[117] S5C adds the adjective *wrḏ* 'tired'.

If I have come here, to the place where Osiris is, being justified, my bed (being) in my possession (and) my seat (being) under me, it is for my (tired) *bꜣ* to rest/sleep.
Subjunctive

VI 305 a[118]
N pn mn.t psš.t sd sḏr.t ḫt tꜣ
This N is a cleft-tailed lark which rests everywhere on earth (= migrant bird).
Imperfective participle

VI 305 b (B1Bo)
n sḏr.n N pn ḫt tꜣ
This N cannot rest in the whole earth.
Predicative *sḏm.n.f* negated

VI 393 k (T1L)
ꜥḥꜥ n.k wrš.w sḏr.w nṯr.w
May those of the gods who stay awake (and) who sleep stand up for you!
Verbal noun

VI 393 q – 394 a (T1L)
ṯz ṯw wr r wrš ꜥꜣ r sḏr
Get up yourself, (you who are) bigger (*wr*) than the one who stays awake, (you who are) bigger (*ꜥꜣ*) than the one who rests!
Imperfective participle (nominalised)

VI 414 k – m
sḏr.n.t rs.n.t dr.(w) rḏw.w ḏbꜣ m iwf.t mḥ.ti ḥtm.ti m ir.t ḥr[119]
If you have have slept (and) woken up, that is for your fluid which is blocked in your flesh to be pushed, you (being) filled (and) full of the Horus' eye.
sḏr.(w).k rs.n.k dr.(w) rḏw.w ḏbꜣ m iwf.k mḥ.ti ḥtm.ti m ir.t ḥr[120]
If you will have have slept (and) woken up, that is for your fluid which is blocked in your flesh to be pushed, you (being) filled (and) full of the Horus' eye.
Nominal *sḏm.n.f* / Nominal prospective

VII 44 g 2 (T9C)
ḥḥ.t nṯr.wy sḏr.t r.s

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[118] Beginning of spell CT 678.
[119] T6C. The coffin owner is a woman.
[120] T10C.

What the two gods seek (is) resting at it (= darkness).
Verbal noun

VII 496 b (B1P)
iw.f sḏr.f rs.f r tp(.y)-rnp.t
He sleeps (and) wakes up on new year's day.
Imperfective *sḏm.f*

5. Sleep with

II 32 f – j
ꜥnḫ.i ḥnꜥ z3.ty.i ꜥnḫ.i ḥnꜥ ꜣ.ty.i isk wi m-ḥr-ib.sny wꜥ.ty.sny r-s3 ẖ.t.i sḏr[121] *ꜥnḫ ḥnꜥ z3.t.i m3ꜥ.t wꜥ.t m-ẖn.w.i wꜥ.t ḥ3.i*
It is with my two children, with my two offsprings that I live—Now, I (am) in the middle of the two of them, (and) each of them, they (are) behind my belly, Life sleeps with my daughter Order, one (being) inside me (and) the other (being) around me.

ꜥnḫ.i ḥnꜥ z3.ty.i ꜥnḫ.i ḥnꜥ ꜣ.ty.i isk wi m-ḥr-ib.sny wꜥ.ty.sny r-s3 ẖ.t.i r sḏr[122] *ꜥnḫ ḥnꜥ z3.t.i m3ꜥ.t wꜥ.t m-ẖn.w.i wꜥ.t ḥ3.i*
It is with my two children, with my two offsprings that I live—Now, I (am) in the middle of the two of them, (and) each of them, they (are) behind my belly, as the fact that Life sleeps with my daughter Order, one (being) inside me (and) the other (being) around me.
Imperfective *sḏm.f / mrr.f*

VII 52 h (Sq6C)
m3.k ḥtm-wr sḏr.wy[123] *m i.ꜥ3.w*
May you see *ḥtm-wr*, the one who sleeps, yes, with donkeys!
Imperfective participle

6. Auxiliary verb

V 97 g (T1C)[124]
sḏr.n k3.w.s rḫs.(w) smn.s npd.(w)
Then the night came when his bulls were sacrificed (and) his geese were beheaded.
Predicative *sḏm.n.f*

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[121] B1C, B2L (without correction) & B7C (lac.).
[122] B1P.
[123] For participle + *-wy*, cf. Malaise & Winand (1999: ex. 290).
[124] T1C, Sq2Sq (very lac.), Sq1C (lac.), T1Be (… *k3.w smn.w.s npd.(w)*) & M2C (*sḏr.in k3.s ḫr.(w) smn.s nbḏ.(w)*).

VII 406 b

sḏr pẖr is.wt rꜥ m-sꜣ nfr.f[125]

May be by night (lit. lie down) that Ra's crew march after his beauty!

pẖr is.wt rꜥ m-sꜣ nfr.f[126]

May Ra's crew march after his beauty!

Subjunctive

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[125] B1L, B2L & B3L.

[126] B1Bo, B1C, B6C & B9C.

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