

**Metaphors They Lived by in Ancient Egypt:  
Analysing *The Prophecy of Neferty* & *The Admonitions of  
Ipuwer***

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I, Sophie Harris, hereby certify that this work has not been submitted, partially or in full, towards a degree at any other university or institution. This is all my own work. Where the works of others have been consulted, due acknowledgement has been given.

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## **ABSTRACT**

For the ancient Egyptians, metaphors were predominant throughout the written expression of their civilisation, a feature that has captured significant academic attention. Yet, in spite of metaphor having long been a focus of Egyptological studies, it has frequently been treated as merely a means of linguistic ornamentation, without a deeper meaning or function in its respective text. The aim of this thesis is to identify, quantify, and qualify the metaphors employed within the Middle Kingdom texts *The Prophecy of Neferty* and *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, in order to assess the rhetorical and ideological function of the metaphors within these literary texts. This was achieved through modern methods of metaphor analysis, namely, Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

In the rhetoric of *Neferty* and *Ipuwer*, metaphors were predominantly assigned negative evaluations. The accumulation of these negative metaphors was not accidental on the part of the Egyptians, but rather, when holistically analysed, they are shown to cluster and point to the underlying megametaphors *ISFET* IS BAD and *MA'AT* IS GOOD. While one might argue that these thematic ideological concepts of *ISFET* and *MA'AT* are already recognisable to readers in a cursory reading, an analysis of the metaphors in these texts demonstrates that metaphor is not used for mere ornamentation or as a method for padding out gaps in a text. Instead, metaphor is an integral part of rhetorically shaping and driving the compositional essence of these two narratives.



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## **CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION**

“The Middle Kingdom was a time when art, architecture, and religion reached new heights but, above all, it was an age of confidence in writing.”<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps rightly regarded as the foundational period for what we now consider to be classical Egyptian literature, the Middle Kingdom was fertile ground for creative scribal imaginations to conceive new literary forms. From this literary golden age there emerged an interesting category of text, the tonally darker and pessimistic genre of didactic literature, known as the *literature of pessimism*.<sup>2</sup> Texts belonging to this genre openly bemoaned and admonished the vicissitudes occurring to the ideal – ordered, stable, and harmonious – Egyptian world. These pessimistic texts not only focus on a degeneration of the social sphere, as seen in the inversion of traditional hierarchies, but also show disturbances in the natural world, for example, the drying up of the Nile and the dimming of the sun. The *literature of pessimism* comprises, but is not limited to, *The Prophecy of Neferty* and *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, which are the main texts that will be analysed in the current thesis. Despite being written over three thousand years ago, these are powerful and evocative texts. They explore themes of societal upheaval and turmoil, natural calamities, anxiety, and suffering; universal themes that remain recognisable to a contemporary audience. The most salient feature of these texts, which allows for the effective and evocative communications of these concepts, is the abundance and variational usage of figurative language – metaphor.

In Egyptology, throughout the last century, there has been a continuous engagement with metaphor in the scholarly literature, one that has methodologically and thematically evolved to implement an amalgam of different approaches to metaphor analysis across both text and image.<sup>3</sup> Cognitive frameworks, once liminal, have in

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<sup>1</sup> G. Callender, ‘The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (C. 2055-1650 BC)’, in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. I. Shaw (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> W. K. Simpson, ‘Introduction’, in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Di Biase-Dyson provides an up-to-date, concise, and thorough overview of the varying approaches to Egyptological metaphor studies within C. Di Biase-Dyson, ‘Metaphor’, ed. J. Stauder-Porchet, A.

more recent times gained traction within Egyptological metaphor studies, a trend that was pioneered by Orly Goldwasser's work on prototype classification of metaphor within the Egyptian script, specifically determinatives.<sup>4</sup> Her cognitive focus significantly utilised Lakoff and Johnson's cognitive paradigm of Conceptual Metaphor Theory,<sup>5</sup> which has more recently been implemented within the research conducted by David,<sup>6</sup> Köhler,<sup>7</sup> and Nyord.<sup>8</sup>

More widely, within Conceptual Metaphor Theory, metaphor is understood as a cognitive process in which one 'idea' or conceptual structure, usually an abstract concept (e.g. LOVE), is validated and clarified in terms of another conceptual structure, which is closer to concrete embodied experiences (e.g. JOURNEYS, FIRE, MADNESS, MAGIC etc.).<sup>9</sup> Metaphor, thus, is not merely a matter of words, but as a cognitive mechanism, metaphor is a matter of thought, a way to fundamentally formulate and structure all kinds of abstract ideas: ideas about emotions, society, human behaviour etc. In other words, the claim is that we think in metaphors, and that as a result, metaphor is an integral part of our ordinary everyday thought and speech.<sup>10</sup> If language follows thought, then linguistic structures manifest conceptual structures, thus, according to Nyord:

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Stauder, and W. Wendrich, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2017), pp. 5–8, E-publication: <[http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz00\\_2kcbfm](http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz00_2kcbfm)>.

<sup>4</sup> O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 142 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1995); O. Goldwasser, 'The Determinative System as a Mirror of World Organization', *Göttinger Miszellen* 170 (1999): pp. 49–68; O. Goldwasser, 'Where Is Metaphor?: Conceptual Metaphor and Alternative Classification in the Hieroglyphic Script', *Metaphor and Symbol* 20, no. 2 (1 April 2005): pp. 95–113.

<sup>5</sup> G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> A. David, 'Composés attributifs exocentriques, hypallage et métaphore', *Lingua Aegyptia* 12 (2004): pp. 45–51.

<sup>7</sup> I. Köhler, 'Rage like an Egyptian: Prototypensemantik in der altägyptischen Sprache am Beispiel des Wortfelds [WUT]' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2011); I. Köhler, 'Rage like an Egyptian: The Conceptualisation of Anger', in *Current Research in Egyptology 2010: Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium Leiden University 2010*, ed. M. Horn et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011).

<sup>8</sup> R. Nyord, *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2009); R. Nyord, 'Prototype Structures and Conceptual Metaphor: Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egypt', in *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian*, ed. E. Grossman, S. Polis, and J. Winand, *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* 9 (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2012), pp. 141–74.

<sup>9</sup> Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 6.

“... linguistic metaphorical statements can become a window into the conceptual structure of a linguistic community – which is particularly useful when dealing with a dead culture, which has left abundant written documentation of the language.”<sup>11</sup>

Interestingly, Nyord sees the potential to analyse metaphor and the conceptual process not only in relation to modern languages. It is particularly productive to investigate this position further, as metaphor clearly has the capacity to reveal aspects of our culture and the prevalent worldviews around us.<sup>12</sup> This insight has implications for the study of ancient cultures, whose customs, ideologies, and behaviours – we have reason to think – diverge significantly from our own.

Let us first consider some modern examples. The everyday linguistic expressions used in the context of romantic relationships: “I don’t think this relationship is going anywhere”, “We’ll just have to go our separate ways”, or “Our marriage is on the rocks”, disclose that English speakers think and comprehend, then express LOVE in terms of JOURNEYS. This reflects the underlying conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY. For someone studying Western, Anglophone culture, this phenomenon offers crucial insights into the cultural beliefs and assumptions English speakers have about the concept of LOVE, along with how the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY organises, influences, and constrains the user’s experiences and behaviour.

Whilst, Lakoff and Johnson, in their seminal work on conceptual metaphor, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), demonstrated that everyday human thought processes are often metaphorical, dissuading readers from seeing metaphors as exclusively literary devices, they did not fully consider how their work would also intersect with the study of metaphors in literature.<sup>13</sup> In doing so, they implicitly perpetuated the notion that metaphors that occur in literary texts (so-called ‘poetic’ metaphors) are beyond ordinary everyday conceptual metaphoric thought and language, because poetic metaphors were creative, original, deliberate, and ornamental. It was not until Lakoff

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<sup>11</sup> R. Nyord, ‘Cognitive Linguistics’, ed. J. Stauder-Porchet, A. Stauder, and W. Wendrich, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2015), p. 2, E-publication: <<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002k44p6>>.

<sup>12</sup> G. Lakoff and M. Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 214.

<sup>13</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 3.

and Turner's later work *More than Cool Reason* (1989), that the relationship between conventional conceptual metaphoric thought and metaphors in literature were reconciled; far from being mere ornamentation, these literary metaphors were shown to "deal with central and indispensable aspects of our conceptual systems."<sup>14</sup> Subsequently, poets and writers were shown to masterfully utilise the same conventional conceptual metaphors that underlie much of our everyday conceptual systems, but in such a way that their use of metaphor extends beyond the basic to insightfully expand on fundamental human themes, to clarify experiences, to examine beliefs, and to criticise ideologies.

Whilst metaphors have been a focus of Egyptological studies, they have frequently been seen as merely linguistic ornaments without a deeper meaning.<sup>15</sup> However, Conceptual Metaphor Theory will provide an analytic framework in which to deepen our understanding of metaphors beyond a technique of mere ornamentation, ultimately providing a more thorough understanding of the conceptual structures utilised by the ancient Egyptians. Thus, through the application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory this thesis aims to identify, quantify, and qualify the conceptual metaphors employed within the genre of the *literature of pessimism*, more specifically through the two texts *The Prophecy of Neferty* and *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* from the Middle Kingdom period. The primary objective is to investigate how conceptual metaphoric thought functions rhetorically and ideologically in literature. Finally, the current study will investigate how metaphor plays a significant role in creating an understanding of the texts as holistic narratives.

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<sup>14</sup> Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, p. 215.

<sup>15</sup> A. Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2005), p. 2.



## **CHAPTER 2 – HISTORY OF STUDYING THE TEXTS: A CRITICAL REVIEW**

The following chapter aims to establish an overview of the seminal studies conducted in relation to *The Prophecy of Neferty* and *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, particularly the publication history of text editions, translations, commentaries and/or studies that have impacted current interpretations of these texts. Each section will conclude with an appraisal of the previous research conducted in relation to the metaphors contained within each text. Given the breadth of scholarship on both these ancient Egyptian texts, including but not limited to, grammatical studies, philological studies, explanations of individual words or verses, and studies of the genre and structure, I will exclude works in these areas from the following analysis, unless pertinent for the discussion of previous metaphor studies.

### **2.1 The Prophecy of Neferty**

*The Prophecy of Neferty* (hereafter *Neferty*) is preserved as a complete text on Papyrus St. Petersburg 1116B recto and is supplemented by two writing boards (Cairo 25224 and BM 5647) and twenty-two ostraca.<sup>16</sup> The preserved copies of the texts that are presently available date to the New Kingdom, yet the original text was ostensibly composed during the early Twelfth Dynasty, either throughout or after the reign of Amenemhat I.<sup>17</sup> The narrative is set in the court of King Snefru, the founder of the Fourth Dynasty, who summons the lector priest Neferty to entertain him with visions of the future. Neferty divines two prophecies: the first foretells of a great, devastating upheaval to Egypt, juxtaposed by a second prophecy that announces the

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<sup>16</sup> For a full list of the ostraca refer to: W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr. tj* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), pp. 1–2.

<sup>17</sup> G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l’Égypte de la XIIe dynastie* (Paris: H. Champion, 1956), pp. 21–60. The following writers have disagreed with this early date, suggesting later periods i.e. the Late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period: K. Ryholt, ‘A Reconsideration of Some Royal Nomens of the Thirteenth Dynasty’, *Göttinger Miszellen* 119 (1990): p. 109 (a cautious early Thirteenth Dynasty date); L. Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 29 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996), pp. 109–10 (Second Intermediate Period); A. Stauder, *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts - Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts*, vol. 2, *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* 12 (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2013), p. 418 (a temporal range that extends from the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty to the early Eighteenth Dynasty).

coming of a southern king called Ameny (a possible alias for Amenemhat I),<sup>18</sup> who will bring renewed prosperity and order after a period of turbulence.

The Papyrus St. Petersburg 1116B was first published by Golenischeff in 1913,<sup>19</sup> whose publication included a hieroglyphic transcription and translation, as well as photographs of the papyrus. Before this publication, the only published variant of the *Neferty* text was of the incomplete Cairo 25224 writing board, translated by Ranke (1909).<sup>20</sup> One year after the publication of Golenischeff's text edition, Gardiner (1914) presented the first English translation of *Neferty*, accompanied by an array of notes on assorted topics.<sup>21</sup> *Neferty* was later included in Erman's anthology *Die Literatur der alten Ägypter* (1923);<sup>22</sup> however, Erman's rendering excluded numerous difficult passages from the translation. Other earlier translations of *Neferty* were incorporated into the anthologies of Roeder (1927),<sup>23</sup> Lefèbvre (1949),<sup>24</sup> and Wilson in Pritchard's *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (1955).<sup>25</sup> In the 1950s, Posener (1956)<sup>26</sup> and Hermann (1957)<sup>27</sup> produced studies of the text: the former discussed the political or 'propagandistic' motives for the text's composition, an influential stance that has persisted in subsequent discussions of *Neferty*;<sup>28</sup> the latter critically assessed the literary aspects of the text.

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<sup>18</sup> R. B. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*, Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies (London: Continuum, 2002), p. 197.

<sup>19</sup> W. Golenischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques nos. III5, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage impérial à St.-Pétersbourg* (St. Petersburg: l'Ermitage Impérial, 1913).

<sup>20</sup> H. Gressmann, ed., *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, trans. A. Ungnad and H. Ranke, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Tübingen: Mohr (Siebek), 1909), pp. 204–06; H. Gressmann, ed., *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, trans. A. Ungnad and H. Ranke, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1926), pp. 46–48.

<sup>21</sup> A. Gardiner, 'New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt: II. Pap. Petersburg 1116B, Recto', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (1914): pp. 100–105.

<sup>22</sup> A. Erman, *Die Literatur der alten Ägypter* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1923), pp. 152–57.

<sup>23</sup> G. Roeder, *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen* (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1927), pp. 113–17.

<sup>24</sup> G. Lefèbvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique: traduction avec introduction, notices et commentaire* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1949), pp. 96–105.

<sup>25</sup> J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), pp. 444–46.

<sup>26</sup> Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XIIe dynastie*, pp. 21–60 & pp. 145–57.

<sup>27</sup> S. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgestalt mittelägyptischer Literaturwerke*, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung 33 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957).

<sup>28</sup> E. Blumenthal, 'Die Prophezeiung des Neferti', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 109 (1982): pp. 1–27; V. Tobin, 'The Prophecies of Neferty', in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 214.

Somewhat more epigraphical than philological in nature, Helck's (1970) text edition, which has been used for the preparation of the current study's translations, at last provided a complete assemblage of all the surviving textual material.<sup>29</sup> Conversely, Barta's (1971) translation and grammatical analysis seriously addressed disputed philological problems pertaining to particular passages of the text.<sup>30</sup> Goedicke's (1977) study of the text,<sup>31</sup> as supported by his translation, realises a very distinct and different interpretation of the text's compositional setting. Rather than a work of 'pseudo-prophecy', Goedicke understands the text to be an appeal by Neferty to Amenemhat I about the contemporaneous turmoil throughout the land; and thus to avoid repercussion for openly speaking out, Neferty veils his address by orating to the long deceased King Snefru. However, as Murnane recognises, Goedicke's interpretation is not wholly supported by the grammar of the text; the *sḏm=f* form utilised in the 'prophecy' section of the text, which could either be present or prospective tense, should be understood as having a prospective sense.<sup>32</sup> In her analysis of the text, Blumenthal (1982) recognises a cyclical sequence of themes develop throughout the prophecy, namely cosmic chaos (4-7), Asiatics (6-8), internal or personal chaos (8-11), and a return to cosmic chaos (11).<sup>33</sup>

More recently, Dessoudeix (2016) published an anthology of Middle Egyptian literature; among these texts was *Neferty*, which included pictures of the hieratic Papyrus St. Petersburg 1116B, a transcription, transliteration, translation, and grammatical notes on the text.<sup>34</sup> Other notable and more recent translations of *Neferty* include: Faulkner (1972),<sup>35</sup> Lichtheim (1973),<sup>36</sup> Parkinson (1997),<sup>37</sup> Tobin (2003),<sup>38</sup> and Quirke (2004).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr. tj.*

<sup>30</sup> W. Barta, 'Zu einigen Textpassagen der Prophezeiung des Neferti', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo* 27 (1973): pp. 35–45.

<sup>31</sup> H. Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1977).

<sup>32</sup> William J. Murnane, 'Review of *The Protocol of Neferyt (The Prophecy of Neferti)*, by Hans Goedicke', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 41, no. 2 (1982): pp. 145–46.

<sup>33</sup> Blumenthal, 'Die Prophezeiung des Neferti', p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> M. Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes III: La littérature du Moyen Empire* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2016), pp. 552–75.

<sup>35</sup> R. O. Faulkner, 'The Prophecy of Neferti', in *The Literature of Ancient Egyptian: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 234–40.

<sup>36</sup> M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), pp. 139–45.

At present, no systematic or comprehensive analysis of the metaphors contained within *Neferty* has been conducted. At best, a few translations and studies of the text make brief, perfunctory remarks that only identify a few metaphors, but which do not explain the construction of the metaphors nor their function and significance within the text's composition. This cursory approach to metaphors is best exemplified by Goedicke's analytic commentary on *Neferty* 8.1-8.2, where he merely states: "In view of the metaphorical use of *ꜥwt* for people in the Middle Kingdom, *ꜥwt hꜣst* is likely to denote here 'foreigners'."<sup>40</sup>

## **2.2. The Admonitions of Ipuwer**

This text, known also as *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* or *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* (hereafter *Ipuwer*), is solely preserved as a Ramesside manuscript on Papyrus Leiden I 344 recto.<sup>41</sup> The papyrus, unfortunately, is severely damaged; both the beginning and the end of the text have been lost, with Parkinson speculating that as many as forty verses may have been lost at each end.<sup>42</sup> In its current state of preservation, many of its seventeen pages are damaged; only a third of the current first page remains, pages two to seven are relatively free of lacunae, though from page eight onwards, each page again features large lacunae.<sup>43</sup> Set in an unknown locale, both temporally and spatially, the composition itself is a dialogue conducted between the sage-like figure Ipuwer and an unknown king, referred as the 'Lord of All', whose identity may have been introduced in the now lost beginning. In

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<sup>37</sup> R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 131–43.

<sup>38</sup> Tobin, 'The Prophecies of Neferty', pp. 214–20.

<sup>39</sup> S. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature, 1800 BC: Questions and Readings* (London: Golden House Publications, 2004), pp. 135–39.

<sup>40</sup> Goedicke, *The Protocol of Neferyt*, p. 95. Similarly, Haikal's study of water metaphors in ancient Egypt identifies *Neferty* 6.1-6.2 as metaphorical but does not fully explain its construction, as seen in: F. Haikal, 'L'eau dans les métaphores de l'Égypte ancienne', in *Les problèmes institutionnels de l'eau en Égypte ancienne et dans l'antiquité méditerranéenne*, ed. B. Menu, Bibliothèque d'Étude 110 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1994), p. 207.

<sup>41</sup> R. Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of 'The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC*, pp. 166, 169.

<sup>43</sup> A. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage - from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 Recto)* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909), p. 1.

his address to the monarch, Ipuwer recounts the chaotic topsy-turvy plight of the land, subsequently urging the king to re-establish order to Egypt.

Though first briefly reported in Leemans' catalogue of Leiden's Egyptian collection (1840),<sup>44</sup> it was not until 1909 that Gardiner published the first text edition of *Ipuwer*, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*.<sup>45</sup> Thereafter, Helck (1995),<sup>46</sup> Enmarch (2005),<sup>47</sup> and Dessoudeix (2016)<sup>48</sup> have published more recent text editions; it is the former's edition that has been utilised for the preparation of the current study's translation. The steady, persisting interest in *Ipuwer* is emphasised by the numerous other translations of the text, including those by: Budge (1914),<sup>49</sup> Erman (1923),<sup>50</sup> Faulkner (1964, 1965, 1973),<sup>51</sup> Lichtheim (1973),<sup>52</sup> Parkinson (1997),<sup>53</sup> Tobin (2003),<sup>54</sup> Quirke (2004),<sup>55</sup> and Enmarch (2008).<sup>56</sup>

Though the papyrus dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty, studies and discussion of the text have concentrated on ascertaining the text's compositional date, as the text is a copy of an older document. From a historicist perspective, many scholars have argued that the text reflects the 'chaos' that pervaded Egypt during the First Intermediate

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<sup>44</sup> C. Leemans, *Description raisonnée des monuments égyptiens du Musée des Antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* (Leiden: H. W. Hazenberg, 1840), p. 112.

<sup>45</sup> Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage - from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 Recto)*.

<sup>46</sup> W. Helck, *Die 'Admonitions' Pap. Leiden I 344 recto* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995).

<sup>47</sup> R. Enmarch, *The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2005).

<sup>48</sup> Dessoudeix, *Lettres égyptiennes III: La littérature du Moyen Empire*, pp. 604–71.

<sup>49</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London: J. M. Dent, 1914), pp. 236–40.

<sup>50</sup> A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Ägypter: Gedichte, Erzählungen und Lehrbücher aus dem 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1923), pp. 130–48.

<sup>51</sup> R. O. Faulkner, 'Notes on "The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage"', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964): pp. 24–36; R. O. Faulkner, 'The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage', *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 51 (1965): pp. 53–62; R. O. Faulkner, 'The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage', in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, 2nd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 201–29.

<sup>52</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 149–63.

<sup>53</sup> Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC*, pp. 166–99.

<sup>54</sup> V. Tobin, 'The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage', in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 188–210.

<sup>55</sup> Quirke, *Egyptian Literature, 1800 BC: Questions and Readings*, pp. 140–50.

<sup>56</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of 'The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All'*.

Period, and was composed either during the First Intermediate Period,<sup>57</sup> or thereafter in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>58</sup> Enmarch highlights the problematic nature of such a historical reading of the text, given that “the proposed historical features identified as specific to intermediate periods could also have characterised other times, such as the Middle Kingdom.”<sup>59</sup> Indeed, many tumultuous events took place in the Middle Kingdom, such as the famine<sup>60</sup> and rebellion of Upper Egypt attested to in Senwosret I’s reign,<sup>61</sup> as well as the possible assassination of Amenemhat I.<sup>62</sup> Luria (1929), by contrast, rejects the inference that *Ipuwer* takes place in a particular historical setting, making the striking point that the description of chaos in *Ipuwer* is paradoxical – while the land is described as being in such a calamitous state, conversely the poor are obtaining great wealth and standing – thus, any real historical setting of the text is implausible.<sup>63</sup> In agreement with Luria, Lichtheim concludes that the text has no historical relevance or connection to the First Intermediate Period, but is rather the

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<sup>57</sup> J. Spiegel, *Soziale und weltanschauliche Reformbewegungen im alten Ägypten* (Heidelberg: F. H. Kerle, 1950), p. 44; B. Bell, ‘The Dark Ages in Ancient History, 1: The First Dark Age in Egypt’, *American Journal of Archeology* 75 (1971): pp. 11–14; R. Gundlach, ‘Die religiöse Rechtfertigung des Sturzes der 8. Dynastie’, in *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákossy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, ed. U. Luft, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14 (Budapest: Chaire d’Égyptologie de l’Université Loránd Eötvös, 1992), pp. 263–64.

<sup>58</sup> H. O. Lange, ‘Prophezeiungen eines ägyptischen Weisen aus dem Papyrus I, 344 in Leiden: Vorläufige Mitteilung’, *Conference reports of the Prussian Academy of Sciences* 27 (1903): pp. 609–10; Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage - from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 Recto)*, p. 112; A. Erman, ‘Die Mahnworte eines ägyptischen Propheten’, *Conference reports of the Prussian Academy of Sciences* 42 (1919): p. 813; J. van Seters, ‘A Date for the “Admonitions” in the Second Intermediate Period’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50 (1964): pp. 13–23.

<sup>59</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of ‘The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All’*, p. 19.

<sup>60</sup> As recorded in the tomb inscription of the Beni Hasan nomarch Ameny in J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, vol. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906), p. 523.

<sup>61</sup> W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn: Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Bonn, 1962), pp. 84–95.

<sup>62</sup> C. Obsomer, *Sesostris Ier: Étude chronologique et historique du règne* (Brussels: Connaissance de l’Égypte Ancienne, 1995), p. 131. Thériault believes *The Instructions of Amenemhat* only recounts a thwarted assassination conspiracy against Amenemhat I (C. A. Thériault, ‘The Instruction of Amenemhet as Propaganda’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 30 (1993): p. 159). Furthermore the passage *ir šsp.n=i ʾs{t} ḥ.w m dr.t=i iw di.n=i ḥt ḥm(.w) m-ʿ(.w) bʾbʾ* is usually translated as “Had I grasped speed, the weapons in my hand, I would have made the cowards retreat with the lance”. However Ockinga presents another possible interpretation, “Having grasped speed, the weapons in my hand, I made the cowards retreat with the lance”. Ockinga takes the *ir* as introducing an unfulfillable condition with a “topicalised adverbial expression placed at the head of the sentence because the main clause begins with a Complex Verb Form” (B. G. Ockinga, *Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian* [Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2012], p. 78). As such, this completely changes the original interpretation in support of a thwarted assassination attempt.

<sup>63</sup> S. Luria, ‘Die Ersten werden die Letzten sein (zur “sozialen Revolution” im Altertum)’, *Klio* 22 (1929): p. 419.

last and longest work on the theme of ‘social chaos’.<sup>64</sup> In considering the text’s thematic similarity to other Middle Kingdom texts, especially those belonging to the pessimistic discourse (i.e. *Neferty*, *The Man and his Ba*, and *The Admonitions of Khakheperre-soneb*), as well as its scope and repetitiveness, Lichtheim assigns the text a date in the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>65</sup> Whilst the poem may have been thematically influenced by “the memory of historical events,”<sup>66</sup> that is to say the cultural memory of past historical chaotic events, the contents of *Ipuwer* provides no valid historical evidence for dating its composition.

Enmarch endorses the approach that linguistic features can provide a more reliable approach for dating the text.<sup>67</sup> The reference to the compound term *hnrt-wr*, the ‘Great Labour Enclosure’ (*Ipuwer* 6.12), a term that is first attested in the reign of Senwosret III, is compelling linguistic evidence for dating *Ipuwer* to the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>68</sup> Administrative references, such as *hw.wt-wr.t* ‘the Six Great Domains’ (*Ipuwer* 6.12)<sup>69</sup> and the title *im.y-r’ niw.t* ‘Overseer of the City’ (*Ipuwer* 10.7),<sup>70</sup> are also consistent with a late Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period date.

Besides questions relating to the text’s compositional date, studies have also focused on the theodicean discourse present within *Ipuwer*. Otto (1951) first proposed that *Ipuwer*’s addressee, the Lord of All, was not a king but rather the creator god, and instead understood the text as a theodic debate between the creator deity and

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<sup>64</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, p. 150.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>66</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of ‘The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All’*, p. 20.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 20–22.

<sup>68</sup> van Seters, ‘A Date for the “Admonitions” in the Second Intermediate Period’, p. 18; S. Quirke, ‘State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Term Xnrt’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 39 (1988): pp. 83–106; S. Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 B.C. Egyptology* (London: Golden House Publications, 2004), p. 94.

<sup>69</sup> W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used* (Beirut: American University Beirut, 1982), p. 248; S. Quirke, ‘The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom’, *Revue d’Égyptologie* 37 (1986): p. 128; W. Grajetzki, ‘Zu einigen Titeln in literarischen Werken des Mittleren Reiches’, *Chronique d’Égypte* 80 (2005): p. 47.

<sup>70</sup> H. Gauthier, ‘Trois vizirs du Moyen Empire’, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte* 18 (1919): p. 269; Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: With a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used*, pp. 220–25.

humanity, as represented by Ipuwer.<sup>71</sup> Such an interpretation garnered traction in the later works of Herrmann (1957),<sup>72</sup> Müller (1961),<sup>73</sup> and Fecht (1972).<sup>74</sup> More recent studies have reverted to the interpretation of the Lord of All's identity as a king, whilst also recognising the theodic thematic elements of the text.<sup>75</sup>

However, studies of metaphor within *Ipuwer* have been, like those within *Neferty*, similarly liminal. Though metaphors are briefly identified and explained in translations and studies of *Ipuwer*, they are rarely discussed in detail.<sup>76</sup> An early study of *Ipuwer* 2.8 by Federn briefly discusses the metaphor in this well known passage, in which he argues that the metaphor is not derived from the speed of the potter's wheel, but rather on the ease with which its direction can be reversed.<sup>77</sup> This is still only a passing remark. Similarly, Parkinson, who provides beneficial notes on many other aspects of the text, only comments briefly on a few obvious or important metaphors. Enmarch's commentary on *Ipuwer* pushes beyond Parkinson to identify and explain a wider range of metaphors, but again he does not do so in any great detail. However, in more recent times, Sokolova's focus on dictation as a means of text transmission and the issues that dictation mistakes can create, particularly the issue of incorrect determinatives in the current copy of the text (in that determinatives have no phonetic value), has created a space for the discussion of metaphor in *Ipuwer*. Sokolova re-examines a number of passages within *Ipuwer*, particularly *Ipuwer* 5.7-5.9, dismissing Enmarch's interpretation and proposing an alternative interpretation, arguing that passages contain three animal metaphors, rather than a parallel to

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<sup>71</sup> E. Otto, *Der Vorwurf an Gott: Zur Entstehung der ägyptischen Auseinandersetzungsliteratur*, Vorträge der orientalistischen Tagung in Marburg, Ägyptologie (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1951), p. 7.

<sup>72</sup> Herrmann, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgestalt mittelägyptischer Literaturwerke*, p. 22.

<sup>73</sup> D. Müller, 'Der gute Hirte: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte ägyptischer Bildrede', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 86 (1961): p. 129.

<sup>74</sup> G. Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den 'Mahnworten des Ipu-wer': Pap. Leiden I 344 recto, 11, 11-13, 8; 15, 13-17, 3; Zur geistigen Krise der ersten Zwischenzeit und ihrer Bewältigung* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1972).

<sup>75</sup> O. Renaud, 'Ipouwer le mal-aimé', *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 12 (1988): p. 72; H. Buchberger, *Sargtextstudien*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 52 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993), p. 363; Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*, pp. 204-16.

<sup>76</sup> This is seen in Haikal's studies of metaphorical passages in *Ipuwer*: Haikal, 'L'eau dans les métaphores de l'Égypte ancienne', pp. 207-8; F. Haikal, 'Le travail de la terre d'après les textes littéraires', in *La dépendance rurale dans l'antiquité égyptienne et proche-orientale*, ed. B. Menu, Bibliothèque d'Étude 140 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2004), p. 47.

<sup>77</sup> W. Federn, '... As Does a Potter's Wheel', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966): pp. 55-56.



Khenty-Sekhmet-Ptah in the passage.<sup>78</sup> In saying this, it becomes clear that identifying and understanding metaphor within *Ipuwer* still has a long distance to go.

Evidently, the limited research in relation to the metaphors contained in both *Ipuwer* and *Neferty* highlights the need for a new study that comprehensively examines the variety of metaphors used throughout Egyptian literature; particularly one that, through the prism of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, will analyse the structure of metaphors in depth. Such a study would surely not only advance our knowledge of the kinds of conceptual metaphoric thought common among the ancient Egyptians, but also illustrate the significance these metaphors have for the overall composition of the texts.

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<sup>78</sup> M. Sokolova, 'Rich Metaphors and Poor Scribes: The Admonitions of Ipuwer 2.5, 5.7-9, 13.4-14.1, 13.9-14.5', *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 25 (2014): pp. 107-11.

## **CHAPTER 3 – THEORETICAL APPROACH: CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY**

Throughout history there has been a sustained interest in regards to thinking about metaphor, one that is traceable back to Aristotle.<sup>79</sup> Whilst, it is not feasible to condense the extensive scope of views on the topic of metaphor from Aristotle to the present, for a preliminary explorative summary one can refer to Cameron's work, *Metaphor in Educational Discourse*.<sup>80</sup> Within the course of history, there have existed two primary, antithetical approaches to interpreting metaphor. In the first approach, "metaphor is assigned a peripheral role in language, as an ornament or, at best, a mechanism for filling lexical gaps in the language, and it is assigned no role at all in thought."<sup>81</sup> However, this view fails to explore the deeper implications of metaphors and the role they play in people's *Weltanschauung*.

This ornamental view of metaphor was superseded by the introduction of Lakoff and Johnson's paradigmatic *Conceptual Metaphor Theory*.<sup>82</sup> In contrast to the ornamental view of metaphor, Conceptual Metaphor Theory posits that metaphor fulfils a predominant role in everyday thought, and is consequentially fundamental to both thought and language.<sup>83</sup> It is this theory of conceptual metaphor that underpins the theoretical approach and discussion of metaphor throughout this thesis.

### **3.1 General Overview**

Conceptual Metaphor Theory, a cognitive linguistics framework, was initially developed by cognitive linguists Lakoff and Johnson in their 1980s' work *Metaphors We Live By*, and continually refined and revised in their later works.<sup>84</sup> Within this paradigm, metaphor is defined as the cognitive process of understanding one 'idea' or

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<sup>79</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics* 1457b in J. Hutton, *Aristotle's Poetics* (New York: W. W. Nortons & Company, Inc., 1982), pp. 67–68.

<sup>80</sup> L. Cameron, *Metaphor in Educational Discourse* (London: Continuum, 2003), pp. 1–26.

<sup>81</sup> Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, p. 2.

<sup>82</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>84</sup> Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*; G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Philosophy In The Flesh* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

conceptual domain in terms of another.<sup>85</sup> This view of metaphor is encapsulated by the following formula: CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN A (TARGET DOMAIN) IS CONCEPTUAL DOMAIN B (SOURCE DOMAIN), which encompasses what is called a **conceptual metaphor**.<sup>86</sup> The two conceptual domains that constitute a conceptual metaphor are known as the *source domain* and *target domain*. The *source domain* is the conceptual domain from which the metaphoric expression is drawn, and is always closer to direct and concrete embodied experiences (e.g. war, journeys, buildings, food, plants etc.), whereas the *target domain* is always an abstract concept (e.g. love, life, arguments, theories, ideas, social organisations etc.), and is the conceptual domain trying to be understood through the source domain.<sup>87</sup> Put simply, the goal of the *source domain* is to explain the abstract (the *target domain*) through the common and shared experiences.

By way of illustration, one may consider the following metaphorical linguistic expressions: “Your claims are *indefensible*”, “His criticisms were *right on target*”, or “He *attacked every weak point* in my argument” – which reflect the underlying conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.<sup>88</sup> These expressions reveal that we do not just linguistically express the concept of ARGUMENT in terms of WAR, but rather we actually conceptualise – think and understand – the abstract target domain of ARGUMENT in relation to concrete source domain of WAR. Lakoff and Johnson explain this in the following passage:

“It is not that arguments are a subspecies of war. Arguments and wars are different kinds of things – verbal discourse and armed conflict – and the actions performed are different kinds of actions. But ARGUMENT is partially structured, understood, performed, and talked about in terms of WAR. The concept is metaphorically structured, the activity is metaphorically structured, and, consequently, the language is metaphorically structured (...) The metaphor is not merely in the words we use – it is our very concept of an argument.”<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 5; Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 4.

<sup>86</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 4.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.; Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 6.

<sup>88</sup> The capitalised notation is commonly used to indicate that this is a conceptual metaphor.

<sup>89</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 5.

Metaphor, therefore, is clearly not just about how we linguistically communicate an idea, “but rather it is a conceptual mechanism, which provides structure to abstract domains.”<sup>90</sup> This is the principal assertion made by Lakoff and Johnson, who challenged the traditional notion of metaphor as simply a matter of language, a device of poetics; instead, they argue, metaphor is fundamentally conceptual, namely a process of organising everyday thoughts and structuring ideas. This is what Lakoff and Johnson meant by the statement:

“We shall argue that, on the contrary, human thought processes are largely metaphorical. This is what we mean when we say the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because they are metaphors in a person’s conceptual system.”<sup>91</sup>

Far from being ornamental, Lakoff and Johnson convincingly demonstrate that metaphors are a pervasive element within our everyday lives, not only reflecting our language but also revealing, influencing, and conditioning how we perceive, think, feel, and act.

### **3.2 Understanding Conceptual Metaphors – Mappings**

To understand the metaphorical process is to know a set of fixed systematic correspondences, technically referred to as *mappings*, which exist between the source and target domains.<sup>92</sup> This is best exemplified by the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY:

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<sup>90</sup> Nyord, ‘Cognitive Linguistics’, p. 2.

<sup>91</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 6.

<sup>92</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 6.

## LOVE IS A JOURNEY <sup>93</sup>

Look *how far we've come*.

We're *at a crossroads*.

We've *made a lot of headway*.

We'll just have to *go our separate ways*.

I don't think this relationship is *going anywhere*.

Our marriage is *on the rocks*.

This relationship is *floundering*.

In accordance with the common metaphorical linguistic expressions above, the relationship between the domain of JOURNEY and the domain of LOVE can be characterised by the following set of mappings:<sup>94</sup>

### **Source: JOURNEY**

### **Target: LOVE**

The travellers	→ The lovers
The vehicle	→ The love relationship itself
The journey	→ Events in the relationship
The distance covered	→ The progress made
The obstacles encountered	→ The difficulties experienced
Decisions about which way to go	→ Choices about what to do
The destination of the journey	→ The goal(s) of the relationship

Whilst an individual metaphorical linguistic expression often utilises only one mapping, an implicit knowledge of all other mappings is required to fully comprehend the expression. That is to say, the user must understand the shared structural background of the conceptual metaphor and its mappings. This applies, for example, to the metaphoric expressions 'Our marriage is *on the rocks*' and 'This relationship is *floundering*', which exclusively and explicitly exploit the 'vehicle → relationship' mapping.<sup>95</sup> Yet, simultaneously these expressions also allude to the mapping 'obstacles', in the form of nautical mishaps (i.e. floundering and being

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<sup>93</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, pp. 45–46; G. Lakoff, J. Espenson, and A. Schwartz, 'Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy' (University of California, 1991), p. 153, E-publication: <<http://araw.mede.uic.edu/~alansz/metaphor/METAPHORLIST.pdf>>.

<sup>94</sup> Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, 'Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy', p. 153; Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 7.

<sup>95</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 7.

dashed against rocks), which correlate with 'difficulties' experienced in the relationship, in addition to an awareness that such difficulties impede the travellers (i.e. the lovers) from reaching their destination (i.e. the goals of their relationship).<sup>96</sup> Although one could sufficiently understand these expressions solely through the 'vehicle → relationship' mapping, in actuality a greater range of the conceptual metaphor's mappings are activated to more effectively grasp the meaning of the expression.

Although the mappings appear to be obvious, there is no pre-existing connection or similarity between the elements of the two domains. Rather, as Kövecses clarifies: "the domain of love did not have these elements before it was structured by the domain of journey. It was the application of the journey domain to the love domain that provided the concept of love with this particular structure or set of elements."<sup>97</sup> That is not to say that LOVE is always understood through its correspondence to JOURNEYS; there are various other source domains that could be used to comprehend the target of LOVE. Whilst LOVE IS A JOURNEY highlights progression or regression in a romantic relationship, it subsequently hides other aspects of LOVE that are not related to the source domain of JOURNEYS, for instance: loss of control – "I'm crazy about him" (LOVE IS MADNESS)<sup>98</sup> or "She cast a spell on me" (LOVE IS MAGIC);<sup>99</sup> desire – "I'm starved for love" (LOVE IS A NUTRIENT);<sup>100</sup> and intensity – "He is burning with love" (LOVE IS FIRE).<sup>101</sup> Thereby, depending on the chosen source domain, its correspondence/s to the target domain can be used to hide or highlight certain aspects of the concept LOVE.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 7.

<sup>98</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 49; Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, 'Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy', p. 146.

<sup>99</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 49; Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, 'Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy', p. 159.

<sup>100</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor*, pp. 81–83.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p. 203.

<sup>102</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 10.

### 3.3 Embodied Cognition

Another important observation Kövecses makes is “metaphor is in the body;”<sup>103</sup> by this he means that human physiological responses ground metaphoric thought and language. To support this claim of cognitive embodiment, Kövecses demonstrates that certain emotions are understood through their correlation to particular ‘universal’ human physiological experiences.<sup>104</sup> For example, an individual who is angry typically experiences an increase in heart rate, blood pressure, body temperature and a reddening of their complexion.<sup>105</sup> These bodily symptoms subsequently become *entailments*, additional source domain characteristics and knowledge that are imparted onto the target domain. These entailments are INTERNAL PRESSURE STANDS FOR ANGER, BODY HEAT STANDS FOR ANGER, and REDNESS IN THE FACE AND NECK AREA STANDS FOR ANGER and lead to the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER.<sup>106</sup>

Furthermore, the body performs an equally fundamental function in the structure of *image schemata*.<sup>107</sup> Highly abstract and non-linguistic, image schemata are derived from repetitive patterns of embodied experience that grounds, structures, and motivates conceptual metaphors and their mappings:

“A schema is a recurrent pattern, shape, and regularity in, or of, these ongoing ordering activities. These patterns emerge as meaningful structures for us chiefly at the level of our bodily movements through space, our manipulations of objects, and our perceptual interactions.”<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Variation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 18.

<sup>104</sup> Human physiological experiences or bodily experiences should be understood as “referring to our bodily function and interaction with the outside physical world, and our knowledge so derived” (N. Yu, *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: A Perspective from Chinese* [Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1998], p. 43).

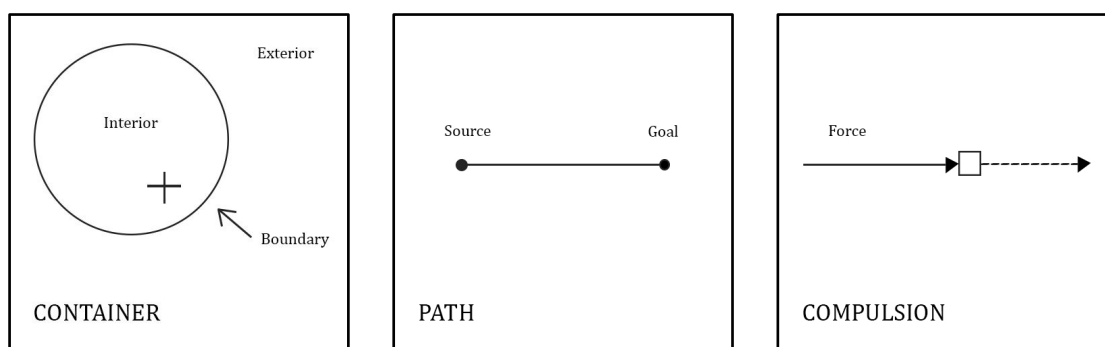
<sup>105</sup> K. McElhanon, ‘From Simple Metaphors to Conceptual Blending: The Mapping of Analogical Concepts and Praxis of Translation’, *Journal of Translations* 2, no. 1 (2006): p. 44.

<sup>106</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor*, pp. 95–98. This conceptual metaphor is also known as THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURISED CONTAINER, and is related to the conceptual metaphors: ANGER IS HEAT, EMOTIONS ARE SUBSTANCES, and EMOTION IS PRESSURE IN A CONTAINER.

<sup>107</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 12. The plural of image schema is variously presented as ‘image schemas’ and ‘image schemata’ throughout the works of Lakoff, Johnson, Turner, and others. In this work, I have chosen to use the form ‘image schemata’.

<sup>108</sup> M. Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 29.

The following diagrams (Fig. 1a-c) exemplify a few image schemata from Johnson's *The Body in the Mind*, featuring the components constituting their structure:



**Fig. 1a-c Examples of CONTAINER, PATH & COMPULSION image schemata**

These diagrams visualise how image schemata emerge from basic bodily interactions in space: the CONTAINER schema – putting things in and taking them out of a container object (a schema that is particular relevant for the human body, which is often seen as a container object) (Fig. 1a); the PATH schema – movement from one location to another (Fig. 1b); the COMPULSION schema – the application of physical force to objects and resisting these forces (Fig. 1c). Image schemata are not limited to the CONTAINER, PATH, and COMPULSION schemata; Johnson provides a list, replicated below, which he describes as “highly selective, but it includes what I take to be most of the more important image schemata:”<sup>109</sup>

CONTAINER	BALANCE	COMPULSION
BALANCE	COUNTERFORCE	RESTRAINT REMOVAL
ENABLEMENT	ATTRACTION	MASS-COUNT
PATH	LINK	CENTRE-PERIPHERY
CYCLE	NEAR-FAR	SCALE
PART-WHOLE	MERGING	SPLITTING
FULL-EMPTY	MATCHING	SUPERIMPOSITION
ITERATION	CONTACT	PROCESS
SURFACE	OBJECT	COLLECTION

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 126.



Peña Cervel notes the dependence of some image schemata on others e.g. FULL-EMPTY is reliant on the CONTAINER schema; leading to the hypothesis that the CONTAINER, PATH, and PART-WHOLE schemata are the most basic and principal image schemata, individually possessing numerous subordinate schemata.<sup>110</sup>

As previously mentioned, image schemata serve as the structural basis for many abstract concepts. Take for example the PATH schema (Fig. 1b) whose components – initial point, movement, and end point – perfectly corresponds to our understanding of journeys: the point of departure, the travel itself, and the destination.<sup>111</sup> Accordingly, non-image schematic concepts (i.e. JOURNEY) have an apparent image schematic basis (the PATH schema); thus, the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is image-schematically organised by its source domain.<sup>112</sup> Likewise, our conceptualisation of anger (ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER) is understood through its utilisation of the CONTAINER image schema as part of its source domain. As mentioned previously, the body is interpreted as a container object, something akin to a kettle. Therefore, when one's anger intensifies and increases, the fluid/anger in the container/body rises (e.g. 'His pent-up anger *welled up* inside him'),<sup>113</sup> the production of steam/anger creates pressure in the container/body (e.g. 'I could *barely contain* my rage'),<sup>114</sup> and subsequently when this pressure becomes too extreme the container/body explodes (e.g. 'She *blew up* at me').<sup>115</sup>

### **3.4 Relevance to Current Thesis**

Whilst it is not fair to say that all Egyptological studies of metaphor have adhered to the idea of metaphor as mere ornamentation, as in the case of *Neferty* and *Ipuwer*, the study of metaphor contained within these texts is peripheral, probably as a result of

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<sup>110</sup> M. S. Peña Cervel, *Topology and Cognition: What Image-Schemas Reveal about the Metaphorical Language of Emotions* (Munich: Lincom Europa, 2003), pp. 49–56.

<sup>111</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor*, pp. 37–38. Kövecses alternatively refers to the path schema as the motion schema.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*

metaphor being considered “as an ornament or, at best, a mechanism for filling lexical gaps in the language.”<sup>116</sup> Again, such a position has not yet explored the deeper implications of metaphors and the role they play in the Egyptians’ *Weltanschauung*. Therefore, an analysis in the light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory promises to allow for a broader range of metaphors to be distinguished and analysed within *Neferty* and *Ipuwer*. By doing so, we will advance our knowledge of the kinds of conceptual metaphoric thought common among the ancient Egyptians, the significance these metaphors had to the ancient Egyptians, and will also illustrate the impact these metaphors have for the overall composition of the texts.

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<sup>116</sup> Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, p. 2.

## **CHAPTER 4 – METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 Metaphor in Literature**

There is a general consensus among the public and even academia that metaphoric expressions present within literary texts are characteristically more authentic, creative, original, rich, and striking compared to those encountered in non-literary texts.<sup>117</sup> This is seen as a consequence of the perceived creative talent of the writers, whose use of metaphor extends beyond the ordinary linguistic and conceptual limitations, “imparting novel insights and perspective into the human experience.”<sup>118</sup> This contributes to the assumption that literary metaphors are somehow distinctly different to non-literary, everyday metaphors.

Yet, this may be only partially true, since Lakoff and Turner claim that metaphoric expressions created by writers and poets are often derived from the same conventional conceptual metaphors that underlie much of our everyday metaphorical language:

“General conceptual metaphors are thus not the unique creation of individual poets but rather part of the way members of a culture have of conceptualising their experience. Poets, as members of their cultures, naturally make use of these basic conceptual metaphors to communicate with other members, their audience.”<sup>119</sup>

Hence, even literary metaphors are not unique, but embedded in a cultural context shared with the recipients of the text.

They argue, for example, that the introductory line from Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, “At one point midway on our path in life, I came around and found myself now searching

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<sup>117</sup> E. Semino and G. Steen, ‘Metaphor in Literature’, ed. R. W. Gibbs (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 233; R. W. Gibbs, *The Poetics of Mind: Figurative Thought, Language, and Understanding* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 260.

<sup>118</sup> Semino and Steen, ‘Metaphor in Literature’, p. 233.

<sup>119</sup> Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, p. 9.

through a dark wood, the right way blurred and lost”<sup>120</sup> or Jesus’ proverb in *Matthew 7:13-14*, “Enter by the narrow gate, since the road that leads to destruction is wide and spacious, and many take it; but it is a narrow gate and a hard road that leads to life, and only a few find it”<sup>121</sup> are but creative and expanded renderings of the common conventional conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY.<sup>122</sup> In the former linguistic metaphorical expression, the speaker experiences the situation of being ‘lost’, inferring that impediments to travel correspond to difficulties in life (i.e. having no clear purpose); in the latter, Jesus refers to alternative paths travelled during life as leading to different destinations (i.e. not in this life but in the afterlife).<sup>123</sup> In particular, Lakoff and Turner recognised and classified four main processes that facilitate metaphorical ingenuity in literature, specifically the *extension*, *elaboration*, *questioning*, and *combining* of conventional conceptual metaphors.<sup>124</sup> Though literary metaphors experiment and broaden conventional conceptual resources, the reason we can interpret literary metaphors with comparative ease is because these metaphors were created using the same conventional conceptual resources that are accessible to both us, as the audience, and the writers. As Lakoff and Turner point out, “If they did not, we would not understand them.”<sup>125</sup>

Whilst Lakoff and Turner are primarily concerned with providing insight to the relationship between literary and non-literary metaphors, conversely their study has a tendency to downplay the significance of completely novel metaphors, which are not found within the conventional conceptual metaphor model. This is exemplified by the following passage from Gabriel García Márquez’s novel *Love in the Time of Cholera*:

“Once he tasted some chamomile tea and sent it back, saying only, ‘This stuff tastes of window.’ Both she and the servants were surprised because they had never heard of anyone who had drunk boiled

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<sup>120</sup> A. Dante, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso*, trans. R. Kirkpatrick (London: Penguin, 2012), p. 3.

<sup>121</sup> *The Holy Bible: New Testament (RIV)*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), p. 6.

<sup>122</sup> Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, p. 9.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67–72. Lakoff and Turner alternatively refer to the metaphoric process of combination as ‘composing’.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

window, but when they tried the tea in an effort to understand, they understood: it did taste of window.”<sup>126</sup>

Indeed, what does it mean to drink tea that tastes like a window? The strangeness and complexity of the metaphor instantly alerts us to its unconventionality, in which no conceptual pattern can account for its exact meaning, ultimately offering an original and distinct view on a particular person’s reality.

Moreover, Tsur criticises Lakoff’s application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory to literary analysis, precipitated by his reading of three lines from Robert Frost’s poem *The Road Not Taken*:

“Two roads diverged in a wood, and I –  
I took the one less travelled by,  
And that has made all difference.”<sup>127</sup>

For Lakoff, the reference to travel and crossroads automatically activates the conceptualisation LIFE IS JOURNEY;<sup>128</sup> Tsur, however, questions this response, positing: “The proper response to Frost’s poem involves the uncertainty whether the image is metaphorical or not.”<sup>129</sup> Tsur asks us to consider four points: (1) crossroads can sometimes be metaphorical, and other times not; (2) crossroads can have a wide variety of metaphoric connotations; (3) from the context of the poem, clues must be observed for the suggestion whether the ‘crossroads’ should or should not be interpreted as metaphorical; (4) lastly, that stylistic differences among poems do or do not overtly signal that expressions are metaphorical.<sup>130</sup> It is the third point, contends Tsur, which Lakoff vitally overlooks.<sup>131</sup> In essence, Lakoff and Turner’s application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory to literary analysis creates a cookie-cutter response, in which every allusion to travel, journey, paths, crossroads etc., is

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<sup>126</sup> G. G. Márquez, *Love in the Time of Cholera* (New York: Knopf, 1988), pp. 221–22.

<sup>127</sup> R. Frost, *The Road Not Taken, Birches, and Other Poems* (Claremont: Coyote Canyon Press, 2010), p. 10.

<sup>128</sup> G. Lakoff, ‘The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor’, in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. A. Ortony, Second (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 238.

<sup>129</sup> R. Tsur, *Toward a Theory of Cognitive Poetics*, 2nd ed. (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2008), p. 577.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

forced to fit the Conceptual Metaphor model (in this case LIFE IS JOURNEY) rather than the model naturally emerging from a corpus:

“My point is that creating ‘some interpretation for a trope’ (Gibbs, 1993: 255) is not necessarily a competent response to a piece of literature (...) Is there for Lakoff any way for a crossroad to escape being symbolic?”<sup>132</sup>

Ultimately, Tsur advocates for cognitive metaphor studies to be tempered with a contextual appraisal in order to account for “the relationship between the structure of literary texts and their perceived effects.”<sup>133</sup> Swan concurs, recommending that a disciplinary commitment to cognitive metaphor theory to “describe what is regular, invariant, and generalizable across an open-ended sample of instances” does not have to “prevent a cognitive approach to metaphor from joining a description of its systematic structure with accounts of particular, situated, acts of meaning.”<sup>134</sup> I would argue that a corpus-based approach, as advocated by Tsur and Swan, promises to provide the required balance.

## **4.2 Corpus Linguistics**

A corpus is defined as a collection of texts;<sup>135</sup> though in a linguistic context, Stubbs distinguishes the term ‘corpus’ as being “usually used for a text collection which has been designed for linguistic research, in order to represent some aspect of language.”<sup>136</sup> A fundamental tenet of corpus linguistics is the notion of attested linguistic evidence, in so far as the data is not artificially forced to fit a model but rather that the model manifests from representative language samples.<sup>137</sup> As

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., pp. 578–79.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>134</sup> J. Swan, “‘Life Without Parole’: Metaphor and Discursive Commitment’, *Style* 36, no. 3 (2002): pp. 450–51.

<sup>135</sup> M. Stubbs, *Words and Phrases: Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), p. 25; Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, p. 75.

<sup>136</sup> Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, p. 25; J. Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 31; Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, p. 76.

<sup>137</sup> Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, pp. 24–25; Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 31.

mentioned in the previous section, the major criticism offered by Tsur's reception of Conceptual Metaphor Theory is just that: the linguistic metaphorical expressions are compelled to conform to the conceptual metaphor model rather than the model arising from attested uses of language.<sup>138</sup> In a similar vein, Nyord finds fault with Lakoff and Johnson's linguistic evidence, professing that their examples are ideal and decontextualised, and supposedly used by all speakers of English.<sup>139</sup> Nyord's statement implies that Lakoff and Johnson's collection of everyday linguistic metaphorical expressions are not collated from any verifiable linguistic source. It is not that these idealised examples should be instantly rejected but they must be tempered with attested linguistic evidence; in this way, corpus-based research complements cognitive approaches, for example Conceptual Metaphor Theory, by providing situated, attested uses of language.

Corpus research is divided into quantitative and qualitative modes of analysis. Concerned with frequency and typicality,<sup>140</sup> quantitative analytic approaches seek to answer questions, such as: how recurrent and representative are particular metaphors in the language of the corpus? Is a particular metaphor novel or conventional? Conversely, qualitative analysis is essential to ascertain and interpret the pragmatic role of metaphors<sup>141</sup> – for instance, what types of evaluations do metaphors convey within the corpus? Are these evaluations positive or negative? What different meanings are ascribed to particular words or phrases? Moreover, Charteris-Black identifies that “words and phrases convey evaluations more frequently than is recorded in many dictionaries.”<sup>142</sup> This directly relates to Louw's notion of semantic prosody: connotative meanings ascribed to words, which are often not included in the dictionary entries for these words but are obvious from their typical usage.<sup>143</sup> Channell outlines this concisely:

“The notion of semantic prosody (or pragmatic meaning) is that a given word or phrase may occur most frequently in the context of other words

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<sup>138</sup> Tsur, *Toward a Theory of Cognitive Poetics*, pp. 576–79.

<sup>139</sup> Nyord, *Breathing Flesh*, p. 30.

<sup>140</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 32.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>143</sup> B. Louw, ‘Irony in the Text or Insincerity in the Writer? - The Diagnostic Potential of Semantic Prosodies’, in *Text and Technology*, ed. M. Baker, G. Francis, and E. Tognini-Bonelli (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1993), p. 157.

or phrases which are predominantly positive or negative in their evaluative orientation (...) As a result, the given word takes on an association with the positive or negative or, more usually, the negative, and this association can be exploited by speakers to express evaluative meaning covertly.”<sup>144</sup>

In other words, the use of a word in a specific context is a means to convey commentary in an indirect manner. For Stubbs, recurrent evaluative meanings are not simple individual idiosyncrasies, but are indicative of a wider shared use in a particular linguistic community, with a word or phrase prompting certain cultural stereotypes.<sup>145</sup> What Stubbs suggests is that repetitive patterns of communicating reflect repetitive patterns of thinking, and in no other facet of language is this more applicable to than to metaphor.<sup>146</sup> Therefore, corpus studies of metaphors are essential for investigating how evaluations are communicated, and for what purpose these evaluations are chosen within the corpus.

Corpora can range in size. Indeed, a corpus could be compiled from a single text or from numerous texts, from either the same or various text types, including: “written and spoken, formal and informal, fiction and non-fiction, language produced by or for children and adults, and texts from different historical periods.”<sup>147</sup> As Charteris-Black observes, the greater the size and variety of texts increases the greater the potential is for making claims about the language and its use.<sup>148</sup> This is the benefit of extremely large corpora, for instance the Bank of English (approximately containing 418 million words) and the British National Corpus (approximately containing 100 million words).<sup>149</sup> Due to the size of these corpora, corpus-based analysis requires the use of computational methods for storing, processing, and analysing language.<sup>150</sup> However, such an electronic process is not feasible for the study of ancient languages, such as

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<sup>144</sup> J. Channell, ‘Corpus-Based Analysis of Evaluative Lexis’, in *Evaluation in Text : Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*, ed. S. Hunston and G. Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 38.

<sup>145</sup> Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, p. 215.

<sup>146</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 33.

<sup>147</sup> Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, p. 25.

<sup>148</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 31.

<sup>149</sup> Stubbs, *Words and Phrases*, p. xvii; Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 31.

<sup>150</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 32; Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, p. 76.



ancient Egyptian, where the corpus size is restricted by historical coincidence. The compiler of a corpus of ancient texts is already limited to a select number of texts that have been preserved; even then, some texts are in a better condition than others, with all texts suffering some damage. Consequently, corpora of ancient texts can never consist of millions of words, as modern corpora do; thus, the scale of the former is considerably smaller. Likewise, the analysis of ancient texts requires meticulous attention to the complex grammatical and linguistic features of the individual texts, as well as the overall linguistic patterns occurring within the corpus. Therefore, a close reading is a more appropriate form of analysis for a corpus of ancient texts than a computerised process.

#### **4.3 Approach to Analysing *Neferty* and *Ipuwer***

As previously specified, for the current study *Neferty* and *Ipuwer*, two significant texts from the *literature of pessimism*, were subjected to analysis. This study was limited to a two-text corpus predominantly due to the short duration of the study in which there was only enough time to translate and analyse two texts. In saying this, the two texts have allowed for a perfectly encapsulated trial that has potential to be expanded into a larger, more inclusive project in the future. The only other constraint to the current study is that the frame narrative that introduces *Neferty* has been excluded, and the current analysis will focus solely on the ‘prophecy’ excerpt from the text. This was done to achieve a consistent and coherent structure between the two texts, in which the prophecy segment of *Neferty* is comparable in content to the main body of the *Ipuwer* text.

My method for identifying and analysing metaphor in these texts was largely derived from Cameron and Low’s three-stage process for metaphor analysis, which consists of:

“Collecting examples of linguistic metaphors (...) generalising from them to the conceptual metaphors they exemplify, and using the

results to suggest understandings or thought patterns which construct or constrain people's beliefs and actions."<sup>151</sup>

This closely resembles both Charteris-Black's Critical Metaphor Analysis,<sup>152</sup> and Fairclough's three-stage strategy – identification, interpretation, and explanation – for analysing metaphors.<sup>153</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Stage 1 – Identifying Linguistic Metaphorical Expressions

Initially, the first stage consisted of a close reading of the primary texts with the sole purpose of identifying candidate linguistic metaphorical expressions; this includes similes (direct metaphors), which generate a more direct comparison.<sup>154</sup> This was achieved by discerning the two underlying conceptual domains – the source and target domains – being linked together within the expression. In some cases this was easily discernible, with the concepts emerging from an 'A is B' structure, or, more frequently, the concepts were built up and extended across a sentence or two. This is best illustrated by the following extended linguistic metaphorical expression, in which the concept of PROBLEMS (target domain) is clearly understood through or indicated by WEATHER CONDITIONS (source domain):

*itrw šw(.w) n.w Km.t đi=tw mw hr rd.wy tw r hhy mw n ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w r sḳd=f*

"The river of Egypt is empty, one crossing the water upon foot. One will seek water for the ships to travel it" (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 6.1-6.2).

In other cases, it was necessary to analyse specific words or phrases, searching for tension between a word's basic and contextual sense within the text,<sup>155</sup> for example:

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<sup>151</sup> L. Cameron and G. Low, 'Metaphor', *Language Teaching* 32 (1999): p. 88.

<sup>152</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, pp. 34–43.

<sup>153</sup> N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (London: Longman, 1989), p. 6.

<sup>154</sup> G. Steen et al., *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification*, *Converging Evidence in Language and Communication Research* 14 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2010), pp. 32–33.

<sup>155</sup> This approach bears resemblance to the 'Metaphor Identification Procedure' (MIP) as formulated by Pragglejaz Group, 'MIP: A Method for Identifying Metaphorically Used Words in Discourse', *Metaphor and Symbol* 22, no. 1 (2007): pp. 1–39.

*šm=f hr mtn r mʾʾ=f wdnw*

“He goes on the path until he sees the flood” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 13.4).

Although the noun *wdnw* has the basic meaning of ‘flood’, in this instance, contextually, it has the metaphoric meaning of ‘problem’ or ‘disaster’, corresponding well to the remainder of the passage in which the individual is unjustly ambushed, attacked, and subsequently killed by a group of assailants. Thus, the word itself denotes that the man’s experience of a PROBLEM is framed by its connection to a WEATHER CONDITION.

#### 4.3.2 Stage 2 – Generalising Conceptual Metaphors



Subsequently, from identifying the core concepts motivating the linguistic metaphorical expressions, it is then possible to discern the underlying conceptual metaphor. In the case of the weather metaphors identified above, they were identified as reflecting the conceptualisation PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS. Within this same stage, the identified conceptual metaphors were then categorised according to source domain similarity, e.g. weather, animal, family, and so forth. This categorisation was conducted in order to establish, on both an individual and collective basis, the variety and frequency of conceptual metaphors used throughout the corpus.

#### 4.3.3 Stage 3 – Evaluation of Conceptual Metaphors

Lastly, an evaluation of the connotative meaning conveyed by each metaphor was conducted to answer the following two questions: has the metaphor been used to evoke positive or negative connotations? Are particular metaphors consistently assigned positive or negative evaluations? It is thought that with the answers, it may be possible to suggest a conventional meaning associated with a given metaphor. Such an assessment will also enable the contextualisation of the metaphors’ rhetorical and ideological function and significance within the corpus. As in the case

of PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS, the conceptual metaphor points to difficulties, specifically problems relating to the state of Egypt and its society. On this basis, good weather conveys positive evaluations, specifically the absence of difficulties within Egypt. Whereas, bad weather, typified in these expressions by drought and flooding, is typically employed to indicate negative, problematic situations within the Egyptian state (refer to Chapter 5.4 for a full analysis of these passages). Thereby, negative manipulations of PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS rhetorically and ideologically help frame the chaotic tone of the texts, emphasising the perceived crisis i.e. the unnatural state of existence in Egypt.

#### **4.4 Conventions**

For clarity and consistency, the transliteration style and terminology used throughout this thesis corresponds to Ockinga's grammar.<sup>156</sup> Hence, a period (.) is used for the separation of grammatical endings (e.g. plural w, feminine t) or tense elements (§ 68) from the stem word; whereas, the equals sign (=) is used to affix suffix pronouns to the stem word.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, both 's'  and 'z'  are transliterated within this study as s, as these signs are no longer phonetically distinct by the Middle Kingdom.<sup>158</sup> However, the distinction between t and t̄, together with d and d̄ has been retained for these signs as they are still interchangeable in this period.<sup>159</sup> Other notations follow the common conventions:

- ( ) Text within brackets indicate grammatical clarification, in that the addition to the transliteration is not written in hieroglyphs.
- { } Text within braces indicates what is considered to be superfluous signs or errors within the hieroglyphic text.
- < > Text within angular brackets indicates omitted signs and amendments.

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<sup>156</sup> Ockinga, *Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*

[ ] Text within square brackets indicates damaged text that has been restored.

The dictionaries of Faulkner and Hannig,<sup>160</sup> as well as the *Wörterbuch* and the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* have all been used to inform the translations in this study.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1988); R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch - Deutsch (2800-950 v.Chr.)*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995).

<sup>161</sup> A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926); Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, 2014, <<http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/S05?d=d001&h=h001>>.

## CHAPTER 5 – METAPHOR ANALYSIS

### 5.1 Overview

The findings of the current study are summarised in Table 1 below, sequenced in accordance with the number of conceptual metaphors found for each relevant source domain beginning with the most productive. This order is slightly adjusted within the analysis section; path metaphors are discussed last within this chapter because many of the path metaphors are utilised in conjunction with other metaphors, such as animal and nautical metaphors (refer to Chapters 5.3 and 5.6 below for further discussion).

The categorisation and quantification of *Neferty* and *Ipuwer's* linguistic metaphoric expressions has presented some difficulties, in that a substantial number of these expressions exhibit the metaphoric mechanism of *combination*.<sup>162</sup> As the term suggests, the process of combination can activate and, thus, combine several different conceptual metaphors together at once within a single linguistic metaphoric expression.<sup>163</sup> *Ipuwer 7.13* is a perfect example of this phenomenon:

*m=tn iw.ty šwy.t=f m nb šwy.t nb.w šwy.t m wh'(t) n(t) d<sup>c</sup>.w*

“Look, he who had no shade is the owner of shade; (yet) the owners of shade are in the darkness of storms” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer 7.13*).

The passage simultaneously activates the conceptual metaphors HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE, BADNESS IS DARKNESS, and PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS, and thus belongs to two separate metaphor categories: orientation and light/weather metaphors (refer to Chapters 5.2 and 5.4 below for further discussion). In such cases, each conceptual metaphor that combines within an individual linguistic metaphoric expression is treated separately, and is consequently categorised and quantified as separate metaphors.

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<sup>162</sup> Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*, pp. 70–72. Lakoff and Turner alternatively refer to the metaphoric process of combination as ‘composing’.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

In total, ninety-four conceptual metaphors were identified within the corpus: *Neferty* contained twenty-five conceptual metaphors; *Ipuwer* contained sixty-nine. Though one might assume based on these numbers that *Neferty* was less metaphorical than *Ipuwer*, this is not the case. The twenty-five conceptual metaphors within *Neferty* are proportional to its shorter, succinct compositional length, compared to the sixty-nine metaphors within the lengthy and repetitious composition of *Ipuwer*. However, *Ipuwer* potentially contained more conceptual metaphors than the sixty-nine found, but it is impossible to discern this because of the extensive damage to the text.

<i>Source Domain</i>	<i>Neferty</i>	<i>Ipuwer</i>	<i>Totals</i>
ORIENTATION	13	44	57
PATH	3	8	11
ANIMAL	2	6	8
LIGHT & WEATHER	4	3	7
FAMILY	1	5	6
NAUTICAL	1	2	3
HEAT	1	1	2
TOTALS	25	69	94

**Table 1** *Number of conceptual metaphors from the Neferty and Ipuwer corpus based on productive source domains.*

In the current chapter, I will examine and discuss the cognitive and rhetorical characteristics of the metaphors from these domains that were found to be productive.

## **5.2 Orientation Metaphors**

As the name suggests, orientation metaphors are derived from basic binary spatial orientations, for instance UP-DOWN, IN-OUT, FRONT-BACK, CENTRE-PERIPHERY image schemata, and so on. Kövcses alternatively labels this conceptual metaphor grouping as ‘coherence metaphors’, by which coherence “simply means that the

target concepts tend to be conceptualised in a uniformed manner.”<sup>164</sup> This coherence is best exemplified by the UP-DOWN image schema; the following concepts are categorised by an ‘upward’ orientation, whilst their polar opposites acquire a ‘downward’ orientation: HAPPY IS UP, SAD IS DOWN; HEALTH AND LIFE ARE UP, SICKNESS AND DEATH ARE DOWN; MORE IS UP, LESS IS DOWN; and so on.<sup>165</sup> Incidentally, a distinct trend emerges whereupon positive evaluations are attributed to an upward orientation, and negative evaluations to a downward orientation. This binary positive-negative evaluation does not just pertain to UP-DOWN spatialisation; consider FRONT, IN, CENTRE, WHOLE, and BALANCE orientations, which are typically positive; whereas their opposites – BACK, OUT, PERIPHERY, PARTIAL, and IMBALANCE – are negative.

### 5.2.1 UP-DOWN Orientation Metaphors

The UP-DOWN image schema dominates the current study’s orientation metaphors. The most basic conceptual rendering of the UP-DOWN schema is the conceptualisation BAD IS DOWN:<sup>166</sup>

*pth {m} ḃ n ḳsn.t*

“(…) Cast down is the land in misfortune” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 7.3).<sup>167</sup>

*iw ḥrw.w ḥpr ḥr iḥb.tt iw ʕm.w ḥʕi. {t}<w> r Km.t*

“The enemies have gathered in the East, the Asiatics have descended into Egypt” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 7.5).

*ʕnd ḃ*

“Diminished is the land” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 11.2).

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<sup>164</sup> Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 36.

<sup>165</sup> Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 17.

<sup>167</sup> All translations are this author’s own unless otherwise specified.



*hnw whn.n=f n wnw.t*

“The Residence, it has collapsed in an hour” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 7.4).

In these linguistic realisations of the conceptualisation BAD IS DOWN, negatively perceived events and situations are simply oriented DOWN (much like in Western, Anglophone culture)<sup>168</sup> with the use of the verbs *pth* (Wb. I, 565.16-566.3), *hʿi* (Wb. II, 472.3-474.25), *ʿnd* (Wb. I, 207.7-8), *whn* (Wb. I, 345.6-13). Overall, this conceptualisation merely aids in initially foregrounding the idea that all is not well in the state of Egypt.

The conceptualisation HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE is the main orientation metaphor that utilises the UP-DOWN image schema within the corpus; *Ipuwer* contains forty attestations (these are heavily situated in lines 7.8-8.5; 8.8-9.6), while *Neferty* includes five attestations of this conceptualisation (refer to Appendix B and C for the full list of these metaphors). The conceptual metaphor HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor),<sup>169</sup> which makes use of the entailment STATUS IS VERTICALITY, is predicated on a vertical scale with high status being assigned the ‘top’ position on the scale, whilst low status is being positioned at the ‘bottom’ of the scale. Changes in status means a shift on this vertical scale, manifesting the entailment CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION. The conceptualisation HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE and its entailments are utilised simultaneously for the purpose of evoking the topos of social inversion, wherein there is a complete reversal of status and fortunes between the elite and the non-elite:

*di=i n=k [hr.y] r hr.y*

“I will present to you what is underneath for what is above” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 12.3).

*iw hwr r iri.t ʿhʿ.w wr.t*

“The poor man will make riches greatly” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 12.5).

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<sup>168</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 17.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.; Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, ‘Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy’, pp. 58–59.

*iw-ms šwḳw.w ḥpr m nb.w špss.w*

“Indeed, the poor have become possessors of riches” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 2.4-2.5).

*m=tn iw.ty šwy.t=f m nb šwy.t*

“Look, he who had no shade is the owner of shade” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 7.13).

*gmḥ(.t) ḥr=s m mw m nb.t ‘nh*

“She who glimpsed her face in the water is the owner of a mirror” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 8.5).

These linguistic metaphoric expressions clearly exploit an established ideal; wherein the elite (i.e. those who are wealthy) should be at the top of the hierarchy, not the non-elite (i.e. the ‘have-nots’, paupers). In *Ipuwer*, social inversion is expressed through the ownership of prestigious ‘elite’ objects, as exemplified in *Ipuwer* 7.13 and 8.5. In these examples, the reversal of status and wealth is expressed in terms of the possession of shade and a mirror: the former being a status symbol either as a result of a servant holding a sunshade,<sup>170</sup> or as a reference to the ownership of a tomb that provided shade for the deceased;<sup>171</sup> whilst in the latter, water as a reflective surface was freely available to all women, but mirrors were possessed only by elite women.<sup>172</sup> It is important to recognise that the concept of verticality is still maintained and highly valued despite the complete reversal of those who once possessed high status. Rather the conceptual metaphor HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE and its entailments simply highlights that there is a correct order to society, in which social inversion defies this order, implying a state of chaos.

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<sup>170</sup> W. Schenkel, ‘Schatten’, ed. W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1984), pp. 535–36.

<sup>171</sup> K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1928), 80.20.

<sup>172</sup> C. Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 27 (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1979), p. 97; C. Müller, ‘Spiegel’, ed. W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorf, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1984), p. 1147.

An interesting observation can be made with regards to the UP-DOWN image schema where it expresses the conceptualisation SUBJUGATION IS DOWN:

*iw ʕm.w r hr n š<sup>c</sup>.t=f*

“The Asiatics will fall to his slaughtering” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 14.5).

*Tmḥ.w r hr n ns(r).wt=f*

“The Libyans will fall to his flame” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 14.6).

Subjugation is regarded as a negative event; however, since the subjugation occurs to Egypt’s foreign enemies (the Asiatics and Libyans) and not the Egyptians themselves, the conceptualisation possesses positive connotations in these instances. In context of *Neferty*, these linguistic expressions of the conceptualisation SUBJUGATION IS DOWN frame the positive actions taken by the prophesised king Amenyt to expel the chaos that pervades the land, and return Egypt to a state of peace, order, and stability.

### 5.2.2 FRONT-BACK Orientation Metaphors

Similarly, the FRONT-BACK image schema presents an unconventional, but interesting scenario for the inversion of hierarchy:

*pḥr. {ti} m-sʹ pḥr ḥ.t*

“The one who has walked behind is the one who (now) turns (his) body (around)” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 12.3).

Within this linguistic metaphoric expression, hierarchy is alternatively established as an image of horizontal ordering through the verb of motion *pḥr* ‘to turn’ (Wb. I, 544.12-547.7): low status corresponds to a ‘back/behind’ orientation; high status is equivalent to a ‘front/forward’ orientation. Thereby, in social terms, those who *pḥr m-sʹ* ‘go or walk behind’ (Wb. I, 546.17), signifying ‘followers’ or ‘attendants’, are of low status, whilst implying those who walk ahead, representing ‘leaders’, are of high status. The movement of the leader dictates a follower’s movements; therefore, the ability to turn one’s body around must symbolise the possession of independence, to

no longer be a follower but a leader, so that this person can now decide and control their own trajectory. This conceptualisation I classify as HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor), and thus changes to status means a change in a horizontal sequence, manifesting the entailment CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION.

This same conceptual metaphor HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE and its entailment is again articulated in *Ipuwer* 5.2:

*šms=tw šms.w st*

“One follows those who once themselves were followers of it” (The Admonitions of Ipuwer 5.2).

In relation to this phrase, David notes that whilst the verb of motion *šms* commonly means ‘to follow’ (Wb. IV, 482-484.18), it alternatively means ‘to serve’, and is connected to the conceptualisations ‘GOING AFTER IS SERVING’ or ‘WHAT COMES AFTER IS SUBMITTED’.<sup>173</sup> This means that this linguistic metaphoric expression communicates the reversal of roles: the follower has now become the one who others walk behind and who has people serving him. By implication, the one who was once a leader, someone who was served, is now a follower; signifying a dramatic change to these people’s hierarchical status and roles. In the same manner as HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE, the use of HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE highlights an understanding of a correct order to society, and its inversion in these linguistic metaphoric expressions indicates the disruption of this ideal, implying a state of chaos. Therefore, though based on horizontality rather than verticality, this metaphor continues to denote the negative evaluations associated with hierarchical inversion.

### 5.2.3 NEAR-FAR Orientation Metaphors

The NEAR-FAR image schema is fundamental for understanding involvement between two entities, “in that the closer an entity is to us the more likely it is that it

<sup>173</sup> A. David, ‘Ancient Egyptian Forensic Metaphors and Categories’, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 134 (2007): p. 5.

will have an effect on us.”<sup>174</sup> Thereby, the near-far image schema gives rise to the conceptual metaphor EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS and its mappings EMOTION DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE and REJECTION IS ABSENCE (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor).<sup>175</sup> Within the corpus, these conceptualisations are utilised to describe the Egyptians’ relationship with the king and/or the gods:

*itn ḥbs(.w) nn psd=f mʿʿ rhy.t nn ʿnh=tw ḥbs.w šn<sup>c</sup>*

“The sun is hidden; there is not its shine which the people see. One cannot live when the storm-clouds conceal” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 5.3-5.4).

*iw R<sup>c</sup>.w iwd=f sw rmt*

“Ra separates himself from the people” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 11.4).

*in-iw (i)r=f tny min in-iw=f tri sdr*

“Where is he today? Is he asleep?” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 12.5).

*ir smn.ntw=n gmi.n=i tw n iʿš.n=tw n=k*

“When we have been saddened, I can not find you; one can not call to you” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 12.6).

In the first metaphor, the cloud acts as a barrier, physically separating the sun (a metonym for the solar deity, Ra) from the Egyptians. Clouds as a natural phenomenon are, however, temporary, suggesting that Ra has not completely abandoned the Egyptians, but is presently indifferent to their troubles. The metaphor in *Neferty* 11.4 is similar but more severe. It suggests a possibly permanent separation between Ra and the Egyptians. In both metaphors, Ra controls his distance from the Egyptians,

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<sup>174</sup> McElhanon, ‘From Simple Metaphors to Conceptual Blending: The Mapping of Analogical Concepts and Praxis of Translation’, p. 43.

<sup>175</sup> Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, ‘Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy’, pp. 155–57; McElhanon, ‘From Simple Metaphors to Conceptual Blending: The Mapping of Analogical Concepts and Praxis of Translation’, pp. 43–44.

which is reminiscent of the creator god's withdrawal from humanity after averting the complete destruction of humankind in the *Book of the Heavenly Cow*.<sup>176</sup>

The third metaphor, *Ipuwer 12.5*, equates the king's and/or creator god's absence and distance to slumber; being asleep means one is unable to hear petitions or give counsel. This sense of absence is repeated again in the last metaphor in which the king's and/or creator god's presence is completely undetectable. His rejection (i.e. his emotional distance) of humankind is reflected in his physical distance from them, resulting in the people's inability to communicate with the king and/or god. These last two metaphors subscribe to the notion that emotional intimacy is predicated on communication.<sup>177</sup> Physical distance, resulting in emotional distance, results in a disturbance to the ideal relationship between the king and/or creator god and to humankind, suggesting that an ideal and ordered Egypt has been overturned.

### **5.3 Animal Metaphors**

#### **5.3.1 PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS**

As keen observers of the natural world,<sup>178</sup> it is unsurprising that animals were a predominant source of inspiration for the metaphoric language the Egyptians developed. The conceptual motivation for the occurrence of animal metaphors proceeds clearly from transferring animal characteristics (physical and behavioural)

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<sup>176</sup> E. F. Wente, 'The Book of the Heavenly Cow', in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 292.

<sup>177</sup> This idea permeates throughout the post-Amarna restoration period in Tutankhamun's *Restoration Stela* (CG 34183), in which if an individual prayed to a god or goddess, their prayers would be unheard by that god or goddess, for the deities "Their hearts were hurt in their bodies, (so that) they did damage to that which had been made" (Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, pp. 251–52).

<sup>178</sup> Scholars, such as the following, have been impressed by the Egyptians' precise renderings of animal appearance and behaviour: P. F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1986); D. J. Brewer and R. F. Friedman, *Fish and Fishing in Ancient Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1989); D. J. Osborn and J. Osbornova, *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Philips, 1998); L. Evans, 'The Representation of Animal Behaviour in Old Kingdom Tomb Scenes from Giza and Saqqara' (Ph.D., Macquarie University, 2003); L. Evans, 'Animal Behaviour in Egyptian Art: A Brief Overview', in *Proceedings of the 10th International Congress of Egyptologists, Rhodes, Greece*, ed. P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis, vol. 2 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), pp. 1653–1666.

to humans, indicating the conceptualisation PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS and its mapping HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor).<sup>179</sup> From the corpus, eight metaphorical expressions – two from *Neferty*, six from *Ipuwer* – were identified as being driven by the common lexical and semantic domain of animals.

Both animal metaphors attested within *Neferty* simply focus on describing foreigners and their presence in Egypt. The first metaphor describes the foreigners as *ʒpd.w* ‘birds’ combined with the adjective *ḏrḏr(.wt)* ‘foreign’:

*iw ʒpd.w ḏrḏr(.wt) r msi.t m ḥ.t n.t ḫ-mḥw iri.n=f f sš.w ḥr-gs.wy rmṯ stkn  
sw rmṯ n gʒw*

“The birds from beyond the border will breed in the swamp of the Delta; it has made its nest beside the people, the people causing it to approach through (their) laxness” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 6.6-6.7).

The otherness of the foreigners is emphasised by the adjective *ḏrḏr*, etymologically, this word is derived from *ḏr* ‘border’, ‘boundary’ (Wb. V, 585-589.5). Thus, while having the basic sense of ‘foreign’ or ‘strange’ (Wb. V, 604.8-12) (i.e. one who is from beyond the boundary), *ḏrḏr* also means one who is neither kin nor a member of the community.<sup>180</sup> As a group that does not conform to these labels, foreigners throw into disorder the ideal stability of Egyptian communities,<sup>181</sup> causing chaos by disrupting the complex familial and communal affinities established therein, as well as endangering integral cultural customs and beliefs. The imagery conjured up by the migration, nesting, and eventual breeding and multiplication of the foreign

<sup>179</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 182. The metaphor PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS has also been discussed in context of other languages and cultures: E. A. Hermanson and J. A. du Plessis, ‘The Conceptual Metaphor “People Are Animals” in Zulu’, *South African Journal of African Languages* 17, no. 2 (1 January 1997): pp. 49–56; F. J. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, ‘The Role of Mappings and Domains in Understanding Metonymy’, in *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads. A Cognitive Perspective.*, ed. A. Barecelon, Topics in English Linguistics 30 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), p. 111.

<sup>180</sup> M. P. Campagno, ‘Judicial Practices, Kinship and the State in “The Contendings of Horus and Seth”’, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 133 (2006): p. 27; C. J. Eyre, ‘The Adoption Papyrus in Social Context’, *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78 (1992): p. 221 ft. 90.

<sup>181</sup> A. Depla, ‘Women in Ancient Egyptian Wisdom Literature’, in *Women in Ancient Societies: An Illusion of the Night*, ed. L. J. Archer (London, 1994), p. 45.

‘uncommon’ birds introduces the motif of invasion, which has been accomplished by the foreigners with relative ease.

ꜥw.t ḥꜣs.(y)t r swri ḥr itrw(.w) n.w Km.t skbb=sn ḥr wdb.w=sn n gꜣw s(t)  
tri=sn

“The desert herd will drink from the rivers of Egypt. They will be refreshed upon their shores for lack of one that they respect” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 8.1-8.2).

The invasion motif is similarly repeated within this second metaphor, in which another set of foreigners are alternatively depicted as ꜥw.t ḥꜣs.(y)t ‘desert herd’, as opposed to the Egyptians who are commonly labelled the ꜥw.t n.t nꜥtr ‘flock of god’.<sup>182</sup> The desert, perceived as wild and unordered, was a landscape of chaos,<sup>183</sup> and by extension the creatures inhabiting the desert were correspondingly regarded as chaos embodied. The encroachment of a large herd of desert animals into the ordered cultivated Nile Valley area is symbolic of impending chaos, and behavioural aligns with nomadic desert groups who “periodically wrought havoc on settled communities.”<sup>184</sup> Overall, these metaphors play upon the rigid differentiation between Egypt and the outside world – the CENTRE-PERIPHERY image schema – corresponding to the competing Egyptian dualities of *Ma’at* and *Isfet*, in which the outsiders and their behaviour symbolically personify chaos.

In contrast, animal metaphors within *Ipuwer* focus on describing the Egyptians and their actions. Aquatic and avian wildlife are common stimuli for these metaphors, for example:

iw-ms rmꜥ mi gm.w(t) sbw ḥt ꜥ nn ms ḥd ḥbs.w n pꜣ n rk

“Indeed, the people are like black ibises, squalor is throughout the land; indeed there are none white of clothes in this time” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 2.8).

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<sup>182</sup> *The Teaching for King Merikare 130-131* in R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 226.

<sup>183</sup> J. Richards, ‘Conceptual Landscapes in the Egyptian Nile Valley’, in *Archaeologies of Landscapes: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. W. Ashmore and A. B. Knapp (Blackwell, 1999), p. 85.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.



The simile exhibits a simple mapping transferring the negatively evaluated animal attributes (uncleanliness), associated with the *gmt*-bird 'black ibis', specifically the glossy ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*),<sup>185</sup> onto the human referent. The evaluation of the uncleanliness of the black ibis arises from its muddy blackish-brown plumage,<sup>186</sup> which is directly compared to the dirty clothing now worn by all Egyptians. In particular, this metaphor additionally exploits the conceptualisations GOOD IS WHITE and BAD IS BLACK,<sup>187</sup> typified by clean and dirty linen, respectively. By subverting the ideal, wearing darkened, dirtied clothes as opposed to pristine white linen (symbolic of cleanliness, wealth, and high social status),<sup>188</sup> the simile depicts the dire economic impoverishment and hierarchical disintegration that the author thinks is gripping Egyptian society.

Further animal metaphors refer to crocodiles and fish:

*iw-ms msh.w hr [(?)] 3fi(.t) n itj.n=sn šm n=sn rmt ds ir.y hdi pw n(.y) t*

"Indeed, the crocodiles gorge on what they have seized. The people go to them (by) themselves. It is the destruction of the land.

*<iw-ms dd>=tw m dgs 3 mk sy šnw mk hnd=tw sht mi rm.w*

Indeed, one says: 'Do not walk here, behold it is a net'. Behold, one treads the trap like the fish" (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 2.12-2.13).

Within this extended metaphor, the Egyptians are analogous to fish: firstly, this may be a deliberate word-play between the homophonous words *rmt* 'people' (Egyptian) and *rm.w* 'fish';<sup>189</sup> secondly, the direct parallel between the imagery of the fish being caught and consumed by the crocodiles, and the Egyptians who voluntarily become crocodile fodder; and lastly, the simile compares the snaring of fish and men. It is clear that as fish, the Egyptians are passive and defenceless, lacking the capacity to overcome negative societal circumstances, characterised as entrapment and

<sup>185</sup> Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, p. 27; A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), p. 470, sign G28.

<sup>186</sup> As opposed to the white plumage of the *hb*-bird, the African sacred ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopicus*) in Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 470, sign G26 & 27.

<sup>187</sup> Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, 'Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy', p. 190.

<sup>188</sup> Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC*, p. 191, ft. 11.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

subjugation by animal (crocodile)<sup>190</sup> and human (fishing net)<sup>191</sup> agents. This is the conceptual metaphor a HUMAN VICTIM IS AN ANIMAL.<sup>192</sup>

‘Trapping’ – the snaring of either fish or fowl – is a recurring image in *Ipuwer*:

*ith.tw w3.t ḥ<sup>c</sup>=f snnw*

“The road is netted as he stands suffering” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 13.5).<sup>193</sup>

The verb *ith* typically means to ‘tow’ or ‘drag’ (Wb. I, 148.12-23), yet here, it contextually alludes to the dragging of a net. Thus, for the way to be netted implies that there is a trap set. Unlike other examples of ‘trapping’ imagery that typically express bad behaviour,<sup>194</sup> the examples from *Ipuwer* alternatively utilise ‘trapping’ imagery to illustrate the Egyptians’ inability to effect change, and thus their passive resignation to the futile chaotic atmosphere engulfing Egypt.

Evidently, the composer/s of these metaphors were highly familiar with a range of animal characteristics and behaviours typically associated with humans; moreover, they assumed the texts’ audience possessed an equal familiarity with these animals and their attributes. It is worth noting that not a single use of the conceptualisation PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS within either *Neferty* or *Ipuwer* had positive connotations for the humans they were depicting. Rather, negative evaluations of the metaphors emphasise the perceived degenerate state of Egyptian society.

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<sup>190</sup> The crocodile is well attested as having the metaphoric sense of being “a symbol of speed and greed” (Wb. II, 136.13).

<sup>191</sup> There is a direct correlation between the imagery of the fish caught in nets and the fish being eaten by the crocodiles, reinforced by the probable pun between *šnw* ‘net’ and *šn* ‘crocodile-infested’.

<sup>192</sup> G. T. Eggertsson and C. J. Forceville, ‘Multimodal Expressions of the HUMAN VICTIM IS ANIMAL Metaphor in Horror Films’, in *Multimodal Metaphor*, ed. C. J. Forceville and E. Urios-Aparisi (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009), p. 444.

<sup>193</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of ‘The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All’*, p. 192.

<sup>194</sup> C. Di Biase-Dyson, ‘Spatial Metaphors as Rhetorical Figures. Case Studies from Wisdom Texts of the Egyptian New Kingdom.’, in *Spatial Metaphors: Ancient Texts and Transformations.*, ed. C. Breytenbach and F. Horn (Berlin: Edition Topoi, 2016), p. 52–53.

### 5.3.2 PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS and KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS

“The Lord is my shepherd”<sup>195</sup> is an expression that for many modern Westerners is firmly associated with Christianity. However, the metaphoric concept of a society as a FLOCK being watched over and protected by SHEPHERDS (kings), (refer to Appendix A for the conceptual metaphor mappings between PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS and KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS), is commonplace and widespread across the ancient Near East,<sup>196</sup> including Egypt. From the Middle Kingdom on, the Egyptians were conceptualised as a herd of ungulates (i.e. cattle, sheep etc.), belonging to the creator god, but shepherded by the king. Being the creator god’s son and earthly representative, it was the king’s vested royal responsibility to care, protect, and lead his divine father’s human flock,<sup>197</sup> who exemplified the values of meekness, gentleness, and vulnerability. Accordingly, the metaphoric conceptualisation defined the primary role of Egyptian kingship, namely to protect and lead the Egyptian people as a fulfilment of the king’s divine role to maintain *Ma’at*.

PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS recurs frequently throughout *Ipuwer*, yet each attestation ascribes negative connotations to the shepherd-king. The first expression draws upon the imagery of the Egyptians as ‘w.t ‘small herd’ (i.e. sheep and goats), and *mnmn.t* ‘cattle’ to comment on the behaviour of the king:

*iw-ms* <sup>c</sup>*w.t nb.t ib=sn rm.w mnmn.t hr im.t m-<sup>c</sup>.w shrw t*<sup>3</sup>

“Indeed, the entire small herd, their hearts weep. The cattle are groaning from the condition of the land” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 5.5).

The negative perception of the shepherd-king is reinforced by the assignment of the human characteristic *rmi* ‘weeping’ and *im.t* ‘groaning’ to the herd. However, the most interesting feature of this metaphor is the word-play between *rmi* ‘weeping’ and *rm* ‘the people’, alluding to humanity’s creation by the creator god’s tears in *Coffin Text*

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<sup>195</sup> *Psalm 23:1* in *The Holy Bible: Old Testament (RIV)*, 2nd ed. (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), p. 430.

<sup>196</sup> J. W. Waters, ‘The Political Development and Significance of the Shepherd-King Symbol Inthe Ancient Near East and in the Old Testament’ (Ph.D., Boston University Graduate School, 1970); R. Wiseman, ‘Interpreting Ancient Social Organization: Conceptual Metaphors and Image Schemas’, *Time and Mind* 8, no. 2 (2015): p. 159–90.

<sup>197</sup> As Wiseman states: “A shepherd does not own the flock. Rather, the shepherd cares for it on behalf of the flock’s owner” (Wiseman, ‘Interpreting Ancient Social Organization’, p. 167).

1130: *shpr=i ntr.w m fdt=i iw rmt m rm.wt ir.t=i* "I created the gods from my sweat, while the people are the tears of my eyes."<sup>198</sup> Yet, in *Ipuwer* 5.5 it is not the creator god weeping, but the people, indicating that the herd/humanity now weeps because they lack the guidance from their divine shepherd-king. This again is a subversion of the proper natural order. Though the herd's unhappiness and suffering is said to be explicitly a result of "the condition of the land", in fact the fault implicitly lies with the king, whose responsibility to maintain Egypt has jeopardised the herd's well-being.

The motif of the irresponsible or 'bad' shepherd continues within *Ipuwer* 12.1-12.2:

*iw dd=tw mniw pw n(.y) bw-nb nn bin m ib=f*

"Indeed, one says, "He is the shepherd of everyone. There exists no evil in his heart.

*ꜥnd idr=f iri.n=f is hrw.w r nwi st ht n ib ir.y*

His herd is diminished; he has spent the day caring for them; (although) fire is in the heart(s) thereof" (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 12.1-12.2).

In contrast to the previous metaphoric expression discussed, this extended metaphor is interesting in that whilst the shepherd has not been neglectful, instead proactive in his duty to care and guard his flock, his herd is still diminished,<sup>199</sup> reflecting his inadequacy as a shepherd, and by extension as a ruler of humankind. This negative evaluation is further heightened by the intertextual allusion to *The Loyalist Instruction* 13.8: "the bad shepherd – his herd is small."<sup>200</sup> In contrast to *Ipuwer* 5.5, the reduction of the herd is attributed to the rebellious, volatile nature of the people, described in terms of fire (ANGER IS FIRE), which is in direct opposition to the pure heart of the shepherd: *nn bin m ib=f* "there exists no evil in his heart". Both Enmarch<sup>201</sup> and

<sup>198</sup> A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts: Texts of Spells 787-1185*, ed. A. de Buck and A. Gardiner, vol. 7 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 464g-465a.

<sup>199</sup> Enmarch believes that not only does *ꜥnd* relate to the size of the herd, but also its quality (Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of 'The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All'*, p. 183).

<sup>200</sup> Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 BC*, p. 241.

<sup>201</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of 'The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All'*, p. 183.

Fecht<sup>202</sup> distinguish that the shepherd has neither extinguished nor can extinguish humankind's fiery temperament, subverting *Ipuwer 11.13*: "On the heat he should come and bring coolness."<sup>203</sup> This culminates in *Ipuwer 12.2-12.3*,<sup>204</sup> in which the creator god's inability to pacify humanity prompts his desire to destroy his herd evoking the myth of the rebellion and destruction of humankind.<sup>205</sup>

The last example shows the shepherd's absence:

*m=tn i'w.t nb.t nn st r s.t=s mi idr tnbh nn mniw=f*

"Behold, every office, it is not at its place, like a confused herd without its herdsman" (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer 9.2*).

The absent herdsman motif is exploited here to comment on bureaucratic disorder, in which *i'w.t* 'office' is a possible pun on *ʿw.t/i'w.t* 'cattle'.<sup>206</sup> Just like the confused cattle without their herdsman, the officials who hold administrative offices are disorientated and disordered without the leadership and guidance of the king. Thus, the simile criticises the king's inability to prevent chaos from ensuing.

Therefore, PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS and KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS rhetorically clarifies and conveys the ideological expectations the Egyptians had in relation to the King's governance of society. The negative manipulations of these dual conceptual metaphors emphasise the King's failure to adhere to the ideal of effectively governing Egypt and its people. Subsequently, the accumulation of negative manipulations of these conceptualisations foregrounds the perceived chaotic, 'topsy-turvy' state of existence in Egypt.

<sup>202</sup> Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den 'Mahnworten des Ipu-wer'*: Pap. Leiden I 344 recto, 11, 11-13, 8; 15, 13-17, 3; zur geistigen Krise der ersten Zwischenzeit und ihrer Bewältigung, p. 65.

<sup>203</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of 'The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All'*, p. 181.

<sup>204</sup> *h' ʿd=f bi(ʒ).wt=s n m h.t tp.t k' hwi=f sdbw d'i=f ʿ r=s ski(.y)=f ʿw.t iri iwʿ.t=s n* "If only he would have recognised their characters in the first generation, then he might have imposed punishment, stretching out (his) hand arm against it, so that he might destroy the herd thereof, and their inheritance" (Ibid., p. 182).

<sup>205</sup> J. Assmann, *Herrschaft und Heil: Politische Theologie in Altägypten, Israel und Europa* (Munich: C. Hanser, 2000), pp. 106–8; E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen: Altägyptische Götterwelt*, 6th ed. (Darmstadt: Primus, 2005), p. 226; Wente, 'The Book of the Heavenly Cow', pp. 290–92.

<sup>206</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of 'The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All'*, p. 147.

## 5.4 Light and Weather Metaphors

I have grouped light and weather metaphors together because of the interconnectedness of the two source domains, in which they are often similarly or collaboratively used to express negative evaluations. The source domain of light is conventionally connected to the concept of happiness (HAPPINESS IS LIGHT),<sup>207</sup> but more importantly to the domain of understanding or knowing (UNDERSTANDING or KNOWING IS SEEING).<sup>208</sup> A possible explanation for this conceptualisation arises from the metonymic affiliation between light and day, for “in the day we can see, and that is good because we avoid stumbling or falling over, then light becomes a symbol for knowledge, wisdom, and good”<sup>209</sup> – GOODNESS IS LIGHT. Consequently, dark and night become metonymically synonymous, for “in the dark we cannot see, and therefore we cannot know, [and] darkness becomes a symbol for ignorance, fear and evil”<sup>210</sup> – BADNESS IS DARKNESS.

Weather is also traditionally an indicator of problems; Żołnowska argues for the conceptual metaphor PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS, whereupon good weather (e.g. sunny, clear skies) is associated with positive evaluations, namely optimism or an absence of problems; whilst bad weather (e.g. fog, rain, thunder, storms/storm clouds, cloudy/grey skies) illustrates the presence of problems, and negative emotions or actions.<sup>211</sup> Thus, it comes with little surprise that the source domain of light and darkness correlates well with good and bad weather.

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<sup>207</sup> Z. Kövecses, ‘Happiness: A Definitional Effort’, *Metaphor and Symbolic Activity* 6 (1991): pp. 29–46; A. Barcelona, ‘On the Plausibility of Claiming a Metonymic Motivation for Conceptual Metaphor’, in *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroads: A Cognitive Perspective*, ed. A. Barcelona (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2000), 40; Deignan, *Metaphor and Corpus Linguistics*, p. 184.

<sup>208</sup> G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1980), p. 48; G. Lakoff and M. Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 190; Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 65, 186.

<sup>209</sup> J. Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 185.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> I. Żołnowska, ‘Weather as the Source Domain for Metaphorical Expressions’, *Avant. The Journal of the Philosophical-Interdisciplinary Vanguard* 11, no. 1 (2011): pp. 165–79.

#### 5.4.1 GOODNESS IS LIGHT/ BADNESS IS DARKNESS

In *Neferty* 5.3-54, a storm occurs, resulting in the darkening of the sky, the concealment of the sun, and the absence of light:

*itn ḥbs.w nn psd=f mꜣꜣ rhy.t nn ḥnh=tw ḥbs.w šn<sup>c</sup>*

“The sun is hidden; there is not its shine which the people see. One cannot live when the storm-clouds conceal/cover” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 5.3-5.4).

Ideally, the sun, as an emitter of light, is a positive symbol signifying goodness and normality; yet, in this inverted world the storm clouds obscure the sun, bringing darkness to the land, symbolising its problems and abnormalities (i.e. BADNESS IS DARKNESS). These images are additionally combined with the ‘bad weather → the presence of problems’ mapping from the conceptualisation PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS, in which the cloud is a symbol of present or forthcoming problems.<sup>212</sup> The storm clouds do not, however, symbolise total universal calamity, which would be characterised by the sun’s failure to ascend,<sup>213</sup> but rather are representative of a temporary upheaval.

The metaphor also functions at a secondary level wherein the sun is a metonym for the solar deity, Ra. In recalling the connection between light and the conceptualisation KNOWING IS SEEING, if the Egyptians are to know Ra spiritually, they must be able to see him visually – an indication of their piety and spiritual wisdom.<sup>214</sup> Thereby, light is equated with spiritual knowledge, prompting the conceptual metaphor SPIRITUAL KNOWLEDGE IS LIGHT. In this instance, however, the storm clouds interfere with the Egyptians’ vision, obscuring god from their sight, directly affecting their ability to perceive and interact with him. Hence, the darkness created by the clouds is equatable to the Egyptians’ irreligiousness and lack of

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>213</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1: p. 145, ft. 13.

<sup>214</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of ‘The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All’*, p. 105; M. D. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 12 (Boston: Brill, 1998), p. 48; e.g. W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1983), pp. 21–22 [Stela of Neferhotep].

spiritual knowledge, denoting a negative inversion of the former metaphor SPIRITUAL KNOWLEDGE IS LIGHT, namely, SPIRITUAL IGNORANCE IS DARKNESS.

The meteorological phenomenon of storms is repeated again within *Ipuwer*:

*m=tn iw.ty šwy.t=f m nb šwy.t nb.w šwy.t m whj(.t) n(.t) d<sup>c</sup>.w*

“Look, he who had no shade is the owner of shade; (yet) the owners of shade are in the darkness of storms” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 7.13).

Darkness is directly equated with *d<sup>c</sup>* ‘the storm, storm winds’, which in this case has the metaphoric meaning ‘bad situation’ or ‘hard times’.<sup>215</sup> Furthermore, the darkness of the storm starkly contrasts to the shade, a benign and controllable form of darkness; to be in/possess shade is positive, whilst to be in the darkness of the storm is negative.

As in the case of both linguistic metaphors, there is an intrinsic parallel between the combination of light and weather metaphors as demonstrated by the common attestation of storms and the coinciding darkness. Accordingly, this particular combination produces a range of negative evaluative conceptualisations: BADNESS IS DARKNESS, SPIRITUAL IGNORANCE IS DARKNESS, and PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS.

#### 5.4.2 PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS

The corpus additionally contains metaphors that are exclusively weather metaphors, which utilise the previous conceptualisation PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor). Unsurprisingly, the Nile plays an integral role catalysing weather phenomena, namely flooding and drought:

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<sup>215</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, ‘Spatial Metaphors as Rhetorical Figures. Case Studies from Wisdom Texts of the Egyptian New Kingdom.’, p. 55; Żołnowska, ‘Weather as the Source Domain for Metaphorical Expressions’, p. 175.



iw-ms ḥꜥpy ḥr ḥwi n skꜣ(.n)=tw n=f si nb ḥr n rh=n ḥpr.t ḥt tꜥ

“Indeed, the Nile is overflowing (but) no one ploughs on account of it. Every man says: ‘We know not that which has happened throughout the land’” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 2.3).

itrw šw(.w) n.w Km.t ḡi=tw mw ḥr rd.wy tw rhhy mw n ḥꜥ.w r skꜣ=f

“The river of Egypt is empty, one crosses the water upon foot. One will seek water for the ships to sail” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 6.1-6.2).

Inundation should be a cause for celebration, as established in the *Hymn to Hapy*,<sup>216</sup> which “praises the river for the renewed life it brings to Egypt each year.”<sup>217</sup> Yet in the case of the first linguistic metaphor, the flooding is so extreme that the land has become unproductive; the farmers are unable to pursue agricultural activities. The theme of unproductive land is perpetuated within the second metaphor; here, the Nile has evaporated, leaving the ships marooned upon the riverbanks. The Nile’s importance lies in its role as a ‘highway’ – a watery conduit for ships, enabling transportation, communication, and trade.<sup>218</sup> Yet with no water, these actions are impeded, subsequently having direct adverse consequences for Egyptian society. Just as the cloud signifies momentary upheaval, so too the permanency of the drought is transient; thus an indication of periodic disorder. In both cases, the extreme weather conditions characterised by the excess or absence of water denotes negative connotations.

Flooding reappears again in *Ipuwer* 13.4:

šm=f ḥr mꜥn r mꜣ=f wḏnw

“He goes on the path until he sees the flood” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 13.4).<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>216</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, pp. 204–10.

<sup>217</sup> I. Shaw and P. Nicholson, *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London: The British Museum, 2008), p. 159.

<sup>218</sup> L. Lesko, ‘Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology - Cosmology’, in *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, ed. B. Shafer (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 116.

<sup>219</sup> This passage correlates strongly with *Ipuwer* 5.11-5.12.

Although this usage is not to be found within the *Wörterbuch*, here *wḏnw* ‘flood’ (Wb. I, 409.10,12) potentially has the contextual meaning of ‘problem’ or ‘disaster’, corresponding well to the remainder of the passage in which the individual is unjustly ambushed, attacked, and subsequently killed.<sup>220</sup> Alternatively, *wḏnw* could be understood as a collective noun for the group of attackers. While the flood metaphor occurs on the personal level, the individual’s situation is reflective of a larger overarching societal problem; that innocent people can be attacked is suggestive of a breakdown in societal morality and the State. Thus, flooding denotes inimical and chaotic situations, and possesses, therefore, negative rhetorical connotations.

The last of these weather metaphors focuses on wind:

*iw rs.w r ḥsf m mḥ.yt nn p.t m ḫw w<sup>c</sup>*

“The south-wind will oppose the north-wind; the sky will not be with one breeze” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 6.5).

Within this metaphor, *mḥ.yt* ‘the north wind’ and *rs.w* ‘the south wind’ are each equivalent to the distinct division of the Egyptian state into Upper and Lower Egypt. More than one wind, characterised by the conflict between the two winds, is negative, representing a divided, and therefore chaotic, Egypt; whilst, one breeze is positive, symbolising a unified, and ordered Egypt. Outside this context, neither *rs.w* nor *mḥ.yt* are recorded as exhibiting any metaphorical meaning; yet, here they have a sense similar to ‘havoc’ or ‘unrest’.<sup>221</sup> Interestingly, *mḥ.yt* is usually associated with positive evaluations as in the case of offering formulae: *ḫ.w nḏm n(.y) mḥ.yt* “the sweet breath of the north wind”.<sup>222</sup>

This study is not exhaustive of the lexicon used in relation to the source domain of weather, but it does indicate that weather is frequently an indicator of problems. In the metaphors I have examined, the problems relate specifically to the state of Egypt and its society. In these metaphors good weather conveys positive evaluations,

<sup>220</sup> A similar metaphorical usage of *wḏnw* appears in *The Eloquent Peasant* B1 176 & 188; see Haikal, ‘L’eau dans les métaphores de l’Égypte ancienne’, p. 210.

<sup>221</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, ‘Spatial Metaphors as Rhetorical Figures. Case Studies from Wisdom Texts of the Egyptian New Kingdom.’, p. 54.

<sup>222</sup> See for instance the Stela of Sobekhotep, Tübingen Nr. 458 (H. Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, 2nd ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1992), Taf. 13).

specifically the absence of difficulties within Egypt. Whereas, bad weather, typified in descriptions of drought and flooding, is typically employed to indicate negative, problematic situations within the Egyptian state. The conceptual metaphor, PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS, rhetorically and ideologically helps frame the chaotic tone of the texts, emphasising the topsy-turvy, unnatural state of existence in Egypt.

## **5.5 Family Metaphors**

### **5.5.1 SOCIETY IS A FAMILY**

The domain of the family and its internal structure is a common source domain for elaborating on the target domain of society, in which society is a larger extension of the family. While families have diversified temporally and spatially, “we all have a family of some kind or another and the interaction which takes place within it provides a basic model for how relations in society at large should be conceived.”<sup>223</sup> Yet, in *Ipuwer* and *Neferty*, the conceptual metaphor SOCIETY IS A FAMILY is subverted (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor):

*ḏi=i n=k sʾ m ḥw sn m ḥft.y si ḥr smʾ it=f*

“I will give to you the son as an opponent, the brother as an enemy, a man slaying his father” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 9.6).

*mʾʾ si sʾ=f m ḥrwy=f*

“A man sees his son as his enemy” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 1.5).

*ḥwi si sn=f n(.y) mw.t=f*

“A man strikes his brother of his mother” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 5.10).

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<sup>223</sup> E. Ringmar, ‘The Power of Metaphor: Consent, Dissent and Revolution’, in *Discursive Constructions of Identity in European Politics*, ed. R. C. M. Mole, Language and Globalization (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2007), p. 123.

*mṭn smʾ.tw si r-gs sn=f*

“Behold, a man is slain at the side of his brother” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 9.3).

*mi-m irf si nb hr smʾ sn=f*

“(But) how, when every man slays his brother?” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 14.14).

In these texts, the conceptualisation SOCIETY IS A FAMILY, representative of societal cohesion and order, is supplanted by its direct inverse familial discord, demonstrative of societal disunity, disintegration, and ultimately chaos. Normally, the conceptual metaphor exploits the combination of biological and hierarchical principles:<sup>224</sup> within the family unit there is a strict idealised hierarchy; the father is at the top of the familial ladder, whilst his sons are underneath him. However, the patricidal animosity between father and son, and the fratricidal rivalry between brothers destroys this ideal, with the internal disintegration of the family reflecting a larger scale collapse of society as depicted in *Ipuwer* and *Neferty*. Interestingly, the conceptualisation SOCIETY IS A FAMILY is predicated only upon male family members and their relationships – female members and their interactions with other family members (whether female-male or female-female) are all but absent from the metaphor’s usage other than to indicate closeness: *sn=f n(.y) mw.t=f* “his brother of his mother”. Despite rare exceptions, the majority of women were unable to obtain occupations beyond the domestic sphere of the household within the bureaucratic and religious sectors of society. Men traditionally held these roles, and they were passed on from father to son. Thereby, women’s absence from the metaphors indicates their limited access to the broader society.<sup>225</sup> Overall, the negative evaluative connotations assigned to the conceptual metaphor SOCIETY IS A FAMILY advocates societal discord and disorder.

### 5.5.2 PROCREATION IS CULTIVATION

Closely related to the family metaphor category, the conceptualisation PROCREATION IS CULTIVATION (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor)

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<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> G. Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1993), pp. 190–91.

describes family dynamics on a more intimate level, delineating the roles associated with husband and wife as the farmer and his field, respectively. This is famously demonstrated in *The Maxims of Ptahhotep* 330: “Rejoice her heart all the days of your life for she is a profitable field for her lord.”<sup>226</sup> Here, a woman’s fertility is metaphorically likened to the ploughing and sowing of the earth, explicitly inferring the union between a husband and his wife will produce bountiful crops (i.e. children).<sup>227</sup> The longevity of this conceptual metaphor is demonstrated by its presence many centuries later in the Brooklyn Papyrus, dated to the Thirtieth Dynasty, illustrating the connectedness of the husband and the farmer: “It is for a peasant that a field grows green; (...) the husband of the field is his farmer.”<sup>228</sup>

The conceptualisation PROCREATION IS CULTIVATION is not unique to ancient Egypt alone, but was conventional throughout the ancient world, appearing in rabbinic literature as a means to indicate “[that] agency can only belong to the male. A field is a site in which a man sows and plants, and is rewarded with the fruits of his labors, which then also belong to him; women’s role in childbearing is co-opted, even negated.”<sup>229</sup> In concurrence, duBois similarly asserts that within classical Greek literature: “the function of the female is to receive the seeds of her husband and to nurture his crop (...) the naming of the woman as a furrow, is (...) a reduction of her potential, a mastering of her fertility.”<sup>230</sup> Through these commentaries, one can conclude that the conceptual metaphor essentially promotes and strengthens the normative female role of conceiving and bearing children for her spouse.

The conceptualisation PROCREATION IS CULTIVATION features only once within *Ipuwer*:

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<sup>226</sup> V. Tobin, ‘The Maxims of Ptahhotep’, in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions and Poetry*, ed. W. K. Simpson, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 139.

<sup>227</sup> Within the *Instructions of Ani* 6.3-6.4 flowers are metaphorical for children: “Fill your hand with all the flowers that your eye can see; one has need of them, it is good fortune not to lose them” (M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume 2: The New Kingdom* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976], p. 139). The passage, therefore, links the conception of the woman as field from which children as seedlings and flowers will grow. This then obviously connects to the conceptual metaphor HUMANS ARE PLANTS and other related variations.

<sup>228</sup> Haikal, ‘Le travail de la terre d’après les textes littéraires’, p. 47.

<sup>229</sup> G. S. Labovitz, *Marriage and Metaphor: Constructions of Gender in Rabbinic Literature* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2009), p. 114.

<sup>230</sup> P. duBois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 72.

*iw-ms ḥm.wt wšr n iwr.ntw n ḳd.n Ḥnmw m-<sup>c</sup>.w šhr t*

“Indeed, the women are drying up; (they) do not conceive. Khnum does not fashion because of the condition of the land” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 2.4).

The term *wšr* has the basic meaning ‘to dry up’ (Wb. I, 374.10-13), and is used to describe fields, canals, and riverbeds. Here, it contextually has the metaphoric meaning ‘to become barren’.<sup>231</sup> Thus, the barrenness of the women conjures up the image of arid, unfertile fields unable to produce seedlings or crops (i.e. children), subverting the ideal. This is in stark contrast to the previous line *Ipuwer* 2.3 in which, though the annual inundation has occurred, and no one cultivates the earth – *iw-ms ḥ<sup>c</sup>py ḥr ḥwi n skj(.n)=tw n=f si nb ḥr n rh=n ḥpr.t ḥt t* “Indeed, the Nile is overflowing (but) no one ploughs on account of it. Every man says: ‘We know not that which has happened throughout the land’.” Hence, there is a definite continuation of the theme of unproductive land in relation to the barrenness of women.<sup>232</sup> Interestingly, women are not to blame for their infertility, instead Khnum is held responsible; who has withdrawn himself from his role and responsibility of creating human life upon his potter’s wheel. The deity’s absence from his role only exacerbates the chaos felt in the land of Egypt.<sup>233</sup>

## **5.6 Nautical Metaphors**

### **5.6.1 THE NATION IS A SHIP**

As a conventional conception, the rationale for the NATION IS A SHIP (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor) metaphor is derived from the easily transferrable attributes of a ‘ship’ (i.e. container image, navigation, crew hierarchy, weather etc.), which seamlessly integrates or blends together with the target domain of the nation. Simultaneously, the NATION IS A SHIP collaboratively

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<sup>231</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 70.

<sup>232</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of ‘The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All’*, p. 74.

<sup>233</sup> P. A. Kruger, ‘A World Turned on Its Head in Ancient Near Eastern Prophetic Literature: A Powerful Strategy to Depict Chaotic Scenarios’, *Vetus Testamentum* 62, no. 1 (2012): p. 61.

combines with other conceptual metaphorical mappings, including ACTION IS SELF-PROPELLED MOTION, COURSES OF ACTION ARE PATHS, COUNSELLORS ARE GUIDES, CIRCUMSTANCES ARE WEATHER, heightening the formulation of the nation as a ship sailing.<sup>234</sup> Grady, Oakley, and Coulson note the particular benefits of the blending framework as it allows for “a neat way of representing these complex concepts and links, since it explicitly allows for multiple spaces and multiple iterations of the integration process.”<sup>235</sup>

The conceptualisation of ancient Egyptian society as a ship is only given three times within the corpus: twice within *Ipuwer*, and once within *Neferty*. Through different metaphorical mappings, both examples in *Ipuwer* connote the deterioration in Egyptian governance:

*iw-ms swb' dp.t rs.y*

“Indeed, the ship of the South has broken up” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 2.11).

*n(n) ičš-n-ḥ't m wnw.t {sn}*

“There is no pilot (lit. “one who calls out at the front/prow”) on duty” (*Admonitions of Ipuwer* 12.5).

The first metaphor simply conveys the mapping, NATIONAL PROBLEMS ARE SAILING MISHAPS, in which the ship’s physical destruction correlates to the destruction of the Egyptian capital, Thebes (metonymically referred as ‘the ship of the South’). Comparatively more complex, the second metaphoric expression operates upon numerous negated mappings predicated upon the path-based conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY. As Enmarch rudimentarily identifies,<sup>236</sup> within the conceptualisation of the nation as a ship, the king equates to the captain or navigator in correspondence to his position as ruler of Egypt – denoting the conventional mapping COUNSELLORS ARE GUIDES. By evoking this mapping the metaphoric expression superimposes the imagery of the captain safely steering his ship upon the

<sup>234</sup> J. E. Grady, T. Oakley, and S. Coulson, ‘Blending and Metaphor’, in *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. R. W. Gibbs Jr. and G. Steen (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1997), p. 109.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of ‘The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All’*, p. 185.

waterway onto the king's political responsibility to provide security, success, and growth for the Egyptian state. This image also builds upon the mapping PROGRESS IS FORWARD MOTION; progression as facilitated by guidance equates to the ship's forward movement.<sup>237</sup> Yet by negating these mappings, the metaphor depicts the king's ineffectual governance; without his presence and guidance the progression of the Egyptian state will, like a ship becalmed, stagnate. As such, negative manipulations of the NATION AS A SHIP serve to highlight the expectation that the king would effectively govern Egypt, bringing peace, order, and prosperity.

In contrast, the single example of the NATION AS A SHIP in *Neferty* presents a far more positive image of the king and his administrative competency:

*wsr m nwd(=f)*

"The oar is in (his) control" (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 13.5).

Based upon similar mappings to the previous two metaphors, this example indicates that through Amen's possession of the oar he has gained the capacity to unite Egypt and steer it through turbulent events in the future.

In sum, THE NATION IS A SHIP defines and communicates the ideals and expectations the Egyptians had about the domain of THE NATION, or more specifically, its governance as performed by the king. On this basis, nautical situations like sailing mishaps or the absence of a captain are typically employed to construct a negative evaluation of an individual's kingship, emphasising their failure to adhere to the ideal of effectively governing Egypt. Thereby, negative manipulations of THE NATION IS A SHIP strongly reinforce the normative cultural expectation that the king should provide peace, order, and prosperity to the land. Comparatively, positive evaluations of THE NATION IS A SHIP rhetorically and ideologically function to further strengthen an individual's adherence to the ideals of kingship, and by extension their good governance of the state.

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<sup>237</sup> Grady, Oakley, and Coulson, 'Blending and Metaphor', p. 108.



## 5.7 HEAT Metaphors

### 5.7.1 ANGER IS HEAT

The affiliated concepts of fire and heat are primarily connected to the target domain of emotions, including love, desire, ambition, and most importantly anger, which generates the conceptual metaphor ANGER IS HEAT.<sup>238</sup> Heat and fire metaphors, as Charteris-Black discerns, “are typically associated with powerful emotions that lead to some form of punishment involving destruction.”<sup>239</sup> This is clearly demonstrated in the following linguistic metaphors:

*Tmḥ.w r hr n ns(r).wt=f*

“The Libyans will fall to his flame” (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 14.6).

*iw-ms dšr.t ht tʿ spʿ.wt ḥbʿ(.w) pḏ.t rw.ty iyi.ti n Km.t*

“Indeed, the desert is throughout the land, the nomes are destroyed.

The bowmen from outside have come to Egypt” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 3.1).

Within the former, Amen’s anger or wrath against the Libyans is referred to as a weaponised flame; combined with the orientation metaphor SUBJUGATION IS DOWN,<sup>240</sup> the defeat of the Libyans is a punishment by the prophesised king in retribution for their invasion of Egypt. In the latter, the noun *dšr.t* ‘desert’ (Wb. V, 494.5-13) is semantically related to the noun *dšr* ‘red’ (Wb. V, 490.7-13), which is associated with the phrase *dšr ib*, literally meaning ‘whose heart goes red (with anger)’.<sup>241</sup> The colour red seamlessly amalgamates into the target domain anger, due to physical response the body experiences whilst angry. Chief amongst these experiences is reddening of the face. The desert, a red and scorching locale, is, therefore, ultimately connected to the emotion of anger. Simultaneously, one must consider the desert to be a metonym for the Asiatics; the Asiatics are commonly

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<sup>238</sup> Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, ‘Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy’, p. 149.

<sup>239</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, p. 217.

<sup>240</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 15.

<sup>241</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, p. 316; Köhler, ‘Rage like an Egyptian: The Conceptualisation of Anger’, p. 88.

referred as *ḥr.wy šꜥy* ‘the sand-dwellers’ (Wb. III, 135.12). The association between the Asiatics and sand is made clear in *Ipuwer 15.2*: “Egypt will not be given <to> the sand.”<sup>242</sup> In consideration of these revelations, the anger embodied by the desert is equatable to the Asiatics, whose expression of this anger takes form as the invasion and destruction of Egypt and its nomes. The succeeding phrase concerning the invasion of the *pꜣ.t rw.ty* “bowmen from outside” serves to explicitly confirm and assure the reader’s interpretation of the metaphor. Consequently, heat metaphors possess a dual evaluation: when heat is used for Egypt’s benefit (first metaphor), the metaphor evokes a positive association; when used against Egypt (second metaphor), the usage of heat evokes a negative connotation.

## **5.8 Path Metaphors**

### **5.8.1 LIFE IS A JOURNEY**

The last group of metaphors to be discussed is that of journey or path-based metaphors, which have been extensively researched in cognitive linguistic studies. The source domain of journey applies to several targets often related to the concept of experience, including: relationships (LOVE IS A JOURNEY),<sup>243</sup> religion (SPIRITUAL LIFE IS A JOURNEY or A MORAL LIFE IS MAKING A JOURNEY ON GOD’S WAY),<sup>244</sup> and life (LIFE IS A JOURNEY).<sup>245</sup> In these conceptualisations a journey represents a purposeful activity involving movement along a path, beginning from a start point to reach an end point or destination. From her research, Di Biase-Dyson confirms the ubiquitousness of path-based metaphors within ancient Egyptian cognition, in that the path plays the important role within New Kingdom didactic literature explicating positive and negative behaviour, correct and incorrect life choices.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> *The Admonitions of Ipuwer 15.2* in Enmarch, *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of ‘The Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All’*, p. 207.

<sup>243</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, p. 44; G. Lakoff, J. Espenson, and A. Schwartz, ‘Master Metaphor List’ (Cognitive Linguistics Group, 1991), p. 37.

<sup>244</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*, pp. 204–7.

<sup>245</sup> Lakoff and Turner, *More than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*; Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, ‘Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy’, pp. 36–37.

<sup>246</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, ‘Spatial Metaphors as Rhetorical Figures. Case Studies from Wisdom Texts of the Egyptian New Kingdom.’, p. 60.

The conceptualisation LIFE IS A JOURNEY (refer to Appendix A for the mappings of the conceptual metaphor) also emerges from this corpus; however, we have actually already encountered the majority of these metaphors in conjunction with other metaphors, namely animal, weather, and nautical metaphors. Reconsider the following metaphors (see Chapter 5.3.1 above):

<iw ms dd>=tw m dgs ʕ mk sy šnw mk hnd=tw šht mi rm.w

“Indeed, one says: ‘Do not walk here, behold it is a net’. Behold, one treads the trap like the fish” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 2.12-2.13).

ith.tw wʕ.t ʕ<sup>c</sup>=f snnw

“The road is netted as he stands suffering” (*The Admonitions of Ipuwer* 13.5).

As previously discussed, both linguistic metaphors utilise the motif of ‘trapping’ for the purpose of expressing the passivity and lack of agency the Egyptians’ possessed to change their negative social circumstances. This ‘trapping’ imagery is also seen to impede travel; the nets block the paths of it travellers inferring the mapping DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL.<sup>247</sup> ‘Trapping’ as a negative force upsets the ideal of safe travel, representative of good administration and order,<sup>248</sup> indicating the disorder and chaos in Egypt. Moreover, DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL also manifests within *Neferty* 6.1-6.2, which describes a drying of the Nile. As previously stated (see Chapter 5.4.2 above), the Nile was a watery ‘highway’ for ships; yet, with no water the ships are impeded, which would have adverse consequence for Egypt.

Likewise, within the dual conceptualisation PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS and KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS the formulation of the shepherd-king as a leader of his flock is predicated upon the conventional mapping COUNSELLORS ARE GUIDES (see Chapter 5.3.2 above). Just as guides help travellers to complete their journey and overcome difficulties, so to the shepherd-king should aid the flock by securing their needs, and protecting them from harm. However, as previously noted, these flock metaphors are prescribed a negative evaluation due to the shepherd-king’s failure to successfully

<sup>247</sup> Lakoff, Espenson, and Schwartz, ‘Master Metaphor List: Second Draft Copy’, p. 37.

<sup>248</sup> L. Morenz, ‘Zum Oasenmann: “Entspanntes Feld,” Erzählung und Geschichte’, *Lingua Aegyptia* 8 (2000): pp. 76–77.

guide his flock. COUNSELLORS ARE GUIDES is additionally expressed in relation to nautical metaphors (see Chapter 5.6.1 above); the role of the captain (i.e. to safely steer the ship) is equivalent to the king's role, in which he must bring peace and prosperity to the nation.

The only independent expression of this mapping is conveyed within *Neferty*:

*m=k (i)r=f wn sr.w m shr.w n.w t*

"Behold! There exist officials who are not guides of the land" (*The Prophecy of Neferty* 4.2).

Unlike other articulations of this mapping that focus on the king's negligence of his role as a leader of the people, this example indicates that the *sr.w* the 'officials' also share in this task, but have neglected their responsibility. As they do today, path metaphors formed an important part of the Egyptian's conceptualisation of their lives and place in the world.

## **5.9 Summary**

In this chapter, I have identified the major source domains for metaphor relevant to the texts of *Neferty* and *Ipuwer*. Additionally, I have also proposed a set of conceptual metaphors that were found to precipitate the linguistic metaphoric expressions. The function of these conceptual metaphors was identified as rhetorically clarifying the tumultuous condition of Egypt. This will be discussed further in the following chapter, in which it will be demonstrated how the metaphors cohesively clarify and form the essence of each text.

## CHAPTER 6 – DISCUSSION

### 6.1 Megametaphors

As seen from Chapter 5 of the current study, the analysis of metaphoric expressions from the chosen corpus has been contained to the structure of sentences. An examination of the context around these sentences demonstrates that these metaphors do not stand in isolation, but instead facilitate an understanding of a larger complex metaphorical undercurrent that is sustained throughout the texts.<sup>249</sup> These surface level metaphors, or *micrometaphors* (as Werth calls them),<sup>250</sup> are utilised within the text to construct a credible mental visualisation of the narrative world:

“When we read a text, there are many metaphors in it that we make use of, mostly unconsciously, to interpret it, that is, to construct a mental model of the text. And those metaphors are also organised hierarchically and can be reduced to a few basic metaphors underlying the whole text.”<sup>251</sup>

It is these basic, reducible, underlying metaphors, or *megametaphors*, that create a coherent unifying structure for the surface micrometaphors, which through it combine to create a persuasive subliminal idea that forms the theme of the text.<sup>252</sup>

This notion of underlying megametaphors was first coined by Paul Werth,<sup>253</sup> who presented an extract from Dylan Thomas’ radio play *Under Milk Wood* in order to illustrate this idea:

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<sup>249</sup> P. Werth, ‘Extended Metaphor: A Text-World Account’, *Language and Literature* 3, no. 2 (1 May 1994): p. 80; M. D. Porto Requejo, ‘A Cognitive Approach to Discourse Analysis: Getting the Gist of a Text Through Conceptual Metaphor’, in *Cognitive and Discourse Approaches to Metaphor and Metonymy*, ed. J. L. Otal Campo, I. N. Ferrando, and B. B. Fortuño (Castelló de la Plana: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume, 2005), p. 123; Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 51.

<sup>250</sup> Werth, ‘Extended Metaphor: A Text-World Account’, p. 97.

<sup>251</sup> Porto Requejo, ‘A Cognitive Approach to Discourse Analysis: Getting the Gist of a Text Through Conceptual Metaphor’, p. 124.

<sup>252</sup> Werth, ‘Extended Metaphor: A Text-World Account’, pp. 80, 85; Kövecses, *Metaphor*, p. 51.

<sup>253</sup> Werth, ‘Extended Metaphor: A Text-World Account’.

“It is spring, moonless night in the small town, starless and bible-black, the cobblestreets silent and hunched, courter’s-and-rabbits’ wood limping invisible down to the sloeblack, slow, black, crowblack, fishingboat-bobbing sea. The houses are blind as moles (though moles see fine tonight in the snouting velvet dingles) or blind as Captain Cat there in the muffled middle by the pump and the town clock, the shops in mourning, the Welfare Hall in widow’s weeds. And all the people of the lulled and dumbfounded town are sleeping now.”<sup>254</sup>

The metaphoric process of personification is applied throughout the excerpt, in which the town’s features are described and understood in terms of human attributes: the wood is “hunched”, the wood “limps” to the sea, the houses are “blind”, the middle of the town is “muffled”, the shops are in a state of “mourning”, and the town is “lulled” and “dumbfounded”. These metaphoric expressions could all be understood individually (DARK IS BLIND or SILENT IS DUMB), but it would not clarify why the human attributes mapped onto the features of the town are a series of specific disabilities: blindness, being dumb or muffled, being hunched over, or limping.<sup>255</sup> As Werth argues, to ignore this pattern would be to disregard an essential point, “it is the accumulation of different metaphors clustering around a single broad frame which gives this passage its power.”<sup>256</sup> Accordingly, the megametaphor that spans the entire passage, providing an underlying structure to the surface level metaphors is SLEEP IS DISABLEMENT. The connection between the megametaphor SLEEP IS DISABLEMENT and the concept of the town is facilitated by the metonym THE TOWN IS ITS INHABITANTS; the residents of the town are sleeping, and this state is then directly transferred to the town itself.<sup>257</sup> The megametaphor SLEEP IS DISABLEMENT is made more interesting by the fact that sleep is a common source domain for the target concept of death. Since death is understood as sleep, and sleep as disablement, it can be inferred that death is a disability; a human disability in which we are permanently blind, deaf, dumb, and immobile.<sup>258</sup> This is reaffirmed by references to blackness, darkness, and mourning; later Dylan Thomas himself expresses this connection

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<sup>254</sup> D. Thomas, *Under Milk Wood* (London: Dent, 1962 [1954]), p. 1.

<sup>255</sup> Werth, ‘Extended Metaphor: A Text-World Account’, p. 85; Kövecses, *Metaphor*, pp. 51–52.

<sup>256</sup> Werth, ‘Extended Metaphor: A Text-World Account’, p. 85.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85–86.

<sup>258</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

directly: “Only you can see, in the blinded bedrooms ... the yellowing, dickybirdwatching pictures of the dead.”<sup>259</sup> Therefore, the town is effectively envisaged as dead due to the integrated interaction of micrometaphors, metonymy, and the formation of a megametaphor that extends across the entire text.

It is exactly this phenomenon of megametaphors that will be interesting to explore in relation to *Neferty* and *Ipuwer*. The analysis so far has demonstrated the presence of conceptual micrometaphors in each of the texts and the classification of these metaphors has also been possible. However, the question of how to discern megametaphors in *Neferty* and *Ipuwer* remains and that will be the subject of this discussion.

#### 6.1.1 Megametaphors in *Neferty*

As can be seen from the metaphors compiled in the previous chapter, negative evaluative meanings, with a few exceptions, have persisted throughout the varied and extensive micrometaphors with *Neferty* (refer to Appendix B). Of the thirteen orientation metaphors within *Neferty*, eleven were associated with negative evaluations, referring to bad events generally occurring within Egypt (*Neferty* 7.3, 7.5, 11.2), to the reversal of status between the elite and the non-elite (*Neferty* 10.5, 10.6, 12.2, 12.3 (x2), 12.5), or the abandonment of the Egyptian people by the gods (*Neferty* 5.3-5.4, 11.4-11.5). Both animal metaphors (*Neferty* 6.6-6.7, 8.1-8.2), which proceeded from the migration of non-native animals to Egypt, portrayed the ‘incursion’ of foreigners into Egypt. The sole family metaphor within *Neferty* (*Neferty* 9.6) conveyed the internal disintegration of the family unit as a reflection of the broader collapse of Egyptian state and society. The unnatural, adverse weather and light events, the basis for weather and light metaphors (*Neferty* 5.3-5.4, 6.1-6.2, 6.5, 11.4-11.5), also indicated the deteriorating condition of Egypt. Finally, the sole path metaphor (*Neferty* 4.2) denoted the directionless state of Egypt, which was without leaders to govern it. All these micrometaphors seek to portray the state of Egypt, whether it be naturally, socially, or ideological. The negative evaluations associated with these micrometaphors demonstrate the tumultuous condition of Egypt.

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<sup>259</sup> Thomas, *Under Milk Wood*, p. 3.

However, the rhetorical purpose of these micrometaphors can also be categorised into two basic, underlying concepts. Negative and, by extension, positive metaphoric evaluations are interchangeable with the opposing binary concepts of BAD and GOOD.<sup>260</sup> In the case of BAD micrometaphors, they can be further reduced to the Egyptian principle of *ISFET* (primordial chaos), given that the micrometaphors frequently portray a disordered Egypt. This idea of disorder strongly permeates throughout the orientation metaphors (HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE or HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE, and their entailments) for the purpose of communicating the topos of social inversion. These conceptual metaphors subvert the proper social order by inverting hierarchical structures, leading to *ISFET*. The concept of *ISFET* also occurs in the other micrometaphors that have been examined. For example, *ISFET* is seen in the animal metaphors (PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS) and also in the light and weather metaphors (BADNESS IS DARKNESS, PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS), where unnaturalness of the animals' behaviour and the environmental events oppose the ideal. Thus, we arrive at the crucial underlying concepts of the narrative – *ISFET* and BAD – or rather, the megametaphor structure *ISFET* IS BAD.

Of course, the megametaphor *ISFET* IS BAD is eventually superseded with the introduction of positive evaluative metaphors in the second prophecy, which foretells the arrival of Egypt's saviour, Ameny. These positive metaphors include two orientation metaphors (*Neferty* 14.5, 14.6),<sup>261</sup> which refer to the subjugation and subsequent expulsion of the foreigners, and one nautical metaphor (*Neferty* 13.5) that ideologically denotes the re-establishment of good governance in Egypt. By effecting positive or GOOD change, Ameny is seen to restore the ideal principle of *MA'AT* (cosmic balance and order) to Egypt. In juxtaposition to the megametaphor *ISFET* IS BAD, the second prophecy's metaphoric undercurrent shifts to the megametaphor structure *MA'AT* IS GOOD. This shift from *ISFET* IS BAD to *MA'AT* IS GOOD is reinforced by the statement from *Neferty* 15.5: *iw m<sup>3</sup>c.t r iyi.t r s.t=s isf.t dr.ti r rw.ty* “*Ma'at* will go to its place; *Isfet* is expelled to the outside.”<sup>262</sup> Thus, the

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<sup>260</sup> Z. Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 47.

<sup>261</sup> It should be noted that *Neferty* 14.6 also doubles as a heat metaphor.

<sup>262</sup> This statement is predicated on the near-far or in-out image schema; positive/good things are close to or in the CONTAINER, while negative/bad things are far away or outside the CONTAINER.



micrometaphors of the narrative are shown to cluster around two mutually exclusive, extended megametaphoric structures *ISFET IS BAD* and *MA'AT IS GOOD*, which rhetorically form the macrostructural essence of the narrative.

#### 6.1.2 Megametaphors in *Ipuwer*

Similarly, all the micrometaphors in *Ipuwer* have negative evaluative meanings (refer to Appendix C), and were seen to portray the tumultuous condition of Egypt. It can be inferred that these micrometaphors in *Ipuwer* are also reducible to the fundamental, underlying concepts of *ISFET* and *BAD*, which form the basis for the megametaphoric structure *ISFET IS BAD* that extends throughout the text.

An interesting point of comparison between *Neferty* and *Ipuwer* is the absence of the positive megametaphoric structure (*MA'AT IS GOOD*) in *Ipuwer*. With the loss of the text's ending, it is impossible to determine whether the ending of *Ipuwer* would be as hopeful as the ending of *Neferty*, and it is not the intention of the current thesis to speculate about *Ipuwer's* conclusion. What is, however, noteworthy is how the megametaphor structure *ISFET IS BAD* is developed and intensified over the course of *Ipuwer's* micrometaphors, compared to *Neferty*, in which *ISFET* is a temporary state.

In *Neferty*, severe and adverse weather and light conditions are often transient and are followed by more favourable conditions. For example, a drought is always followed by an inundation of water, and the darkening of the sky always resulted in it brightening again. In other words, there is an early suggestion of hope throughout the text prefiguring the shift to the megametaphoric structure *MA'AT IS GOOD*. In contrast, *Ipuwer's* use of light and weather micrometaphors generally reinforces already bad situations. For instance, in *Ipuwer* 7.13 the passage functions primarily as an orientation metaphor, but in order to further emphasise the negative aspects of the situation (the reversal in fortunes between the poor and rich), a reference to bad weather is added (i.e. *wh}{(t) n(t) d<sup>c</sup>.w* "the darkness of storms"). Similarly, in *Ipuwer* 13.4 the metaphoric usage of *wdnw* 'flood' emphasises the imminent disaster or problems the individual is to confront on their path. Thus, *Ipuwer's* use of light and

weather metaphors functions quite differently to *Neferty*. Instead of light and weather micrometaphors prefiguring the coming of *MA'AT*, as in *Neferty*, in *Ipuwer*, they serve to deepen and emphasise *ISFET*.

The severity of *ISFET* IS BAD is further built up in *Ipuwer* through the extensive use of orientation (HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE, and HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL STRUCTURE) and family (SOCIETY IS A FAMILY) micrometaphors. The heavy concentration and constant repetition of these micrometaphors emphasises the gravity and permanence of any change to traditional hierarchical structures.

However, the ultimate expression of *ISFET* in *Ipuwer* comes through its criticism of the king's governance of Egypt. This criticism is expressed in the two micrometaphors, THE NATION IS A SHIP, and PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS/KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS. In *Ipuwer*, the negative manipulations of THE NATION IS A SHIP (*Ipuwer* 2.11, 12.5) stress the king's failure to adhere to the ideal of effectively governing Egypt. This is first seen in *Ipuwer* 2.11, which describes the destruction of the ship/capital, and secondly in *Ipuwer* 12.5, which denotes the absence of the pilot/king from his duty, that is to say, the pilot/king does not navigate the ship/nation. However, what the conceptualisation THE NATION IS A SHIP fails to highlight is how the king's ineffectual governance directly affects all those under him. By contrast, the dual conceptualisation PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS/KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS is focused on examining this relationship between king and people. The conceptualisation explores the repercussions of the shepherd-king's actions in relation to his effect on the Egyptian populace. This is seen in *Ipuwer* 5.5, in which the herd/Egyptians are described as groaning and weeping due to the shepherd-king's ineffectual leadership. In *Ipuwer* 12.1-12.2 the shepherd-king is shown to care for his flock; however, the flock still diminishes. This suggests that the shepherd-king's efforts have come too late – Egypt is in such an adverse condition that it cannot recover. This negative relationship between the shepherd-king and his human flock culminates in two final orientation micrometaphors (EMOTIONAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE). These plea-like metaphors question the whereabouts of their king, whose absence denotes his physical and emotional unavailability, which subsequently means he is unable to guide his people.

Therefore, by abstaining from introducing the *MA'AT* IS GOOD megametaphor, and only building and intensifying the *ISFET* IS BAD, *Ipuwer's* micrometaphors construct a vivid mental image of the narrative world, depicting the depth of Egypt's plight. In turn, this intensification of *ISFET* IS BAD over the course of *Ipuwer* is meant to persuasively stress the importance of an ideological return to Egypt's normative state (*MA'AT* IS GOOD).

## **CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUDING REMARKS**

This thesis has identified, quantified, and qualified the conceptual metaphors employed within the Middle Kingdom texts *The Prophecy of Neferty* and *The Admonitions of Ipuwer*, in order to assess the rhetorical and ideological function of metaphor within these literary texts. This was achieved through modern methods of metaphor analysis, namely, Conceptual Metaphor Theory. We see that in the rhetoric of *Neferty* and *Ipuwer*, these conceptual metaphors were predominantly assigned negative evaluations in order to describe and elucidate the plight of Egypt's chaotic state.

The accumulation of numerous and varying negative conceptual metaphors was, therefore, not accidental, and when compared they are shown to combine around the basic and underlying dichotomous megametaphors of ISFET IS BAD and MA'AT IS GOOD. These megametaphors are crucial for unlocking the common metaphorical 'gist' or essence of the texts, since, according to Werth, megametaphors:

“[...] appear to be close to the primal metaphors of our conceptual life, since they represent the most prototypical and primitive frames in our culture and are the basic building-blocks of our world-view.”<sup>263</sup>

While one might argue that these thematic ideological concepts of ISFET and MA'AT are already recognisable to readers in a cursory reading, the point of this thesis has been to demonstrate that: (1) metaphor expresses fundamental and shared cultural frames of thinking, (2) metaphor plays a significant role in rhetorically shaping and driving the narrative, and (3) these metaphors form and clarify the essence of the text. In other words, the metaphors in these texts are not mere ornamentation or a method for padding out gaps in a text, but rather metaphor is integral to the compositional cohesion of these texts. Metaphor ultimately allows readers of these texts, both ancient and modern, to make sense of the Egyptians' worldviews through the prism of narrative. Drawing this conclusion has, however, only been possible through an intense and in-depth analysis of the metaphors used throughout the texts, both at a surface and underlying level.

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<sup>263</sup> P. Werth, 'Extended Metaphor: A Text-World Account', *Language and Literature* 3, no. 2 (1 May 1994): p. 101.

In closing, I can only say that this research leaves many important avenues of research open to be addressed in the future. For instance, to what extent are certain metaphors, or secondary metaphoric meanings of words, bound to particular genres? And in the case of secondary metaphoric meanings for words, should these additional meanings be included into dictionary entries, such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*? Are the same evaluations (i.e. positive or negative) always assigned to metaphors within particular genres? Are the same types of conceptual metaphors utilised by other near-Eastern ancient societies? However, answers to these questions are the work of another thesis. Nevertheless, this exploratory study gives us an initial insight to the importance of metaphor in ancient Egyptian thought and language, revealing the metaphors the ancient Egyptians lived by.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A) CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR MAPPINGS**

#### **HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE**

##### ***Source: VERTICAL STRUCTURE***

##### ***Target: HIERARCHY***

Vertical physical structure	→ Hierarchical structure
Position on vertical structure	→ Position in hierarchy
Higher position on vertical structure	→ Higher position in hierarchy
Lower position on vertical structure	→ Lower position in hierarchy

#### **HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE**

##### ***Source: HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE***

##### ***Target: STATUS***

Horizontal plane	→ Hierarchical structure
Position on horizontal plane	→ Position in hierarchy
To be ahead of someone on the horizontal plane; 'a leader'	→ Higher position in hierarchy
To be behind someone on the horizontal plane; 'a follower'	→ Lower position in hierarchy

#### **EMOTIONAL INTIMACY IS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS**

##### ***Source: PHYSICAL CLOSENESS***

##### ***Target: EMOTIONAL INTIMACY***

Physical contact	→ Establishment of emotional intimacy
Physical bonding	→ Emotional bonding
Physical distance	→ Emotional distance or indifference
Physical absence	→ Emotional rejection
Movement towards physical closeness	→ Change towards emotional intimacy
Movement away from physical closeness	→ Change away from emotional intimacy

### PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS

#### **Source: ANIMALS**

#### **Target: PEOPLE**

Animal	→	Person
Physical characteristics (e.g. feathers, horns etc.)	→	Physical appearance (including: costume)
Animal behaviour	→	Human behaviour

### FLOCKS ARE PEOPLE/KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS

#### **Source: FLOCKS**

#### **Target: PEOPLE**

Flock or herd	→	People
Shepherd or herdsman	→	King
Flock's owner	→	Creator God
Leading or protecting the flock	→	Ruling, governing

### SOCIETY IS A FAMILY

#### **Source: FAMILY**

#### **Target: SOCIETY**

Family unit	→	Society
Familial stability	→	Societal cohesion
Familial discord & dissension	→	Societal disintegration

### PROCREATION IS CULTIVATION

#### **Source: CULTIVATION**

#### **Target: PROCREATION**

Field	→	Woman/Wife
Farmer	→	Man/Husband
Seedlings, flowers, or crops	→	Children
Sowing or planting	→	Sexual Intercourse
Fertile field	→	Fertility
Barren field	→	Infertility

### PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS

#### **Source: WEATHER**

#### **Target: PROBLEMS**

Good weather (e.g. sunny, clear skies)	→	An absence of problems; optimism
Bad weather (e.g. storms, clouds, drought, floods)	→	The presence of problems; pessimism

### THE NATION IS A SHIP

#### **Source: SHIP**

#### **Target: NATION**

Vehicle (the ship)	→	Nation or society itself
Captain/navigator	→	King
Navigation of ship	→	Ruling, governing
Possession of rudder	→	Control
Forward motion	→	Progress; national success (peace and prosperity)
Sailing mishaps	→	Stagnation; national problems (chaos and disorder)

### LIFE IS A JOURNEY

#### **Source: JOURNEY**

#### **Target: LIFE**

Travellers	→	People leading a life
Motion along the way	→	Leading a life
Destination(s) of the journey	→	Purpose(s) of life
Impediments/obstacles along the way	→	Difficulties in life
Different paths to one's destination(s)	→	Different means of achieving one's purpose(s)
Distance covered along the way	→	Progress made in life
Locations along the way	→	Stages in life
Guides along the way	→	Counsellors in life

**APPENDIX B) TABULATED LIST OF IDENTIFIED METAPHORS FROM *THE PROPHECY OF NEFERTY***

Section	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor Category	Conceptual Metaphor	Evaluation
4.2	<i>m=k (i)r=f wn sr.w m shr.w n.w t<sup>b</sup></i>	Behold! There exist officials who are not guides of the land.	Path	LIFE IS A JOURNEY – COUNSELLORS ARE GUIDES	Negative
5.3- 5.4	<i>itn ḥbs(.w) nn psd=f m<sup>33</sup> rhy.t nn ḥnh=tw ḥbs.w šn<sup>c</sup></i>	The sun is hidden; there is not its shine which the people see. One cannot live when the storm-clouds conceal/cover.	Weather  Light  Orientation (NEAR-FAR)	PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS  BADNESS IS DARKNESS – SPIRITUAL IGNORANCE IS DARKNESS  EMOTIONAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE	Negative
6.1- 6.2	<i>itrw šw(.w) n.w Km.t dī=tw mn ḥr rd.wy tw rhhy mw n ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w r skd=f</i>	The river of Egypt is empty, one crosses the water upon foot. One will seek water for the ships to sail.	Weather  Path	PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS  LIFE IS A JOURNEY – DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL	Negative

6.5	<i>iw rs.w r ḥsf m mḥ.yt nn p.t m ḫw w<sup>c</sup></i>	The south-wind will oppose the north-wind; the sky will not be with one breeze.	Weather	PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS	Negative
6.6- 6.7	<i>iw ḳpd.w ḏrdri(.wt) r msi.t m ḥi.t n.t ḫ-mḥw iri.n=f f sš.w ḥr-gs.wy rmṯ stkn sw rmṯ n gḳw</i>	The birds from beyond the border will breed in the swamp of the Delta; it has made its nest beside the people, the people causing it to approach through (their) laxness.	Animal	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS – HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR	Negative
7.3	<i>pṯh {m} ḫ n ḳsn.t</i>	(...) Cast down is the land in misfortune.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	BAD IS DOWN	Negative
7.5	<i>iw ḥrw.w ḥpr ḥr iḳb.tt iw ʿm.w ḥi.{t}&lt;w&gt; r Km.t</i>	The enemies have gathered in the East, the Asiatics have descended into Egypt.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	BAD IS DOWN	Negative
8.1- 8.2	<i>ʿwt ḥs.(y)t r swri ḥr itrw(.w) n.w Km.t sḳbb=sn ḥr wḏb.w=sn n gḳw s(t) tri=sn</i>	The desert herd will drink from the rivers of Egypt. They will be refreshed upon the shores for lack of one that they respect.	Animal	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS – HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR	Negative

9.6	<i>ḏi=i n=k s³ m ḥw sn m ḥft.y si ḥr sm³ it=f</i>	I will give to you the son as an opponent, the brother as an enemy, a man slaying his father.	Family	SOCIETY IS A FAMILY	Negative
10.5	<i>nḥm iḥ.wt si r=f rḏi n n.ty m rw.ty</i>	The property of a man is taken away from him, and is given to the one who is an outsider.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
10.6	<i>ḏi=i n=k nb m nḥp rw.ty ḥtp</i>	I will give to you the lord in need, the outsider pleased.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
11.2	<i>ḥnd ḫ</i>	Diminished is the land.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	BAD IS DOWN	Negative
11.4- 11.5	<i>iw R<sup>c</sup>.w iwd=f sw rmt wbn=f wn wnw.t nn rh=tw ḥpr mtr.t</i>	Ra separates himself from the people. He will rise (when) the hour exists, although no one will know (if) midday happened.	Orientation (NEAR-FAR)	EMOTIONAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE	Negative



12.2	<i>sʔ<sup>c</sup>.w m nb<sup>c</sup>.w tw &lt;r&gt; nḏ hrt nḏ hrt</i>	The weak of arm is (now) the strong of arm (lit. master/lord of arm); one is to pay respect (to) the one who (once) paid respect.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
12.3	<i>ḏi=i n=k [hr.y] r hr.y phr. {ti} m-sʔ phr h.t</i>	I will present to you what is underneath for what is above; the one who has walked behind is the one who (now) turns (his) body (around).	Orientation (UP-DOWN)  Orientation (FRONT-BACK)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION  HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
12.5	<i>iw ḥwr r iri.t ḥ<sup>c</sup>.w wr.t</i>	The poor man will make riches greatly.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

13.5	<i>wsr m nwd(=f)</i>	The oar is in (his) control.	Nautical  Path	THE NATIONS IS A SHIP  LIFE IS A JOURNEY – COUNSELORS ARE GUIDES	Positive
14.5	<i>iw 3m.w r hr n š<sup>c</sup>.t=f</i>	The Asiatics will fall to his slaughtering.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	CONTROL IS VERTICALITY – BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN – SUBJUGATION IS DOWN	Positive
14.6	<i>Tmḥ.w r hr n ns(r).wt=f</i>	The Libyans will fall to his flame.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)  Heat	CONTROL IS VERTICALITY – BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN – SUBJUGATION IS DOWN  ANGER IS HEAT	Positive

**APPENDIX C) TABULATED LIST OF IDENTIFIED METAPHORS FROM *THE ADMONITIONS OF IPUWER***

Section	Transliteration	Translation	Metaphor Category	Conceptual Metaphor	Evaluation
1.5	<i>m<sup>3</sup> si s<sup>3</sup>=f m hrwy=f</i>	A man sees his son as his enemy.	Family	SOCIETY IS A FAMILY	Negative
2.3	<i>iw-ms h<sup>c</sup>py hr hwi n sk<sup>3</sup>(.n)=tw n=f si nb hr n rh=n hpr.t ht b</i>	Indeed, the Nile is overflowing (but) no one ploughs on account of it. Every man says: “We know not that which has happened throughout the land”.	Weather	PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS	Negative
2.4	<i>iw-ms hm.wt wšr n iwr.ntw n kd.n Hnmw m-<sup>c</sup>.w šhr b</i>	Indeed, the women are drying up; (they) do not conceive. Khnum does not fashion because of the condition of the land.	Family	PROCREATION IS CULTIVATION	Negative
2.4-2.5	<i>iw-ms šw<sup>3</sup>w.w hpr m nb.w špss.w tm(.w) iri.t n=f tb.ty m nb h<sup>c</sup>.w</i>	Indeed, the poor have become possessors of riches; the one who did not own a pair of sandals for him(self) is (now) the owner of wealth.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

2.8	<i>iw-ms rmṭ mi gm.w(t) sbw hṭ ṭ nn ms ḥd ḥbsw m p̣ n rk</i>	Indeed, the people are like black ibises, squalor is throughout the land; indeed there are none white of clothes in this time.	Animal	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS – HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR	Negative
2.9	<i>ʿẉy m nb ḥ̣.w</i>	The robber is a possessor of wealth.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
2.11	<i>iw-ms swḅ dp̣.t rs.y</i>	Indeed, the ship of the South has broken up.	Nautical	THE NATIONS IS A SHIP	Negative
2.12- 2.13	<i>iw-ms msḥ.w ḥr ḅfy n iṭi.t n=sn šm n=sn rmṭ ḍs ir.y ḥdi pw n(.y) ṭ  &lt;iw-ms ḍd&gt;=tw m dgs ʿ mk sy šnw mk ḥnd=tw šhṭ mi rm.w</i>	Indeed, the crocodiles gorge on what they have seized. The people go to them (by) themselves. It is the destruction of the land.  Indeed, one says: ‘Do not walk here, behold it is a net’. Behold, one treads the trap like the fish.	Animal  Path	PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS – HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR  LIFE IS A JOURNEY – DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL	Negative

2.14	<i>iw-ms s3 si rh m m=f g3w si3=f hpr ms nb.t=f s3 hm.t=f</i>	Indeed, the son of a man whose name is known, (his) recognition is (now) lacking. The child of his lady is (now) the son of his female servant.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
3.1	<i>iw-ms d3r.t ht b3 sp3.wt hb3(.w) pd.t rw.ty iyi.ti n Km.t</i>	Indeed, the desert is throughout the land, the nomes are destroyed. The bowmen from outside have come to Egypt.	Heat	ANGER IS HEAT	Negative
3.2-3.3	<i>iw-ms nbw hsb3 d3 mfkt hm3gt hsmn ibht [3.wt nb.w] [mn]h.w r h3.w n(.w) hm.wt 3pss.w ht b3 nb.wt pr.w hr d3 h3 n=n wnm.ti</i>	Indeed, gold, lapis-lazuli, silver, turquoise, carnelian, amethyst, ibhet-stone, and every costly stone have been strung on the necks of female servants; wealth is throughout the land, (but) the ladies-of-the-house say: ‘Would that we had something we might eat’.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

3.14-4.1	<i>iw-ms iw.ty nb m n.ty wn wnw m rmt.w &lt;hpr m&gt; k'wy di.tw hr w3.t</i>	Indeed, everyone who has nothing (the 'have not') is one who (now) has something; those who were Egyptians have become 'others', and put on the road.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
4.1	<i>iw-ms šny wš n hr-nb n tni.n=tw s3 si r iw.ty n=f sw</i>	Indeed, the hair has fallen out for everyone, (and so) one cannot distinguish the son of a man from he who has nothing.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
5.2	<i>iw-ms sr.w hkr.w hr sw n šms=tw šms.w st</i>	Indeed, the officials are hungry and suffering; (but) one follows those who were once themselves followers of it.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)  Orientation (FRONT-BACK)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION  HIERARCHY IS A HORIZONTAL SEQUENCE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

5.5	<i>iw-ms <sup>c</sup>w.t nb.t ib=sn rm.w mmmn.t hr im.t m-<sup>c</sup>.w shr.w t'</i>	Indeed, the entire small herd, their hearts weep. The cattle are groaning from the condition of the land.	Animal	PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS/KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS	Negative
5.10	<i>hwi si sn=f n(y) mw.t=f</i>	A man strikes his brother of his mother.	Family	SOCIETY IS A FAMILY	Negative
6.7-6.8	<i>hpr rmt.w d.wt m nb(.w) d.wt</i>	The people, the serfs, have become masters of serfs.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
6.12- 6.13	<i>iw-ms ms.w sr.w h<sup>3c</sup>(.w) m mr.wt</i>	Indeed, the children of the officials are thrown into the streets.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.4	<i>hnw whn.n=f n wnw.t</i>	The Residence, it has collapsed in an hour.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	BAD IS DOWN	Negative

7.8	<i>tm(.w) iri n=f db<sup>3</sup>.t m nb h<sup>3</sup>.t</i>	The one who could not make a sarcophagus for him(self) is (now) the owner of a tomb-shaft.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.8	<i>m=tn nb.w w<sup>c</sup>b.t dr hr ... tm(.w) iri n=f krs m (nb) pr.w- nfr</i>	Behold the masters of tombs are driven out to ... (higher ground); the one who could not make a coffin for him(self) is (now) (master) of a place of embalming.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.9	<i>m=tn is n<sup>3</sup> hpr.w &lt;r&gt; rmt.w tm(.w) kd n=f<sup>c</sup>.t m nb drw.t</i>	Behold truly, this has happened to the people; the one who could not build a chamber for him(self) is (now) the owner of walls.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.9- 7.10	<i>m=tn knb.t n.t t<sup>3</sup> dr.ti r ht t<sup>3</sup> dr&lt;=ti&gt; m pry.(w)t nsy.wt</i>	Behold, the council of the land are driven out across the land; driven from the royal domains.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative



7.10	<i>m=tn šps.wt hr šd.t sr.w m šn<sup>c</sup> tm(.w) sdr hr drw.t m nb hnky.t</i>	Behold, noblewomen are at the well, the officials are in the storehouse; the one who could not sleep within a walled dwelling is now an owner of a bed.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.10- 7.11	<i>m=tn nb ht sdr ibi(.w) dbh.n=f t'bh.w(t)=f m nb shr.w</i>	Behold, the owner of property spends the night thirsty; he who begged his dregs is (now) an owner of <i>shr</i> beer ('strong beer').	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.11- 7.12	<i>m=tn nb.w d'by.wt m isy.wt tm(.w) sht n=f m nb p'k.t</i>	Behold, the owners of clothes are in rags; the one who could not weave for him(self) is (now) the owner of fine linen.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

7.12	<i>m=tn tm(.w) mđh n=f imw m nb ħ<sup>c</sup>.w nb ir.y ħr gmh st nn st m-<sup>c</sup>=f</i>	Behold, the one who could not hew/build a boat for him(self) is (now) the owner of ships; their owner sees, they are no longer are his.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.13	<i>m=tn iw.ty šwy.t=f m nb šwy.t nb.w šwy.t m wh<sup>3</sup>(.t) n(.t) đ<sup>c</sup>.w</i>	Look, he who had no shade is the owner of shade; (yet) the owners of shade are in the darkness of storms.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)  Weather	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION  PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS	Negative
7.13- 7.14	<i>m=tn hm(=f) đđ<sup>3</sup>.t m nb bn.t tm(.w) ħis n=f ħr swħ<sup>3</sup> Mr.t</i>	Behold, he who knew not the lyre is (now) the owner of a harp; the one who could not sing for him(self) is praising Meret.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
7.14	<i>m=tn nb.w wđh.ww m hm.t n wnh n w<sup>c</sup> im</i>	Behold, the owners of offering tables in copper, not one jar is decorated.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

7.14-8.1	<i>m=tn sdr(.w) h'ry m-<sup>c</sup> g'w(t) gmi=f špss.wt tm.n=f m'' h<sup>c</sup> hr swdn</i>	Behold, the one who spent the night without a woman from a lack, he finds noblewomen; he who could not look proud is (now) made important.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.1-8.2	<i>m=tn iw.ty n=f m nb h<sup>c</sup>.w sr hr h'si.t=tw</i>	Behold, the one who has nothing is an owner of riches; the officials praise him.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.2	<i>m=tn šw'w.w n.w t' hpr m hwd.w &lt;nb&gt; ih.t m iw.ty n=f</i>	Behold, the poor men of the land become rich men; the owner of property is (now) one who has nothing.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.2-8.3	<i>m=tn &lt;wd&gt;pw.w hpr m nb.w wb'[w].w wn m wpw.ty hr h'b ky</i>	Behold, the butlers have become the owners of attendants; the one who was a messenger (now) sends another.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

8.3-8.4	<i>m=tn iw.ty p<sup>c</sup>.t=f m nb mhr šn<sup>c</sup>(.t)=f m ih.wt ky</i>	Behold, he who had no bread loaf is (now) the owner of a storehouse; his storehouse was equipped with the possessions of another.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.4	<i>m=tn wš.w šnw iw.ty mrht=f hpr m nb hbb.wt nt.yw ndm</i>	Behold, the one whose hair has fallen out, he who had no unguent has become the owner of <i>hbb.t</i> jars of sweet myrrh.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.5	<i>m=tn iw.tyt m pds=s m nb.t ʔtp gmh(.t) hr=s m mw m nb.t ‘nh</i>	Behold, she who had no box is (now) the owner of a coffer; she who glimpsed her face in the water is the owner of a mirror.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.7-8.8	<i>[m]=tn šps.wt wr.wt nb.wt špss.w hr rdi.t ms.w=s n hmk.wt</i>	Behold, noblewomen, great ladies, (female) owners of riches are giving away their children.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

8.8-8.9	<i>m=tn is si [hsy hr iti.t] šps.t m hm.t(=f) nh.n sw it=s iw.ty hr sm³=f</i>	Behold truly, a man takes away a noblewomen to be (his) wife; her father protected him, (yet now) the one who has nothing is killing him.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.9- 8.10	<i>m=tn ms.w knb.t m is.ywt [dd bhs].w n.w hw(w)=sn n h³ky.w</i>	Behold, the children of the council are in old clothes and gives the calves of their hww-cattle to the plunderers.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.10- 8.11	<i>m=tn nsw.tyw hr knkn m k³.w m³i[...h³-] ky(.w)</i>	Behold, the farmers are beating the oxen; ...	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.11	<i>m=tn tm(.w) sf̄t n=f hr sf̄t</i>	Behold, the one who does not slaughter for him(self) is slaughtering short-horned cattle;	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

8.12	<i>m=tn nsw.tyw hr knkn m r.w dd. tw &lt;n&gt; ntr.w r db' iw'.w</i>	Behold, the farmers are slaughtering the geese, which are given <to> the gods rather than oxen.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.12- 8.13	<i>m=tn hm.wt [...] hr wdn.w iph šps.wt ir.y [...]</i>	Behold, female servants [...] are offering piglets; the noblewomen [...]	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.14	<i>&lt;m=tn&gt; hr.wy n.t b' hr šhs nn hn.t.n=sn m-<sup>c</sup> g'w.t nb hs.wt</i>	<Behold>, the uppermost of the land are fleeing; they have no occupation for a lack of a lord of favours.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
8.14- 9.1	<i>[m=tn] nb.w hnk.wt hr s'tw sdr(.w) btk(.w) r=f m 3dt n=f šdw</i>	[Behold], the owners of beds are upon the ground; the one who spends the night in squalor is (now) the one who prepares a mat for himself.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

9.1-9.2	<i>m=tn šps.wt w3.w r hkr.w nsw.tyw s3i.ti m iri.t n=sn</i>	Behold, the noblewomen have fallen into hunger, the farmers are satisfied with what has been done for them.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
9.2	<i>m=tn i3w.t nb.t nn st r s.t=s mi idr tnbh nn mniw=f</i>	Behold, every office it is not in its place, like a confused herd without its herdsman	Animal	PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS/KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS	Negative
9.3	<i>m=tn sm3.tw si r-gs sn=f</i>	Behold, a man is slain at the side of his brother.	Family	SOCIETY IS A FAMILY	Negative
9.3-9.4	<i>m=tn iw.ty htr.w m nb idr tm(.w) gmi n=f sk3.w m nb mnmn&lt;.t&gt;</i>	Behold, he who had no oxen yoke is (now) the owner of a herd of cattle; the one who could not find for him(self) plough oxen is (now) the owner of cattle.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative

9.4-9.5	<i>m=tn iw.ty pr.t=f m nb šn.wt ini.n=f t̃b.t m d̃d(.w) pri st</i>	Behold, he who had no grain is (now) the owner of granaries; who brought grain is (now) one who causes it to go forth (i.e. be distributed).	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
9.5	<i>m=tn iw.ty s̃h.w=f m nb mr.t wn &lt;h̃b.w&gt; m iri=f wpw.t d̃s=f</i>	Behold, he who had no dependents is (now) the owner of servants; the one who sent out is (now) the one who works himself.	Orientation (UP-DOWN)	HIERARCHY IS A VERTICAL STRUCTURE – CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE IN LOCATION	Negative
12.1	<i>iw d̃d=tw mniw pw n(.y) bw-nb nn bin m ib=f</i>	Indeed, one says, “He is the shepherd of everyone. There exists no evil in his heart.”	Animal	PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS/KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS	Negative
12.1- 12.2	<i>ṣn̄d idr=f iri.n=f is hrw.w r nwi st ht n ib ir.y</i>	His herd is diminished; he has spent the day caring for them; (although) fire is in the heart(s) thereof.	Animal	PEOPLE ARE FLOCKS/KINGS ARE SHEPHERDS	Negative



12.5	<i>n(n) i<sup>c</sup>š-n-ḥ<sup>t</sup> m wnw.t {sn}</i>	There is no pilot (lit. “one who calls out at the front/prow”) on duty.	Nautical	THE NATIONS IS A SHIP	Negative
12.5	<i>in-iw (i)r=f tny min in-iw=f tri sdr</i>	Where is he today? Is he asleep?	Orientation (NEAR-FAR)	EMOTIONAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE	Negative
12.6	<i>ir smn.ntw=n gmi.n=i tw n i<sup>c</sup>š.n=tw n=k</i>	When we have been saddened, I can not find you; one can not call to you.	Orientation (NEAR-FAR)	EMOTIONAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE	Negative
13.4- 13.5	<i>ḥ{}b=tw b<sup>3</sup>.wt r nds.w šm.t=f ḥr mtn r m<sup>3</sup>=f wdnw ith.tw w<sup>3</sup>.t ḥ<sup>c</sup>=f snnw</i>	One treads the bushes against/away from the commoners. He goes upon the course until he sees the flood. The road is netted as he stands suffering.	Path  Weather  Animal	LIFE IS A JOURNEY – DIFFICULTIES ARE IMPEDIMENTS TO TRAVEL  PROBLEMS ARE INDICATED BY WEATHER CONDITIONS  PEOPLE ARE ANIMALS – HUMAN BEHAVIOUR IS ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR	Negative

14.14	<i>mi-m irf si nb hr sm' sn=f</i>	(But) how, when every man slays his brother?	Family	SOCIETY IS A FAMILY	Negative
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