

Predicative Possession in Late Egyptian

(with special attention to incipient grammaticalization processes)

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Goal. Provide a description of the various types of constructions used for expressing clausal ('predicative') possession in LEg.

0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

LEg corpus. Comprehensively defined to include both literary and non-literary texts from the reign of Thutmose 3 (c. 1450 BC) down to abnormal hieratic texts (c. 600 BC), excluding most of the texts in *Égyptien de tradition* (i.e. purposely imitating various registers of EEg).

- The focus is on synchronic *description*, but acknowledging significant variation across time and text types:
 - Diachronic
 - Diaphasic (multiglossic situation during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period)
- Which allows for *explaining* the occurrence of competing constructions in a functional sub-domain of predicative possession.

Data collection. Three steps: (1) LEg grammars and grammatical studies (Erman ²1933; Černý & Groll 1993; Théodoridès 1970; Satzinger 1976; Shisha-Halevy 1981; Neveu 1996; Junge 2001; Depuydt 2008, 2010); (2) Collecting other possible types in texts; (3) Harvesting additional examples in Ramses (500 000 occurrences). The data presented here are not exhaustive in terms of tokens, but hopefully in terms of types: tried to enrich, specify and systematize the available grammatical descriptions.

Audience. Balance between a comprehensive presentation of the constructions found in LEg in the functional domain of predicative possession for typologists and a more detailed discussion of some examples likely to be interesting for Egyptologists.

Structure of the talk. The talk is structured in three sections that reflects both functional and structural features:

- The adjectival predicate pattern or the *marked expression of ownership*
- The comitative strategy or the *unmarked expression of possession*
- Other types of predicative possession in Late Egyptian

1. THE ADJECTIVAL PREDICATIVE PATTERN

It has long been acknowledged that *property* or *ownership* is expressed in LEg via two different patterns, depending on the nature of the subject (pronominal split):¹

- When the PR is a lexical NP or an Interrogative Pron.: *nsw* PR ‘it belongs to PR’
- When the PR is a Personal Pron.: *ink* PM ‘PM belongs to me’

Both patterns are inherited from EEg (see e.g. Gardiner 1957: 88-89 [§114-115]; Malaise & Winand 1999: 308-311 [502-503]) and are built on the same predicative pattern, the so-called ‘Adjectival predicative pattern’, where a nominal subject follows the adjectival predicate:

nfr NP
good NP
PRED SUBJ
‘NP is good’

		POSSESSOR	
		NP	Pron.
POSSESSUM	NP	(PM) <i>nsw</i> Lexic. NP (PM) ‘(the PM), it belongs to NP’	<i>ink</i> Lexic. NP ‘the PM belongs to me’
	Pron.	<i>nsw</i> Lexic. NP ‘it belongs to NP’	<i>ink sw</i> ‘it belongs to me’

Fig. 1. Expression of ownership in LEg

1.1. The PR is a NP: ‘*nsw* PR’ pattern

Etymologically (< *[*n(j)* PR]_{PRED} – [Pron.]_{SUBJ}),² this construction (lit. ‘it is that of PR/it belongs to PR’) is formed with 3 elements:³

- *n(j)* is the adjectival (‘*nisba*’) form of the genitival relator (PRED, lit. ‘that of’)
- *sw* is the Dependent Pron. (SUBJECT, pronominal enclitic)
- PR is a lexical NP (governed by *n(j)*)

There are around 71 occurrences of the construction in the LEg corpus. Unlike in EEg, this construction is said to be limited to third person pronouns, which favored graphemic fusion, probably indexing some sort of phonetic reality: the spellings necessarily include a base *ns* $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ (sometimes written without $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$, especially for texts of the late 20th dynasty and Third Intermediate Period).

1. *ns* ($\overline{\text{𓂏}}$) *pr-ꜣ ꜥ.w.s*
POSS_3 Pharaoh
“they belong to Pharaoh” (O. Nash 2, v^o 3 = KRI IV, 319,3)

¹ As noted e.g. by Černý & Groll (1993: 26-27) or Neveu (1996: 235).

² See e.g. Loprieno (1995: 118-119).

³ See e.g. Erman (²1933: 105 §233); Černý & Groll (1993: 24-27; 542-543).

This base (with a rare graphemic phenomenon of a hieroglyphic sign crossing morphemic boundaries)⁴ is most frequently (54 occurrences) expended by a *y* (*nsy*) with spelling like $\overline{\text{𓏏}}^{\text{𓏏}}$:

2. *ir n3y hmty.w n-se (𓏏𓏏)* *sm*
 TOP these coppers POSS_3 Sem-priest
bn n-se (𓏏𓏏) p3 hr
 NEG POSS_3 the Tomb
 “As for these pieces of copper, they belong to the Sem-priest, they do not belong to the Tomb”
 (O. Berlin P 11239, r^o 3-4 = KRI III, 545,3-5)

After both spellings of the base, understood then as a PM marker, one can find the writing of the dependent pronoun of the third person singular masculine *sw* (e.g. $\overline{\text{𓏏}}^{\text{𓏏}}\text{𓏏}$) or feminine *st* (e.g. $\overline{\text{𓏏}}^{\text{𓏏}}\text{𓏏}$) or plural *st* (e.g. $\overline{\text{𓏏}}^{\text{𓏏}}\text{𓏏}$):

3. *in=f nh3-n hmty*
 bring\PST=3SM some copper
iw nsy-se (𓏏𓏏𓏏) *p3y pr-n-st3*
 CIRC POSS_3 this portable_shrine
 “He brought some pieces of copper belonging to the portable shrine”
 (P. Mayer A, r^o 3,4-5 = KRI VI, 808,13-14)

4. *ir n3 h.wt i.dd PN*
nsy-se (𓏏𓏏𓏏) PN t3y=f sn.t
 POSS_3 PN his sister
 “As for the goods that PN mentioned, they belong to PN, his sister”
 (P. Mayer A, r^o 4,11 = KRI VI, 812,1-2)

5. *hr ir t3 rh.t ih.w i.dd=w n=k*
n-se (𓏏𓏏𓏏) n3y=w ms.w nty m-s3=w
 POSS_3 their offspring REL after=3PL
 “(I sent a message to bring the oxen in order to thresh the barley ...), but concerning the amount of oxen that they mentioned to you, they belong to the (group of) their offspring that follow them”
 (P. Anastasi IX, r^o 3-4 = KRI III, 504)

As shown in the previous examples, when the pronoun *se* is fully written, its spelling does not consistently agree with its referent (in LEg, *sw*, *st*, etc → *se*). In this paper, all the spellings will be simply transliterated as *nse*.

Before further analyzing this construction, one should note that it is particularly frequent in theophoric proper names, the frequency and variety of which is apparently higher at the end of the 20th dynasty and the TIP:

6. *nse-b3-nb-dd*
 “lit. He belongs to the ram, lord of Mendes” (Wenamun 1,6 = LES 61,8)
 Cf. Greek Ἐσβενδητις, Ass. *iš-*.

The main types attested are: *nsw-imm* Nesamun (lit. ‘he belongs to Amun’); *nse-imm-m-ip.t*; *nse-dhwtj*; *nse-mntw*; *nse-mnw*; *nse-mw.t*; *nse-ptj*; *nse-sbk*; *nse-hri*; *nse-p3-r^c*; *nse-in-hr.t*; *nse-hnsw*. Other less common types are *nsw-3-šfy.t*, *nse-bs-n-mw.t*.

⁴ See Gilula (1968: 60-61) for similar examples with the spelling of *n(j)-wi* (‘I belong to PR’, with previous literature) and compare with *wsy* ‘how’ in an adjectival predicative pattern in LEg.

1.1.1. *The PR is lexical NP or an interrogative pronoun equivalent to a NP*

See supra for lexical NP as PR. Examples of interrogative pronouns are rare (only 1 example):

7. *nse ih t3 ip.t*
 POSS_3 what the measure
m šs p3-sr (i-)in se
 RHEM scribe Paser bring\REL.PST it
 “(He said:) ‘to what (institution) does the measure belong?’, (and they said:)
 ‘It is the scribe Paser who brought it’ ”
 (O. Leipzig 2, r^o 5-6 = KRI V, 467,15-16)

It should be stressed that the (in)definiteness of the PR does not affect the construction:

8. *ir t3y nbd-šnj nse w^c šri.t n p3-r^c-hr-3h.ty*
 TOP this plait POSS_3 INDEF daughter of Prâ-Herakhty
 “As for this plait, it belongs to a daughter of Prâ-Herakhty”
 (P. d’Orbiney, 11,4-5 = LES 21,4-5)

1.1.2. *The PM is a third person pronoun or a NP*

As shown in Fig. 1, the PM in this construction is supposed to be always a 3rd pers. pron. in Late Egyptian. When the *context* is self-sufficient for identifying the referent of this 3rd pers. pron., the PM need not necessarily be expanded lexically. So, for instance, in oracular questions, one finds examples such as:

9. *nse PN*
 POSS_3 PN
 “It belongs to PN(?)”
 (O. IFAO 392 = BIFAO 35)

In the oracular procedure of Ex. 9, the referent of *nsw* is clear enough for both parties.

The PM can also be expressed *co-textually*, like in Ex. 10. In such cases, *nsw* is of course anaphoric:

10. *imy tw t3 ʕ3.t in.n=k*
nse hry-md3y.w PN
 POSS_3 chief_policeman PN
 “Please give (back) the donkey that you carried off, it belongs to the chief
 policeman PN” (O. Ashmolean Museum 165, r^o 2-3 = KRI III, 548,10-11)

Most of the time, however, the lexical PM is expressed as a topic or anti-topic (Grossman 2009: 158). As a topic the PM is generally introduced by the particle *ir* (type 1: *ir* PM *nse* PR):

11. *p3y=i nb nfr ir p3 mks nse PN*
 my lord good TOP the mks POSS_3 PN
 “My good lord, as for the *mks*, does it belong to A?”
 (O. IFAO 850 = BIFAO 41 [1942], p. 19)

12. *dd PN*
ir n3 h.wt i.dd PN nse PN t3y=f sn.t
 TOP the goods say\REL.PST PN POSS_3 PN his sister
 “A said: ‘As for the goods about which B said that they belong to C, his
 sister, (...)’ ”
 (P. Mayer A, 4,11)

The topicalizing particle *ir* is however not always required (type 2: PM *nse* PR), as illustrated by:

13. *p3y wd3 nse H^c p3y=f it*
 this storehouse POSS_3 Kha his father
 “This storehouse belongs to Kha, his father”
 (O. Geneva MAH 12550, r^o 7 = KRI V, 452)

As extraposed (‘anti’) topic (type 3: *nse* PR, PM)

14. *dd=w nse pr-^c3 ^c.w.s p3y rmt*
 POSS_3 Pharaoh L.P.H. this man
 “They said: ‘he belongs to Pharaoh L.P.H., this man’”
 (P. Mayer A, 5,14 = KRI VI, 814,6-7)

Finally, *nse* is sometimes purely cataphoric (note the spelling of *nse* with *n*):

15. *(n-)se PN: hmt k^ch.t 1*
 POSS_3 PN copper k^ch.t 1
 “what belongs to PN: one k^ch.t of copper (which makes 10 deben, etc.)”
 (P. BM 10053, r^o 5,6 = KRI VI, 511,11-12)

1.1.3. Conversion of the *nsw* PR pattern

The *nsw* PR pattern can occur after the circumstantial converter (e.g. Ex. 16) as well as after the relative converter:


16. *iw=i nw r 11 n br iw=w m iw m p3 ym*
iw nse n3 t-k-r
 CIRC POSS_3 the Tjekers
 “And I saw 11 boats coming over the sea which belonged to the Tjekers”
 (Wenamun 2,62-63 = LES 73,10-11)
17. [...] *nty nse w3h-mw PN*
 [...] REL POSS_3 choachyte PN
 “[...] that belongs to the Choachyte PN”
 (P. Vienna D 12004, 10 = RdÉ 25, p. 192-sq.)

This last example suggests that the semantic equivalence established by Černý & Groll (1993: 24-27) between the *nsw* PR and the dative expression of possession (see below) — as found in Ex. 18 — based on the unattested relative conversion of *nsw* PR in their corpus is to be reconsidered:

18. *gs=f nse PR_a (...) nty n PR_b*
 half=3SM POSS_3 PR_a (...) REL for PR_b
 “Half of it belongs to PR_a (...) That which is for PR (...)”
 (O. DeM 586, r^o 1-2)


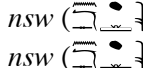
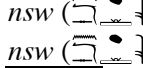
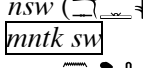

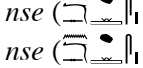
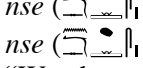
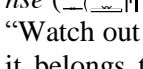
1.1.4. Expanding the paradigm in LEg

If one sticks to Fig. 1 and to the discussion in §1.1.2, then LEg would lack an expressive means for 1st and 2nd pronominal PM when the PR is a NP ‘I/You belong to PR’. Even if examples are admittedly rare, the corpus offers 3 occurrences of the old construction *n(j)-wi* NP ‘I belong to NP’ that have gone quite unnoticed in the grammatical literature:

19. *tw*t () *wi m-m3^c.t*
 yours I truly
bn ^c*b^c*, *n(j)-wi n3y=k shr.w wn dy*
 NEG_EXIST boasting, POSS_1 your offspring REL.PST here
 “I am truly yours, without boasting, I belong to your offspring who have
 been here” (P. Turin 1882, r^o 4,6-7 = KRI VI, 74,16)
20. *n(j)-wi mw.t (...)* *n(j)-wi imy-dw.t*
 POSS_1 Mut (...) POSS Imy-Djut
 “I belong to Mut (...) I belong to Imy-Djut”
 (O. BM EA 50725, r^o 4-5 = Demarée 2002, 118)
21. *i.ir=i dd ‘n(j)-wi imn’ m-dr pr=i m wdḥ*
 AUX\THMZ=1s say\inf POSS_1 Amun since go_out of infancy
 “Since I left infancy, I say that I belong to Amun”
 (O. DeM 1227, v^o 4 = Posener 1972: pl. 56; see Fischer-Elfert 1997: 114)

1.2. The PR is a Pronoun: ‘*ink* PM’ pattern

The construction ‘*ink* PM’ (‘PM belongs to me’) is in complementary distribution with the *nsw* PR construction discussed in §1.1 (see Fig. 1), as appears in examples such as:

22. *y3 ir p3 it3y i-t3y tw,*
ntk sw, nse () *t3y=k br*
 yours 3SM POSS_3 your boat
 “As for the thief who robbed you, he belongs to you, he belongs to your boat”
 (Wenamun 1,x+20-21 = LES 62,16-63,2)
23. *wh3 p3y=i ḥd*
y3, ir p3 ḥd,
nsw () *imn-r^c nsw.t ntr.w (...)*
nsw () *nsw-b^c-nb-dd*
nsw () *ḥri-ḥr p3y=i nb, n3 kth.w 3.w n km.t*

nse () *w-r-t*
nse () *m-k-m-r*
nse () *t-k-r-b^c-r, p3 wr n kpⁿ*
 “Watch out for my money! Indeed, the money belongs to Amun-Râ-Sonther,
 it belongs to Nesu-Ba-Neb-Djed, it belongs to Herihor, my lord, and the
 other great ones of Egypt, it belongs to you; it belongs to Weret, it belongs to
 Mekmer, it belongs to Tjekerbâl, the prince of Byblos.”
 (Wenamun 1,14-17 = LES 62,6-11)


On this construction in MEg, see Gilula (1968, with previous literature) who showed (mainly based on examples from the *Coffin Texts*) that the construction is likely to have been originally very similar to the *nsw* PR construction: [*n(j)-ink*]_{PRED} [PM]_{SUBJ}. The three elements of this construction are:

- *n(j)*, the adjectival (‘*nisba*’) form of the genitival relator (PRED, lit. ‘that of’)
- *ink* the Independent Pron. (governed by *n(j)*)
- PM is a lexical NP or a Dependent pronoun (SUBJECT)

Because of phonetic reasons (*n-ink* > *ink*), by diachronic replacement (*n-ink* → *ink*), or because of the existence of two competing paradigms (*n-ink* ≈ *ink*), the ‘tonic’ Independent Pronoun also assumed the role of sole predicate. In this respect, note the following LEg sentence, where the presence of *n* in front

of *mntk* could be understood as pointing to two different uses of the independent pronoun (cf. Vernus' 'linguistic dissimilation'):

24. *kʕr, iw=i wn*

tr, ntk () *pʒy=i šʒy °*
 latch you my destiny

n-ntk () *ʒhy ink °*
 yours soul mine

“Bolt, I am going to open; latch, you are my destiny, the soul which is mine belongs to you [usually understood: ‘you are the soul of mine’]”

(P. Chester Beatty I, r^o 17,8-9 = Mathieu 1996: pl. 7)

1.2.1. What kind of Pronoun is used for expressing the PR?

In the LEg corpus, it is not the usual, homogenous, series of Independent Pronouns that is used in this pattern. It is rather a mixed paradigm:

	Indep. Pron.	Poss. Pron. (after Černý & Groll 1993: 17-18)
1S	<i>ink</i>	<i>ink</i>
2SM(/2SF)	<i>ntk(/ntt)</i>	<i>twt(!?)</i>
3SM(/3SF)	<i>ntf(/nts)</i>	<i>swt(!?)</i>
1PL	<i>inn</i>	<i>inn</i>
2PL	<i>nttn</i>	<i>n=tn-imy</i>
3PL	<i>ntw</i>	<i>sn-imy</i>

Fig. 2. The possessive independent pronoun (a)

As it appears, in this paradigm (also used for adnominal possessive constructions), only the first person pronouns are similar to the Ind. Pronoun series. The other persons borrow either from an older paradigm of Indep. Pron. (for the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. < OEg) or from another possessive construction (PL < dative preposition *n* followed by the suffix pronoun of the PR and by the *nisba imy* from the preposition *m* ‘in’; a possessive construction inherited from MEg). The reasons that led to this heterogeneous paradigm escape us almost entirely (dialectal and diaphasic parameters must have played a role here), but the use of these pronouns is very consistent throughout the Ramesside corpus. Examples of this paradigm for each person are as follows:

1S = *ink*

25. *hr ir pʒy ky, ink se*
 and TOP this other mine it

“And as for this other one, he belongs to me”

(O. Turin 57472, v^o 6-7 = Lopéz 1984, pl. 160)

26. *iw ink sw, iw pʒy=i sn šri*
 CIRC mine he CIRC my brother little

“For he is mine (= related to me, of my family), that’s my little brother”

(P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96, r^o 21 = KRI VI, 737,3)

27. *wn md.t iw ink se m-dwn r-dd (...)*
 EXIST word CIRC mine it continually namely (...)
 “There is an utterance which is continually mine, namely (‘DS’)”
 (P. Turin 1882, r^o 2,3-4 = KRI VI, 71,14-15)

28. *iw ink sw irm PN*
 CIRC mine it with PN
 “It belongs to me and PN” (O. Lady Franklyn ro 11-12 = KRI VII, 342,6-7)
 Similarly, see also O. DeM 767, r^o 3.

2SM = *twt*

29. *ntk i.ir m zp tpy*
twt h3rw ks
 yours Syria Kush
 “It is you who acted during the *zep-tpy*, Syria and Kush belong to you”
 (Gr. DeB 2, 4-5 = KRI VI, 235,7-8)

30. *y3 ir n3 nty hr h3s.t,*
twt (𓂏𓂏) sn, hr twt (𓂏𓂏) n3 nty hr km.t
 yours they and yours the REL on Egypt
 “Indeed, the ones who are (living) in the desert are yours and yours are the ones (living) in Egypt (it is you who leads the policemen)”
 (P. Anastasi V, 26,7-27,1 = LEM 71,10-12)

3SM = *swt*⁵

31. *iw bn swt (𓂏𓂏) se*
 CIRC NEG his they
 “Although they were not his (i.e. the tombs where Paneb went)”
 (P. Salt 124, r^o 1,17 = KRI IV, 410,4)

32. *ir p3 iry=f, iry nim rh mdw im=f*
swt (𓂏𓂏) 3h.wt=f
 his goods=3SM
 “What he did, who could discuss it: his goods belong to him (may he give them as he wishes)”
 (P. Turin 2021 + P. Geneva D. 409, r^o 3,10-11 = KRI VI, 741,8-9)

1PL = *inn*⁶

33. *inn p3y wt, nse n3y=n rmt-3.w*
 OURS this coffin POSS_3 our ancestors
 “This coffin is ours, it belongs to our ancestors”
 (P. BM EA 10052, v^o 10,6 = KRI VI)

34. *inn t3y=s psš n p3 z 2*
 ours its share for the man 2
 “Its sharing (i.e. of a place) belongs to both of us” (P. Louvre E 2432, r^o 4)

⁵ Note the predicative use of *n=f-imy* in *Urk. IV, 1278,19: n=f-imy phr.t sn-wr* “what the ocean surrounds belongs to him”.

⁶ The [...] *n=n-imy r[...]* is probably adnominal (“[...] our own [...]”) in *Astarte* (P. BN 202 + P. Amherst 9, r^o 1,x+12). It is translated by Collombert & Coulon (2000: 227) “notre propre”.

2PL = *n=tn-imy*⁷

35. *hr m-dy t3y md.t n t3y 5 b3k.wt i.di=i,*
n=tn-imy st r-dr.w
 yours 3PL all
r-š3^c-m hwtj.w nfrj.t n3 rmt-is.t r-dr=w
 “And regarding the matter of these five maidservants whom I gave, they
 belong to you all [not they all belong to you], from the captains down to all
 the crewmen” (P. BM EA 10100, r^o 10-12 = *LRL* 50,13-14)

3PL (no predicative example, one adnominal example of *n=sn-imy*)⁸

After the end of the Ramesside period, one observes an alignment⁹ of this Possessive Paradigm with the Indep. Pron. series, as summarized in the following table:

	Indep. Pron.	Poss. Pron. (after Černý & Groll 1993: 17-18)	Post-Ramesside
1S	<i>ink</i>	<i>ink</i>	<i>ink</i>
2SM(/2SF)	<i>ntk(/ntt)</i>	<i>twt</i>	<i>ntk</i>
3SM(/3SF)	<i>ntf(/nts)</i>	<i>swt</i>	<i>ntf</i>
1PL	<i>inn</i>	<i>inn</i>	<i>inn</i>
2PL	<i>nttn</i>	<i>n=tn-imy</i>	<i>nttn</i>
3PL	<i>ntw</i>	<i>sn-imy</i>	/

Fig. 3. The possessive independent pronoun (b)

2SM: *twt* → *ntk*

36. *bn ntk w^c (m/n) n3y=f wpwty.w, iw iw=k dd (...)*
 NEG yours one among his messengers CIRC FUT=2SM say\INF
 “You do not have (under your authority) a single of his messengers to whom
 you could say (...)” (*Wenamun* 2,54 = *LES* 72,9-10)

37. *iw ntk se, iw=w n^c n=k*
 CIRC yours they CIRC=3PL note\STAT for=you
 “since they are yours and are noted down for you”
 (P. Vienna D 12002, r^o 1,9-10)

38. *iw ntk w^c*
 CIRC yours one
 “(that consists of 4 parts), one of which is yours”
 (P. Louvre E 3228 G, r^o 4; similarly, see e.g. P. Louvre E 2432, r^o 4-5)

⁷ Another example of *n=tn-imy* is found in the *Will of Naunakhte*, r^o 2,2 (= P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.97) and quoted by Černý & Groll (1975: 18), but is adnominal: ‘these eight servants of yours’.

⁸ In the Late Egyptian corpus, I know of a single example of (*n=*)*sn-imy* in adnominal position, *KRI* VI, 571,7-8: [DATE] *wsf n t3 is.t (n) p3 hr iw=sn hkr.w g3b.w m htr.w=sn-imy* “[DATE] no work by the gang of the Tomb: they were hungry and lacking their due wages”.

⁹ Černý & Groll (1975: 13): “Note that from the 21th dynasty onwards *ntk* and *ntf* replace *twt* and *swt* in the predicative possession usage.” They suggest that *ink* and *inn*, since they belong to both paradigms might have helped to merge the pronouns in a single category of independent pronouns. This idea is clearly expressed again in Černý & Groll (1975: 26-27).

3SM¹⁰: *swt* → *ntf*

39. *iw n[ṯ]f p3y 17 d3i.w n-wd^c.t*
 CIRC his this 17 loinclothes remaining
 “since these 17 remaining pieces of loincloth are his”
 (P. Berlin P. 8525, r^o 4-5 = Fischer-Elfert 132)

40. *ntf p3 ym hr ntf p3 l-b-l-n*
 his the sea and his the Lebanon
nty tw=k dd ink sw
 “The sea belongs to him and his is the Lebanon which you say ‘it is mine’.”
 (Wenamun 2,24 = LES 69,7-8)

2PL (1 example): *n=tn-imy* → *nttn*

41. *bn ntt n p3 pr iwn3*
 NEG yours the house NEG_REINF
 “The estate actually does not belong to you”
 (Hennuttauy’s Oracular Decree, l. 24-25 = Winand 2003: Fig. 2)


3PL (no example)

1.2.2. The predicative possessive construction with focus on the PR

The pronominal PR can be focalized using the *n-h^c(w)* + suffix pronoun (lit. ‘of my flesh, body’, see Depuydt 2010) after the subject expression:

42. *ink se n-h^c=i, bn nse p3 hm-nṯr tpy*
 mine it myself NEG POSS_3 the prophet first
 “(As for this ox that I gave to NP,) he was my own, he did not belong to the first prophet”
 (O. Gardiner 143, r^o 5-8 = KRI VII, 376,10-11)

43. *ink se n-h^c(=i), iw bn 3h[.t] w[^c] im=w [...]*
 mine they (my)self CIRC NEG thing single in=them [...]
 “They are mine, there is none among them [that is not mine]”
 (O. Cairo CG 25800, r^o I,2 = KRI VI, 257,8)

44. *n-se p[r-^c3 ^c.w.s] (i)n-iw swt () ∅ n-h^c=f*
 POSS_3 Pharaoh L.P.H. INT his ∅ himself
 “(as for the spikes that you said PN has stolen,) they belong to Pharaoh L.P.H. or do they belong to the guy himself?”
 (O. Nash 2, v^o 1-3 = KRI IV, 319,1-3)

1.2.3. The expression of the PM

As largely exemplified in the above quoted examples, the PM can be a lexical NP or a pronoun belonging to the Dependent Pronoun series. It should be noted, as exemplified by Ex. 44 just above, the pronominal subject can be omitted under relevance.

The lexical PM can of course be topicalized (Ex. 45) or occur as a specification afterwards (Ex. 46) depending on the context.

¹⁰ A possible but very dubious (because of the lacuna) candidate is found in an unidentified Ramesside literary text: O. Leipzig 23, v^o 3 (= HO 37) ^o *snd [...] ntf dr.t* ^o.

45. *ir p3 m3wḏ nty m t3 k3ri, (in-)iw ink sw*
 TOP the carrying_pole REL in the chapel INT mine it
 “The carrying pole that is in the chapel, does it belong to me?”
 (O. IFAO 869 = *BIFAO* 72 [1972], p. 60)

46. *ink sw, m ht, sw(t) (𓂏𓂛𓂧) p3 hbn*
 mine it namely wood his the ebony
 “(...) that belongs to me as far as wood is concerned, but the ebony belongs
 to him”
 (O. Berlin 12343, v^o 4 = *KRI* VI, 165,4-5)

Furthermore, a slight, but indicative tendency should be underlined here: one observes a certain preference for the pronominal expression of the PM with an extraposed lexical NP, from the 20th dynasty onwards (see Winand in press):

47. *ink se nḏm*
 mine it sweetness
 “Anok-se-nedjem (proper name, lit. ‘it is mine the sweetness’)”
 (P. Turin 2021, 2,2 = *KRI* VI, 739,7)

48. *ntk sw n3y=k 3ḥ.w ḥnk=n n-t3 p3 hrw*
 yours it your fields offer\REL.PST=1PL since the day
 “Your field, (the one) that we offered, belong to you from this day onwards”
 (P. Turin 2121, r^o 8)

As illustrated *inter alia* by the last example, it should be noted that in judicial contexts the predicative possession is generally somehow presupposed by the possessive article preceding the PM. The double encoding in religious and judicial contexts seems to refer to full and complete possession of something (ownership and usufruct in the case of goods).

1.2.4. Replacement of the adnominal use of the independent pronoun

In the texts of the TIP, the construction INDEF./QUANT noun + Ind. Poss. Pron. (e.g. *w^c šmsw ink* ‘a servant of mine’) is frequently replaced by a relative clause (or its functional equivalent, i.e. the circumstantial clause when the antecedent is undefined) with a predicative possession pattern of the type *ink se*: **w^c šmsw iw ink se* ‘a servant that is mine’:

49. *imy ḥn šmsw iw ntk sw m-s3=f*
 CAUS\IMP go\SBJV servant CIRC yours he after=him
 “Make a servant that belongs to you (i.e. a servant of yours) go after him”
 (P. Strassburg r^o 39,8-9 = *HOP* pl. 105)

See also P. Strassburg 39,12 PN *p3y ḥnms nty ntk sw* ‘this friends of yours’.

50. *PN p3y ḥnms nty ntk se*
 PN this friend REL yours he
 “PN, this friend of yours” (P. Strassburg 39, v^o 2-3 = *HOP* pl. 105)

51. *iw PN, w^c wdpw iw mntf sw, ir iwd=i r-dd*
 SEQ.PST PN a butler CIRC his he do\INF between=me saying
 “And P, a butler who belongs to him, stepped in front of me saying (...)”
 (*Wenamun* 2,45-46 = *LES* 71,12)

52. *ir-iw ḥ3^c(=i) s.t-ḥm.t PN t3y=i sn.t nty ink se*
 if throw\SBJV(=1SG) woman PN my sister REL mine she
 “If I want to repudiate the woman PN (whose mother is PN), this sister of
 mine (i.e. to whom I am married), (...)” (P. Louvre E 7846, r^o 4)

1.3. The negation of the adjectival possessive pattern

Both the *nsw* PR pattern ('it belongs to PR') and the *ink* PM pattern ('PM belongs to me') are negated with the negative particle *bn* (EEg *nn*) which is the expected negation for adjectival predicate constructions.

53. *iw bn nsw ntr*
 CIRC NEG POSS_3 god
 "since it does not belong to a god" (St. Amarna M)

54. *mn br nb hr-tp itrw iw bn nsw imn*
 NEG_EXIST boat any on Nile CIRC NEG POSS_3 Amun
 "there is not a single boat on the Nile that does not belong to Amun"
 (Wenamun, 2,23-24 = LES 69,6-7)

55. *mtw=tw gm r-dd bn ink n3 hl*
 if=one find\INF that NEG mine the spikes
 "And if one sees that the spikes are not mine, (...)"
 (O. Nash 2, v^o 14 = KRI IV, 319,13-14)

One can notice that, especially in the literary registers, the circumstantial converter is frequently left out when introducing a negative adpositional clause:


56. *imw nn ink sw*
 boat NEG mine it
 "(I joined the crew of) a boat which is not mine (since mine had been stolen)"
 (Tale of Woe col. 2,12)

57. *wrš(=i) m niw.t bn ink se*
 spend_the_day\PST=1SG in town NEG mine it
 "I spent the day in a town that was not mine" (Tale of Woe col. 3,7)

1.4. The semantics of the adjectival possessive pattern

The prototypical meaning of *ownership*, i.e. when an animate possessor has some property (PM), represents the vast majority of the occurrences:

58. *bn ink se*
 NEG mine it
bn iw=i rh di.t=s n=k
 "(Please give me this ox that I may eat it', then the shepherd said to him:)
 'It does not belong to me: I may not give it to you'
 (Truth & Falsehood, r^o 8,2-3 = LES 34,9-10)

59. *imy tw n=n p3 t3w, twt () sw*
 give\IMP please DAT=1PL the breath yours it
 "Please give us the breath, it is yours"
 (Lybian War, I,f = KRI V, 48,10)

In the following example (on this text, see Kruchten 2000), it appears quite obvious that there is a well-established legal distinction between *property* and *usufruct* (temporary possession). The 1st pers. was given a place (*wd^c*, a storehouse) that he uses, but is not his property:

60. *iw=f {h}r di.t n=i t3y s.t*
iw bn ink se iwn3, nse imn-htp ˆ.w.s p3 nb (n) p3 dmi
 CIRC NEG mine it at_all POSS_3 Amenhotep L.P.H.
 “He will give me this place, but it won’t be mine at all, it will belong to Amenhotep, the lord of the city (May my elder build it in the name of Amenhotep)” (O. Ashmolean Museum 103 A, 9-10 = *KRI* V, 572,1-2)

In order to explore further the semantics of this construction, we can distinguish four main sub-domains¹¹ depending on the nature, respectively, of the PR and PM:

When the PR is a [+human] and the PM a [-human], we are in the prototypical situation described above of *ownership*:

61. *iw=i nw r 11 n br, iw=w m iw m p3 ym*
iw nse n3 tkr.w
 CIRC POSS_3 the Tjekers
 “and I noticed 11 boats that were coming over the sea, belonging to the Tjekers” (*Wenamun* 2,62-63 = *LES* 73,10-11)

When both the PR and the PM are [+human], the construction may refer to three types of relationships:

- Staff – owner

62. *ttj wˆ rmt iw nsw PN*
 Tety a man CIRC POSS_3 PN
 “Tety, a man who belongs to PN”
 (P. Mayer A, 1,12-13 = *KRI* VI 804,15-16)

- Family member – patriarch (brother, sisters, wife and children, cf. e.g. Ex. 26)
- Individual – group

63. *bwpw=f ph p3 mhr n p3 nswt,*
nsw p3 17 n it3w
 POSS_3 the 17 of thieves
 “He did not penetrate the pyramid of the king, but he was one of (lit. belonged to) the 17 thieves (who were convicted of having robbed in the tombs of Western Thebes).”
 (P. Léopold II-Amherst, 4,8 = *KRI* VI, 488,15-489,1)

When the PR is [-human] while the PM is [+human], it usually refers to a geographical origin:

64. *hn it3 iw nse (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏) p3y=i t3*
 IRR thief CIRC POSS_3 my land
p3 h3y r t3y=k br (...)
 “If it was a thief belonging to my land who went down to your boat, (...)”
 (*Wenamun* 1,x+18-19 = *LES* 62,13-14)
 See also P. Turin 1892 r^o col. I,1-2 (= *KRI* 390,6)

When both the PR and the PM are *inanimates*, the construction may refer to two main types of semantic relationships (see also Ex. 3, Similarly, see P. BM EA 10403, v^o 3,18-19 = *KRI* VI, 832, 9-10):

¹¹ Černý & Groll (1975: 24-27).

- parts – whole (objects)

65. *sh3 r t3 3 st3.t n ʕʕ (...)*
nsw p3 t3 [n] hq [n] nswt R2 p3 ntr ʕ3
 POSS_3 the floor of silver of king R. 2 the god great
 “Memorandum regarding the three boards of pine (that the scribe PN gave to the scribe NP) they were part of the silver floor of the king R. 2, the great god”
 (P. BM EA 10053, v^o 4,7 = KRI VI, 762,1-2)

- object – material

66. *iw nse inr wʕ m m3t rwd,*
 ASS POSS_3 stone one consisting_in granite sturdy
nn sh.t nn dnw
 “(the two great obelisks ...) they are made of a single stone of sturdy granite, without jointing or joint”
 (Nothern obelisk of Hatshepsut, Karnak = *Urk.* IV, 366,17-367-2)
 See also P. Anastasi III, 5,1 = *LEM* 25,10.

67. *iw=i hr rdi.t kd [...] wʕ.t-n šnw.t ʕ3 r p3 šnw.t n mn-nfr*
iw nse st3.t 10+x [...]
 CIRC POSS_3 arourae 10+x [...]
 “And I made [them] build [for me] a big granary for the *šnʕ* of Memphis which occupies 10+x arourae” (O. Gardiner 86, v^o 8-9 = KRI III, 140,5-7)

Finally, the ‘belonging to’ construction can be used with PM or PR, which leads to specific semantic relationships, like ‘to depend upon’ (Ex. 68) or ‘to be a matter for’ (Ex. 69):

68. *ir p3 bt3, nse p3 ntr*
 TOP the fault POSS_3 the divinity
sw htm m dbʕ=f
 “The fault depends upon the divinity, it is sealed by his finger”
 (*Amenemope* 19,20-21)

69. *ir nbw, hʕw ntr.w, bn n-se hr.t=tn*
 TOP gold flesh gods NEG POSS_3 affair=2PL
 “As for the gold, the flesh of the gods, it is not your business (lit. it does not belong to your affair)”
 (Kanais Stela = KRI I, 68,1-2)

In this respect, the following example is especially interesting from a typological point of view, because it has a clear deontic modal meaning:

70. *iw bn nse gr hr=w iwn3*
 CIRC NEG POSS_3 be_silent\INF concerning=3PL at_all
 “(some very serious matters) that can absolutely not be passed under silence (lit. that do not belong at all to being silent about them)”
 (P. Abbott, 6,12 = KRI VI, 478,8)

See already the translation in Erman (1933²: 106 §233) “mit denen man nicht schweigen kann” and Černý & Groll (1975: 26; 102) “Because they do not belong to (the category) that can be passed over in silence. (Lit. ‘They do not belong to being silent under them.’)”.

1.5. Another type of predicative pattern for ownership?

In the LEg corpus, one does apparently not find any example of the Coptic preferred pattern for expressing ownership, namely the nominal sentence pattern with a possessor phrase as rheme ‘it is his, it belongs to him’ (see Grossman 2009: 157-165). One should however note a rare instance of a similar construction (with undefined PR as rheme) in the famous P. Salt 124:¹²

71. *iw bn s.t swt iwn3*
 CIRC NEG place his at_all
 “even though the place does absolutely not belong to him (lit. ‘it is absolutely not a place of his’)” (P. Salt 124, r^o 1,4 = KRI IV, 408,15)

2. THE COMITATIVE STRATEGY

In LEg, the *unmarked* possession is expressed by constructions involving the *comitative* preposition *m-di* (most probably a lexical doublet of Eeg *m-^c*, see Zeidler 1992: 208 and Loprieno 1995: 268 n. 89)¹³. On the polysemy of this preposition in LEg, see the discussion in Grossman & Polis (2012, with previous literature and the semantic map in Fig. 14).

As stressed by Černý & Groll (1975: 395), “[a]s far as the semantic connotation is concerned, *wn m-di.f* ϕ -A is the nearest equivalent to the English ‘have got’ notion. The *wn m-di* + pronominal suffix + ϕ -A construction expresses the ownership of ϕ -A by the person referred to by the pronominal suffix.” Théodoridès (1970: 140) underlines the aspect of “possession matérielle, qui ne peut être que temporaire.”

It should be stressed that *possession* and *ownership* are of course logically compatible, but do not imply each other: possession does not imply ownership (it can, for instance be the result of theft, robbery, seizure, etc., cf. Ex. 72-74) and ownership does not imply possession (cf. e.g. Ex. 75-76 and Ex. 60 for the opposition between property and usufruct).

72. *iw=i knkn=k, mtw=i nhm n3 i3wt n p3y=k it*
mtw=w hpr m-di=i
 SEQ.MOD=3PL become\INF with=1SG
 “I am going to beat you, and I will seize the cattle of your father, and it will be mine (lit. in my possession)” (Horus & Seth, 7,7)

73. *sdm=i r-dd w^c ksks.t iw=s mh.ti m nbw m-di PN*
 hear\PST=1SG that one basket CIRC=3SF fill\RES INST gold with PN
iw nsw p3 hr
 CIRC POSS_3 the tomb
 “I heard that a basket full of gold is in possession of A, while it belongs to the Tomb”

(P. BM EA 10052, r^o 3,20-21 = KRI VI, 774,13-14)

See also P. BM EA 10052, r^o 4,4-5 = KRI VI, 776,2-3

¹² The emendation suggested by Erman (²1933: 106 §233) *iw bn nsw iwn3* “obgleich sie ihm doch nicht gehörten” is not necessary and would be weird anyway given the semantics of the *nsw* constructions in LEg (cf. §1.1).

¹³ On the diachronic relation of this preposition with the compound preposition *m-^c* in Eeg, see already Edel (1967: 74-75) and the functionally-oriented discussion in Théodoridès (1970: 139-140).

74. [...] p3y=tn hḏ iw=f w3h m-di=i
 [...] your money FUT=3SM stay\INF with=me
 [š3]ᶜ-i.ir=tn gm p3 [...]“
 “[...] your money will remain in my possession until you find the [...]”
 (Wenamun 1,31 = LES 64,5-6)

75. ptr n3y=i ih.w m-di=k r-dr=w zp-2
 look my oxen with=2SM all INTENS
 imy wᶜ im=w n p3y=f nb
 give\IMP one in=3PL DAT his lord
 “Look, absolutely all my oxen are in your possession, (just) give one of them
 to its owner” (Truth and Falsehood, 8,3-4 = LES 34,11-12)

76. it3 PN t3y=i ʿ3.t hnᶜ p3y=s sk
 st mwt m-di=f
 they die\RES with=3SM
 “PN took my donkey and its foal, they passed away in his possession”
 (O. Gardiner 53 = HO 49,1)

In order to close this first overview of the semantics of the comitative strategy for expressing possession in LEg, one can notice that both the comitative strategy (with *m-di/m-ᶜ*) and the “adjectival” pattern (§1) are found in parallel in ideological texts, describing the mighty gods and kings:

77. t3w m-ᶜ=k, twt p3 ʿnh
 breath with=2SM yours the life
 “Breath is in your possession, and yours is life”
 (Syrian War, II,d = KRI V, 86,10-11)

2.1. A definiteness split: The comitative preposition in adverbial and existential patterns

The focus will be here on constructions where the comitative preposition is either directly predicative or extends an existential predication. As such, even if related to the topic dealt with here, examples such as the following will not be considered:

78. ir ink wn=i m hm.t m-di wᶜ mniw
 TOP me PST=1SG as wife with one shepherd
 “As for me, I was the wife of a shepherd”
 (Horus & Seth, 6,8 = LES 44,16-45,1)

For the comitative strategy, there is a split between two main types of constructions depending on the definiteness of the PM;

- When the PM is definite → Adverbial predicative pattern (§2.2)
- When the PM is not definite → Extended existential pattern (§2.3)

2.2. Definite PM: The adverbial predication pattern

The adverbial predication is an adverbial rheme construction that follows the patterns Subject – Predicate, namely PM *m-di* PR, ‘PR has PM’. As shown by the following example, the possession is contingent (true vs false, temporary).

79. *se m-di=n n-m³t*
 3PL with=us truly
 “(Our father is right:) They are indeed in our possession”
 (P. Turin 2021 et al., 3,8 = *KRI* VI, 740)
80. *sw m-di=s m p³ hrw*
 3SM with=3SF in the day
 “He is (still) with her today (i.e. still married)”
 (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96, r° 22 = *KRI* VI, \$\$\$)
81. *se m-di t³y=f šri(.t)*
 3PL with his daughter
 “They are in the possession of his daughter” (O. Gardiner 4 = *HO* 27,3)
 Some clothes have been robbed, the oracle is asked to sort this matter out,
 when facing the house of the scribe Amennakhte, the statue of the god says
 this.

This construction can be found in interrogative sentences:

82. *hr m-dy p³ h³b i.ir=k n=i t³ md.t n p³y ny*
(i)n se m-di=k (...) se m-di=i
 INT 3SM COM=2SM
 “As for the letter you sent me about the matter of the crown, do you have it?
 (...) ‘I have it’.” (P. Geneva D 407, v° 4-5 = *LRL* 15,5-7)

As well as all the converters: past converter (Ex. 83-84), relative converter (Ex. 85-86), past relative converter (Ex. 87-90), circumstantial, nominal *wnn* (Ex. 91):

83. *p³ šhr n p³y in n hm.t*
i.dd PN wn=f m-di=k
 say\REL.PST PN PST=3SM with=2SM
 “The matter of the *?in?* of copper, which PN said that you had”
 (P. BM EA 10403, v° 3,11-12 = *KRI* VI, 832,2-3)
84. *wn p³ hn n PN m-di=i*
 PST the chapel of PN with=1SG
 “I had the chapel of PN (while he, he had his tomb shaft)”
 (P. Berlin 10496, v° 9 = *KRI* V, 478)
85. *nty m-di PN*
 REL with PN
 “(You will claim the three pieces of cloth) that are in the possession of PN”
 (P. Leiden I,370, v° 3 = *LRL* 10-11)
86. *šh³ r t³ ih.t km(.t) nty m-di=f*
 memorandum about the cow black REL with=3SM
 “Memorandum about the black cow which is in his possession”
 (P. Turin 1887, r° 1,2 = *RAD* 74; similarly, see P. Sallier I, 4,4 = *LEM* 80)
87. *gmy.t m-di=f hnr 85, wn m-di PN 3, dmd 88*
 found with=3SM picks 85 REL.PST with PN 3 total 88
 “(what was) found in his possession: 85 picks, what was in possession of PN:
 3, total 88” (O. Cairo CG 25803, ro 3-4 = *KRI* III, 510,10-11)
 See also P. BM EA 10906, r° 5.

88. *iw=n wdḥ p3 wn m-di=n*
 SEQ.PST=1SG melt the REL.PST with=1PL
 “And we melted down what we had”
 (P. BM 10053, v^o 3,22 = *KRI* VI, 761,8-9)
89. *iw=i h3b n p3 rmt wn p3y=i sd 2 m-di=f*
 SEQ.PST=1SG write\INF to the man REL.PST my loincloth 2 with.3
 “And I wrote to the man who had my 2 pieces of loincloth”
 (O. Cairo CG 25725 et al., 6-7 = *KRI* IV, 417,13)
90. *ḥr ir p3 rmt wn=f m-di=f m ḥry-^c*
 and TOP the man REL.PST with=3SM as assistant
 “And as for the man whose assistant he was, (...)”
 (P. Anastasi 6, r^o 28-29 = *LEM* 74,12-13)
91. *ir m-dr wnn=i m-di=t m h3y*
 TOP since be\NMLZ=1SG with=2SF as husband
r-š3^c p3 ḥrw, ir=i iw r=t
 “Since you have me as husband until this day, what did I do against you?”
 (P. Leiden I 371, r^o 3-4)

The negation of this pattern is the one expected for the adverbial predicative pattern: NEG + Subject + Predicate → *bn* PM *m-di* PR:

92. *mtw=n mdw (...) ḥr n3 it (...)*
y3 bn se m-di=f m w^c ip.t
 indeed NEG 3PL with=3SM as one *oipe*
 “And we shall talk about the cereals, indeed, he does not have even one *oipe*”
 (*LRL*, 15,5-7)
93. *bn se m-di=i,*
 NEG 3SM with=1SG
i-ir.tw gm=s m p3y=f pr
 “I do not have it’, but one found it in his house”
 (P. Salt 124, v^o 11 = *KRI* IV 413,15-16)

2.3. Non-definite PM: Extended existential pattern

When the PM is a bare (non-definite), it is not the adverbial predicative pattern which is used but an existential pattern extended by the preposition *m-di*,¹⁴ that one could translate literally ‘there is a PM with PR’ (see Gunn 1924; Satzinger 1984; Shisha-Halevy 2007).

The situation is however a bit more complicated than with the definite PM, since three different constructions are actually attested in the corpus (see Shisha-Halevy 1981; Grossman 2009):

- *wn* \emptyset -PM *m-di* PR ‘there is a PM with PR’
- *wn* \emptyset -PM *im* *m-di* PR ‘there is a PM there with PR’
- *wn* *m-di* PR \emptyset -PM ‘there is with PR a PM’

¹⁴ The most detailed discussion to date for LEg is found in Černý & Groll (1993: 392-397).

2.3.1. When the PR is a Lexical NP → *wn* ∅-PM *m-di* PR

94. *p3y=i nb nfr, wn ʕnh m-di PN m n3y=w ʕnh.w*
 my lord good exist goat with PN in their goats
 “My good lord, is PN in possession of one of their goats?”
 (O. DeM 574, r^o 1-3 = Sauneron 1959: pl. 12)

95. *m-ir dd*
wn pr m-di it mw.t=i
 EXIST house with father mother=1SG
 “Do not say: ‘my father and mother have a house’” (Ani = P. Boulaq 4, 19,7)

2.3.2. A different semantics ‘at somebody’s disposal’ → *wn* ∅-PM *im* *m-di* PR (spatial prox. deixis)

Černý & Groll (1993: 396) noticed that “when ∅-A immediately follows *wn*, the adverb *im* is almost obligatory”, but only cited examples occurring with *im*, which made the understanding of the distribution of the whole system of non-definite PM much more complicated.

96. *wn dht im m-di=tn r di.t hr n3 hmty*
 EXIST tin there with=2PL to give\INF on the copper
 “There is tin there at your disposal to add to the copper”
 (P. BM EA 10100, v^o 5-6 = LRL 51,8)

97. *mtw=tn ptr in wn sš.w is.w*
 SEQ.MOD=2PL see\INF if EXIST writings old
n p3 hr im m-di=tn
 of the Tomb there with=2PL
m n3 htr.w n p3 hr nty twtw hr in.t=w m hd (...)
 “And you will see whether you have at your disposal old writings of the Tomb concerning the wages of the Tomb that one brings sailing North (...)”
 (P. Turin 1978/208, r^o 2-3 [Unpublished])

98. *wn hmt im m-di=k*
 EXIST copper there with=you
 “(And you shall order the coppersmith to make spears, ...) there is copper at your disposal”
 (P. BM EA 10326, v^o 10 = LRL 19,15)

2.3.3. When the PR is a Lexical NP → *wn* *m-di* PR ∅-PM

This construction has attracted a lot of attention because of its verboid fate in Coptic (see recently Reintges & Lipták 2006). In LEg, this is by far the most common construction when the PM is indefinite:

99. *wn m-di=n md.t n pr-ʕ3*
 exist with=1PL matter for Pharaoh
 “We have a matter for Pharaoh” (P. Turin 1880, r^o 1,5)

1. *wn m-di=n wšb.t ʕ.t r dd=s*
 EXIST with=1PL complaint big to say\INF=it
 “We have an important complaint to say” (P. Turin 1880, r^o 2,16)

2. *inn wn m-di=i 3h.wt m sh.t*
 if EXIST with=1SG fields in countryside
inn wn m-di=i h.t nb n p3 t3
 if EXIST with=1SG thing any of the earth
inn wn m-di=i swty.w
 if EXIST with=1SG trade-products
iw=w pš n p3y=i 4 hrd.w
 “If I happen to have fields in the country side, if I happen to have any property in the world, if I happen to have any trade-products, they will be shared between my four children”
 (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96, v^o 7-9 = *KRI* VI, 738,3)
3. *hr wn m-di=<t> sn.w*
 “You have brothers and sisters” (O. Prague 1826, r^o 6-7 = *HO* 70,2)
4. *is-bn wn m-di=k sš.w knw*
hr wn m-di=k šms.w knw zp-sn
 “Don’t you have many scribes and don’t you have very many servants?”
 (P. Anastasi V, 11,4-5 = *LEM* 61,12-13)
5. *in-iw wn m-di=k mtry.w r-r=f, in m-bi3t*
 INT EXIST with=2SM witnesses to=3SM in no
wn m-di=i mtry.w
 EXIST with=1SG witnesses
 “Do you have witnesses against him or not? (What PN declared:) ‘I have some witnesses’”
 (O. Nash 2, 6-7 = *KRI* IV, 318,4-6)
6. *in wn m-di=s pš im=w*
 “(As for the oxen that the woman asks for), does she have a share in them?”
 (O. IFAO 884 = *BIFAO* 72 [1972], p. 56, n^o 54,3)
7. *wn m-di=k 19 rmt*
 exist with=2sm 19 men
 “You have 19 men (in the Dendera commission)”
 (T. Leiden I, 431; see already P. Bologna 1094, 10,9 = *LEM* 10,1-2)

Note that in L_{Eg}, only non-definite PM are attested with this construction¹⁵ and only three affirmative examples, all from the post-Ramesside period, have *wn-di=f* (twice *Wenamun* and once *Ani*, P. Boulaq)¹⁶, e.g.:

8. *hn wn-di=w ʕnh snb*
 IF_IRR EXIST.COM=3PL life health
wn bn iw=w di.t in.tw n3 3h.t
 “If they had had life and health, they would not have sent such goods”
 (*Wenamun*, 2,29 = *LES* 69,15-16)

¹⁵ As Černý & Groll (1975: 393) note, it is not easy “to determine the grammatical relationship between the groups *wn m-di.f* and \emptyset -A. Originally \emptyset -A was the subject of *wn*, but since *wn* and *m-di.f* have become an inseparable unit, \emptyset -A can not immediately follow *wn*. (...) However, since \emptyset -A in Coptic is felt to be a direct object, one can assume that the transition from subject to direct object started much earlier. The ‘bareness’ of A is a necessary element.”

¹⁶ Erman (²1933: 397 §784) already noted that the encounter of the final *n* of *wn* and the initial nasal of *m-di* (Coptic ⲛⲧⲉ-) led to spellings of the verboid-like possessive expression without *m* for the comitative preposition *m-di*.

2.4. Negation of the extended existential pattern (with non-definite PM)

The negation of the comitative strategy with non-definite PM is perhaps even more complicated since six different patterns are to be distinguished (graphically at least):

- *nn n PR PM* → TYPE 1
- *bn n PR PM* → TYPE 1
- *nn wn m-di PR PM* → TYPE 2
- *mn m-di PR PM* → TYPE 2
- *nn wn PR m-di PM* → TYPE 3
- *mn PR m-di PM* → TYPE 3

These six patterns can be grouped into three main types given the functional equivalence (see Vernus 1985) between:

- *nn* ≈ *bn*
- *nn wn* ≈ *mn*

The variation in the spelling is mostly an index of ‘graphemic language ideology’ relating to the genre of the texts. Besides the non-definite PM, these constructions apparently all share the feature of having a pronominal PR. As a consequence, the PR in this construction refers anaphorically ?or cataphorically? to a lexical NP given in the co(n)text.

It was already noted by Eрман (1933: 397 §784-785) that, while after *nn wn* and *mn*, one finds *m-di*, it is a dative construction which is used after the predicative *nn* and *bn*.¹⁷

Regarding the alternation between TYPE 1 and TYPE 2, Depuydt (2008: 113) convincingly showed that they are functionally “synonyms”: their distribution corresponds roughly speaking to the opposition between literary and non-literary texts (at least until the end of the Ramesside period).

2.4.1. TYPE 1: *nn/bn n PR PM*

9. *iw=f m-s3=n hr w^cw^c*
nn n=f n^c
 NEG for=3SM pity
 “He is after us, slaughtering, without having pity”
 (First Libyan War 28, 46 = KRI VI, 24,12)

10. *wn km.t mh.t*
n(n) n=s mniw
 NEG for=3SF shepherd
 “Egypt was then on the run, without having a shepherd”
 (First Libyan War 28, 46 = KRI VI, 24,12)

¹⁷ The explanation suggested by Groll (1970) is problematic in many respects: ‘The Pattern *mn m-di.f* \emptyset -A is in complementary relationship with the pattern *bn n.f* \emptyset -A: the latter Pattern is used with abstract nouns to express the non-ownership of a characteristic, permanent quality, or a non-acquirable quality, whereas *mn m-di.f* \emptyset -A (or *nn wn* \emptyset -A *m-di.f* in literary texts) is used with concrete nouns to express the non-ownership of an object; or for a person, that he is not available.’

11. *šm=k iw nn n=k tb.wt*
 go\THMZ=2SM CIRC NEG for=2SM sandals
 “When you went, you had no shoes, (I want to supply you with all the things that other people are looking for)” (O. OIC 12074, r^o 3 = KRI VI, 216,2)
12. *hm imn, mk bn sw, bn n=f mni.t*
 ignore\PTCP.IPFV Amun look NEG.EXIST 3SM NEG for=3SM moor
 “The one who ignores Amun, look, he does not exist, he has no mooring”
 (O. DeM 1435, r^o 1)
13. *i{3}<w> bn n=w šh3d.t*
 CIRC NEG for=3PL constraint
 “(without me knowing whether they are leaving the ploughed fields) since they have no obligation”
 (*Tale of Woe* 5,1)
14. *p3 di k n p3 nty bn n=f ø*
 the give\PTCP.IPFV bread for the REL NEG for=3SM ø
 “the one who gives bread to the one who has none”
 (P. Anastasi 2, r^o 9,2-3 = LEM 17,16-18,1)
15. *nty bn n=w krlt.w*
 REL NEG for=3PL foreskins
 “who do not have foreskins” (Karnak = Mariette 1875: 4,52)
 Contrast with *nty mn m-di=w krlt.w* in 54 (see Erman ²1933).

Consider the difference between the witnesses of *Ani*:

16. *[i3w.t] nn n=s šri*
 office NEG for=it child
 “(the office), it has no child” (Ani = O. Gardiner 357, r^o 4)
 Similar in P. DeM 1, r^o 4,6.
17. *i3w.t nn wn -di=s šri*
 office NEG EXIST-COM=3SF child
 “An office, it has no son (i.e. it is not hereditary)” (Ani = P. Boulaq 4, 20,6)

Compare also the beginning of the so-called Adoption Papyrus (dated from Year 1 of Ramesses 11) with a later occurrence in the text (dated from Year 18 of Ramesses the 11):

18. *iw bn n=f šri šri.t r-ħrw-r ink*
 CIRC NEG for=3SM son daughter except myself
 “(he made me a child of his, and wrote down unto me all that he possessed), having no son or daughter apart from myself”
 (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96, r^o 4-5 = KRI VI, 735,15)
19. *iw mn šri šri.t ø inn mntw*
 CIRC NEG.EXIST son daughter ø except themselves
 “(I took them [i.e. the three children of a slave], nourished them and brought them up (...) and they dealt well with me), having no son or daughter except for them”
 (P. Ashmolean Museum 1945.96, r^o 19 = KRI VI, \$\$\$)

2.4.2. TYPE 2: *nn wn/mn m-di* PR PM

Note that all the examples with the negation *nn-wn* are rather ‘old’ (not after Ramesses III).

20. *nn wn m-di(=i) ∅ n-hrw hm.t PN wn=s m-di=i*
 NEG EXIST with(=1SG) ∅ except servant PN PST=3SF with=1SM
 “I do not have anyone except for the servant PN who was in my possession”
 (P. BM EA 10568, col. 1,10)
21. *nn wn m-di=sn diw*
 NEG EXIST with=3PL rations
 “They don’t have rations” (O. Qurna 633, r^o 6)
22. *nn wn m-di=f š3y.t*
 NEG EXIST with=3SM taxes
 “(About the scribe:) He does not have taxes” (P. Chester Beatty 5, r^o 6,7)
 See also P. Sallier I, 6,9 = *LEM* 83,17-84,1; P. Anastasi V, 17,2 = *LEM* 65,6
23. *nn wn-di=f is.t h3rw*
 NEG EXIST.COM=3SM crew Syrians
 “He does not have a Syrian crew” (*Wenamun*, 1,x+23 = *LES* 67,3-4)
24. *di=f hpr=i mi-kd rmt*
 CAUS=3SM become\INF=1SG like man
iw nn wn m-di=f hry
 CIRC NEG EXIST with=3SM chief
 “He made me become like a man that does not have a chief”
 (P. Anastasi 6,33 = *LEM* 75,2-3)
25. *(i)n mn m-di=s im=w*
 INT NEG.EXIST with=3SF in=3PL
 “Doesn’t she have some of them?” (O. IFAO 862)
 See also P. DeM 6, r^o 5 (= *KRI* VI,267,1)
26. *mn m-di=k it*
 NEG.EXIST with=2SM father
 “(You are the son of whom?) You do not have a father!”
 (*Truth and Falsehood*, 5,3 = *LES* 32,14)
27. *mn m-di=i ht m wd3, inn p3y=i htr-rnp.t*
 NEG_EXIST with=1SG wood in storehouse except my aa_incomes
 “I do not have wood in store, except for my annual additional incomes”
 (P. Mallet, 5,8-9 = *KRI* VI, \$\$\$)

The first example of *mn-di* PR PM, with the (graphemic) drop of the *m* at the beginning of the preposition *m-di* occurs markedly earlier (Ramesses 3, year 21) than the first affirmative example:

28. *iw PN t3y=i mw.t, t3y=f šri r-ms=f*
iw mn di=f šri h3w(ty)
 “While PN, my mother, is the (lit. his) daughter whom he begot – he has no male child”
 (O. BM 5624, v^o 3-4 = *KRI* V,476,3-4)

However all the other examples (35) are from the time of Ramesses XI onwards. Especially noticeable are the numerous examples in the so-called ‘abnormal hieratic corpus’ (c. 25 occurrences):

29. *mn-di(=i) md.t r-hr=k n-t3 p3 hrw r-hry*
 NEG.EXIST.COM(=1SG) matter about=2SM from the day afterwards
 “I have no issue (anymore) with you from today and for the future”
 (P. Louvre E 7861, r^o 7)

30. *mn-di(=i) md.t nb r dd=s irm PN (...)*
 NEG.EXIST.COM(=1SG) matter any to say\INF=it with PN (...)
 “I do not have anything to argue about with PN (...)” (P. Michaelides 2, r^o 8-9)

2.4.3. TYPE 3: *nn wn/mn PM m-di PR*

To the best of my knowledge, TYPE 3 has received little attention so far. It is useful to first consider the two following examples:

31. *iw mn ht nb m-di=f*
 CIRC NEG.EXIST thing any with=3SM
 “(He brought me back the donkey) without anything with him (i.e. in his hands for the rent)” (O. DeM 67, r^o 3-5 = Černý 1935: pl. 48)
32. *mn nkt n PN m-di=i*
 NEG.EXIST something of PN with=1SG
 “I have nothing of PN” (O. Cairo CG 25572, r^o 14-15 = KRI V, 572,15)

Compare with the later construction:

33. *mn m-di[=i] md.t nb irm=k*
 NEG.EXIST with[=1SG] matter any with=2SM
 “I have no problem with you”
 (P. Louvre E 3168, v^o 2,10 = Malinine 1982: 98)

Based on an opposition of negation scope/focus, namely “to have no PM” (TYPE 3) vs “not to have a PM” (TYPE 2), one could suggest an explanation for the following examples:

34. *mn hn m-di(=tn) r pr-ʕ ʕ.w.s*
 NEG.EXIST utterance with(=2PL) to Pharaoh L.P.H.
 “(so) you have no discourse (to report) for Pharaoh L.P.H.? (If you hide it today and come back on it later, your nose and ears will be cut!)”
 (O. Cairo CG 25556, r^o 7-8 = KRI IV, 303,7)
35. *mn btʕ m-di=f*
 NEG.EXIST crime with=3SM
 “(you are in a good situation with the general,) he has no complaint (and further no one accused you in front of him)” (P. BM EA 10419, r^o 8 = LRLC 2)

Compare with:

36. *hr nʕy=k rmt dr=w ʕ.w.s*
mn-di=w btʕ, m šri r ʕ
 NEG.EXIST=3PL crime from small to big
 “And your men are doing fine, they do not have any harm, from small to big”
 (P. Turin 1973, r^o 6 = LRL 3,6; P. Philipps, v^o 10 = LRL 30,12-13; see also PBM EA 10284, v^o 1 = LRL 49,6; P. BM EA 10411, r^o 10 = LRLC 1; similarly see P. BN 199, 5-9 *et al.*, v^o 14 = LRL7,1). See also *Amenemope* 19,18 and the affirmative counterpart in O. Gardiner 250, r^o 5.
37. *sdm=i r-dd sw rwi m-di=f*
hr nn wn ih.w m-di=f
 and NEG EXIST oxen with=3SM
 “I have heard that he has departed from him and has no (more) cattle in his possession”
 (P. Boulaq 16, r^o 4-5 = KRI III, 156)

3. OTHER TYPES OF CONSTRUCTION

Only four ‘minor’ types are mentioned here in passing, but more are of course to be discussed in the forthcoming publication.

3.1. Future possession with dative encoding of the PR

38. *iw p3 nty 3h n=s*
 FUT the REL beneficial for=3SF
 “she shall have what is beneficial”
 (*Neskhonsu* l. 26 = *JEA* 41 [1955], p. 102; Cf. Shisha-Halevy 1981: 320)
39. *iw=s n=f r hm.t*
 FUT=3SF for=3sm as wife
 “He will have her as a wife” (P. Harris 500, v^o 5,6 = *LES* 3,9)
40. *iw=w n PN p3y=i [šri]*
 FUT=3PL for PN my [son]
 “(As for all my goods ...) they will be for PN, my son”
 (O. UC, 39619, r^o 8-10)

3.2. The preposition *r-ht* and *hr*: possession, authority and control

41. *hr ir nswt nb nty r hrp shnn.t=f shr.w=i nb hn^c ntf dd*
t3.w r-ht=i, ink sn mi wn=sn hr=f,
 lands under_authority=1SG mine 3PL like PST=3PL under=3SM
zp ksn hr ib ntr.w
 “And as for any king who shall be and will overthrow any of my plans and say: ‘The lands are under my authority, they are mine as they used to be under him.’ (It will be a painful thing in the eyes of the gods)”
 (Kanais Decree)

3.3. The preposition *hr*: possession, load and charge

42. *inpw rn p3^{c3}, iw b3-t3 rn (n) p3y=f šri*
hr ir [i]npw, sw hr pr hr hm.t
 and TOP Inepu 3SM under house under wife
iw p3y=f sn šri m-di=f mi shr n šri
 “(Inepu was the name of the older, Bata the name of the younger), and Inepu, he was in charge of a house and a wife, (while his younger brother was living with him as would a child)” (P. d’Orbiney, 1,1-2 = *LES* 9,9-11)

3.4. The compound preposition *m-dr.t*:

From physical/temporary possession (see Heine 1997: 34) to owing

43. *iw i.ir=n wn n3 db3.t*
 CIRC AUX.THMZ=1PL open\INF the coffins
m n3 h3.w n hmty i.wn m-dr.t=n
 INS the picks of copper REL.PST at_hand=1PL
 “for it is with the copper picks that were in our hands (physically) that we opened the coffins” (P. BM EA 100054, r^o 2,10)

44. *sw t̄nw p̄3 wh̄3 n imn nty m-d̄r.t=k, sy t̄nw t̄3 š̄c.t n p̄3 hm ntr tpy n imn nty m-d̄r.t=k*
FUT=3PL for PN my [son]
“(Where is the dispatch of Amun) which you owe, where is the letter of the
first prophet of Amun which you owe?”

(*Wenamun* 1,x+16-17 = *LES* 66,9-10)

45. *hr mk, wh̄3 š̄c.t, mn n-d̄r.t=k*
and look dispatch letter NEG.EXIST in_hand=2SM
“And look, dispatch or letter, there is none in your hand”

(*Wenamun*, 1x+18-19 = *LES* 66,12)

See *zpy.t wn.t m-d̄r.t=f* of M. Megally (*Notions de compatibilité*, p. 85-86) = « the amount still to be paid ». See also M. Megally 1981: 300 n. 10 & 11.

4. CONCLUSIONS