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CONTENTS

When *and* meets *with*[*]

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Abstract

After some general considerations regarding NP coordination, this study deals with multiple-subject coordination in Late Egyptian. As the second coordinand is often introduced by a preposition meaning "with" (*ḥnꜥ* or *irm*), a central issue addressed in this paper is the complex inter-relationships between CONJUNCTIVE and COMITATIVE. The final section is devoted to the diachronic relations between *ḥnꜥ* and *irm*.

0 Introduction

This paper deals with some cases of coordination in Late Egyptian (LEg), more specifically with coordination of nominal phrases (NP) in subject position.[1] This is an admittedly limited focus if one considers the larger picture. First, coordination strictly speaking ("and") is a part of a larger phenomenon called conjunction, which includes disjunction ("or") and adversative coordination ("but"). Conjunction implies a relation between two members (also called the coordinands[2]), which can be nouns, adjectives, phrases or clauses.

Two main related issues will be addressed here:

– the relations between CONJUNCTIVE and COMITATIVE,
– the respective domains, both semantic and syntactic, of *ḥnꜥ* and *irm*.

Multiple coordination, i.e. coordination of more than two NPs, will be left out of the scope of this paper, because it uses a somewhat different strategy.[3]

1 Coordination in Egyptian

Languages can vary to a considerable extant in the manner they express coordination according to the nature of the coordinands. In French, for instance, the coordinator *et* can be used to link two NPs, two Adjs, two phrases or two clauses. This is not the case in Ancient Egyptian: for instance, adjectives are never linked by a coordinator, being simply juxtaposed next to one another (asyndetic coordination):

Ex. 1   *t   ḥḏ   šri   10*
bread white small 10
"Ten small white breads"   (O. Nims, rᵒ 10)
Ramses II – Administrative matters

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1   As rightly noted by Ernst (1994: 89), this topic has not been given much attention in Egyptology.
2   Haspelmath (2004: 1).
3   See Stassen (2001: 1105).

In Earlier Egyptian, clause linkage is usually left unmarked. In Late Egyptian, the particle *ḥr* can play a cohesive role, with different shades of meaning that are pragmatically conditioned ("and, then, thus, but").[4] In narrative, a chain of events is usually marked by a special pattern, called the Sequential *iw=f ḥr (tm) sḏm* "and then he heard", to which must be added some constructions that are characteristic of literary style, like *wn.in/ˤḥˤ.n* headed constructions.[5] In discourse, a chain of events (typically, but not only, orders and instructions) is expressed by a dedicated pattern, called the Conjunctive (*mtw=f sḏm*), grammaticalized from a construction already attested in Middle Egyptian involving the preposition *ḥnˤ*, which expresses the COMITATIVE.[6] Contrary to what can be observed in most modern Western European languages, the coordinating devices that are found for linking two NPs are not used for clauses.[7]

Unsurprisingly, there are several means in LEg for coordinating NPs, which are now briefly presented.

1.1 Asyndeton

In spite of the lack of statistics one could confidently rely on, asyndetic coordination is probably one of the commonest ways for linking two NPs in Earlier Egyptian (EEg).[8] In LEg, asyndeton of two (or more) NPs is rarely found, except in lists and enumerations of various kinds, where it is excessively common:[9]

Ex. 2 *iw   wˤb   ḥri   wˤb   tt   (ḥr)   šm   m   grḥ*
       SEQ   priest Hori priest Tat [SEQ] go:INF in night
       "The priest Hori and the priest Tat went out by night"   (P. BM EA 10053, 3,16)
                                              Ramses XI – Tomb Robberies (See also Ex. 7)

1.2 Use of a preposition as a connector

When coordination needs to be unambiguously expressed, LEg can resort to different means that vary according to the textual genres and to the syntactic environment. Differences can be observed in terms of diachrony, textual genres, or syntactic compatibility. Except for some cases that will be briefly discussed below (1.3), coordination by means of a coordinator is always *monosyndetic* in the sense of Haspelmath,

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4   See Neveu (2001).
5   See Winand (2006: 373).
6   See Winand (1992: 457-473).
7   In Late Egyptian, *m-mit.t* can be found before a conjunctive (*m-mitt mtw.k di.t šdi.tw pȝ bi.t* "and you will also cause that the honey be extracted", P. Anastasi IV, rᵒ 14,10-11; cf. *LES* 11,3-5; P. Leyde I 368, rᵒ 10-13), but this has rather an adverbial force than a cohesive function; *m-mit.t* can also link other types of clauses, for instance a conditional system (*m-mit.t ir wˤr rmṭ m pȝ tȝ n ḫtȝ* "and consequently if someone runs away from the land of Khatti" K*RI* II, 231,9); see also below, Ex. 88. As rightly pointed out to me by E. Grossman (p.c.), considerations like this could be enlarged to *ky-ḏd*, which can set off new topics of discussion, a role that can be assumed by ⲁⲩⲱ in Coptic.
8   See Edel (1955: 132), Gardiner (1957: §91).
9   In Coptic, interclausal coordination by means of asyndeton is common, especially in narrative (chains of past tense forms) and in orders (chains of imperatives). In the latter case however, the conjunctive is also used as a cohesive device after an opening imperative.

that is, coordination is expressed by a single coordinator usually (but not obligatorily, see *senatus populusque romanus*) placed between the two coordinands.[10]

In pre-Coptic Egyptian, there is no specialized coordinator meaning "and" unlike in most modern Western European languages.[11] As was already the case in EEg, LEg can rely on a large set of prepositions. The first two, *ḥnꜥ* and *irm*, basically expressing the COMITATIVE,[12] are pervasive in the function of linking two NPs in any kind of syntactic environment; while *ḥnꜥ* is already well attested in EEg, *irm* is a newcomer in LEg, as shown, among others, by its syllabic writing:[13]

Ex. 3   *ist   p3   wr   ḥsi   n   ḥt3   ꜥḥꜥ   m ḥr-ib*
        SBRD ART:M.SG prince vile PGEN Hatti stand:RES-3SG.M in midst
        mšꜥ=f   ḥnꜥ   nt-ḥtr=f   ḥr   ptr
        army=3SG.M and charriotry=3SG.M PRS look:INF
        "The vile prince of Hatti was standing in the midst of his army and his charriotry looking ..."   (Qadech, Poem, K1 § 143)
                                                        Ramses II – Poem of Qadech

Ex. 4   *i.h3b   n=k   X ḥr=w   irm n3   ḥmty.w*
        write:REL.PST to=2SG.M X about=3PL and ART:PL coppersmith-M.PL
        nty   irm=k
        REL with=2SG.M
        "(Your missions) about which X wrote to you and to the coppersmiths that are with you"   (P. BM EA 10326, vᵒ 1)
                                                        Ramses XI – Letter

One will note in this example that the PrepP does not immediately follow *n=k*.

The compound preposition *m-di* "(lit.) in the hand of" can express both predicative and non-predicative possession, agency in some kinds of passive constructions, but also COMITATIVE. It is quite common in the function of introducing the valency argument of some verbs, where it is diachronically in variation with *irm* or *ḥnꜥ*.[14] It is also found as a coordinator, more specifically with multiple NPs, where it stands between the last two groups. In this use, it comes close to *m-mitt*, meaning "likewise":[15]

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10 Haspelmath (2004).

11 In Coptic, S ⲁⲩⲱ (B ⲟⲩⲟϩ) is probably what comes closer to the English coordinator "and" (Stern 1880: § 592; Layton, 2001: § 145), where it is used in interclausal environments. The coordination of NPs is expressed in Coptic by the preposition ⲙⲛ — (B ⲛⲉⲙ), or ϩⲓ in closely related NPs. Except in some syntactic contexts (Stern, *ibidem*), the presence of ⲁⲩⲱ remains exceptional in these cases, expressing some kind of emphasis.

12 See Grossman & Polis (2012: 200-209).

13 On the use of a syllabic writing in Egyptian for indigenous words, see Winand (forthcoming a).

14 *E.g.*, *mdw m-di* X "to discuss with" (*LES* 12,14) or "to have an argument with " (P. BM EA 10052, 6,10), where *m-di* is in variation with *irm* (*LRL* 24,7, in the sense of "discussing with") and *ḥnꜥ* (P. Deir el-Bahari s.n., this latter one being exceptional with *mdw*). Other examples are offered by *ꜥḥ3* "to fight" and *ṯtt* "to discuss".

15 *m-di* is also used to connect two distant NPs: *i.dd nbw i.ḳwḳw⸗k n p3 pr-nbw n nsw X p3 nṯr ꜥ3 ḥr m-di rmṯ nb i.wn irm⸗k* "tell (about) the gold you stripped from the king's treasure, the great god, and also the men who were with you" (P. BM EA 10053, vᵒ 2,9-10).

Ex. 5   *ntsn   n3   gmy≠i   m-ẖnw p3   ḫrw   ḥnꜥ   [ktn]*
        3PL   ART:PL   find:REL.PST=1SG inside ART:M.SG enemy   with [charioteer]
        mn3   p3y≠i   krꜥ   m-di n3y≠i   wbȝ.w
        Menna POSS:M.SG=1SG shield_bearer with POSS:PL=1SG   butler-M.PL
        "It is they that I found in the midst of the battle with charioteer Menna, my
        shield-bearer, as well as my butlers"   (Qadech, Poem, § 272 L²)
                                                        Ramses II – Poem of Qadech

Ex. 6   *iw≠f   in   n≠i   n3   ḏb.wt   <ḥr-sȝ> ȝbd*
        SEQ=3SG.M bring:INF to=1SG ART:PL basket-F.PL [after]   month
        n   hrw.w   iw≠w   šw.w   irm tȝ   krḥ.t
        PGEN day-M.PL SBRD=3PL empty:RES-3PL with ART:F.SG fruit_basket-F
        m-mitt p3   tȝy
        as_well ART:M.SG basket
        "And he brought me, after a full month, the baskets, empty, together with the
        fruit-basket and the *tȝy*-basket as well"   (O DeM 569, 4)
                                                        Ramses III – Daily life

Coordination by means of *m-mitt* would deserve a study of its own for the rich diver-
sity of its uses. It can link two NPs (ex. 7), link the last two NPs in a sequence (ex. 8),
stand after the last coordinand, like "as well" in English (ex. 9, 10), or before a
preposition, when repeated, before the second coordinand (ex. 10):

Ex. 7   *p3   ḫȝ   m-mitt p3   wšb*
        ART:M.SG chisel as well ART:M.SG vase
        "The chisel and the vase"   (O. Nash 1, vᵒ 13)
                                                        Sethi II – Judicial matters

Ex. 8   *twi   ḥr pš   X ḥnꜥ   A, B m-mitt C*
        PRS-1SG PRS divide:INF X with A, B as well C
        "I divide X among A, B, and C"   (P. BM EA 10568, 6-8)
                                                        Ramses II – Property division

Ex. 9   *n3y≠k   sn.w   (r)-ḏr.w m   ꜥḥȝwty m   s.t-ḥm.t m-mitt*
        POSS:PL=2.SG.M brother:PL all   LOC male   LOC woman   as_well
        "All your brothers, men and women alike"   (P. Phillipps, vᵒ 3)
                                                        Ramses XI – Letter

Ex. 10 *iw≠k   ḏd   n A m-mitt n B   m-mitt*
        SEQ=2SG.M say:INF   to A as_well to B   as_well
        "And you told (so) to A and also to B as well"   (O. DeM 116, vᵒ 1)
                                                        Ramses II – Declaration

The prepositions *mi* and *mi-ḳd*, meaning "as, like" can also be used to connect two
NPs. Although it is quite common cross-linguistically to find prepositions originally
meaning a comparison also used for expressing coordination (cf. French *comme*,
German *wie*, etc.),[16] *mi* and *mi-ḳd* are only exceptionally used in LEg in this
function:[17]

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16 One will note in French some hesitation as regards the agreement of the verb with subjects
   coordinated by *comme*: *La Belgique comme le Luxembourg fait/font partie de l'Europe*. If the verb
   remains in singular, it can imply that the PrepP introduced by 'comme' is presented as an
   afterthought (*La Belgique — au même titre que le Luxembourg d'ailleurs — fait partie de
   l'Europe*, but this explanation, favoured by some purists, would certainly not be accepted by the
   majority of French speakers.
17 See Peust (2006) for a general discussion of the preposition *mi* in EEg, with a final section on
   'Koordinierendes *mj*' (Peust 2006: 514).

Ex. 11 *isṯ n3 stty.w n dmi pn t3y.w mi*
SBRD ART:PL Asiatic-M.PL PGEN town DEM:M.SG man-M.PL and
ḥm.wt tp sbty=sn
woman-F.PL top wall-M.PL=3PL
"For the Asiatics of this town – men and women alike – were on top of the walls"   (*Urk.* IV, 1312,4)
Amenhotep II

Ex. 12 *mtw=k 3ty n=w m-šsr mi-ḳd t3y*
CONJ=2SG.M take care of to=3PL ADV like DEM:F.SG
šri.t n A t3y.s mw.t t3y.s mnꜥ.t
daughter-F PGEN A POSS:F.SG=3SG.F mother-F POSS:F.SG=3SG.F nurse-F
"And you will take care of them like this daughter of A, her mother and her nurse"   (P. Leiden I 370, vᵒ 1; Cf. P. BN 197 VI, vᵒ 5)
Ramses XI – Letter

The preposition *ḥr* "on, upon" (Coptic ϩⲓ), already used in Egyptian I as a coordinator[18], is found in LEg only in semantically tightly bound NPs, perhaps more specifically with mass nouns, and never in texts that closely emulate the colloquial register:

Ex. 13 *iw=k (ḥr) ir.t ḥr.t(=i) m ꜥkw ḥr ḥnḳ.t*
SBRD=2SG.M [PRS] do:INF need=[1SG] with food and beer-F
"While you meet my needs with food and beer"   (P. Sallier I, 8,3)
Merenptah – Miscellanies

Ex. 14 *n3y=f šn.wt mḥ m it ḥr bd.t*
POSS:PL=3SG.M storehouse-F.PL be_full:RES-3PL of wheat and barley
"Its storehouses are full of wheat and barley"   (P. Anastasi III, 2,4)
Merenptah – Miscellanies

A discussion on the coordination of two prepositional phrases might be here necessary. But as this has already been touched upon in a previous study, I here only give a list of the attested patterns:[19]

– Prep + def. art. Noun₁ + def. art. Noun₂

Ex. 15 *irm p3 nbw p3 ḥd*
with ART:M.SG gold ART:M.SG silver
"With the gold and the silver"   (P. BM EA 10068, rᵒ 1,9)
Ramses IX – Tomb Robberies

– Prep + def. art. Noun₁ + Noun₂ (for semantically strongly bound NPs)

Ex. 16 *n n3 nṯr.w nṯr.wt nb.w*
to ART:PL god-M.PL goddess-F.PL all
"To all the gods and goddesses"   (P. Leiden I 360, 4-5)
Ramses II – Letter

– Prep + NP₁ + Prep + NP₂

Ex. 17 *iw=w ir ꜥ.t ḥnḳ.t im irm=w irm p3-is*
SEQ=3PL do:INF room beer-F there(ADV) with=3PL and Pais
"And they made an orgy with them and Pais…"   (P. Turin jud., 6,1)
Ramses III – Judicial

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18 See Malaise-Winand (1999: §86). The use of a connector meaning "on, upon" to express conjunction remains exceptional cross-linguistically, but consider some expressions in French like *il commit gaffes sur gaffes*, where the conjunctive effect results from the metaphor of piling things up.

19 See Winand (2009).

Ex. 18   *irm   n3   ḥry.w   mnš   irm   n3   šm*
          with   ART:PL captain-M.PL ship   with   ART:PL go:PTCP
          "With the ship captains and with those who are going …"   (*Wenamun*, 1,23)
                                                                          XXIst dyn. – Tale

–   Prep + NP$_1$ + *irm/ḥnˁ* + Prep + NP$_2$ (very rare)

Ex. 19   *ḥ3ty-ˁ   n   imnt.t niw.t   A   ḥr   swḏ3-ib   n   n3   ˁ3.w*
          governor PGEN west-F town-F A PRS inform:INF to ART:PL chief-M.PL
          n   is.t   [n] ˁ3   n   is.t   B   n ˁ3   n   is.t   C
          PGEN gang-F [to] chief PGEN gang-F   B   to chief PGEN gang-F C
          ḥnˁ   n t3   is.t   m-mitt   r-dr=w
          and to ART:F.SG gang-F as well(ADV) whole=3PL
          "The governor of Western Thebes A informs the chiefs of the gang, the chief of
          the gang B, the chief of the gang C, and the whole gang as well"
                                                                          (O. Berlin 11238, 1-2)
                                                                  Ramses II – Administrative matters[20]

Ex. 20   *wn=f   m p3   ḥr   ḥnˁ m p3   pr-n-st3*
          be.PST in ART:M.SG tomb and in ART:M.SG portable shrine
          "He was in the tomb and in the portable shrine"   (P. Mayer A, vº 10,22)
                                                                  Ramses XI – Tomb Robberies

Ex. 21   *iw=w   di.t=w   n=i   irm ḳr*
          SEQ=3PL give:INF=3PL to=1SG and Qar
          "They gave them to me and Qar"   (P. Mayer A, vº 6,24)
                                                                  Ramses XI – Tomb Robberies

Ex. 22   *ky-ḏd   iḫ-h3b=k   n=i   ḥr   ˁ=k*
          another matter   write:SBJV=2SG.M to=1SG about condition=2SG.M
          ḥnˁ   n3y.k   rmṯ
          and POSS:PL=2SG.M   man-M.PL
          "Can you please write me about your condition and that of your men?"
                                     (P. Ermitage 1118, 4; note here the elliptical construction)
                                                                  Ramses II – Letter

There also exist other strategies for coordinating, or rather for underlining cohesion;
in the following example, circumstantial *iw* has been repeated before the second
subject (for the repetition of the preposition, see *supra*, exx. 17-18):

Ex. 23   (date) *iw   ipwy   iw   rˁ-ḥtp   ḥr   ir.t   t3   ˁfd.t*
          (date) SBRD Ipouy SBRD Rahotep PRS do:INF ART:F.SG box-F
          "(date) Ipwy and Rahotep are making the box"   (O. CGC 25519, rº 6)
                                                                  Siptah – *Journal de la Tombe*

A similar strategy can be observed in the following example where the negation *bn*
has been repeated:

Ex. 24   *iw   bn   mšˁ=f   ḥnˁ=f   bn   ḥtr=f*
          SBRD NEG army=3SG.M with=3SG.M NEG chariotry=3SG.M
          "While his army was not with him nor his chariotry"   (*Qadech*, § 145 K[1])
                                                                  Ramses II – Letter

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20 Cf. Inscription of Mes, N3: *iw≠tw ḥr psš.w n≠j ḥnˁ sn.w≠i* "and one shared them for me and my
    brothers and sisters".

2 The corpus

The present study is based on a corpus of *ca*. 300 examples in LEg. LEg has been here considered *sensu lato*, including both literary and non-literary texts, while the chronological limits have been arbitrarily set between the XVIIIth dyn. and the XXIst dyn. The heuristic part has been greatly facilitated by the use of the database currently developed by the Ramses project at the University of Liège.[21]

3 Conjunctive *vs*. Comitative

From a typological perspective, CONJUNCTIVE and COMITATIVE are two domains that are inter-related in many respects.[22] Historically, in many languages, the former is often a secondary development of the latter.[23] In Ancient Egyptian, if there is an overt marker of coordination, it is formally identical with a corresponding marker for the COMITATIVE. As already stated, in LEg, the prepositions *ḥnꜥ* and *irm*, both basically meaning "with", are used in this function.[24]

3.0 Presentation of the data

In the corpus considered here, coordination of subjects can be expressed by asyndeton or by using a preposition meaning "with". Coordination of the first type is badly represented in LEg, being attested only 11 times in the corpus. Here is a typical example:

Ex. 25   *mtw*   A B C D *in=k*   *iw=k*   *wḏꜣ.tw*
            CONJ A B C D bring:INF=2SG.M SBRD=2SG.M to_be_successful:RES-2SG
            "And may A B C D bring you (back) in good health"   (P. BM EA 75020, 4)
                                                                Ramses XI - Letter

As already said, LEg usually links two NPs with prepositions meaning "with". The two most widely used are *ḥnꜥ* and *irm*. Both can express COORDINATION, but also COMITATIVE, as illustrated in the two following pairs of examples:

Ex. 26   *di=i*   *tw*   *r*   *tꜣ*   *ꜥ.t-sbꜣ*   *ḥnꜥ*   *ms.w*   *wr.w*
            give:PST=1SG 2SG.M at ART:F.SG school with child-M.PL chief-M.PL
            r   *sbꜣ=k*
            to educate:INF=2SG.M
            "I put you at school together with the offsprings of the nobles to educate you" (P. Anastasi V, 22,6)
                                                                Sethi II – Miscellanies

Ex. 27   *imy*   *di.w*   *n* *nꜣ*   *rmṯ-mšꜥ*   *ḥnꜥ* *nꜣ*   *ꜥpr.w*
            give:IMP corn_ration-M.PL to ART:PL soldier-M.PL and ART:PL Apirou
            "Give corn-rations to the soldiers and the Apirou (...)"   (P. Leiden 348, vᵒ 6,5)
                                                                Ramses II – Miscellanies, Letter

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21 See Winand, Polis & Rosmorduc (forthcoming).
22 See Stassen (2000, 2003); Dyła & Feldman (2005); De Vries (2005).
23 Stassen (2000). The evolution from CONJUNCTIVE to COMITATIVE is not documented.
24 The preposition *m-di* can also be found in the same syntactic environments as *ḥnꜥ* or *irm*. But as it does not fully commute with them (and, as a matter of fact, is not widely used in the constructions discussed here), it has been left out of this study.

Ex. 28   *iw*   *bwpwy*   *nȝy≠f*   *sn.w*   *ir*   *irm≠f*
        SBRD NEG   POSS:PL=3SG.M   brother-M.PL do:INF   with=3SG.M
        "Although his brothers did nothing with him"   (O. Petrie 16, v° 2)
        XXth dyn. – Judicial matters

Ex. 29   *ir≠k*   *wd*   *dy*   *m niw.t iw*   *swd<≠i>*
        do:EMPH=2SG.M go out:INF here   in town SBRD handle:PST=[1SG]
        n≠k   *ḥm.t*   A *irm ḥm*   B *pȝy≠s*   *šri*
        to=2SG.M   servant-F   A and servant   B POSS:M.SG=3SG.F son
        iw   *di≠k*   *sn*   *n* C
        SBRD give:PST=2SG.M   3PL   to C
        "It is only after having handled to you the servant A and the servant B, her son,
        after you gave them to C, that you went out here to town"   (P. Bankes I, 4)[25]
        XXth dyn. – Letter

From a typological point of view, languages that express COORDINATION and COMITATIVE using the same preposition tend to more or less quickly specialize it for expressing one semantic domain while turning to a new device for the other one.[26] LEg obviously never reached that stage, and, curiously enough, later stages of Egyptian (Demotic and Coptic) basically did not much change this situation either (see *infra*, conclusion).

One important issue that will be dealt with in this study is finding out whether there are some criteria to distinguish between COORDINATION and COMITATIVE. Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the corpus, one important remark needs to be made. From a syntactic point of view, two groups of predicates according to the relative position of the subject and the verb ought to be distinguished:[27]

Group I: (Aux) – A′ – V (–A″ – PrepP)   ex. *iw≠i ḥr sdm≠f* (circ. Present I)
Group II: V – A′ (–A″ – PrepP)   ex. *sdm≠i st* (perfective *sdm≠f*)

As will be clear in the following sections, the conclusions that can be gained from the second group are more limited.

3.1 Group I: (Aux) – A′ – V (– A″ – PrepP)

The first group (subject before the verb) is undisputedly the largest group in the corpus with 234 tokens. In LEg, all paradigms built with *r/m/ḥr* + infinitive or an old perfective (Present I, Sequential, Future III) belong to this group. To this, one can add the paradigms that use the auxiliary *iri* (emphatic *i.ir≠f sdm*, *i.ir.t≠f sdm*, *bw ir.t≠f sdm*, *bw ir≠f sdm*, etc.) or some operators of different kinds (*mtw≠f sdm*, *bwpw≠f sdm*).

3.1.1 The pattern (Aux) – A′₁ A′₂ – V

As already observed, asyndeton is not very widespread (11/234 exx.). It is mostly found with NPs that can be treated as pairs (natural ones or cultural ones). Asyndeton is of course a very clear case of coordination:

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25 The dep. pron. *-sn* shows that *irm* is used as a COORDINATION rather than as a COMITATIVE.
26 See Stassen (2003).
27 In what follows, A′ and A″ stand for the first and the second argument respectively. The second argument can be a direct object (*iri* X "to do X"), but also a prepositional phrase (*pḥ r* X "to reach X").

Ex. 30 (date) *iw   ipwy   ḫnsw   ḥr   ir.t   ḳrf   n   t3ty*
(date) SBRD Ipuy Khonsu PRS do:INF box to vizier
"Ipuy and Khonsu made a box for the vizier"   (O. CGC 25517, rº 3)
Seti II – *Journal de la Tombe*

Ex. 31 *ḥn   bw   msy⸗k   iw   it   bdt   ḫpr   m-r-ˁ*
COND NEG give_birth.PST=2SG.M SBRD barley emmer become:RES-3PL yet
"If you had not been born, barley and emmer would yet exist!"
(*Horus & Seth*, 15,3)
Ramses V – Tale

Ex. 32 (greetings) *mtw n3y⸗k   sn.w   n3y⸗k*
(greetings) CONJ POSS:PL=2SG.M brother-PL POSS:PL=2SG.M
sḫpr.w   ptr⸗k
relative-PL see:INF=2SG.M
"And may your brothers and your relatives see you (again)" (P. Genève D 407, 8)
Ramses XI – Letter

Ex. 33 *iw   mw.t ḫnsw   ḥtp   m t3   g3i.t   šps   n   imn-rˁ*
SBRD Mut Khonsu rest:RES-3PL in ART:F.SG shrine august PGEN Amun-Re
"While Mut and Khonsu rest in the august shrine of Amun-Re"
(Oracular Decree for Henuttauy, l. 27)
XXIˢᵗ dyn. – Oracular decree

Ex. 34 *iw   bn   ir šri šri.t   (r)   md.t   m p3y*
SBRD NEG FUT son daughter-F [FUT] discuss:INF in DEM:M.SG
sḫr   i.ir⸗i   n⸗s   m p3   hrw
measure do:REL.PST=1SG to=3SG.F in ART:M.SG day
"And no son, no daughter shall discuss the measure I took for her today"
(P. Turin 2021 + Genève D.409, rº 3,13)
Ramses XI – Letter

When a language has several means for coordinating NPs, asyndeton is frequently reserved to coordinands that form a conceptual unit. This can be related to the conception of tight (*vs.* loose) association suggested by Moye-Faurie & Lynch (2004) for some Oceanic languages.

3.1.2 The pattern (Aux) – A′₁ ḥnˁ/irm A′₂ – V

This pattern, which is even less frequent (6/234 exx.), is another clear case of COORDINATION. One will note that the coordinated NPs are semantically tightly bounded:

Ex. 35 *wn.in   in-ḫr ḥnˁ dḥwty   ˁš   sgb   ˁ3*
CJVB:CNSV Onuris and Thot shout:INF cry big
"And then Onuris and Thot gave a big cry"   (*Horus & Seth*, 4,6)
Ramses V – Tale

Ex. 36 *p3   t3   n   km.t   irm p3   t3   n   ḫt3*
ART:M.SG land PGEN Egypt-F and ART:M.SG land PGEN Khatti
ḥtp   snsn   mi-ḳd⸗n   r nḥḥ
be_in_peace:RES-3PL be_unit:RES-3PL as=1PL to eternity
"The land of Egypt and the land of Khatti are in peace and complete brotherhood for ever"   (Hittite treaty = K*RI* II 227,14)
Ramses II – Royal inscription

Ex. 37 *iw*   *ꜣꜥꜥ*   *pꜣ-sr* (…)   *irm* *ꜣꜥꜥ*   H   *n*   *tꜣ*
        SEQ draughtsman Paser (…) and draughtsman H PGEN ART:F.SG
        ḥw.t   *n*   *sty* *ꜥws* (*ḥr*) *iy*   *n=i*
        temple-F   PGEN   Seti lph [SEQ] come:INF to=1SG
        "The draughtsman Paser (...) and the draughtsman H. of the temple of Seti, lph,
        came to me"   (P. BM EA 10403, rᵒ 1,27)
                                                        Ramses XI – Letter

The low frequency of this construction can be related to a marked tendency in Ancient
Egyptian to avoid large nominal groups in the subject slot, especially in analytical
patterns where there is an operator like *iw*, *mtw* or *wn.in*/*ꜥḥꜥ.n* that would then be
removed too far left from the verb. As a result, Egyptian gradually developed a stra-
tegy using in the subject slot a personal pronoun, which is peripherally expanded by a
noun phrase (fronted thematised NP or post-posed AdvP introduced by *m*).[28]

3.1.3 The patterns of the type (Aux) – A′₁ – V – *ḥnꜥ*/*irm* A′₂

In this group, A′₁ and A′₂ are separated by the verb, while A′₂ is introduced by a
preposition (*ḥnꜥ* or *irm*). This group, which is the largest one (217/234 exx.), can be
subdivided in three categories:

   –   There is no other phrasal constituent: (Aux) – A′₁ – V – A′₂
   –   There is another phrasal constituent after A′₂: (Aux) – A′₁ – V – A′₂ – NP/AdvP
   –   There is another phrasal constituent before A′₂: (Aux) – A′₁ – V – NP/AdvP – A′₂

3.1.3.1 The pattern (Aux) – A′₁ – V – *ḥnꜥ*/*irm* A′₂

This pattern is ambiguous, but some criteria might help deciding between COOR-
DINATION and COMITATIVE (see below):

Ex. 38 *iw=i*   (*ḥr*) *šm*   *irm p3*   *ḥry-mꜣꜥy*   *n*   *pꜣ*   *ḥr*
        SEQ=1SG [SEQ] go:INF with ART:M.SG chief_of_Madjoy PGEN the Tomb
        "I went with the chief of the Madjoy of the Tomb"   (O. Firenze 2621, vᵒ 5)
                                                        Ramses III – Judicial matters

Ex. 39 *in bn twk*   *m* *nꜥy*   *irm*   *nꜣ*   *ḥbs.w*
        Q NEG PRS-2SG.M PRS go:INF with ART:PL clothe-M.PL
        "Are not you going with the clothes?"   (P. BM EA 10375, 26)
                                                        Ramses XI – Letter

Ex. 40 *mtw=i*   *ꜥḥꜥ*   *irm=k*
        CONJ=1SG stand:INF   with=2SG.M
        "And I shall stay with you"   (P. Turin 1977, 3)
                                                        XIXth dyn. – Letter

Ex. 41 *sḏm=i*   *r-ḏd* *ist-mnš ꜣny* (...) *mwt*   *ḥnꜥ* *nꜣy=f* *ḥrd.w*
        hear:PST=1SG COMP sailor Any (…) die:RES-3SG.M and his   child-M.PL
        "I heard that the sailor Any (...) and his children were dead"
                                                        (P. Anastasi VIII, 1,6-8)
                                                        Ramses II – Miscellanies, letter

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28 See Winand (forthcoming b).

This pattern is also found with non-verbal predicates:

Ex. 42   *p3*   *ḥḏ*   *<n>*   *t3*   *ˁḳ* *(m)-di≥i* *ḥnˁ* *p3y≥i*
            ART:M.SG money [PGEN] ART:F.SG boat with=1SG and POSS:M.SG=1SG
            ḥḏ   *n*   *bd.t*
            money for emmer
            "The money of the boat belongs to me and my money for the emmer as well"
                                          (P. Brooklyn 37.1799E, 5)
                                   XXVIth dyn. – Letter to the dead[29]

3.1.3.2 The pattern (Aux) – A′$_1$ – V – *ḥnˁ/irm* A′$_2$ – NP/AdvP

In this pattern, A′$_2$ is introduced by a preposition (*ḥnˁ* or *irm*); A′$_1$ and A′$_2$ are separated by the verb; there is another NP (or AdvP) after A′$_2$. This pattern is not attested in the corpus.

3.1.3.3 The pattern (Aux) – A′$_1$ – V – NP/AdvP – *ḥnˁ/irm* A′$_2$

When A′$_1$ and A′$_2$ are separated by the verb, while A′$_2$ is introduced by a preposition (*ḥnˁ* or *irm*), and another NP (or AdvP) stands before A′$_2$, A′$_2$ is probably to be analyzed as a COMITATIVE:

Ex. 43   *m-ḏr* *wn≥s*   *w3w3* *n3*   *md.t*   *irm* *n3*   *ḥm.wt*
            since to_be:SBJV=3SG.F plot:INF ART:PL word-M.PL with ART:PL woman-F.PL
            "As she was plotting with the women"   (P. Turin 1875, 5,7)
                                      Ramses IV – Judicial matters

Ex. 44   *wn≥i*   *sḫn.t(w)*   *ḥr* *b3k*   *r-ḫt*   A
            to_be:PST=1SG commit:RES-1SG on work:INF under_the_authority.of   A
            i.wn   *m* *ḥm-nṯr* *tpy* *(...)* *irm* *n3*   *ktḫ*   *iry.w*
            to_be:PTCP in priest first (…) with ART:PL others accomplice-M.PL
            ḫrty-nṯr   *i.wn*   *irm≥i*
            stonemason-M.PL to_be:PTCP with=1SG
            "I was committed to work under the authority of A who was then HPA (...) together the other accomplices, the stonemasons who were with me"
                                (P. Léopold II-Amherst, 1,14)
                                   Ramses IX – Tomb Robberies

Ex. 45   *p3-wn*   *tw.n*   *dy*   *ḥt3*   *m-mn.t*   *ḥnˁ*
            because PRS-1PL here   wore_out:RES-1PL daily   with
            n3y.n   *rmṯ*   *m-di* *n3*   *nty* *ḥr* *ḥmw*   *wsr.w*
            POSS:PL-1PL man-M.PL and ART:PL REL PRS make:INF oar-M.PL
            "For we are here, worn out daily with our men and those who make oars"
                                    (P. Anastasi VI, 39-40)
                                  Seti II – Miscellanies, Letter

Ex. 46   *wn≥w*   *w3ḥ*   *m* *p3*   *ˁrk*   *irm* *n3*   *ḥnw*
             to_be:RES-3PL lay:RES-3PL in ART:M.SG basket with ART:PL vessel-M.PL
            n   *sš*
            PGEN alabaster
            "There were laid in the basket with the alabaster vessels"
                                (P. BM EA 10052, v° 14,3)
                                  Ramses XI – Tomb Robberies

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29 See also O. DeM 581, 9: *nn wn rm.w m-di≥i ḥnˁ smw* "I have no fish nor vegetables".

3.2 Group II: V – A′ (– A″ – PrepP)

3.2.1 The pattern V – A′₁ A′₂

In the corpus considered here, there is only one example where A′₁ and A′₂ immediately follow each other in asyndeton; this is a bit particular, as it is a case of multiple NP coordination showing the pattern A B ḥnꜥ C:

Ex. 47 (date) *hrw*   *pn*   *iy*   *ir.n*   *wdpw* A   *sš*   B   *ḥnꜥ*
         (date) day   DEM:M.SG come:INF do:REL.PST butler A   scribe B   and
         ṯꜣty   C *r* *sḫ.t*
         vizier   C to field-F.PL
         "(date), on this day, the butler A, the scribe B and the vizier C went to the fields"
                                                                    (O. CGC 25504, rᵒ II,9)
                                                              Merenptah – *Journal de la Tombe*

3.2.2 The pattern V – A′₁ ḥnꜥ/irm A′₂

As already observed in a similar case (3.1.3.1. above), when A′₁ and A′₂ immediately follow each other, A′₂ being introduced by a preposition, some ambiguity might arise, but some criteria help deciding between COORDINATION and COMITATIVE (see below):

COORDINATION

Ex. 48 *pꜣ*   *btꜣ*   *ꜥꜣ*   *ir.n*   *pꜣy≈i*   *mšꜥ*   *ḥnꜥ*
        ART:M.SG fault great   do:REL.PST POSS:M.SG=1SG army   and
        tꜣy≈i   *tn.t-ḥtr*   *ꜥꜣy* *r* *ḏd≈f*
        POSS:F.SG=1SG chariotry-F   big   to say:INF=3SG.M
        "The great fault that my army and my chariotry made is too big to say"
                                                      (*Qadech*, § 192 = P. Raifé-Sallier III)
                                                             Ramses II – Poem of Qadech

Ex. 49 *mtw≈k*   *di.t*   *in.tw*   *nꜣ*   *smd.t*   *n*
        CONJ=2SG.M CAUS:INF   bring:SBJV-PASS ART:PL collar-F.PL PGEN
        tḥn.t   *i.ḥꜣb<≈i>*   *n≈k*   *ḥr≈w*   *ḥnꜥ* *nꜣ*
        faience write:REL.PST-[1SG] to=2SG.M about=3PL   and ART:PL
        dbḥ.t   *n*   *ḥrs.t*
        requisite-F.PL PGEN cornelian(?)
        "And you will have the collars of faience I wrote you about be brought and the requisites of cornelian (?)"   (P. Bologne 1094, 2,2)
                                                       Merenptah – Miscellanies, Letter

Ex. 50 *r* *tꜣ*   *s.t*   *hrp*   *i.ir*   *ḥr*   *ḥnꜥ* *stḫ*
        at ART:F.SG place-F plunge:INF do:REL.PST Horus and Seth
        "At the spot where Horus and Seth had plunged"   (*Horus & Seth*, 8,13)
                                                          Ramses V – Literary, narrative

Ex. 51 *ḥdb*   *pꜣ* *ms*   [*ḥr*]   *irm pꜣ-bꜣki šri i.wn*   *irm≈n*
        kill:PST.PASS the auxiliary [Tomb] and Pabaki son to_be:PTCP with=1PL
        "The auxiliary from the Tomb and Pabaki junior who was with us have been killed"   (P. Mayer B, 8-9)
                                                           Ramses IX – Tomb Robberies

Ex. 52 *wn*   A *ḥnꜥ* *nꜣ*   *rmṯ*   *i.ḏd*   *nꜣ*   *ktḫ*   *itꜣ.w*
        to_be:PST A and ART:PL man-M.PL say:REL.PST ART:PL others thief-M.PL
        pꜣy≈w   *rnrn*
        POSS:M.SG=3PL name-M.PL

"There were A and the men whose the other thieves said the names"

(P. BM EA 10052, 5,12)

Ramses XI – Tomb Robberies

COMITATIVE

Ex. 53 *mtw=k*   *di.t*   *iw.t=f*   *irm*   *p3*   *shs*
CONJ=2SG.M   CAUS:INF   come:SBJV=3SG.M   with   ART:M.SG   courier
3s   *zp*   *sn*
quickly(ADV)   time   2
"And you will make him come with the courier very quickly"

(P. Anastasi IV, 11,7-8)

Merenptah – Miscellanies, Letter

Ex. 54 *dd=f*   *di.t*   *iw.t*   *sr.w*   *hnꜥ=i*
say:PST=3SG.M   CAUS:INF   come:SBJV   official-M.PL   with=1SG
"He said that the officials be let to come with me"   (O. CGC 25504, rᵒ II,9)

Merenptah – *Journal de la Tombe*

3.2.3 The pattern V – A′₁ *hnꜥ/irm* A′₂ – A″

This pattern and the following one contrast as regards the place of the second argument (or of an AdvP). In the first one, the position of the second argument (A″) after A′₂ strongly suggests that A′₂ is a coordinated subject:

Ex. 55 *hr*   *ptr*   *kf*   *wsr-h3.t* *hnꜥ* *p-n-t3-wr.t* *ꜥr*   *hr*   *tbn*
CORD   ATTN   remove:PST   Ouserhat   and   Pentaouret   stone   from top
n   *p3*   *is*
PGEN   ART:M.SG   tomb
"But look W. and P. have removed a stone from the top of the tomb"

(P. Turin 1880, rᵒ 4,5)

Ramses III – Strike Papyrus

Ex. 56 (date) *iry*   *md3y*   I   *hnꜥ* *md3y*   B   *ꜥnh* *n* *nb* *ꜥ,w,s*
(date) do:PST   policeman   I   and   policeman   B   oath   by   lord   lph
"(date) the policeman I. and the policeman B. made an oath by the Lord, lph"

(O. Gardiner 137, rᵒ 1-3)

Ramses V – Oath

3.2.4 The pattern V – A′₁ – A″/AdvP – *hnꜥ/irm* A′₂

This pattern is the mirror case of the preceding section as the phrase *hnꜥ/irm* A′₂ is separated from A′₂ by the second argument or an AdvP. As expected, A′₂ is better understood as a COMITATIVE:

Ex. 57 *di=i*   *in.tw=w*   *m*   *snn*   *n*   *sd*   *r*
CAUS:PST=1SG   bring:SBJV.PASS=3PL   in   document   PGEN   heading   to
p3   *nty*   *p3y=i*   *nb*   *im*   *hnꜥ*   *n3*   *kth*
ART:M.SG   REL   POSS:M.SG=1SG   lord   there   with   ART:PL   others
rn.w   *n*   *hrw.w*   (...)
name-M.PL   PGEN   day-M.PL (…)
"I caused them to be brought in a document with headings to the place where my lord is together with the other names of the days (...)"   (P. Anastasi VI, 58)

Sethi II – Miscellanies, Letter

Ex. 58   *di≠i*   *tw*   *r* *tȝ*   *ꜥ.t-sbȝ* *ḥnꜥ*   *ms.w*   *wr.w*
         give:PST=1SG   2SG.M   to ART:F.SG school   with   child-M.PL noble-M.PL
         r   *sbȝ≠k*
         to   educate:INF=2SG.M
         "I put you at school together with the offspring of the nobles to educate you"
                                                                                (P. Anastasi V, 22,6)
                                                           Seti II – Miscellanies, Educative letter

Ex. 59   *hrw*   *pn*   *spr*   *ir.n*   *ꜥȝ*   *n*   *is.t*   *ḥȝy* *r*
         day   DEM:M.SG   come:INF do:REL.PST chief PGEN gang Hay to
         tȝ   *ḳnb.t*   *ḥnꜥ*   A B C *m-bȝḥ*   *sr.w*   *n*
         ART:F.SG   court-F   with   A B C   in front of   official-M.PL PGEN
         tȝ   *ḳnb.t*
         ART:F.SG   court-F
         "On this day, the chief of the gang Hay came to the court with A B C in front of
         the court officials"   (O. CGC 25556, 1)
                                                                      Seti II – Judicial matters

Ex. 60   *mtw≠k*   *di.t*   *in.tw*   *n≠i*   *nkt*   *n*
         CONJ=2SG.M   CAUS:INF   bring:SBJV.PASS   to=1SG   some PGEN
         dḥr   *m*   *pȝy.k*   *di.t*   *r*   *pȝ*   *mn.t*   *ḥnꜥ*
         hide-M.PL in   POSS:M.SG=2SG.M   give:INF for ART:M.SG jar   with
         nkt   *n*   *ꜥkw*   *m-dr.t*   A
         some PGEN   bread by_the_hand_of A
         "And you will cause that some hides be brought to me when you pay for the jar
         together with some bread by the hand of A"   (O. DeM 322, 5)
                                                                            XIXth dyn. – Letter

There is an apparent exception when A′$_2$ is nominal and the intervening argument or
AdvP is pronominal; in this case, it is the norm in Ancient Egyptian that the
pronominal phrases move as close as possible to the front. In the following example,
one must also take into account the fact that the PrepP introduced by *irm* has itself an
extension (*nty irm≠k*); this meets another syntactic general tendency in Egyptian
according to which longer constituents are moved at the end of the sentence:

Ex. 61   *nȝy≠k*   *sḥn.w*   *i.hȝb*   *n≠k*
         POSS:PL=2SG.M   instruction-M.PL   write:REL.PST   to=2SG.M
         pȝy≠k   *ḥry*   *ḥr≠w*   *irm* *nȝ*   *ḥmtj.w*   *nty*
         POSS:M.SG=2SG.M   superior about=3PL and ART:PL coppersmith-M.PL REL
         irm≠k
         with=2SG.M
         "Your instructions your superior wrote to you about and to the coppersmiths who
         are with you"   (P. Salt 1821/155, v° 2 = *LRL* 19,3-4)
                                                                            XXth dyn. – Letter

4 Discussion

Although there are some patterns where the distinction between COORDINATION and
COMITATIVE cannot be decided on purely syntactic grounds, some patterns clearly
imply coordination:

   – when A′$_1$ and A′$_2$ stand in asyndeton,
   – when A′$_1$ and A′$_2$ are both before the verb, and
   – when A′$_2$ stands after the verb but before A″.

For the other patterns, other criteria can be advocated. In the next sections, the following points will be discussed:

- – difference in the status of the coordinands,
- – difference in the morphology of the coordinands (pronominal *vs.* nominal),
- – anaphoric continuity,
- – the scope of the negation,
- – phraseology,
- – principle of thematic continuity,
- – diachrony.

4.1 Difference in the status of the coordinands

As has already been observed,[30] the two parts of a COORDINATION must have the same status: otherwise the PrepP is best explained as a COMITATIVE or as another semantic role (INSTRUMENTAL or MANNER). There do not seem to be counter-examples to this in Ancient Egyptian.[31] In the following example, the difference of status between *twk* (animate) and *n3 ḥbs.w* (inanimate) leaves no other choice than analysing *jrm n3 ḥbs.w* as a COMITATIVE:

> Ex. 62 *in   bn   twk   m   nᶜy   irm   n3   ḥbs.w*
>   Q   NEG   PRS-2SG.M PRS go:INF with ART:PL clothe-M.PL
>   "Are not you going with the clothes?"   (P. BM EA 10375, 26)
>   Ramses XI – Letter

Another example is:

> Ex. 63 *iw=tw   mḥ   im.w   irm p3   nbw   p3   ḥd   ḥmty*   […]
>   SEQ=3SG.C   take:INF in=3PL with the gold   the silver copper   […]
>   "And one took hold of them with the gold, the silver and copper […]"
>   (P. BM EA 10068, rᵒ 1,8)
>   Ramses IX – Tomb Robberies

4.2 Difference of morphological classes (pronoun vs. noun)

When the coordinands A'₁ and A'₂ immediately follow each other, in asyndeton or with a preposition (*ḥnᶜ* or *irm*), they are always nouns. The following cases do not seem to exist in LEg:

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30 Haspelmath (2004).

31 Coordination of NPs that do not have the same status (zeugma) can happen on purpose to create a comic effect: *Sous le pont Mirabeau coule la Seine/Et nos amours* (under the Mirabeau bridge flows the Seine / and our loves) (Apollinaire). The following example is perhaps to be understood this way: *bsꜣk nꜣỉ irm ḥḳ.t ḥsy.w ᶜpr m ḫᶜ.w* "may you present yourself to me with beer and musicians equipped of instruments" (O. Borchardt 1, rᵒ 2-3). Another case seems to be *is bn twi rḫ.kw n3 ḥy n md3y.w ḥnᶜ n3y≠sn sḥn ḳnw* "do I not know the inspectors of the Medjay and their numerous requirements/orders?" (P. Anastasi V, 26,4).

*A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	Ø	A′$_2$[pers. pron.]	[– V]
*A′$_1$[noun]	Ø	A′$_2$[pers. pron.]	[– V]
*A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	Ø	A′$_2$[noun]	[– V]
*A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	ḥnʕ/irm	A'$_2$[pers. pron.]	– V
*A′$_1$[noun]	ḥnʕ/irm	A′$_2$[pers. pron.]	– V
*A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	ḥnʕ/irm	A′$_2$[noun]	– V

On the other hand, the following patterns are well-formed LEg sentences:

A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	V	ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[pers. pron.]
A′$_1$[noun]	V	ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[pers. pron.]
A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	V	ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[noun]
V	A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[pers. pron.]
V	A′$_1$[noun]	ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[pers. pron.]
V	A′$_1$[pers. pron.]	ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[noun]

The consequence of this is that

   A′$_1$[noun]   V   ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[pers. pron.]

does not necessarily have the same value as

   A′$_1$[noun]   V   ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[noun]

because, in the latter case, there are other options that are not available when pronouns are used.
The pattern

   A′$_1$[noun]   V   ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[pers. pron.]

is attested only once in the corpus, in a clear case of COMITATIVE, as evidenced by the presence of the second argument before the *irm*-headed PrepP:

   Ex. 64   *wn.in*   *t3*   *s.t-ḥm.t iy.t*   *r km.t irm⸗s*
            CJVB:CNSV   ART:F.SG   woman   come:INF   to Egypt with=3SG.F
            "and the woman came to Egypt with her"   (*Two Brothers*, 12,2)
                                                                Seti II – Litterary, Narrative

In the corpus, the patterns

   A′$_1$[pers. pron.]   V   ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[noun]
   A′$_1$[pers. pron.]   V   ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$[pers. pron.]

are exceedingly common. As will be clear below, ḥnʕ/irm A′$_2$ [noun] can express COORDINATION or COMITATIVE.

4.3 Anaphoric Continuity

Very often, there is a thematic continuity between the sentence under consideration and the next one. Two cases must be considered:

a) If A$_{1[sing]}$ and A$_{2[sing]}$ are anaphorically resumed by a plural pronoun, A$_2$ is most often best understood as a coordinated NP:

Ex. 65 *iw꞊t*   *di.t*   *grḥ.tw*   *m*   *t3y*   *m3s.t*   *ḥn`*
SEQ=2SG.F CAUS:INF finish:SBJV.PASS in dem.F.SG cupboard-F and
p3y   *ẖ`ti šri*
DEM:M.SG   bed small
wnn A (*ḥr*) *iy* *iw꞊t*   (*ḥr*) *di.t*   *in.tw꞊w*
when A [PRS] come:INF SEQ=2SG.F [SEQ] CAUS:INF bring:SBJV.PASS=3PL
"... You shall cause this cupboard and this small bed to be finished up. When A
will come, you shall let them be brought"   (P. DeM 18, r° 8-v° 1)
Ramses IX – Letter

When the verb is between A₁ and A₂, A₂ has most often a coordinating value except if
there is an intervening NP between the verb and A₂:

Ex. 66 *iw* A (*ḥr*)   *pr*   *ḥn`* *n3y꞊f*   *rmṯ*
SEQ A [SEQ] go out:INF and POSS:PL=3SG.M man-M.PL
iw꞊sn   *ḥr* *ḏd*
SEQ=3PL   SEQ say:INF
"A and his men went out and they said"   (O. Caire CG 25556, 4)
Sethi II – *Journal de la Tombe*

Ex. 67 *iw*   *p3y*   *ms-ẖr*   *ḏd*   *irm p3*   *wh`*
SEQ DEM:M.SG young worker say:INF and ART:M.SG fisherman
(discourse) *in꞊w*
(discourse) say:PST=3PL
iw꞊i   *tnf*   *n3*   *ip.wt*   *iw꞊i*   *ḏd*   *n꞊w*
SEQ=1SG check:INF ART:PL oipe-F.PL SEQ=1SG say:INF to=3PL
"This young worker and the fisherman said: (discourse), and I checked the oipe,
and I said to them"   (P. Geneva D 191, 10-11)
Ramses XI - Letter

In some cases, slight variations in the position of the NP following the verb can be
observed, which suggests that this criterion is not as straightforward as one can hope
for:

Ex. 68 *iẖ*   *p3*   *sẖr*   *n*   *šm*   *i.ir꞊k*   *irm*   *n3*
Q   ART:M.SG manner PGEN go:INF do:REL.PST=2SG.M with ART:PL
rmṯ.w   *i.wn*   *irm꞊k*
man-M.PL to_be:PTCP with=2SG.M
iw꞊tn   *ir.t* *h3w*   *m*   *n3*   *pr-n-st3*
SBRD=2PL do:INF business in   ART:PL portable_shrine-M.PL
"How did you manage to make business in this portable shrine together with
your accomplices, when you did some business in the portable shrines?"
(P. Mayer A, r ° 1,9-10)
Ramses XI – Tomb Robberies

Ex. 69 *i.ḏd*   *n꞊i*   *p3*   *sẖr*   *n*   *šm*   *i.ir꞊tn*   *irm*
say:IMP to=1SG ART:M.SG manner PGEN go:INF do:REL.PST=2PL and
n3   *iry.w*   *twt* *r* *pḥ*   *n3*   *s.wt*   *`3y.t*
ART:PL   accomplice-M.PL 2SG to reach:INF ART:PL place-F.PL great-F.PL
iw꞊tn   *in*   *p3y*   *ḥḏ*   *im*   *r-bnr*
SBRD=2PL bring:INF DEM:M.SG silver there   outside
"Tell me how you and these accomplices of yours managed to reach those great
places?"   (P. BM EA 10052, r° 5,5-7)
Ramses XI – Tomb Robberies

Ex. 70 *iw=i*   *ir.t*   *w* *irm*   A B C D E
        SEQ=1SG   do:IN   one with A B C D E
        iw=n   *šm*   *r*   Y (…)
        SEQ=1PL   go:INF   to Y (…)
        "I worked in unison with A B C D, and we went to Y"

<div align="right">(P. Léopold II-Amherst, 1,16)[32]
Ramses IX – Tomb Robberies</div>

The way NPs are resumed further in text is also critical in other syntactic slots, as shown in the following example where the personal pronoun in the second sentence refers to the undisputedly coordinated direct objects in the first one:

Ex. 71 *iw=f*   *ȝtp*   *tȝ*   *pipi.t* *pȝ*   *tp*   *n*   *tȝ*
        SEQ=3SG.M load:INF ART:F.SG keel ART:M.SG head PGEN ART:F.SG
        ḥȝ.t   *pȝ*   *tp*   *n*   *pȝ*   *pḥ.wy* *irm* *ky*   4 *ḫt*
        beginning ART:M.SG head PGEN ART:M.SG end   and other 4 wood
        mdḥ.w   *dmḏ* 7
        cut:RES-3SG.M total 7
        iw=f   *di.t*   *in.tw=w*   *r*   *km.t*
        SEQ=3SG.M CAUS:INF bring:SBJV.PASS=3PL to Egypt
        "And he loaded the keel, the prow, the stern and four other pieces of wood (total 7), and he shipped them to Egypt"   *(Wenamun*, 2,37)

<div align="right">XXIst dyn. – Literary, Narrative</div>

Other examples where the same effect can be observed are:

Ex. 72 *sdm=i*   *pȝ*   *hȝb*   *ir.n*   *pȝy=i*   *nb*
        hear:PST=1SG   ART:M.SG write:INF do:REL.PST POSS:M.SG=1SG lord
        r-ḏd *imy*   *diw*   *n*   *nȝ*   *rmt-mšˁ*   *ḥnˁ* *nȝ*   *ˁpr.w* (...)
        QUOT give:IMP food to ART:PL soldier-M.PL and   ART:PL Apirou (…)
        iw=i   *ḥr* *di.t*   *<n>=sn* *pȝy=sn*   *diw*   *ṯnw* *n*   *ibd*
        SEQ=1SG   SEQ give:INF [to]=3PL POSS:M.SG=3PL food every PGEN month
        "I have taken note of what my lord told me, saying 'give some food to the soldiers and the Apirou (...)', I thus gave them their food every month"

<div align="right">(P. Leiden 348, v^o 6,5-6)
Ramses II – Letter</div>

Ex. 73 *iw* A (*ḥr*) *pš=f*   *n=f*   *irm* *nȝy=f*
        SEQ A [SEQ] divide:INF=3SG.M to=3SG.M and POSS:PL=3SG.M
        iry.w   *iw=w*   (*ḥr*) *di.t*   *n=i*   *nbw* *ḳd.t* 3
        accomplice-M.PL SEQ=3PL [SEQ] give:INF to=1SG gold kite 3
        "Then, A divided it for himself and his accomplices, and they gave me 3 kites of gold"   (P. BM EA 10054, r^o 3,9)

<div align="right">Ramses IX – Tomb Robberies[33]</div>

b) A_1 is referred to in the following sentence, but A_2 is not. In this case, A_2 is best explained as a COMITATIVE:

Ex. 74 *wn.in*   *pȝ*   *ḥrd* *ḥr* *iy.t*   *r*   *pwy.t*   *ḥnˁ* *nȝ*
        CJVB:CNSV ART:M.SG boy SEQ come:INF to jump:INF with ART:PL
        ḥrd.w   *<n>* *nȝ*   *wr.w*
        child-M.PL   [PGEN] ART:PL prince-M.PL

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32 For the expression *iri wˁ irm* A, see below §4.5.

33 See also *Horus and Seth* 4,3: *iw=f ḥr ḏd n ḥr ḥnˁ stḫ: 'i.ḏd r=tn'* "and he said to Horus and Seth: 'Speak out!' ".

iw=f   *ḥr*   *pwy.t*
SEQ=3SG.M SEQ jump:INF
"Then the boy went to jump with the children of the princes, and he jumped (...)"
                                                        (*Doomed Prince*, 6,5)
                                              XIXth dyn. – Literary, Narrative

Ex. 75   *di=i*   *tw*   *r*   *t3*   *ʿ.t-sb3* *ḥnʿ*   *ms.w*   *wr.w*
         give:PST=1SG 2SG.M to   ART:F.SG school with child-M.PL noble-M.PL
         r   *sb3=k*   (…)
         to educate:INF=2SG.M (…)
         ptr   *twi*   *ḥr*   *dd*   *n=k*   *p3*   *sḫr*   *n*   *sš*
         ATTN PRS-1SG PRS say:INF to=2SG.M ART:M.SG condition PGEN scribe
         "I put you at school together with the offspring of the nobles to educate you (...)
         look, I tell you the condition of the scribe"   (P. Anastasi V, 22,6)
                                                        Seti II – Miscellanies

The following example is different because *ḥnʿ* X is part of the argument structure of
dd in the phraseological expression "to argue against X" (see 3.3.5):

Ex. 76   (date) *hrw pn*   *dd*   *ir.n*   A *ḥnʿ* B *m-b3ḥ*   *sš*
         (date)   day DEM:M.SG say:INF do:REL.PST A and B before   scribe
         n   *tm3* C
         PGEN mat C
         iw=tw   *ḥr*   *swd*   *n=f*   *p3*   *ʿ3*   *bin*
         SEQ=3SG.C SEQ give:INF to=3SG.M ART:M.SG ass bad
         "(date) on this day A disputed against B before the scribe of the mat C. One gave
         him the bad ass"   (O. DeM 73, r° 1-3)
                                                        Ramses III – Judicial matters

4.4 Negation

As a general remark, one should note that in some languages (as in French or
English), the form of the coordinator can be directly affected by the presence of a
negation (Fr. *ni*, Engl. *nor, neither*, etc.).[34] This is not the case in Egyptian, where,
broadly speaking, the negative system does not seem to affect the type of coordi-
nands: there is no alternation of the type *quelque chose vs. rien* or *quelqu'un vs. ne …
personne*.

Two cases should be here considered: The scope of the negation can fall either on
A_1 and A_2 or on A_1 alone.

a) The scope of the negation falls on A_1 and A_2. In this case, A_2 is best explained as
the second coordinand:

Ex. 77   *iw*   *bw*   *rḫ*   *n3*   *imy.w-r*   *ḫ3s.wt*   *ḥnʿ*
         SBRD NEG know:PST ART:PL director-M.PL foreign_country-M.PL and
         n3   *wr.w*   (...) *dd*   *n=sn*
         ART:PL chief-M.PL (…) say:INF to=3PL
         "While the directors of the foreign countries and the chiefs (...) were unable to
         say to them (...)"   (Qadech, Bulletin, § 65 I)
                                                        Ramses II – Royal Inscription

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34 See Haspelmath (2004).

Ex. 78   *m-dy*   *ꜥḥꜥ=w*   *m ꜥḥꜥ*   *nb ḥnꜥ* PN
         PROH:CAUS stand:SBJV=3PL   in stand-by all and PN
         "And do not let them stand in any stand-by, and PN as well"
                                                    (P. Berlin 10494, vᵒ 1)
                                                    Ramses XI – Letter

Ex. 79   *mtw=k*   *tm   di.t*   *iꜣd*   *ḥm.t-šri*   *m nkt*
         CONJ=2SG.M NEG CAUS:INF be_in_need:SBJV Hemetsheri in anything
         ḥnꜥ A nꜣy.s   *ꜥdd   šri*
         and A POSS:PL=3SG.F child-M.PL small-M.PL
         "And you won't let Hemetsheri be in need of anything nor A her small children"
                                                    (P. Leiden I 370, vᵒ 11)
                                                    Ramses XI – Letter

Ex. 80   *is bn   twi*   *rḫ.kw*   *nꜣ*   *ḥy*   *n*
         Q   NEG PRS-1SG know:RES-1SG ART:PL inspector-M.PL PGEN
         mdꜣy.w   *ḥnꜥ*   *nꜣy.sn*   *shn*   *knw*
         medjay-M.PL and   POSS:PL=3PL requirement-M.PL numerous-M.PL
         "Do I not know the inspectors of the Medjay nor their numerous requirements/
         orders?"   (P. Anastasi V, 26,4)
                                                    Seti II – Miscellanies

Ex. 81   *iw*   *<mn> bꜣy*   *mḥ.t*   *ḥnꜥ*   *ṯbw*
         SBRD [NEG] bꜣy-vessel mḥ.t-vessel and   ṯbw-vessel
         "But there are no *bꜣy*-vessel, no *mḥ.t*-vessel, and no *ṯbw*-vessel"
                                                    (P. Berlin 10496, rᵒ 14)
                                                    Ramses III – Judicial matters

b) The scope of the negation falls A₁ alone. In this case, A₂ is best explained as a
COMITATIVE:

Ex. 82   *iw*   *bwpw nꜣy=f*   *sn.w*   *ir*   *irm=f*
         SBRD NEG   POSS:PL=3SG.M brother-M.PL do:INF with=3SG.M
         "But his brothers have not done (anything) with him"   (O. Petrie 16, vᵒ 2)
                                                    XXᵗʰ dyn. – Judicial matters

Ex. 83   *ḫr*   *iw*   *bwpw=w*   *krs*   *irm*   *pꜣy=i*   *it*
         CORD SBRD NEG=3PL   bury:INF   with   POSS:M.SG=1SG father
         "although they did not make the burial with my father"   (P. Boulaq X, rᵒ 9)
                                                    Ramses III – Judicial matters

Ex. 84   *iw*   *bwpw=f*   *kd*   *im=f*   *irm=i*
         SBRD NEG=3SG.M build:INF   in=3SG.M with=1SG
         "But he had not built in it with me"   (O. BM EA 5625, rᵒ 8)
                                                    Ramses V – Oracular procedure

Ex. 85   *iw*   *bwpw=w šm*   *r*   *tꜣy*   *s.t*   *irm={f}n*
         SBRD NEG=3PL go:INF to   DEM:F.SG place-F with={3SG.M}1PL
         "But they did not go to this place with us"   (P. BM EA 10052, rᵒ 5,19)
                                                    XXᵗʰ dyn. – Tomb Robberies

4.5 Argument structure and phraseology

The PrepP introduced by *ḥnꜥ* or *irm* is part of the argument structure of the verb. In
such cases, the preposition is not a coordinator. The most frequent expressions found
in our corpus are listed below. Some have already a long history at the beginning of

the XIXth dynasty; they are first attested with *ḥnꜥ*, before shifting to *irm* during the XXth dynasty:[35]

- – *iri wꜥ irm* "to act together with",
- – *ꜥḥꜣ ḥnꜥ/irm* "to fight against",
- – *wpi ḥnꜥ/irm* "to judge between",
- – *mdw ḥnꜥ/irm* "to discuss with, to have an argument with",
- – *sḏm irm* "to hear a deposition against",
- – *ṯtṯt ḥnꜥ/irm* "to quarrel with".

4.6 Principle of Thematic Continuity

In the flow of discourse or narration, a thematic subject tends to remain unchanged, which means that if a new actor is introduced, it will be preferably treated rather like a COMITATIVE than a coordinated subject. Thus, the following discursive or narrative chain (if the referent of A_1 is identical)

A_1	V
A_1	V
A_1	V – WITH A_2
A_1	V

is more natural – at least more frequently found – than

A_1	V
A_1	V
A_1 AND A_2	V
A_1	V

The following examples are illustrations of this phenomenon I have proposed elsewhere to call the Principle of Thematic Continuity (PTC):[36]

Ex. 86   *wnn tꜣy=i   šꜥ.t   ḥr   spr   <r>=k*
when POSS:F.SG=1SG letter PRS reach:INF <to>=2SG.M
iw=k   ḥr   šm.t   irm   A
SEQ=2SG.M SEQ go:INF with A
mtw=k   smi   n   tꜣty   ḥr   pꜣ   ḥḏ   ꜥšꜣ   (…)
CONJ=2SG.M make_report:INF to vizier about the silver numerous (…)
"As soon as my letter reaches you, you'll go with A, and you make a report to the vizier about the excessive amount of silver (...)"   (P. Bologna 1094, 6,3)
Merenptah – Letter

Ex. 87   *iw<=i>   (ḥr)   ptr   nꜣ   s.wt*
SEQ=[1SG] [SEQ] inspect:INF ART:PL place-F.PL
iw=i   (ḥr)   šm   irm pꜣ   ḥry-mḏꜣy.w   n   pꜣ   ḥr
SEQ=1SG [SEQ] go:INF with ART:M.SG chief_of_Madjoy PGEN the Tomb
iw=i   ḥr   di.t   hꜣy   ḥry-mḏꜣy.w   A   r   pꜣ   ꜥḥ-ḥw.t
SEQ=1SG SEQ CAUS:INF descend:SBJV chief_of_Madjoy A to the shaft-F
"I inspected the tombs, and I went with the chief of the Madjoy of the Tomb, and I caused the chief of the Madjoy A to descend in the shaft"
(O. Florence 2621, v° 5-7)
Ramses III – Judicial matters

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35   Some of these verbs will later replace *ḥnꜥ/irm* by *m-di* (cf. above, fn. 14).
36   Cf. Winand (2012).

Ex. 88   *wnn   t3y=i   š⁽.t   spr   r=k*
         when POSS:F.SG=1SG letter reach:INF to=2SG.M
         iw=k   ir.t   w⁽   irm   A
         SEQ=2SG.M   do:INF one with   A
         mtw=k   ptr   n3   b3k.w ...
         CONJ=2SG.M   have a look:INF   ART:PL servant-M.PL
         "As soon as my letter reaches you, you'll work closely together with A, and you
         will have a look at the servants wherever they are"   (P. Louvre E 25361, r⁰ 4-6)
                                                                 XXIst dyn. – Letter

4.7 Diachrony

From the second half of the XXth dynasty onwards, *ḥn⁽* is better understood as a
coordinator when it stands in opposition to *irm* (see below).

4.8 Conclusion

The table below lists the points that have been discussed in the preceding sections.
Although some patterns are clearly diagnostic of a COORDINATION or a COMITATIVE
respectively, some configurations (like the last two shaded ones) are difficult to call
and remain indecisive.

	Coordination	Comitative
A₁ A₂ – V	✔	
A₁ *ḥn⁽/irm* A₂ – V	✔	
A₁ – V *ḥn⁽/irm* A₂ – NP	✔	
A₁ – V – NP – *ḥn⁽/irm* A₂		✔
Difference in status		✔
PTC	A₁	
Negation	Scope on A₁ and A₂	Scope on A₁
Diachrony	*ḥn⁽* (from mid-XXth dyn.)	
A₂ is part of frozen phraseology		✔
Anaphoric Continuity	✔	

From a typological perspective, some conclusions can be drawn:

– As regards coordination of NPs, Late Egyptian clearly belongs to the group of
  WITH-languages[37], but one should also note that in later Egyptian (Coptic) there
  will be a new typological shift to verb-based coordination.
– Egyptian displays a strong tendency to avoid multiple NPs in the subject slot.
  This trend manifests istelf, among others, in the segmentation of complex
  sentences (with multiple subject or multiple predicate) into small sentences:[38]

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37 See Stassen (2008: 1106-1110).
38 This would of course justify a study of its own.

Ex. 89   *m-mitt   twi   m-šsr   p3   t3   <n>   pr-ʿ3*
         furthermore PRS-1SG excellently   ART:M.SG land [PGEN] Pharaoh
         ʿws [m]-šsr
         lph   excellently
         "Furthermore, I am in good condition, the land of Pharaoh, lph, is in good
         condition"   (P. Anastasi V, 13,1)
                                                    Merenptah – Miscellanies

Ex. 90   *4 isw.t   iw=w   k3   sp   2*
         4   plank-F.PL SBRD=3PL be long:RES-3PL   time   2
         iw.w   nfr   zp   2 iw=w   wsḫ
         SBRD=3PL be good:RES-3PL time   2   SBRD=3PL be large:RES-3PL
         "4 planks, being very long, very good and very large"   (P. Anastasi IV, 8,4-5)
                                                    Merenptah – Miscellanies

–   From a more general perspective, there is an evolution in Later Egyptian (Late
    Egyptian, Demotic, Coptic) to avoid nominal subject in (Aux) – S – V patterns in
    favour of a pronominal subject whose lexical referent is expressed outside the
    predicative core. This will eventually lead to something close to what is known as
    clitic doubling in general literature.[39]

5 *irm* and *ḥnʿ*

The last issue to be discussed is the relation between the two prepositions *ḥnʿ* and *irm*.
In our corpus, there are 144 examples of *ḥnʿ* and 141 examples of *irm* that are relevant
for the discussion (see figures). In the first figure, the piles represent the relative part
of *ḥnʿ* in the distribution; the numbers at the bottom are the combined sum of *ḥnʿ* and
irm for the period considered. Thus, the first pile (end of the 18th dyn.) reads as
follows: there are 7 tokens, all of them (100%) involving *ḥnʿ*. One should also note
that the figures take into account the chronology: the width of the piles varies
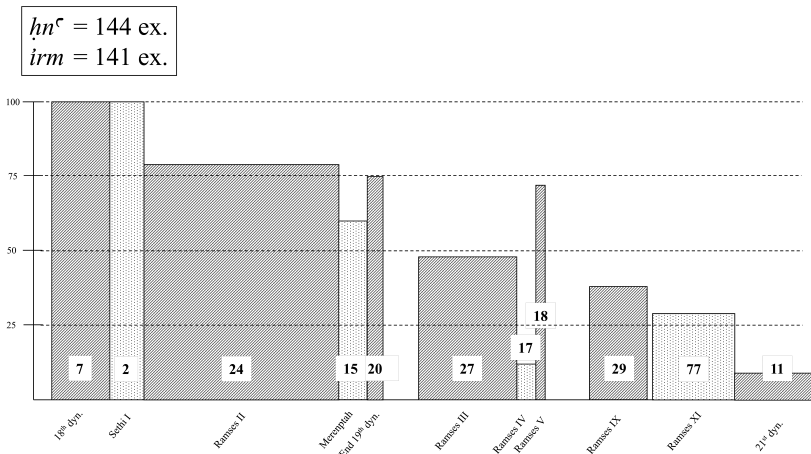according to the duration of the reigns.

Fig. 1. The distribution of *ḥnʿ* vs. *irm* over the New Kingdom and the XXIst dyn.

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39   Cf. Winand (forthcoming b).

The second figure presents the same data in another way to show the contrastive evolution of the two prepositions. As expected, one can observe a regular decline in the use of *ḥnꜥ* during the New Kingdom: from 100 % in the XVIIIth, it falls to 8 % in the XXIst dynasty.
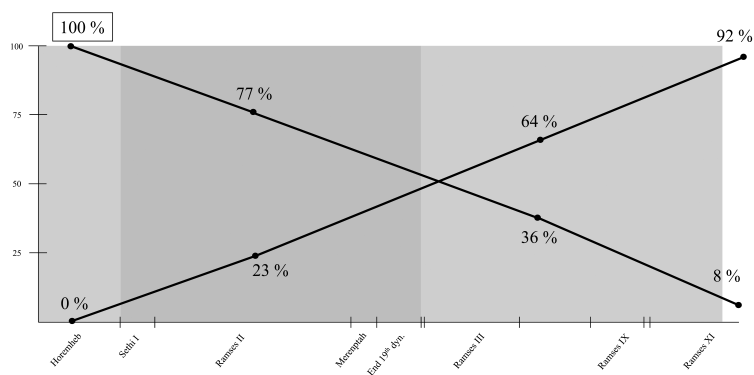

Fig. 2. The contrasted evolution of *ḥnꜥ* and *irm* during the New Kingdom and the XXIst dyn.

From the first figure, one can see that although the respective evolution of *ḥnꜥ* and *irm* is quite regular, there are some interrupting peaks; their presence can be explained for good reasons:

- during the reign of Ramses V, *ḥnꜥ* rises again up to 72 %: out of 18 tokens, 10 come from a literary piece of work, namely the tale of *Horus and Seth*, where *ḥnꜥ* is attested 10 times;
- during the reign of Ramses II, there is a first significative presence of *irm*: it is probably not a coincidence that out of 7 cases, 5 come from the Hittite treaty, that is from a text which is a translation from Akkadian and thus is more open – to a certain extant – to some linguistic innovations.

The process of substitution of *irm* for *ḥnꜥ* can be substantiated by studying the argument structure in some phraseological expressions, for in such cases, there are obviously no possible difference of meaning between the two prepositions:

Ex. 91   *mtw=k*   *pš=w*   *ꜥk3*   *sp*   *sn*   *ḥnꜥ*   *t3-md3t*   A
          CONJ=2SG.M   divide:INF=3PL   exactly   time   2   with   sculptor   A
          "And divide them exactly with the sculptor A"   (O. DeM 10097, rº 3-vº 1)
                                                                       Ramses II - Declaration

Ex. 92   *iw=i*   *r*   *pš=f*   *irm=k*
          FUT=1SG   FUT   divide:INF=3SG.M   with=2SG.M
          "I shall divide it with you"   (O. Geneva 12550, rº 6)
                                                     Ramses III – Judicial matters

Ex. 93   *mdw*   *ḥnꜥ*   *wḥmw*   A
          speak:IMP   with   herald   A
          "Speak with the herald A"   (P. DeB 2, 3)
                                                     XVIIIth dyn. – Letter

Ex. 94   *m-ir*   *mdw*   *irm*   *rmt*   *n-ꜥd3*
          VET   speak:INF   with   people-M.PL   wrongly
          "Do not speak with people wrongly"   (P. BM EA 10474, 13,15)
                                         XX-XXIth dyn. – Literature, Wisdom text

Ex. 95　*iw=f*　　　*ḥr sḏr*　　*ḥnꜥ*　*tꜣy=f*　　　　*ḥm.t*　*m p3*　　*grḥ*
　　　　SEQ=3SG.M SEQ sleep:INF with POSS:F.SG=3SG.M wife-F in ART:M.SG night
　　　　"And he went to sleep with his wife during the night"　(*Doomed Prince*, vᵒ 4,2)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Early XIXᵗʰ dyn – Literary, Narrative

Ex. 96　*iw=f*　　　*ḥr sḏr*　　　*irm=s*　　*m p3*　　*grḥ*
　　　　SEQ=3SG.M SEQ sleep:INF with=3SG.F in ART:M.SG night
　　　　"And he went to sleep with her during the night"　(*Truth and Falsehood*, rᵒ 4,4)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Late XIXᵗʰ dyn. – Literary, Narrative

Ex. 97　*p3-wn*　　*twi*　　*ḥr*　*t(t)t(t)*　　*ḥnꜥ*　A
　　　　because PRS-1SG PRS quarrel:INF with A
　　　　"Because I am quarrelling with A"　　　　　(O. Prague 1826, 3)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　XIXᵗʰ dyn. – Declaration

Ex. 98　[*m*] *dy*　　*iry=i*　　　*ttt*　　*irm=k*
　　　　PROH:CAUS do:SBJV=1SG quarrell:INF with=2SG.M
　　　　"Do not make me quarrel with you"　　　　(P. Mallet VI,11)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Ramses IV – Judicial matters

Ex. 99　*wnn p3*　　　*itn*　*ḥr*　*wbn*　　*iw=i*　　*ḥr*　*wp.t*
　　　　when ART:M.SG sun PRS rise:INF SEQ=1SG SEQ intend_an_action:INF
　　　　ḥnꜥ=k　　　*m-b3ḥ=f*
　　　　with=2SG.M before=3SG.M
　　　　"As soon as the Sun rises, I shall intend an action against you before him"
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*Two Brothers*, 7,1)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Seti II – Literary, Narrative

Ex. 100　*wp=i*　　　　　　　*irm rmṯ-is.t*　　　　A
　　　　intend_an_action:SBJV=1SG with member_of_the_crew A
　　　　"I shall intend an action against the member of the crew A"　(O. Petrie 21, rᵒ 3)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Ramses III – Oracular procedure

Ex. 101　*iw=f*　　　*ḥms*　　　　　*ḥnꜥ*　*tꜣy=f*　　　　*ḥm.t*
　　　　SBRD=3SG.M be sitting:RES-3SG.M with POSS:F.SG=3SG.M wife-F
　　　　"When he was sitting with his wife"　　　　(*Two Brothers*, 1,6)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Seti II – Literary, Narrative

Ex. 102　*iw=i*　　*dy*　　　*ḥms.tw*　　*wꜥ.kw*　　　*irm*　{*irm*}
　　　　SBRD=1SG here stay:RES-1SG be_alone:RES-1SG with {with}
　　　　sš-mšꜥ　　　*p-n-t3-ḥw.t-nḥt*
　　　　army_scribe Pentahutnakht
　　　　"(They are in town) while I am presently staying alone with the army scribe
　　　　Pentahutnakht"[40]　　　　　　　　　(P. Berlin 10494, 8-9)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　End of the XXᵗʰ dyn. – Letter

The respective semantic domains of *ḥnꜥ* and *irm* can also be studied by considering
the texts where both are used. From the available evidence, it is clear that *irm* is on the
WITH-side and *ḥnꜥ* is on the AND-side:

Ex. 103　*iw=i*　　　*ꜥḥꜥ.kw*　　　*ḥr*　*kd*　　　*irm*　A *ḥnꜥ* B
　　　　SBRD=1SG stand:RES-1SG PROG build:INF with A and B
　　　　"As I was working with A and B"　　　　　(P. Berlin 10496, rᵒ 10)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Ramses III – Judicial matters

40　On *dy* as a temporal marker, see Winand (2006: 400-402).

Ex. 104 *m-dr* *krs̱=f*   *p3y=f*   *it*
     since bury:SBJV=3SG.M POSS:M.SG=3SG.M father
     ḥnꜥ   *t3y.f*   *mw.t*
     and POSS:F.SG=3SG.M mother
     "After he had buried his father and his mother"   (P. Boulaq X, rᵒ 10)
                             Ramses III – Judicial matters

Ex. 105 *ḥr*   *iw*   *bwpw=w krs*   *irm*   *p3y.i*   *it*
     CORD SBRD NEG=3PL bury:INF with POSS:M.SG=1SG father
     "Although they did not make the burial with my father"   (P. Boulaq X, rᵒ 9)
                             Ramses III – Judicial matters

Ex. 106 *iḫ-h3b=k*   *n=n*   *p3*   *nty*   *iw=n*   *r*   *ir=f*
     write:SBJV=2SG.M to=1PL ART:M.SG REL FUT=1PL FUT do:INF=3SG.M
     n   *ḥr*   *ḥnꜥ* *stḫ*
     to Horus and Seth
     "Would you write us what we shall do for Horus and Seth" (*Horus & Seth*, 14,9)
                             Ramses V – Literary, Narrative

Ex. 107 *i.ir=tw*   *ḫ3ꜥ=f*   *irm=i*
     do:COMPL=3SG.C dismiss:INF=3SG.M with=1SG
     "Until one has dismissed him with me"   (*Horus & Seth*, 13,3)
                             Ramses V – Literary, Narrative

In the late XXth dynasty, Late Egyptian, texts that follow a higher linguistic standard seem to observe this "rule" rather strictly. For instance, in the *Great Tomb-Robberies* corpus, this is the case in P. Abbott, a document where several conservative features are still in use.[41]

     In this respect, one can also note that the combination Prep NP_1 + *irm* NP_2 is attested only twice, but Prep NP_1 + *ḥnꜥ* NP_2 is found everywhere, which shows how long it took for *irm* to take over in some syntactic slots. In the texts where *irm* has been used, the combination Prep NP_1 + *ḥnꜥ* NP_2 is also present in the same phraseological context:

Ex. 108 *ḥr*   *p3*   *hwt=f*   *i.ir=f*   *ḥr*   *p3-b3k-k3mn*
     because ART:M.SG hit:INF=3SG.M do:REL.PST=3SG.M with Pabakkamen
     i.wn   *m*   *ꜥ3*   *n*   *ꜥ.t*   *irm*   *n3*   *ḥm.wt*
     to be:PTCP in chief PGEN department-F with ART:PL woman-F.PL
     "Because he made a common cause with Pabakkamen who was chief of the department together with the women"   (P. Turin 1875, 4,3)
                             Ramses IV – Judicial matters

Ex. 109 *ḥr*   *p3*   *hwt=f*   *i.ir=f*   *ḥr*   *ty*   *ḥnꜥ*
     because ART:M.SG hit:INF=3SG.M do:REL.PST=3SG.M with Ty and
     n3   *ḥm.wt*   *<n>*   *pr-ḥnr*
     ART:PL woman-F.PL [PGEN] Harem
     "Because he made a common cause with Ty and the women of the Harem"
                             (P. Turin 1875, 4,2)
                             Ramses IV – Judicial matters

Ex. 110 *iw=i*   *šd=s*   *m-dr.t* *sḥm.t*   *irm* *p3y=s*   *šri*
     FUT=1SG protect:INF=3SG.F from Sekhmet and POSS:M.SG=3SG.M son
     "I shall protect her from Sekhmet and her son"   (P. BM EA 10251, 59)
                        XXIInd-XXIIIrd dyn. – Oracular decree

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41 See Winand (forthcoming c, more specifically §2.2.4).

Ex. 111 *iw=i*   *šd=s*   *m-ḏr.t n3*   *nṯr.w*   *<n>*   *t3*
　　　　 FUT=1SG   protect:INF=3SG.F   from   ART:PL   god-M.PL   [PGEN]   ART:F.SG
　　　　 p.t   *ḥnꜥ*   *sb3y*   *nb.t*   (...)
　　　　 heaven   and   star-M.PL   all   (…)
　　　　 "I shall protect her from the gods of the heaven and all the stars (...)"

<div align="right">(P. BM EA 10251, 35)
XXIInd-XXIIIrd dyn. – Oracular decree</div>

But in other syntactic environments, *irm* is widely used from the second half of the XXth dynasty onwards to express coordination. For instance, in the same document coming from the *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, a corpus of texts that is a bit later (XXIInd-XXIIIrd dynasty) than the corpus of reference as defined above, one finds:

Ex. 112 *ir*   *p3*   *nb*   *nty*   *ḥr*   *p3y*   *dmꜥ*   *i.ḏd*   GN   *irm*
　　　　 TOPZ   ART:M.SG   all   REL   on   DEM:M.SG   document   say:REL.PST   GN   and
　　　　 p3   *nb*   *nty*   *bwpw*   *gm*   *ḥr*   *p3*   *dmꜥ*   (...)
　　　　 ART:M.SG   all   REL   NEG   find:INF   on   ART:M.SG   document   (…)
　　　　 "As for whatever is on this document that GN said and whatever one could not
　　　　 find on the document (...)"   (P. BM EA 10251, vᵒ 53-56)

<div align="right">XXIInd-XXIIIrd dyn. – Oracular decree</div>

This suggests that during the Ramesside times *irm* gradually took over most of the uses of *ḥnꜥ*. The latter however was not eliminated, but rather confined to a specific semantic field (COORDINATION), and increasingly to a syntactic niche (Prep NP1 *ḥnꜥ* NP2), where *irm* was barely found. It is tempting to postulate that *irm* was originally used only as a means to express the COMITATIVE. But this is not supported by the available evidence, for from the reign of Ramses II onwards, *irm* can express COMITATIVE and COOR-DINATION. Of course, both functions do not seem to be on a par, as the examples of COMITATIVE definitely outnumber that of COORDINATION (16 *vs*. 3).

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