

The emergence of the possessive determiner in Ancient Egyptian^(*)

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Abstract

This paper deals with adnominal possession in Ancient Egyptian, focusing on constructions involving a pronominal possessor. In early Egyptian, only one construction is attested: substantive (possessee) + bound person marker (possessor). From the 6th Dynasty onwards, a new construction, which is built from a demonstrative determiner, appears: *p3y* + bound person marker (possessor) + substantive (possessee). In order to describe the gradual encroachment of the innovative possessive determiner *p3y-f* on the older construction with the possessive bound person marker, this study proposes a discourse-oriented analysis, seen through the lens of what can be called ‘subjective deixis’.

0. Introduction

This paper deals with adnominal possession constructions in Ancient Egyptian, in which the possessee is substantival and the possessor is pronominal, e.g., English ‘his book’. Two patterns are involved: an old one (Type A) substantive + bound person marker, which encodes the possessor; and a recent one (Type B) a demonstrative determiner *p3y* + bound person marker, which encodes the possessor + substantive:

(Type A) *pr-f*
house-3SG.M
His house

(Type B) *p3y-f* *pr*
POSS:M.SG-3SG.M house
His house

The aim of this study is to describe the emergence of the new construction (Type B) and to examine its encroachment on the old one (Type A). In order to elucidate their original functional opposition, the present contribution analyzes the distribution and functions of both constructions in discourse. Our purpose is to show that the uses of construction (Type B) are at first determined by those of its source construction, which is a demonstrative, but that afterwards, it is emancipated from its source construction (Bybee 2006), i.e., becomes an independent linguistic item. In short, the deictic and anaphoric functions associated with the source construction are gradually weakened until the construction (Type B) cannot be considered as having its original demonstrative value.

This study is divided in three major sections. The first part includes a description (§ 1.1) of the innovative adnominal possessive construction (Type B); a survey (§ 1.2) of previous studies devoted to the innovative possessive article *p3y-f*; a survey (§ 1.3) of some alternative constructions combining possession and deixis; and, finally, the theoretical framework (§ 1.4) within which our study is conducted. The second part (§§ 2.1-8) is devoted to the analysis of the corpus from Old Egyptian up to Late Egyptian. In this section, we focus on the synchronic discourse functions of the emerging possessive determiner in a number of diachronically successive corpora. The third and last part (§ 3) includes the conclusion.

1. Theoretical background

1.1. The possessive determiner *p3y-f*

The Late Egyptian possessive determiner is derived from the demonstrative *p3* (masc. sing.), *t3* (fem. sing.), *n3* (pl.), attested from Old Egyptian onwards. To build the possessive form, the demonstrative base is expanded by a glide (-y)¹ and then a person marker is bound to this expanded base (see Table 1).

| | | POSSESSEE | | | |
|-----------|----------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| | | | masc. sg. | fem. sg. | plural |
| POSSESSOR | singular | 1st | <i>p3y-i</i> | <i>t3y-i</i> | <i>n3y-i(-n)</i> ² |
| | | 2nd m. | <i>p3y-k</i> | <i>t3y-k</i> | <i>n3y-k(-n)</i> |
| | | 2nd f. | <i>p3y-t</i> | <i>t3y-t</i> | <i>n3y-t(-n)</i> |
| | | 3rd m. | <i>p3y-f</i> | <i>t3y-f</i> | <i>n3y-f(-n)</i> |
| | | 3rd f. | <i>p3y-s</i> | <i>t3y-s</i> | <i>n3y-s(-n)</i> |
| | plural | 1 pl. | <i>p3y-n</i> | <i>t3y-n</i> | <i>n3y-n(-n)</i> |
| | | 2 pl. | <i>p3y-tn</i> | <i>t3y-tn</i> | <i>n3y-tn(-n)</i> |
| | | 3 pl. (ancient) | <i>p3y-sn</i> | <i>t3y-sn</i> | <i>n3y-sn(-n)</i> |
| | | 3 pl. (later) | <i>p3y-w</i> | <i>t3y-w</i> | <i>n3y-w(-n)</i> |
| | neutral | - | <i>p3y-tw</i> | <i>t3y-tw</i> | <i>n3y-tw(-n)</i> |

Table 1. Forms of the possessive determiner *p3y-f*.

In Late Egyptian, the *p3* series becomes the regular definite article and *p3y-f* the regular possessive determiner³ alongside the construction with the possessive bound person marker (Type A), usually called a ‘suffix pronoun’ in Egyptian linguistics. In grammars, the opposition is usually described as follows: (Type A) becomes restricted to the domain of inalienable possession⁴, while (Type B) tends to be more and more widely used (Table 2):

| | Earlier Egyptian | Later Egyptian |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Frequent/productive | Bound person marker | <i>p3y-f</i> |
| Rare/restricted | <i>p3y-f</i> | Bound person marker |

Table 2. The encroachment of *p3y-f* on the bound person marker.

Such a tendency is typologically well attested. In most languages displaying two (or more) constructions as variants, an earlier one (Type A) and an innovative one (Type B), the innovative one is initially marked in some way, usually in terms of its meaning or its distribution, or both.

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1 The glide is not always written. Its presence is not explained in grammars, where it is at best presented as a deictic reinforcer, e.g., Malaise and Winand (1999: 132). Hoch (1997: 152) interprets it as a nisbe derivation.

2 The plural form is pronominal and linked to the substantive it qualifies by means of the genitive particle *n(j)*: Erman (1933: 76–77), Gardiner (1957: 86), Silverman (1981), Malaise and Winand (1999: 130). The omission of this *n(j)* is attested in the vernacular language during the Second Intermediate Period, in P. Westcar, see Gardiner (1957: 86). It occurs firstly with the demonstratives *mn*, *nf3* and *nw*: Silverman (1981: 61). The first example of *n3y-f* without *n(j)* occurs later: in our corpus, it is not attested before Thutmose III's reign (1358-1425 BC), see § 2.7.

3 Erman (1933: 51 and 75), Lefebvre (1955: 66), Gardiner (1957: 112), Korostovtsev (1973: 50), Kroeber (1970: 1–30), Loprieno (1980), Silverman (1981), Loprieno (1995: 68), Kupreyev (2013).

4 Černý-Groll (1993: 31), Neveu (1996: 11), Junge (1996: 53). In fact, a close examination of the corpus shows that it is indeed more complex, but that the general trend portrayed in previous accounts is broadly accurate, see Winand (this volume).

Innovative variants are often restricted to certain linguistic contexts. Afterwards, their distribution can be expanded in some way. The innovative variant may eventually take over functions previously associated with the older variant. Correspondingly, the older variant may be restricted in terms of distribution, and may eventually be highly limited in terms of distribution or may even disappear. Of course, variation can also be stable over time⁵.

In Ancient Egyptian, this idealized process never went to completion. In Coptic, which is the last stage of Ancient Egyptian, the expression of a pronominal possessor with the bound person marker is still attested⁶:

- (1) zpe-k
hre-k
 face-2SG.M
 Your face⁷

1.2. State of the art

In order to understand the diachrony of the possessive determiner, it is crucial to have in mind the diachrony of its source construction(s), namely, the grammaticalization of the demonstrative $p\beta$ into a definite article⁸. In this section, we survey previous accounts of the synchronic functions and diachronic development of $p\beta$.

In Earlier Egyptian, there are a number of demonstratives, including the following series:

| Deixis | M.SG. | F.SG. | M.PL. | F.PL. | Neutral |
|----------|-----------|-----------|-------|--------|-----------|
| neutral | $pw(y)$ | $tw(y)$ | ipw | $iptw$ | nw |
| proximal | pn | tn | ipn | $iptn$ | nn |
| distal | pf | tf | - | - | nf |
| proximal | $p\beta$ | $t\beta$ | - | - | $n\beta$ |
| distal | $pf\beta$ | $tf\beta$ | - | - | $nf\beta$ |

Table 3. Ancient Egyptian demonstratives

Except for the demonstrative $pf\beta$, which is very rarely attested, the $p\beta$ series is the only one among the Old Egyptian demonstratives that occurs *before* the noun it modifies⁹. In grammars of Old and Middle Egyptian, $p\beta$ is usually characterized as a late¹⁰ and weak¹¹ demonstrative, which has a vocative function in Old Egyptian¹², expresses neutral deixis¹³, and is used with ‘environmental

5 See Grossman (in press) for an example in Coptic.

6 On adnominal possession with the bound person marker in Coptic, see Egedi (2010). On the other adnominal possessive constructions in Coptic, see Haspelmath (2014), who provides bibliography on the topic.

7 Allen (2013: 66).

8 For an historical approach, see Kroeber (1970: 1–30), Loprieno (1980), Silverman (1981), and recently Stauder (2013: 113–120). For a synchronic and corpus-based approach, see James (1962: 107–108) and Allen (2002: 88–91), both on the uses of $p\beta$ in *Hekanakhte's Papers*; see also Vandersleyen's article (1970) on the uses of $p\beta$ in the autobiography of Ahmes son of Abana in the very early 18th Dynasty (c. 1552-1506 BC). For a sociolinguistic approach, see Allen (1994: 1–12) and Stauder (2013: 113–120).

9 Lefebvre (1955: 63), Malaise and Winand (1999: 130).

10 Erman (1933: 51–56), Lefebvre (1955: 62 and 65), Edel (1955: 87).

11 Lefebvre (1955: 65), Malaise and Winand (1999: 129).

12 Lefebvre (1955: 63–64), Malaise and Winand (1999: 123).

13 Loprieno (1995: 68), Jenni (2009: 135), Borghouts (2010: 89). On the value of the other demonstratives, see, aside from the aforementioned references, Von Deine (1954), Malaise and Winand (1999: 121–122), Vernus (1990) and (1994).

concepts¹⁴, insofar as it qualifies an element that is somehow present in the interlocutor's surroundings. It occurs for the first time during the 5th Dynasty (2510-2460 BC)¹⁵.

Some studies show that as early as the collection of private letters associated with an individual named Hekanakhte as well as some personal letters from Illahun, both dated 12th Dynasty (1991-1785 BC), *p3* appears to be used as a definite article in some syntactic contexts¹⁶. The loss of its deictic function has been explained by its ability to point to a referent by means of direct anaphora¹⁷. Some scholars have claimed that *p3* came to play the role of an emphasizer¹⁸ or a topicalizer¹⁹. The gradual expansion of its use to nouns with abstract and general meanings is a sign of the weakening and eventual loss of its deictic value to the point of becoming a definite article²⁰. Another aspect of *p3* that has been stressed is its colloquial nature²¹ and its gradual spread from low written registers to higher ones²².

Most of these studies focus on the semantic value of *p3*, insisting mostly on the way it refers to the word it qualifies, but none really explains the *process* by which this demonstrative became a definite article. Only two studies implicitly adopt a pragmatically-oriented approach, providing an explanation for the weakening of the deictic value of the demonstrative. Kroeber²³ describes *p3* as an emphasizer and also pays attention to the nature of the word it qualifies. Silverman²⁴ identifies contexts in which *p3* is used as a topicalizer. However, neither of these takes into account the syntactic context in which *p3* occurs. This gives the impression that what the authors call the 'emphasizing' or 'topicalizing' value of *p3* is a prominent coded meaning. Examples with the possessive *p3y-f* are mentioned²⁵, but it is never compared systematically to the earlier variant, the possessive bound person marker ('suffix pronoun').

In order to describe the gradual encroachment of the innovative possessive determiner construction *p3y-f* on the older construction with the possessive bound person marker, this study proposes a discourse-oriented analysis, seen through the lens of what can be called 'subjective deixis'. Before turning to the theoretical framework adopted, however, we survey some alternative constructions within the same domain of deixis and possession. Indeed, the construction [*p3y-f* + substantive] is originally in opposition to the older possessive construction [noun + bound person marker] (Type A), and not, as we might have expected, to [noun + possessive bound person marker +

14 See Borghouts (2010: 91). For instance, it is attested on tomb walls on which daily life scenes are depicted, in the captions that accompany the scenes; see Guglielmi (1973: 177–178). By that period, *p3* is also used to build proper names, which are direct and unique references to the persons that bear them, see Fecht (1960: 201–203).

15 According to Schweitzer (2005: 132–133), in the 4th Dynasty (2625-2510 BC) there are no demonstratives other than *pw*, *nw* and *mn*. According to Edel (1955: 87) the oldest attestation of *p3* occurs in stela Cairo 1516, 5th Dynasty (2510-2460 BC), in the name *p3-n(-i)*, see Ranke (1935: 129,16). Concerning *p3y-f*, Edel wonders if in Junker (1940: 39) one should not read *iri r ib p3(y-i) mry* instead of *p3 mry*. The example comes from Kaiemankh's mastaba, (G4561, 5th Dynasty). As for Kroeber (1970: 13), he situates the first occurrence of *p3* around the 6th Dynasty (2460-2200 BC). Finally, Erman states that 1) *p3* never occurs in the Pyramid Texts (1933: 47) and that 2) *p3y-f* is posterior to *p3* (1933: 59).

16 James (1962: 107–108), Loprieno (1980). Contra this analysis, see Allen (2002: 88–91), who argues that *p3* has the same value as *pn*, an Old Egyptian demonstrative expressing proximal deixis [see Jenni (2009)], for they appear in similar contexts. According to him, the difference between them is a social one, *p3* being mostly used when a person with a high social status addresses to an inferior and *pn* being used the other way around.

17 After Loprieno's terminology.

18 Kroeber (1970: 1–30).

19 Silverman (1981).

20 Kroeber (1970: 1–30).

21 Allen (1994: 1–12), Loprieno (1995: 68–69).

22 Stauder (2013: 113–120).

23 Kroeber (1970: 1–30).


24 Silverman (1981).

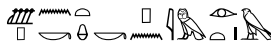
25 Excepted in Allen (2002).

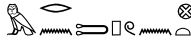
demonstrative (other than *pf*), described in section 1.3.


1.3. Deixis and possession within the same noun phrase


While relatively infrequent, the expression of pronominal possessor and deixis within the same noun phrase is attested from the Old Kingdom onward. The first construction type comprises the head-marking construction, involving the bound person marker ('suffix pronoun'), followed by a demonstrative pronoun. Of the demonstrative pronouns, *pf* is unattested with possessive phrases.

- (2) 
m-k *isw* *dbn-k* *ipn*
 ATTN-2SG.M payment deben-2SG.M DEM:M.SG
 Look! The payment of this deben of yours...
 (Mastaba of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep in Saqqara, entry room, north wall, scene 11.3.2.3 = Moussa & Altenmüller: 1977: 83)

- (3) 
šsp *n-k* *t-k* *pn* *imy* *ir-t*
 receive:IMP to-2SG.M bread-2SG.M DEM:M.SG in-ADJZ.M.SG eye-F.SG
ḥr
 Horus
 Take this bread of yours which is in Horus' eye.
 (Pyr. § 63c [sp. 93, W.] = Sethe: 1908a: 35)

- (4) 
m *rn-t* *pw* *n* *niw-t*
 in name-2SG.M DEM:M.SG of town-F.SG
 ... in that name of yours, 'town'.
 (Pyr. § 1596a–b [sp. 587, N.] = Sethe: 1908b: 349)

- (5) 
ḥms(i) *ir-k* *ḥr* *ḥndw-k* *pw*
 sit:IMP TOPZ-2SG.M on seat-2SG.M DEM:M.SG
 Sit down on that seat of yours.
 (Pyr. § 1293a [sp. 536, P.] = Sethe: 1908b: 223)

- (6) 
ntt *wi* *pr-kwi* *r* *ini-t* *it-i* *pf*
 COMP 1SG go_out:RES-1SG to bring:INF-F father-1SG DEM:M.SG
 ... that I had set out in order to bring back this my father.
 (Tomb of Sabni, Aswan/Qubet el-Hawa = *Urk.* I, 136,11)

This construction is attested well into Middle Egyptian, in the 12th Dynasty (1991-1785 BC, examples 7–8) and in the 13th Dynasty (c. 1785-1800 BC, example 9).

- (7)
fnd-k *pw* *špss*
nose-2SG.M DEM:M.SG noble
This noble nose of yours.
(P. Berlin P 3022 and P. Amherst fgmt m–q (B 237) = *Sinuhe* 237)
- (8)
shr-k *pn* *ini-n[-f]* *ib-k*
plan-2SG.M DEM:M.SG bring-PRF-3SG.M heart-2SG.M
This plan of yours carried off your heart.
(O. Ashmolean Museum 1945.40, v^o 10–11 = *Sinuhe* 185)
- (9)
3h *3h-k* *wsr* *wsr-k* *m*
be_bright:SBJV spirit-2SG.M be_powerful:SBJV force-2SG.M in
nfrw-k *m* *šhm-k* *pw* *wr* *m* *s^ch-k*
beauty-2SG.M in power-2SG.M DEM:M.SG great in dignity-2SG.M
pw *nfr*
DEM:M.SG beautiful
May your spirit be bright, may your force be powerful in your beauty, in this great power of yours, in this beautiful dignity of yours.
(Stela of Sahi [Rio de Janeiro 644 (2434)], 6–7 = Van de Walle: 1938: 94)

The demonstrative *p3* followed by a possessed noun (e.g., *p3 pr-f* ‘this house of his’) are indeed attested, but not before Late Egyptian. This expression is very infrequent and mostly attested with nouns denoting body parts (see Winand, this volume).

1.4. Theoretical perspectives

In this section, we sketch the typological-functional framework that informs our analysis of the corpus. Demonstratives and definite articles belong to the domain of definiteness, since they have the shared property of identifying the referent (Creissels 2006: 130). This synchronic functional proximity is supported by diachronic typological evidence: in many languages, demonstratives grammaticalize into definite articles (Creissels 2006: 132). Roughly, demonstratives identify the referent in a restricted and concrete manner, whereas definite articles do so in a more general, abstract way. The difference between a demonstrative and a definite article is *grosso modo* a matter of deixis: demonstratives are associated with deixis, while definite articles are associated with anaphora. The two are closely related inasmuch as they can both be considered part of the domain of indexicality, which is “the fact of pointing to a referent whose representation has to be constructed according to the enunciative and discursive context operating in a given communication act” (Cornish 1995: 50). Deixis expressions focus on an element of the discourse and thus draw it to the attention of the discourse participants, while anaphora presupposes the existence of an element in a given universe of discourse (Cornish 1995).

1.4.1. Himmelmann's pragmatic approach

In his reference study of demonstratives and articles, descriptive linguist N. Himmelmann (2001) defines four major functions that are associated with demonstratives (Table 4).

| Function | Examples ²⁶ |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Situational (implies <i>presence</i>) | “That street [that I’m indicating to you] leads to Buckingham Palace” |
| Discourse-deictic (refers to the discourse itself) | “This paper is devoted to the adnominal possession in Ancient Egyptian” |
| Tracking (refers to an aforementioned element) | “A man was killed last night. And you know what? I knew that person” |
| Recognitional (identifies the referent through a specific, <i>presumably shared</i> knowledge) | “That guy Kevin forgot his bag at school again!” |

Table 4. Functions of demonstratives after Himmelmann.

According to Himmelmann, articles derived from demonstratives may also have these four functions. But what differentiates them from demonstratives is their ability to be used in two extended contexts: “(...) One is larger situation use, the first mention of entities that are considered to be unique, and hence generally identifiable, in a given speech community. This use is characterised by the fact that the intended referent has to be identified via general knowledge (e.g. the sun, the Queen, the pub). The other is associative-anaphoric use, i.e., the first mention of an entity that is not unique per se but with respect to a previously mentioned referent (...)” (Himmelmann: 2001: 833).

1.4.2. Subjective deixis

The meaning of deictic expressions can be *subjective* and even *intersubjective*: when using a demonstrative, the speaker makes a specific reference, but the space in which the referent is located is not defined (or limited) by concrete borders. These are vague and the mental representation that the two interlocutors have of the limits of the space in which the referent is located may differ. What matters is that, by using a demonstrative, the speaker signals to the addressee that the referent is somehow restricted, i.e., specific in an abstract way. The addressee then reconstructs an abstract environment in which the referent is located. Topicalization, emphasis, and affectivity are the effects resulting from such a use of the demonstrative (De Mulder 1998)²⁷.

The notion of ‘topic’ has been defined by Lambrecht as it follows: “A referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e., as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee’s knowledge of this referent” (1994: 131). According to him, the notion of topic does not correspond to that of (syntactic) subject, since it sometimes may have another syntactic function. At a cognitive level, the topical element of a proposition or of portion of a discourse is somehow salient in the addressee’s mind: as the thing the proposition (or discourse) is about, this element is at the center of his or her attention. According to the language in question, several means can be used to introduce a new topic in a discourse. Among them, we encounter dislocation (a process by which an element is made salient in being anticipatory or subsequent to the proposition), the use of topicalizing markers, such as specialized particles, or the use of deictic markers, such as demonstrative determiners. For instance, English, French and Ancient Egyptian are languages that resort to such formal means.

We use the notion of ‘focus’ according to a functional approach, where it is explained in terms of

²⁶ Examples are the author’s.

²⁷ With bibliography on the topic.

information structure. Focalization consists in making (by means such as intonation, lexicographical markers) some information prominent over other information in a sentence or a discourse. At a cognitive level, this has the effect of orienting the interlocutor's attention toward that particular element. Unlike topicalization, focalization does not present a referent as being the thing discussed about, about which more information will be given as it is supposedly unknown to the addressee. It is “a kind of emphasis whereby the speaker marks out a part (which may be the whole) of a message block as that which he wishes to be interpreted as informative” by the addressee (Halliday: 1967: 204).

In some languages, such values can be coded by specific linguistic expressions. Kabyle, for instance, has several demonstratives (Mettouchi 2011). While two of them express ‘objective’ deixis (distal *versus* proximal²⁸), the third demonstrative, which is usually described as anaphoric, appears not to have anaphoric reference as its coded meaning: the anaphoric function is a side-effect of its main function, which is “to indicate that the reference of the name to which it is affixed has to be considered as jointly constructed between the speaker and the addressee” (Mettouchi 2011: 482). This enables this demonstrative to be used not only as anaphoric, but also as emphatic or topical.

These observations allow us to refine the definitions in Table 4 above, by adding the subjective component to the value of demonstratives. These categories will be of valuable assistance for our analysis:

| Function | Examples |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Situational (implies <i>presence</i>) | Objective (presence is a <i>precondition</i>): - situational: “This is not a pipe” (title of a painting depicting a pipe, by Magritte) - ongoing, in progress, current: “These are difficult times” |
| | Subjective (presence is mentally <i>reconstructed</i>): - topical (the referent is <i>supposedly unknown</i> to the addressee), - emphasizing (the informative value of a referent is stressed), - assertive, affective. “At the party there was this girl; she was laughing all the time” |
| Discourse-deictic (refers to the discourse itself) | “This paper is devoted to the attributive adnominal possession in Ancient Egyptian” |
| Tracking (refers to an aforementioned element) | “A man was killed last night. And you know what? I knew that person” |
| Recognitional (identifies the referent through a specific, <i>presumably shared</i> knowledge) | “That guy Kevin forgot his bag at school again!” |

Table 5. Objective and subjective values of demonstratives.

2. Analysis of the corpus

Our corpus includes texts dated from the very beginning of the Old Kingdom down to the reign of

²⁸ Both referring to the *de re* as well as *de dicto* domains, see Frajzyngier (1991). What belongs to the *de re* domain refers to entities that concretely surround the interlocutors. What belongs to the *de dicto* domain refers to entities that are present (or fictively present) in the interlocutors discourse, see Mettouchi (2011: 474).

King Amenhotep II in the New Kingdom (1425-1401 BC). For the period preceding the 5th Dynasty (3150-2510 BC), data were collected from Schweitzer (2005). For the other periods, the occurrences have been collected from electronic corpora²⁹ as well as from previous studies on the topic³⁰. The dating of the texts follows that given in the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* or in the publications. The data are diachronically organized. For earlier periods such as the Old and Middle Kingdoms, large chronological areas are defined. This is due first to the sparseness of documents dating to these periods, and second to the imprecise dating of most texts in which *p3y-f* occurs. From the 17th Dynasty onwards, texts are more precisely dated and *p3y-f* is more frequently used. This allows us to organize the New Kingdom data according to the reigns of kings and to follow more closely its encroachment on the bound person marker construction.

2.1. Old Kingdom


In the Old Kingdom, *p3y-f* is very sparsely attested. In fact, there is only one example known to us. However, the very fact of its attestation is notable, since previous descriptions have not detected such an early occurrence³¹.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Number of occurrences | 1 |
| Number of texts in which <i>p3y-f</i> is attested | 1 private religious text |
| Persons attested | <i>p3y-f</i> (3sg.m) |
| Pronominal use | none |

Table 6. Occurrences of *p3y-f* in the Old Kingdom.

2.1.1 Situational function

The first occurrence of the possessive construction *p3y-f* in our corpus occurs on a sarcophagus of the 6th Dynasty (2460-2200 BC):

- (10) 
- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (w)di(-i) | <i>p3y-f</i> | hrw | ndr-t | mn |
| place:PERF.(-1SG) | DEM:M.SG-3M.SG | day | imprisonment-F.SG | last:PTCP |
| d-t | r | ib-t-s | h3(-t) | htp(-t) |
| forever | to | place-F.SG-3SG.F | go down:RES(-3SG.F) | be peaceful:RES(-3SG.F) |
| 3h(-t) | imy(-t) | ibš-t-f | | |
| Be_bright:RES(-3SG.F) | in-ADJZ.(-F.SG) | trap-F.SG-3SG.M | | |
- I made this/his day of imprisonment last forever to the place (named?) ‘Came down, pacified, bright’, which is in its (i.e., Sarcophagus) trap.
(Niankhpepi's coffin, right side = Hassan: 1975: p. 22).

This example is a protection spell written on the sarcophagus of a dead person, which is referred to as a ‘trap.’ The imprisonment refers to that of the dead person inside his coffin: the context clearly indicates that *p3y-f* has a situational value, referring to a physical locale.

29 These are the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae* database (<http://aew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html>) and the Ramses database. The latter is not yet available online; see <http://www.egyptology.ac.be/Ramses> for a general overview of the project. See also: Winand, Polis & Rosmorduc (in press), Rosmorduc, Polis & Winand (2009) and Polis, Honnay & Winand (2013) for a recent presentation.

30 See state of the art.

31 See n. 15.

2.1.2 Distribution of Type A and Type B

In the sentence above, both possessive constructions are attested, that with *p3y-f* (*p3y-f hrw*) and that with the bound person marker (*ibt-t-f*). Insofar as the protection deals with the fact of being imprisoned in the coffin, one can say that the unique occurrence of *p3y-f* in the Old Kingdom qualifies the topic, i.e., the element the sentence is about.

2.2 Middle Kingdom, 11–14th Dynasties (2160-1633 BC)

In the Middle Kingdom, *p3y-f* is mostly attested in private documents (letters, a contract, an autobiographical text)³² and in two literary texts.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Number of occurrences ³³ | 32 |
| Distribution according to text genres | 17 letters (Illahun) (22) 2 literary texts (2) 1 administrative text (7) 1 autobiographical text (1) |
| Texts in which <i>p3y-f</i> occurs more than once | P. UC 32210, a letter (2) P. UC 32213, a letter (3) P. UC 32126, a letter (3) Berlin Leather Roll P 10470, an administrative text (7) |
| Persons attested | <i>p3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>p3y-k</i> (2sg.m), <i>p3y-f</i> (3sg.m), <i>p3y-n</i> (1pl), <i>t3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>t3y-f</i> (3sg.m), <i>n3y-k-n</i> (2sg.m), <i>n3y-f-n</i> (3sg.m), <i>n3y-s-n</i> (3sg.f) |
| Pronominal use | none |

Table 7. Occurrences of *p3y-f* in the 11-14th Dynasties.

2.2.1 Situational function

P3y-f is attested with an objective situational function (see Table 5). In the following example, which comes from a literary text dated late 12th Dynasty (1991-1785 BC), it is also closely related to the discourse register³⁴:

- (11)
s3i *grt* 3 *sdm-k* *n3y-k-n*
linger:IMP now(PTCL) here(ADV) hear:SBJV-2SG.M POSS:PL-of
spr-wt
petition-F.PL
Now wait here and you'll hear your petitions!³⁵
(P. Berlin 3025 + P. Amherst II [*Eloquent Peasant* B2], 128 = Parkinson: 1991: 48)

Several elements in the sentence indicate that the situation is in progress at the time of speaking. This interpretation is supported by the presence of the deictic adverb 3, “here”, and also by that of the particle *grt*. *Grt* is a proclitic particle originally expressing something like “additionally”. Its

32 Brose (2014: 77-78).


33 Completely reconstructed passages are not accounted for.


34 Parkinson (2012: 309) analyses this *n3y-k-n* as a demonstrative with full deictic force, basing on Silverman’s (1981) interpretation of *n3-n*.

35 Translation: Parkinson (1997: 75).


function then evolved into that of a phatic element intended to draw the interlocutor's attention³⁶. From time to time, *grt* comes to play the role of an element specialized in introducing a new topic³⁷. The text contains a number of discursive passages in which possessive constructions occur, but unlike this one, the action is not in progress at the time of speaking: it is either located in the past or in the future, or is very general. In those passages, it is only the construction with the bound person marker that occurs. In example 11, when using the situational *p3y-f*, the speaker refers precisely to the ongoing petitions expressed by the speaker's interlocutor, and not to all the petitions he made before, or those he makes in general³⁸.

The possessive determiner *p3y-f* is also encountered with that objective situational value in an administrative text that is somewhat later³⁹ than the literary text previously quoted⁴⁰. This one displays several attestations of the definite determiner *p3* and the possessive determiner *p3y-f*. Most of the time, *p3y-f* occurs in the plural form, qualifying the word *nb-w*, “lords”. This phrase consistently refers to the same group of people, in two expressions that belong to the formal language of administration (examples 12–13):

- (12) 
rdi-t di-tw st n-i n niw-t m hr
 let:INF give:SBJV-PASS 3SG.F to-1SG to city-F.SG as agreement
n3y-s nb-w
 POSS:PL-3F.SG owner-PL
 Let it (her estate) be given to me or to the city, according to the agreement of her owners.
 (P. Berlin 10470, I, 4–5 and 12 = Smither: 1948: pl. 7a)

- (13) 
iri-t m hr n3y-s-n nb-w
 do:IMP as agreement POSS:PL-3F.SG-of owner-PL

versus

- 
iri-t m hr nb-w-s
 do:IMP as agreement owner-PL-3SG.F
 It shall be done according to the agreement of her owners.
 (P. Berlin 10470, I, 5 and 12–13 = Smither: 1948: pl. 7a)

The tokens of *p3y-f* in this text are possibly explicable as a trace of orality⁴¹ or of a vernacular

36 Gardiner (1957: 178–179). For more information, complete state of the art and bibliography, see Oréal (2011: 437–486).

37 This value is however not inherent to its meaning: see Oréal (2011: 438). Some uses of *grt* in ancient Egyptian literature also seem closely related to the assertive character of a given proposition. Indeed, it sometimes appears as insisting on the ongoing (> directly observable > true, real) process of the event that is described: see Oréal (2011: 456–7).

38 Another interpretation is given in Stauder (2013: 116): according to him, the salience of *p3y-f* is here due to its use in contrast with the other demonstratives in the text.

39 By that period (1785–1633 BC) some innovative features, among which we find *p3* and *p3y-f*, begin to appear in the inscriptional register, firstly in private documents without any religious content. For some examples, see Stauder (2013: 38–40).


40 Smither (1948: 34). Several documents bearing different steps of a procedure have been copied on one final document.

41 Studies devoted to orality in Egyptology are few. See Eyre and Baines (1989), Baines and Eyre (2007: 146–178), Morenz (2013: 227–250, especially 232–234), Redford (2000).


register⁴². We can suppose that the legal procedure that is described, or a part of it, physically took place in front of judges in an assembly, and that some sentences in the text were actually pronounced and recorded⁴³. We would therefore assume that this *n3y-s* is originally situational. It is possible that the alternation between the two constructions is due to the scribal act of copying: the scribe may have made a recomposition in which he included sentences that were actually uttered; in other passages, he may have composed original passages without attempting to reproduce a record of what was actually spoken.

2.2.2 Topical function

Most of the instances of *p3y-f* attested in the Middle Kingdom have a subjective situational value, or, more precisely, a topical function, i.e., qualify an element that becomes central in the subsequent discourse and to which the addressee's attention is oriented (see § 1.4.2). It is clearly related to the discourse register, for it occurs in passages representing direct speech, or in texts whose form emulates direct speech style, e.g., letters⁴⁴.

- (14) 
rdi.in *t3ty* *nis-t(w)* *n3y-f-n* *hrd-w*
 let:CNSV vizir summon:SBJV-PASS POSS:M.PL-3M.SG-of child-M.PL
 And the vizier had his children summoned.⁴⁵
 (P. Prisse [*Kagemni*] 2, 3 = Gardiner: 1946: pl. 14)

Example 14 comes from a literary text and this passage is situated at the epilogue of the text. It represents a less constrained register of expression⁴⁶ and signals a departure from the narrative section: the reader is brought back to present time. The role of *p3y-f* is clearly topical, for it signals to the reader a change of the prominent element in the course of the tale. Indeed, in the epilogue, the vizier addresses his children, giving them some instructions about the teaching he just gave, which represents the narrative portion of the text. These children constitute the main figures of this final part of the text (see § 1.4.2). This topical function is cotextual, for it is the content of the passage, and not that of the sentence alone, that allows us to identify the topic. As expounded in the theoretical part of the present study, the topical function of demonstratives is related to their situational function. Actually, *p3* also occurs in this same passage, with a situational value:

- (15) 
ir *nt-t* *nb-t* *m* *sš* *m* *p3* *šfdw*
 TOPZ REL-F all-F as written_text in DEM:M.SG roll
sdm *st* *mi* *dd-i* *st*
 listen:IMP 3SG.F like say:IPFV-1SG 3SG.F
 As to all that is written on this roll, hear it like I say it.
 (P. Prisse [*Kagemni*], 2, 4–5 = Gardiner: 1946: pl. 14)

42 Vernus (1996). The strong link existing between *p3* and *p3y-f* and the ongoing character of the elements it qualifies is perhaps the key to explain why it is so strongly linked to orality and therefore strikingly absent from so many texts.

43 This idea is supported by Eyre and Baines (2007: 169) and by Winand (forthcoming).


44 Due to this distinctive feature, it is considered by the Egyptians themselves as belonging to the vernacular language, to which the stela of a noble named Montuweser (MMA 12.184, 12th Dynasty, 1991-1785 BC) bears witness. In a passage in which the social and moral qualities of the dedicator are quoted, Montuweser claims that he uses a language free from any “*p3w*”. On this issue, see Allen (2009) and recently Stauder (2013: 114), with bibliography on the topic.

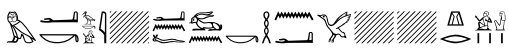
45 Translation: Parkinson (1997: 291).


46 See Polis (in press).


In this sentence, the word qualified by means of *p3* refers to the papyrus on which the text is actually written⁴⁷

All the other examples with topical *p3y-f* occur in private and administrative documents. In letters, for instance, the emerging possessive determiner occurs mostly in passages where the attention of the addressee is drawn by means of topicalization markers, such as, for instance, the presentative particle *mk*⁴⁸ (examples 16–17)⁴⁹, the rhematizing particle *in*⁵⁰ (example 18), the topicalizing particle *ir*⁵¹ (example 19), with the particles *ih* or *h3* introducing wishes or regrets (examples 20–21), or with an expression meaning “pay attention to” (examples 22–23)⁵². The speaker regularly uses the detachment (or dislocation), a process by which an element is stressed in being anticipatory to the proposition⁵³. Unfortunately, many of the examples occur in lacunary passages⁵⁴.

- (16) 
mk *grt* *p3y-k* *pr*
 ATTN now(PTCL) POSS:M.SG-2SG.M house
 Behold your house!
 (P. Cairo 31061, r° 8 = James: 1962: pl. 26a)⁵⁵

- (17) 
mk *b3k-i[m* *r]di.n-f* *wn-k* *hn^c* *p3[y-k]*
 ATTN servant give:PRF-3SG.M exist:SBJV-2SG.M with POSS:M.SG-2SG.M
hrw
 household
 Behold, your servant-there has ensured that you will be with your household.⁵⁶
 (P. UC 32213, v° 10–11 = Collier and Quirke: 2002: 145)

- (18) 
in *n3y-k-n* *hrd-w* *hr* *3bi*
 TOPZ POSS:PL-2SG.M-of child-M.PL on rejoice:INF
 It is your children who are rejoicing!
 (P. UC 32119, F, v° i, 1 = Collier and Quirke: 2002: 45)

- (19) 
ir *p3y-k* *mh-ib* *m-dd*
 TOPZ POSS:M.SG-2SG.M confidant QUOT
 As for your confidant (he says) ...
 (P. UC 32126, ii, 4–5 = Collier and Quirke: 2002: 63)

47 Stauder (2013: 115).

48 On emphatic *mk*, see Lichtheim (1971). Oréal (2011: 299–308). On topicalizing *mk*, see Johnson (1984).

49 See also P. Berlin 10023 A+B: A, v° 3 (= Luft: 1992: sub n°).

50 Malaise and Winand (1999: 76).

51 Gardiner (1957: 115), Borghouts (1986).



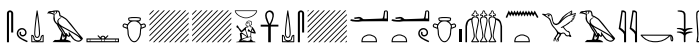

52 P. UC 32210, 14–15 (= Collier and Quirke: 2002: 133); P. Caire JE 71583, v° x+12–13 (= Luft: 2006: 120).

53 Lambrecht (2001), quoted in Lagae (2011). See also Lambrecht (1994).


54 P. UC 32199, 8–9 (= Collier and Quirke: 2002: 97); P. UC 32213, v° 16–17 (= Collier and Quirke: 2002: 145); P. UC 32106 G, 2 (= Collier and Quirke: 2002: 19); P. UC 32126, i, 5–6 (= Collier and Quirke: 2002: 63); P. UC 32156, ii, 6 (= Collier and Quirke: 2002: 85); P. UC 32126, i, col. 3 [second text] (= Collier and Quirke: 2002: 63); P. Berlin 10081 B, v° 2 (= Luft: 2006: 103).

55 Num. 91061 in James (1962).

56 Translation: Collier and Quirke (2002: 145).

- (20) 
ih *rdi-tw* *s3* *r* *t3y-f* *iw3y-t*
 MODP give:SBJV-PASS back to POSS:F.SG-3SG.M helper-F.SG
 One would like to turn back on his helper.
 (P. Berlin 10030 A, v° 13–14 = Luft: 1992: sub. n°)
- (21) 
h3 *rdi-t(w)* *n-i* *p3y-i* *md3y*
 MODP give:SBJV-PASS to-1SG POSS:M.SG-1SG Medjay
 If only I might be given my Medjay-man...⁵⁷
 (P. BM 10752 r°, Semna dispatch 5, 11–12 = Smither: 1945: pl. 5a)
- (22) 
swd3-ib [*pw*] *n* *nb* *nh-wd3-snb* [*hr*] *rdi-t*
 communication DEM for lord life_prosperity_health(EXCL) on give:INF
di-tw *ib* *hnt* *p3y-k* *hm-nswt*
 give:SBJV-PASS attention in_front POSS:M.SG-2SG.M royal_slave
 [This is] a communication to the lord, l.p.h., about having attention paid to your royal slave.⁵⁸
 (P. UC 32210, 9–11 = Collier and Quirke: 2002: 133)
- (23) 
sw[d]3-ib *pw* *n* *nb* *nh-[wd3-snb* *hr* *rdi-t]*
 communication DEM for lord life_prosperity_health(EXCL) on give:INF
di-tw *ib* *hft* *p3y-k* [...]
 give:SBJV-PASS attention in_front POSS:M.SG-2SG.M
 This is a communication [about having] attention paid to your...⁵⁹
 (P. UC 32098 E, iv,2–v,3 = Collier and Quirke: 2002: 11)

The last document in which *p3y-f* occurs is somewhat later than the letters previously quoted.

- (24) 
iri *i3wi-k* *nfr* *m* *t3* *hw-t-ntr* *n.t*
 do:IMP old_age-2SG.M good in DEM:F.SG temple-F.SG of-F
p3y-k *ntr*
 POSS:M.SG-2SG.M god
 Spend your good old age in this temple of your god!
 (Louvre Stela C11 [*Amenyseneb*], B. 3 = Helck: 1983: 7⁶⁰)

In this example, the presence of *p3y-f* may be interpreted in two different ways. The first is that it has an objective situational value, since the text mentions a temple situated near the stela⁶¹, and that the god referred to is the one that is in the temple, which therefore means that it is close to the interlocutor. But it could also have a subjective situational value, for instance an affective one, stressing the privileged link existing between the addressee and the god he praises. Moreover, this could be a bridging context, in which both readings are available as inference, for the context allows the addressee to infer the two meanings (Grossman, Lescuyer & Polis 2014).

57 Translation: Wente (1990: 72).

58 Translation: Wente (1990: 86).

59 Translation: Collier and Quirke (2002: 11).

60 Under the name “Louvre C 12”.

61 Note the use of the demonstrative before the word “temple” (*hw-t-ntr*), in the feminine singular form, *t3*.

Such interpretive differences aside, the important point here is that the value of *p3y-f* is still dependent on that of its source, the demonstrative *p3*.

2.2.3 Distribution of Type A and Type B

All the examples show that, in the texts of the Middle Kingdom, the use of *p3y-f* is still dependent on that of *p3*, which has at that time a demonstrative value. However, *p3y-f* is attested in only one of the four functions that are likely to be associated with a demonstrative (see Table 5), i.e., the situational function. It is moreover in the related topical function that it is the most often attested, insofar as it is associated with elements that become prominent in the subsequent content of the discourse.

2.3 Second Intermediate Period, 15–16th Dynasties (1730-1530 BC)

For this period only a single document is attested, the papyrus Westcar⁶², which contains several tales told to king Kheops by his nobles. In this text, *p3* and *p3y-f* are used in the narrative, and not only in the representation of direct speech, as we observed with the examples from the previous period⁶³.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Number of occurrences ⁶⁴ | 10 |
| Persons attested | <i>p3y-k</i> (2sg.m), <i>p3y-f</i> (3sg.m), <i>p3y-s</i> (3sg.f), <i>p3y-tn</i> (2pl), <i>p3y-sn</i> (3pl), <i>t3y-f</i> (3sg.m), <i>t3y-n</i> (1pl) |
| Pronominal use | <i>p3y-k</i> (P. Westcar 4,6) |

Table 8. Occurrences of *p3y-f* in the 15-16th Dynasties.

P3y-f is attested with two of the four functions associated with demonstratives as conceptualized by Himmelmann, namely the situational and the tracking functions. The tracking function of *p3y-f*, free from any salient context, is an innovative linguistic feature of P. Westcar⁶⁵.

2.3.1 Situational function

(25) 

[The king addresses a crocodile, enjoining him to take back his victim]

ini *n-k* *p3y-k*

take:IMP for-2SG.M DEM:M.SG-2SG.M

Take yours!


(P. Westcar, 4,6 [Tale 2] = Blackman: 1988: 4: 12)


62 Edition of the text: Blackman (1988). For a philological study, see Lepper (2008).

63 For an inventory (in a quantitative linguistic approach) of the occurrences of *p3* and *p3y-f* in P. Westcar, see Lepper (2008: 286–287).

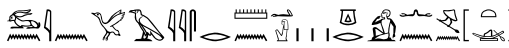
64 Only partial lacunae are accounted for. Complete reconstructions are left aside.

65 See Loprieno (1980: 6–7) about the differentiated uses of *p3* and the other demonstratives in P. Westcar.


- (26)  [A woman's husband wishes to thank Isis and other goddesses, who came in order to help his wife with her childbirth, for their help]
h3 di-tn p3 it n p3y-tn hry-kni
 MODP give:SBJV-2PL DEM:M.SG barley for POSS:M.SG-2PL carrier
 May you give this barley to your carrier!
 (P. Westcar, 11,7 [Tale 5/1] = Blackman: 1988: 14: 15)

- (27)  [Isis says to the other gods, as they are leaving a woman, whom they have just helped to give birth, and her babies]
smi-n n p3y-sn it rdi iw-t-n
 report:SBJV-1PL for POSS:M.SG-3PL father let:PTCP.POST-M.SG come:SBJV-1PL
 ... so that we may report to their father, who had us come.
 (P. Westcar, 11,12 [Tale 5/1–2] = Blackman: 1988: 15: 4)


In the following example, we note a slightly different use of *p3y-f*, closer to that of a definite possessive article:

- (28)  [A woman stops rowing]
wn.in p3y-s rmn gr nn
 CJVB:CNSV POSS:M.SG-3SG.F rank keep_silent:RES-3M.SG NEG
hni-t
 row:INF-F
 And her rank kept silent, without rowing.
 (P. Westcar, 5,18 [Tale 3] = Blackman: 1988: 6: 10)

In example 28, *p3y-f* arguably shows what Himmelmann calls an extended use of the demonstrative: it occurs in a context where the identification of the *rmn* (“rank”) is retrievable via ‘encyclopedic’ knowledge, i.e., shared between the participants and the reader of the tale. In this case, it is the knowledge that the leader of a boat leads a rank of rowers. Example 29 illustrates quite a similar situation, for *p3y-f* qualifies an entity that is unique in the context, and whose identification requires no particular restriction to be retrieved.


- (29)  *t3y-n sty-t gr-ti nn hni-t*
 POSS:F.SG-1PL leader-F.SG keep_silent:RES-3SG.F NEG row:INF-F
 Our rowing leader remains silent, without rowing.
 (P. Westcar, 5,19–20 [Tale 3] = Blackman: 1988: 6: 11–12)


Example 30 can also be analyzed as an extended use of the demonstrative, insofar as the identification of the oar is obvious in the given universe of discourse.




- (30)  *iy.n hd.n-s p3y-s rmn*
 come:PRF destroy:NMLZ-ANT-3SG.F POSS:M.SG-3SG.F oar
 It happened that she broke her oar
 (P. Westcar, 6,4 [Tale 3] = Blackman: 1988: 7: 4)

2.3.2 Tracking function

In some of its occurrences, we note that *p3y-f* qualifies a word that has been previously mentioned in the text. According to Himmelmann, this corresponds to the tracking function of a demonstrative. However, the high frequency of the expression, which systematically qualifies the same referent when it reoccurs, is in some cases rather incompatible with the restrictive meaning of deixis. As a reminder, deixis “is the fact of pointing to a referent whose representation has to be constructed according to the enunciative and discursive context operating in a given communication act” (Cornish 1995: 50); its function is to highlight an element of the discourse (§ 1.4). But in the present case, such a restriction is weakened by the high frequency of the construction with the same referent. What motivates here the presence of *p3y-f* is the fact that the referent has already been identified in the mind of the addressee, for it has already been mentioned once. This fits better with the description of the anaphoric function of a definite possessive article (examples 31-33).

- (31) 
 [ḥ^c.n] rdi.n-f sw n p3y-f [nb]⁶⁶
 CJVB:ANT give:PRF 3SG.M for POSS:M.SG-3SG.M lord
 (His Majesty performed the ritual of the Ptah sanctuary, the lector priest in chief Web-iner⁶⁷ being with him...). And then he gave it to his master.
 (P. Westcar, 2,19 [Tale 2] = Blackman: 1988: 2: 13)

- (32) 
 md-t tn iri(-t).n p3 nds m pr-f
 affair-F DEM:F.SG REL-F-ANT DEM:M.SG commoner in house-3SG.M
 ḥn^c t3y-f ḥm-t
 with POSS:F.SG-3SG.M wife-F
 (Then the wife of Web-iner wrote to the steward who was in charge of the garden's lake...). This affair that this commoner had with his wife in his house.
 (P. Westcar, 4,4–5 [Tale 2] = Blackman: 1988: 4: 10–11)

- (33) [Redjedet's servant is on her way to the Court to denounce his mistress of having given birth to three future kings]
 She went and met her half brother ( *sn-s n mw.t-s* [brother-3SG.F-of-mother-F.SG-3SG.F]) (...) And then her brother ( *p3y-s sn* [POSS:M.SG-3SG.F-brother]) said to her (...) And a journey was made by her brother ( *p3y-s sn* [POSS:M.SG-3SG.F-brother]), in order to say that to Redjedet.
 (P. Westcar 12,12–13, 12,15 and 12,19–20 [Tale 5/2] = Blackman: 1988: 16: 10–11, 12–13 and 16: 16–17: 1)

2.3.3 Distribution of Type A and Type B

P. Westcar makes regular use of *p3y-f* in situational and tracking functions⁶⁸. Most of the time, however, it is used in an extended way: as situational, it sometimes qualifies a referent whose identification is obvious in a given context (examples 28-29). As a tracking device, its presence signals that the referent has already been identified once, without any specific spatio-temporal

66 Reconstruction in Lepper (2008).

67 Web-iner occurs previously, but the section is very damaged and the name is reconstructed. These previous occurrences therefore cannot be treated as certain.

68 Called “anaphoric use” in the Egyptological literature: Kroeber (1970: 22–25), Loprieno (1980: 6–9), Silverman (1981: 60, n. 5).

restriction (examples 31–33). In these last cases, the deictic value of the innovative possessive determiner *p3y-f* is weakened by its high frequency.

2.4 17th Dynasty (1650-1552 BC)

In the early New Kingdom, *p3y-f* is used in a very restricted manner⁶⁹. By the reign of the first monarchs of the 18th Dynasty (1526-1358 BC), it is almost absent from royal texts. Similarly, it does not occur in literary texts. This is perhaps due to its sociolinguistic indexical value, since it is considered as an index of lower written registers (Stauder 2013).

During the reign of Kamose, the last king of the 17th Dynasty, however, we still find examples of the emerging possessive determiner in literary texts. In two royal texts of his reign, we find occurrences of *p3* and *p3y-f* among many other innovative linguistic features (Stauder 2013: 38–49). As very few documents from this period have survived, the total number of attestations is very small. As for private documents, only two of them display instances of *p3y-f*.


| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Number of occurrences | 11 |
| Distribution according to text genres | 2 royal texts (7) 2 private documents 1 autobiography (1) 1 will (3) |
| Texts in which <i>p3y-f</i> occurs more than once | Kamose Stela II, a royal text (4) Carnarvon tablet, a royal text (3) Cairo Stela JE 52453, a will (3) |
| Persons attested | <i>p3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>p3y-k</i> (2sg.m), <i>n3y-i-n</i> (1sg), <i>p3y-tn</i> (2pl), <i>t3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>t3y-n</i> (1pl) |
| Pronominal use | <i>p3y-i</i> , <i>p3y-k</i> (Kamose Stela II, 24) |

Table 9. Occurrences of *p3y-f* in the 17th Dynasty.

By that period, the use of *p3y-f* is still more restricted than that of the possessive bound person marker. In royal texts, its main function is situational, while in private documents, we also encounter it in its tracking and recognitional functions.

2.4.1 Emphatic function

We saw that in its situational function, a demonstrative can express subjective deixis, which includes values such as topicalization, emphasis, assertion, affectivity, etc. It is precisely with these values that we encounter *p3y-f* in the royal texts of King Kamose’s reign (very end of 17th Dynasty). The texts that have been handed down to us are written in a narrative style and relate a war between Egyptians and foreign invaders. The possessive determiner *p3y-f* occurs in the representation of direct speech, usually in sections containing exclamations.

- (34) 

stp-f *p3* *t3* 2 *r* *i3d* *sn* *p3y-i*
choose-PFV-3SG.M DEM:M.SG land 2 to divide:INF 3PL POSS:M.SG-1SG
t3 *hn^c* *p3y-k*
land and POSS:M.SG-2SG.M

(Why did you set up as a ruler without letting me know it? Do you see what Egypt has done against me? The ruler who is in it, the powerful Kamose, is invading me through my banks,

⁶⁹ For an inventory of early New Kingdom documents displaying attestations of *p3*, see Stauder (2013: 42–43).

although I didn't hit him.) He chose these two lands in order to divide them, my land as well as yours!

(Kamose Stela II, Louxor J 43, 20–24 = Helck: 1983: 94)

(35) 

sdm-tw hmhm-t n-t p3y-i mšc
hear:IPFV-PASS clamor-F of-F POSS:M.SG-1SG army

(The women of Avaris won't get pregnant anymore, they'll be frightened to death) when the clamor of my army is heard!

(Kamose Stela II, Louxor J 43, 2–3 = Helck: 1983: 91)

(36) 

rdi-i h3-t hr hmy-t m n3y-i-n
give:PFV-1SG foremost-F.SG on steering_oar-F.SG in POSS:PL-1SG-of

kny-w hr ʿhi-t hr itrw
brave-PL on fly:INF-F on river

(I ordered the float, one (boat) after the other). I positioned (myself) at the steering oar among my braves, who were flying on the river.

(Kamose Stela II, Louxor J 43, 5–6 = Helck: 1983: 92)

2.4.2 Topical function

In another text, the possessive *p3y-f* is attested four times. It occurs in the representation of direct speech, where we find it alongside the bound person marker. Its presence is actually to be related with topical elements of the text. It occurs for instance at the very beginning of the king's discourse, in an exclamation that is further developed (example 37).


(37) 

si3-i sw r-ih p3y-i nht
wonder:IPFV-1SG 3SG.M what_for:Q POSS:M.SG-1SG power

(It is Rê himself who placed him as a king, who passed on to him the true power! (...) His Majesty in his palace said to the assembly of nobles who accompany him:) 'I wonder: What purpose does my power serve? (A prince is in Avaris, another one is in Kush, I'm ruling (lit., 'sitting') alongside with an Asiatic and a Nubian!')

(Carnarvon Tablet, Cairo JE 41790, I, r° 3 = Helck: 1983: 83)

In example 38, it occurs at the very beginning of a speech made by the king's council:


(38) 

tw n kb-wjn hr t3(y)-n km-t
1PL be_cool:RES-1PL under POSS:F.SG-1PL Egypt-F

(... and they said with one voice:) 'We are comfortable in our Egypt!' (Elephantine is strong, the Middle Land to Cusae is on our part).

(Carnarvon Tablet, Cairo JE 41790, I, r° 5 = Helck: 1983: 85)

The fourth and last attestation of *p3y-f* occurs in a lacunary passage of a speech of the king's council, but we can nevertheless note that it is introduced by the topicalizing particle *ir* (example 39):

- (39) 

ir *p3y-tn* *shr*

TOPZ POSS:M.SG-2PL advice


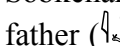

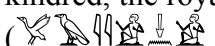
As for your advice...

(Carnarvon Tablet, Cairo JE 41790, I, r° 8 = Helck: 1983: 86)

As the passages in parentheses illustrate in examples 37-38, what follows the expression qualified by means of the innovative possessive construction develops it in some further way. In these examples, the sentences in which it is found clearly introduce new discourse topics. The referent is therefore in a salient position (see § 1.4.2).

2.4.3 Tracking function

The following example illustrates the tracking function of the demonstrative:


- (40) Will made by the attendant of the ruler's table, Keksi, for a man of his kindred ( *z n h3w-f* [man-of-kindred-1SG]), the royal son, seal bearer, overseer of the troop-houses, Sobkenakht. As regards my office of noble of Nekheb that came to me as an office of my father ( *it-i* [father-1SG]), noble of Nekheb, Iymerou, that came to me as an office of my father ( *p3y-i it* [POSS:M.SG-1SG-father]) as a property of his brother of his mother, the noble of Nekheb, Iysheri, who died without children, it will be for this man of my kindred, the royal son, overseer of the troop-houses, Sobeknakht (...) it is given to my brother ( *p3y-i sn* [POSS:M.SG-1SG-brother]), royal son and noble, Sobeknakht.

(Cairo Stela JE 52453 [*Will of Keksi*], 4–6 and 10 = Helck: 1983: 65–66)

In example 40, we note that the first time that a nominal referent occurs, it is not qualified by means of *p3y-f*. This is the case with *it*, “father”, the first occurrence of which is in the bound person marker construction. The second time, it is the possessive determiner construction that occurs. Concerning the construction *z n h3w-f* (“a man of my kindred”), which is to be related to *p3y-i sn* (“my brother”), it shows a first use of the possessive determiner as an article. Indeed, *p3y-i sn* and *z n h3w-f* are two expressions that refer exactly to the same referent, and it is according to an inferential process that we mentally construct the identity of the referent of *z n h3w-f* as being Keksi's brother. It is what Himmelmann (2001: 833) calls the associative-anaphoric use of the demonstrative, a use in which it functions as an article.

2.4.4 Recognitional function

In the recognitional function, the referent's identity is retrievable via a group of person's shared knowledge. With this value, it is attested twice, in two private documents:

- (41) 

swtwt-i *r* *p3y-i* *nb* *m* *hn-f* *nb*

satisfy:PFV-1SG to POSS:M.SG-1SG lord in order-3SG.M every

(I spent three years beating the drum daily.) I satisfied my lord every time he commanded.

(Cairo Stela JE 49566, B. 9–10 = Helck: 1983: 98)⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *P3y-i nb* occurs again at l. 15.

(42) 

wnn t3y-i i3w-t h3ty-^c n n**ḥb**
 exist:NMLZ.IPFV POSS:F.SG-1SG office-F noble of Nekheb

As regards my office of noble of Nekheb (that came to me as an office of my father... it will be for this man of my kindred).

(Cairo Stela JE 52453, 4–6 = Helck: 1983: 65)

2.4.5 Distribution of Type A and Type B

According to our corpus, *p3y-f* is exclusively emphatic and topical in royal texts, whereas in private and administrative documents it occurs in the extended tracking and recognitional uses, in which its deictic value is very weak, even almost inexistent.

2.5 Early 18th Dynasty (1552-1526 BC)

By the early 18th Dynasty, we find two occurrences of *p3y-f*: once in a royal administrative text, once in a private letter belonging to the genre known as ‘letters to the dead’. *P3y-f* is found in its (situational) topical and recognitional functions.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Number of occurrences | 2 |
| Distribution according to text genres | 1 royal text (1) 1 private document, a letter to a dead (1) |
| Texts in which <i>p3y-f</i> occurs more than once | none |
| Persons attested | <i>t3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>t3y-s</i> (3sg.f) |
| Pronominal use | none |

Table 10. Occurrences of *p3y-f* in the early 18th Dynasty.

2.5.1 Topical function

The topical *p3y-f* is attested in a royal text dating from the reign of pharaoh Ahmose (1552-1526 BC). It occurs with the word *i3w-t*, “office”, which is the very subject of the document, for it commemorates the passing, by king Ahmose, of the office of the second prophet of Amun to his mother, queen Ahmes-Nefertari:

(43) 

iw t3y-s i3w-t hr šn^c 600
 SBRD POSS:F.SG-3SG.F office-F on shena_measure 600


Her office is 600 shena-measures.

(Donation Stela of Ahmes-Nefertari, l. 12 = Helck: 1983: 101)

All the other words with a pronominal possessor take the bound person marker.

2.5.2 Recognitional function

In the following example, which comes from a letter to the dead, *p3y-f* qualifies the word *mw-t*, whose referent is the writer's mother.

- (44) 
mw.t-f *krs* *sw* *t3y-i* *mw-t*
 die:SBJV-3SG.M bury:SBJV 3SG.M POSS:F.SG-1SG mother-F
 If he dies, my mother shall have to bury him.
 (Oxford Bowl, 1–2 = Gardiner and Sethe: 1928: pl. 9)

2.5.3 Distribution of Type A and Type B

Documents of that period are very sparse. *P3y-f* is attested in only its topical and recognitional functions. In the recognitional function, it is used in an extended way, i.e., qualifies an element whose identification can be retrieved via encyclopedic knowledge.

2.6 Hatshepsut (1478-1358 BC)

By the time of Queen Hatshepsut, *p3* and *p3y-f* are strikingly absent from royal texts, which appear to be particularly conservative. The only texts in which *p3y-f* occurs are private documents, e.g., some Theban necropolis registers and a few letters.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Number of occurrences | 12 |
| Distribution according to text genres | 4 administrative documents (4) 4 letters (8) |
| Texts in which <i>p3y-f</i> occurs more than once | P. BM 10102, a letter (2) P. Louvre 3230 B, a letter (4) |
| Persons attested | <i>p3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>p3y-k</i> (2sg.m), <i>p3y-f</i> (3sg.m), <i>t3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>t3y-f</i> (3sg.m), <i>t3y-s</i> (3sg.f), <i>n3y-k-n</i> (2sg.m) |
| Pronominal use | none |


Table 11. Occurrences of *p3y-f* under the reign of Hatshepsut.

P3y-f goes on to appear regularly with the functions of a demonstrative, i.e., recognitional and the subjective situational functions, namely topicalizing, emphasizing, or affective. Nevertheless, several examples show that its function starts to evolve into that of a definite possessive determiner, insofar as the criterion for its use seems to be determined either by the definite character of its referent⁷¹ or by the register in which the word it qualifies occurs. This clearly shows that its uses are not longer dependent on those of a demonstrative, insofar as it does no longer rely on deixis, but is commanded by anaphora and by discourse registers. Sometimes, *p3y-f* occurs with both values (possessive + demonstrative and possessive + definite article) within the same text. This indicates that it is in a transitional phase of its evolution: it has only just begun to encroach on the bound person marker. Actually, its use is still motivated in one way or another by objective linguistic factors⁷².

71 For it appears to be qualified by means of an adjective or a relative clause. Such syntactic features are, among others, also noted by James (1962: 108) and Loprieno (1980) regarding the use of *p3* as a definite article in some Middle Kingdom letters.


72 It is only when the choice of a new construction appears to be arbitrary and then that of the older construction appears to be motivated, that we can speak about a final step in the encroachment process. This is actually the sign that the meaning and uses of the later construction are broad enough so that it can be used in all non restricted contexts; it is therefore statistically more attested than the older construction.

2.6.1 Recognitional function

- (45) 
h3b pw r rdi-t rh p3y-i nb md-t
 send:INF DEM to let:INF know:SBJV POSS:M.SG-1SG lord affair-F.SG
hr pth-zkr
 on Ptah-Sokar


This is a letter to inform my lord about an affair concerning Ptah-Sokar.

(P. DeB 2, 1–2 = Hayes: 1957: 81: fig. 1,O)


- (46) 
in-iw nn ink p3y-k b3k hr sdm wp-wt-k
 Q NEG 1SG POSS:M.SG-2SG.M servant on hear:INF order-PL-2SG.M
m grh mi hrw (...) hr-nt[t] irf t3y-s
 in night like day because(SBRD) PTCL POSS:F.SG-3SG.F
mw-t hr h3b n-i r-dd ntk rdi
 mother-F.SG on write:INF for-1SG COMP 2SG.M let:PTCP.ANT-M.SG
iti-tw t3y-i šri-t iw-s ʕ hn^c-k
 take:SBJV-IMPRS POSS:F.SG-1SG child-F.SG SBRD-3SG.F here(ADV) with-2SG.M

Am I not your servant obeying your orders day and night? ... because her mother wrote to me, saying: ‘It is you who allowed my daughter to be taken away although she was there in your charge!’


(P. Louvre 3230 B, 2–3 and 6–7 = Peet: 1926: pl. 17)

- (47) 
hr tm.n.-i smi-t n p3y-i nb
 CORD not_do(AUX):NMLZ-ANT-1SG complain:INF for POSS:M.SG-1SG lord
 And if I didn't complain to my lord...

(P. Louvre 3230 B, 7–8 = Peet: 1926: pl. 17)

- (48) 
nfr wy wn p3y(-i) sn m-^c-k
 good EXLM be(AUX) POSS:M.SG-1SG brother with-2SG.M
 How nice that my brother is with you!

(P. BM 10102, r^o 17 = Glanville: 1928: pl. 35)

- (49) 
ky dd imy rdi-tw šb-t n p3
 other word let:IMP give:SBJV-IMPRS price-F.SG for ART:M.SG
iwt n pr n p3y-f nb
 ground of house of POSS:M.SF-3SG.M lord

Another matter: get a price for the ground of his master's house.

(P. BM 10102, v^o 4–6 = Glanville: 1928: pl. 35)


In the documents from which these examples are drawn, we also find several nouns with the bound person marker construction. This construction is attested in two different contexts: first, in the incipit of the letters, which are very formal and conservative in linguistic terms⁷³; second, with words that do not refer to a referent whose identification is shared by the interlocutors. For example,

⁷³ On variation in the choice of registers of expression inside a text, see Goldwasser (1990).

consider example 46, *wp-wt-k* “your orders” in the first line. It occurs in a very general context, since the statement does not refer to any specific orders (we could gloss “your orders [*whatever they may be*]”).

2.6.2. Use as a general restrictor


In the following examples⁷⁴, we note that *p3y-f* doesn't play the role of a demonstrative, but that it occurs⁷⁵ with a noun that is also modified by means of a relative clause or an adjective. In other words, it qualifies referents whose identification is already restricted. Incidentally, in the same texts, the bound person marker construction occurs mostly with indefinite, or unireferential words, in fixed expressions such as titles, in non-specific contexts, and in adverbial expressions.

- (50) 

š3c *b3k* *in* *hrtyw* *bš3* *m* *t3* *šmm-t*
begin:INF work AGT mason Besha in ART:F.SG passage-F.SG
mhy-t *nty* *m* *rwd-t* *m* *t3y-f* *w3-t*
northern(ADJV-F.SG) REL in hard_rock-F.SG in POSS:F.SG-3SG.M way-F.SG
rsy-t
southern(ADJV-F.SG)

Beginning of the work by the mason Besha in the northern passage, which is in hard rock in its southern side.

(O. Senenmout 74, 1–4 = Hayes: 1942: pl. 15)

- (51) 

rh-t *p3y-f* *b3k* *nty* *m* *p3* *wmt*
amount-F.SG POSS:M.SF-3SG.M work REL in ART:M.SG doorway
Amount of his work which is in the doorway.
(O. Senenmout 75, 3 = Hayes: 1942: pl. 15)

2.6.3 Distribution of Type A and Type B

In private documents of the early 18th Dynasty (1478-1538 BC), there is a tendency to prefer *p3y-f* to the bound person marker in specific contexts, because of its original demonstrative value. It qualifies expressions that are qualified by means of an adjective or an equivalent. Their reference is somehow restricted by this adjectival construction; this element is correlated consistently with the use of *p3y-f* in these expressions.

2.7 Thutmosis III (1358-1425 BC)

Occurrences of *p3y-f* in royal texts are rare and limited by the discourse register. Moreover, when it is used, its value still depends on that of its demonstrative source, insofar as it is used with recognitional, situational, topicalizing and emphasizing functions. In private documents, it is mostly attested as a general restrictor, excepted in a private literary composition, where it is topical (example 52).

74 Two examples are too lacunary to be properly analyzed: O. DeB 7, 2–3 (= Hayes: 1960: 35) and O. Senenmout 150, 1 (= Hayes: 1942: pl. 29).


75 One example doesn't fit with this observation: P. Louvre 3230 A, l. 5–7 (= Peet: 1926: pl. 17). The text is interrupted by a lacuna; *p3y-f* occurs just after. The lacunary context does not allow us to provide an interpretation of the use of *p3y-f* here.

| | |
|---------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Number of occurrences | 13 |
| Distribution according to text genres | 3 royal texts (5) 3 private documents 1 commemorative (2) 1 prayer (3) 1 will (3) |
| Texts in which <i>p3y-f</i> occurs more than once | Thutmosis III's <i>Annals</i> (3) Installation of Weser as a vizir (2) O. Nakhtmin 87/173 (3) Stela Cairo JE 27815 (3) |
| Persons attested | <i>p3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>p3y-k</i> (2sg.m), <i>p3y-s</i> (3sg.f), <i>p3y-n</i> (1pl), <i>n3y-i</i> (1sg), <i>n3y-sn</i> (3pl) |
| Pronominal use | none |

Table 12. Occurrences of *p3y-f* under the reign of Tuthmosis III.


Finally, in one administrative document, it is used with an expression that is mostly attested, at least at that time, with the possessive bound person marker (see comments for example 59).

2.7.1 Topical function


- (52) 
- | | | | | | |
|------------------|--------------|------------|--------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>imn</i> | <i>imy</i> | <i>wi</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>p3y-k</i> | <i>dmi</i> |
| Amun | let:IMP | 1SG | in | POSS:M.SG-2SG.M | town |
| <i>ndm</i> | | <i>nh</i> | <i>mrr</i> | | <i>n niwty-w-k</i> |
| sweet(ADJV-M.SG) | | life | love:PTCP~IPFV-M.SG | | of citizen-PL-2SG.M |
| <i>r</i> | | <i>iri</i> | <i>i3w-t</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>ky-t niw-t</i> |
| more_than | | do:INF | old_age-F.SG | in | another-F.SG town-F.SG |
| <i>imn</i> | <i>imy</i> | <i>wi</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>p3y-k</i> | <i>dmi</i> |
| Amun | let:IMP | 1SG | in | POSS:M.SG-2SG.M | town |
| <i>ndm</i> | | <i>nh</i> | <i>mrr</i> | | <i>niw-t-k</i> |
| sweet(ADJV-M.SG) | | life | love:PTCP~IPFV-M.SG | | town-F.SG-2SG.M |
| <i>r</i> | | <i>it</i> | <i>m smw</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>rnp-t ispw(-t)</i> |
| more_than | | barley | in summer | in | year-F.SG famine(-F.SG) |
| <i>imn</i> | <i>imy</i> | <i>wi</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>p3y-k</i> | <i>mnn-w</i> |
| Amun | let:IMP | 1SG | in | POSS:M.SG-2SG.M | wall-M.PL |
| <i>ndm</i> | | <n> | <i>s33w.n-k</i> | | |
| sweet(ADJV-M.SG) | | for | protect.REL(M)-ANT-2SG.M | | |
| <i>m-rdi</i> | <i>h3i</i> | | <i>dr-t</i> | <i>n-t</i> | <i>ky hr-i</i> |
| PROH-let | go_down:SBJV | | hand-F.SG | of-F.SG | another on-1SG |
- Amun, welcome me in your town!
The life enjoyed by your citizens is too sweet
to grow old in another city!
- Amun, welcome me in your town!
The life enjoyed by your city is sweeter

than the barley in summer in a year of famine!
 Amun, welcome me in your walls!
 (It is) sweet for the one you protect!
 Don't let anyone put his hand on me!
 (O. Nakhtmin 87/173 = Ragazzoli: 2008: 26)

2.7.2 Emphatic function


- (53) 
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|--|
| <i>ist</i> | <i>gm[.n</i> | <i>hm-f</i> | <i>p3</i> | <i>t3</i> | <i>n]</i> | <i>d3hy</i> | |
| SBRD | find:PFV | majesty-3SG.M | ART:M.SG | land | of | Djahy | |
| <i>r-3w-f</i> | <i>mnw-w-sn</i> | <i>mḥ</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>pr-wt-sn</i> | | | |
| entire-3SG.M | tree-PL-3PL | full:RES(-M.SG) | with | fruit-PL-3PL | | | |
| <i>gm.n-tw</i> | <i>n3y-sn</i> | <i>irp(-w)</i> | <i>w3ḥ</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>n3y-sn</i> | | |
| find:PFV-IMPRS | POSS:PL-3PL | wine(-M.PL) | lay_down:RES(-PL) | in | POSS:PL3PL | | |
| <i>nmw-w</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>ḥdd</i> | <i>mw</i> | <i>n3y-sn</i> | <i>it(-w)</i> | <i>m</i> | |
| press-M.PL | like | stream:IPFV | water | POSS:PL-3PL | barley(-PL) | in | |
| <i>ḥt3-w</i> | | | | | | | |
| granary-M.PL | | | | | | | |

His Majesty discovered the whole country of Djahy. Its trees were full of fruits! One found its wine still in its press, like the water flows, and its cereals in the granaries!
 (Annals = Urk. IV, 687, 9–14)

- (54) 
- | | | | | |
|----------------|----------|---------------|------------|----------|
| <i>iri-n-i</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>p3y-i</i> | <i>ḥrd</i> | <i>4</i> |
| do:REL-ANT-1SG | for | POSS:M.SG-1SG | child | 4 |
- (If any son, any daughter, brother or sister, any man of my family comes in order to contest the will) which I have made for my four children.
 (Cairo Stela 27815 [Will of Senmose], 16–18 = Urk. IV, 1070,3)


In this last example, *p3y-f* is used in a contrastive way, emphasizing the children to whom the speaker wishes to bequeath.

2.7.3 Recognitional function

- (55) 
- | | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| <i>30</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>rnp-t</i> | < <i>r</i> > | <i>t3y</i> | <i>pr-ʕ3</i> | <i>ʕnh-wd3-snb</i> |
| 30 | of | year-F.SG | <to> | DEM:F.SG | pharao | life_prosperity_health(EXLM) |
| <i>p3y-i</i> | <i>nb</i> | <i>nfr</i> | | | | |
| POSS:M.SG-1SG | lord | good(ADJV-M.SG) | | | | |


It has been 30 years, Pharaoh my good Lord!

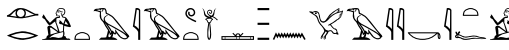
(Installation of Weser as a vizir, on a papyrus of Turin [PR 1] = Urk. IV, 1384,8)

- (56) 
- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------|------------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>nn</i> | <i>whm-n</i> | <i>r</i> | <i>bin</i> | <i>ḥr</i> | <i>mn-ḥpr-rʕ</i> | <i>ʕnh</i> | <i>d.t</i> |
| NEG | repeat:FUT-1PL | to | evil | on | Menkheperre | live:RES(-M.SG) | forever |
| <i>p3y-n</i> | <i>nb</i> | | | | | | |
| POSS:M.SG-1PL | lord | | | | | | |

We won't act badly again towards Menkheperre given of life, our Lord!


(Boston Stela MFA 23.733, 24 = Reisner: 1933: 32)

- (57) 
iw p3y-i nb m rdi-t mn r nhh
 SBRD POSS:M.SG-1SG lord in let:INF last:INF to forever
 ... in which my Lord let it last forever (?)
 (Karnak, inscription of Senenmut, 4 = Helck: 1983: 122)

- (58) 
ir-i t3 i3w-t n p3y-k it
 do:PFV-1SG ART:F.SG office-F.SG for POSS:M.SG-2SG.M father
 I also performed this office for your father.
 (Installation of Weser as a vizir, on a papyrus of Turin [PR 1] = *Urk.* IV, 1384,10)

2.7.4 Use in competition with the bound person marker

In this document, *p3y-f* is attested twice in combination with the expression $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{w } n \text{ ḥ}^{\text{c}}$, “lifetime”⁷⁶.

- (59) 
ḥm-t-i ḥdr m p3y-s ḥḥw n ḥh
 wife-F.SG-1SG Hedjer in POSS:M.SG-3SG.F lifetime of life
 ... my wife Hedjer in her lifetime.
 (Cairo Stela 27815 [*Will of Senmose*], 1 = *Urk.* IV, 1067,6)

In the corpus of Late Egyptian encoded in the Ramses database, $\text{ḥ}^{\text{c}}\text{w}$ “time of life”, we note its strong tendency to be used in the bound person marker, especially in the early New Kingdom. By the 19th Dynasty onwards (1295-1188 BC), it begins to occur more and more with *p3y-f*⁷⁷. It is moreover noticeable that scribes appear to be consistent: within a same document, they use either *p3y-f* or the bound person marker, without alternating between both. This shows that the choice of one construction or the other depends on an arbitrary criterion (thus, it is non-motivated), such as, for instance, an idiolectal scribal habit.

2.7.5 Distribution of Type A and Type B

In royal texts, *p3y-f* is still clearly used as a demonstrative possessive determiner. It is no longer used with that value in private and administrative documents, excepted in a text with a literary value, where it qualifies the topic.

2.8 Amenhotep II (1425-1401 BC)

By the time of Amenhotep II, *p3y-f* is still very rarely attested in royal texts, whereas in private documents it occurs more and more frequently. It would be beyond the scope of this paper to give all the examples of *p3y-f* occurring in private documents, as well as to provide a table summing up all its occurrences (See Winand, this volume, for Late Egyptian). Indeed, by the time of Amenhotep II, when it occurs in royal texts, or in those with a quite conservative register, such as for instance literary texts, we note that its use is the same as in less conservative registers, that is to say, a use that is definitely no more that of a demonstrative. A few examples will suffice to illustrate the last step of the encroachment of *p3y-f* over the possessive bound person marker, which we situate


⁷⁶ Again at l. 4.


⁷⁷ See Winand (this volume) for a study of nouns that occur in both constructions in Late Egyptian.


precisely here, by the reign of Amenhotep II⁷⁸.

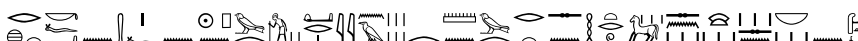
2.8.1. Use in competition with the bound person marker

Examples 60–61 and 62–63 come from two texts relating the same events (Stela of the 8th pylon of Karnak temple in comparison with Stela Cairo JE 86763, both relating the 2nd Syrian campaign of Amenhotep II). In very similar passages, one version displays the innovative possessive determiner *p3y-f*, whereas the other one displays the bound person marker construction. This variation can hardly be explained, since the context and cotext of the two sentences are very similar. The reason for it probably falls outside the scope of this paper.

- (60) 
wdb.n hm-f ʿ-w-f r m33 ph-wy n
 turn:PFV majesty-3SG.M arm-M.DU-3SG.M to see:INF rear-DU of
p3y-f mšʿ
 POSS:M.SG-3SG.M army
 His Majesty turned in order to see the rear of his army.
 (Stela of the 8th pylon of Karnak, 5 = *Urk.* IV, 1311,3)


- (61) 
ʿhʿ.n wdb.n-f ʿ-w-f r m33 ph-wy
 CJVB:ANT turn:PFV-3SG.M arm-M.DU-3SG.M to see:INF rear-DU
mšʿ-f
 army-3SG.M
 And he turned in order to see the rear of his army.
 (Cairo Stela JE 86763, 5 = *Urk.* IV, 1302,8)

- (62) 
ist ini.n-f p3 stti hr dr-wy [n
 SBRD bring:PFV-3SG.M ART:M.SG Asiatic on side-DU of
wrr-t-f] p3y-f htr t3y-f
 chariot-F.SG-3SG.M POSS:M.SG-3SG.M horse POSS:F.SG-3SG.M
mrkb-t hʿ-w-f nb(-w) n ʿh3
 chariot-F.SG equipment-PL-3SG.M all(-M.PL) of fight:INF
 And he took the Asiatic on the side of his (scil. Pharaoh) chariot, his (scil. Asiatic) horses, his chariot and all his equipment of fight.
 (Stela of the 8th pylon of Karnak, 8 = *Urk.* IV, 1311,11–12)


- (63) 
rh-t kfʿ.n hm-f n hrw pn
 amount-F.SG seize:REL-M-ANT majesty-3SG.M for day DEM:M.SG
wr 2 mryn 6 r-mn wrry(-w)t-sn htr(-w)-sn
 chief 2 Maryanu 6 until chariot-F(.PL)-3Pl horse(-PL)-3PL
hʿ(-w)-sn nb(-w) n ʿh3
 equipment(-PL)-3PL all(-PL) of fight:INF
 Amount of what His Majesty captured today: 2 chiefs and 6 Maryanus, and also their chariots, their horses and all their equipment of fight.
 (Cairo Stela JE 86763, 7 = *Urk.* IV, 1303,1–3)

78 It is only by the Amarna period (1352-1336 BC) and later that *p3* starts to be commonly used: Stauder (2013: 113).


In example 64, variation can be explained by an influence of religious phraseology.

- (64)  (...)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>nb-k</i> | | [<i>imn</i>] | | |
| lord-2SG.M | | Amun | | |
| <i>p3</i> | <i>it</i> | <i>nfr</i> | | |
| ART:M.SG | father | good(ADJV-M.SG) | | |
| <i>p3</i> | <i>nb</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>t3</i> | <i>r-dr-f</i> |
| ART:M.SG | lord | of | land | entire-3SG.M |
| <i>p3y-k</i> | | <i>mniw</i> | [<i>imn</i>] | |
| POSS:M.SG-2SG.M | | shepherd | Amun | |
| <i>p3y-k</i> | | <i>mniw</i> | | |
| POSS:M.SG-2SG.M | | shepherd | | |
- Your lord is Amun!
The good father!
The lord of the entire land! (...)
Your shepherd is [Amun]!
Your shepherd!
(Gebel el-Silsileh, Chapel 11, room B, north wall, vertical text = Kucharek: 2000: 80)

In example 65, it is only the construction with the possessive determiner *p3y-f* that is used to express a pronominal possessor.

- (65) 
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>m-rdi-t</i> | <i>t3-i</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>hr</i> | <i>t3y-k</i> | <i>s-t</i> |
| PROH-do | take:SBJV-1SG | for | 2SG.M | about | POSS:F.SF-2SG.M | place-F.SG |
| <i>hn^c</i> | <i>ntk</i> | <i>hn</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>n3-n</i> | <i>mniw-w</i> | <i>r rdi-t</i> |
| CORD | 2SG.M | order:INF | for | ART:PL-of | herdsman-M.PL | to let:INF-F |
| <i>rdi-sn</i> | <i>grg</i> | <i>irt-t</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>hnw-w</i> | <i>n-m3w-t</i> | |
| let:SBJV-3PL | be_ready:INF | milk-F.SG | in | jar-M.PL | anew(ADV) | |
| <i>r-h3-t-i</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>p3y-i</i> | <i>iy-t</i> | | | |
| in_front-1SG | for | POSS:M.SG-1SG | come:INF | | | |
- Don't let me find fault with you regarding your post (...) and also order the herdsmen to have them furnish freshly jugged milk to await me on my arrival.⁷⁹
(P. Berlin 10463, r° 3 and v° 1-2 = Caminos: 1963: pl. 6a)

Finally, the very last example shows a use of *p3y-f* with a proper name (example 66). This is very rare. The only other example comes from a document dated from the 19th Dynasty (1295-1188 BC), illustrated in example 67.

- (66) 
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------|---------------|------------------------|
| <i>ntk</i> | <i>is</i> | <i>p3y-i</i> | <i>h^cpy</i> |
| 2SG.M | PTCL | POSS:M.SG-1SG | Hapy |
- You're my Hapy!
(O. Cairo 12217 r° 4 = Posener: 1975: 209)

79 Translation: Wente (1990: 93).

- (67) *imn-r^c* *p3y-k* *h^cpy*
 Amun-Ra POSS:M.SG-2SG.M Hapy
 Amun-Ra is your Hapy!
 (P. Anastasi IV, 10, 6–7 = Gardiner: 1937: 45,15)

2.8.2 Distribution of Type A and Type B

The reign of Amenhotep II illustrates a stage where *p3y-f* and the bound person marker compete.

3 General conclusion

Based on a discourse-oriented diachronic study, this paper has illustrated the emergence of the possessive determiner *p3y-f* and its gradual encroachment on its earlier counterpart, the bound person marker construction. At the earliest stages, the demonstrative origin of *p3y-f* is palpable in the actual functions with which it is associated in texts, i.e., topical and emphasizing. It is also sometimes, but quite rarely, encountered in its original objective value of demonstrative *p3*. As such, it is exclusively situational in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and situational and tracking in the Second Intermediate Period.

It is only later that the recognitional function is attested. We saw that it is through the tracking and recognitional uses that it gradually comes to play the role of a definite possessive marker. Its first attestations with this value can already be found in the Second Intermediate Period. In the 17th Dynasty (1650-1552 BC), *p3y-f* is very rare. It occurs in a few royal texts with emphasizing and topical roles; these texts incidentally appear to be, at that period, open to innovative linguistic features. However, it should be kept in mind that the corpus of 17th Dynasty texts is very small, relative to the Middle Kingdom and the later New Kingdom.

During the early 18th Dynasty (1526-1358 BC), royal texts are very conservative, and linguistic innovations are rarely found.

By the time of Thutmose III (1358-1425 BC), when *p3y-f* begins to reappear in formal texts, it is still associated primarily with demonstrative functions. This contrasts very strongly with what we observe in private and administrative documents of the same period, in which the innovative possessive determiner is regularly found as a general restrictor, free from any demonstrative value. As such, it rises in frequency and really starts to encroach on the earlier bound person marker construction. In some private and administrative documents, for example, it already appears as the regular construction to express a pronominal possessor.

By the reign of Amenhotep II (1425-1401 BC), some royal texts appear to be much less conservative, at least from the point of view of *p3y-f*, than under the reign of this king's direct predecessors⁸⁰. In some of them, however, *p3y-f* is still less frequent than the bound person marker construction. The reason for this is not the fact that the contexts of its use are more limited than those of the other construction: if that were the case, its distribution with the bound person marker would not seem to rely on some apparently arbitrary criteria. It is likely that the main factor determining its absence from certain textual corpora is its indexical value, i.e., its association with a

⁸⁰ See Collombert and Coulon (2000: 211–215) for an analysis of the grammar of the *Tale of Astarte*, a literary text dated from the reign of Amenhotep II, which is open to recent grammatical features, although it belongs to a genre that generally uses a conservative repertoire.

low register of expression.

| | | Function(s) | Distribution |
|-----------|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| OK | <i>p3y-f</i> | Situational > topical | - [LING] with topics - [GENRE] magical - [REG] low (vernacular) - [SOCIAL] ? |
| | BPM | | everywhere |
| MK | <i>p3y-f</i> | Situational Situational > topical | - [LING] with present referents; with topics - [GENRE] epilogue of a literary text; letters - [REG] low (vernacular) - [SOCIAL] lower classes |
| | BPM | | everywhere |
| SIP | <i>p3y-f</i> | Situational Situational > extended use Tracking | - [LING] with present referents; with aforementioned referents (very low even null deictic value) - [GENRE] literary text displaying oral features - [REG] low (vernacular) - [SOCIAL] in the mouth of people belonging to a lower class, of nobles and of gods |
| | BPM | | everywhere |
| 17D | <i>p3y-f</i> | Situational > emphatic (royal texts) Situational > topical (royal texts) Tracking > extended use (non royal administrative texts) Recognitional (non royal administrative texts) | - [LING] with topics; with focus; in direct speeches. Deictic in royal texts, non-deictic in non-royal texts - [GENRE] narrative royal texts; non royal administrative texts - [REG] low (vernacular) - [SOCIAL] in the mouth of kings and a noble |
| | BPM | | everywhere |
| early 18D | <i>p3y-f</i> | Situational > topical (royal text) Recognitional > extended use (letter of a private) | - [LING] with topics; with referents whose identification is shared by the interlocutors. Deictic in royal texts, non-deictic in non-royal texts - [GENRE] a royal administrative text; a letter - [REG] low (vernacular) - [SOCIAL] in the mouth of someone belonging to the royal court(?); in the mouth of a common man |
| | BPM | | everywhere. |
| Hatsh. | <i>p3y-f</i> | Recognitional General restrictor | - [LING] with nouns modified by a relative clause or an adjective (specific entities); with referent whose knowledge is shared by the interlocutors: very low |

| | | | |
|----------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | even null deictic value. - [GENRE] administrative texts; letters. Absent from royal texts. - [REG] in non-conservative registers - [SOCIAL] officials, servants, workers |
| | BPM | | - [LING] with indefinite nouns; with unireferentials words; with fixed expression (e.g., titles); in adverbial expressions - [REG] mostly in conservative registers |
| Tuthm. | <i>p3y-f</i> | Situational Situational > topical Situational > emphatic Recognitional Possessive determiner | - [LING] Deictic in royal and religious texts, non-deictic in non-royal texts - [GENRE] a royal narrative text; a prayer; an administrative text; a private commemorative text. - [REG] in non-conservative registers - [SOCIAL] officials and common people |
| | BPM | | - [LING] with indefinite nouns; with unireferentials words; with fixed expression (e.g., titles); in adverbial expressions - [REG] mostly in conservative registers |
| Am. II | <i>p3y-f</i> | Possessive determiner | everywhere (still rare in royal texts but occurs in them as a general possessive determiner) |
| | BPM | | - [LING] with indefinite nouns - [REG] mostly in conservative registers |
| later on | <i>p3y-f</i> | | everywhere |
| | BPM | Codes inalienable possession | - [LING] mostly with referents in order to express inalienable possession. - [REG] in conservative registers |

Table 13. The encroachment process of *p3y-f* on the bound person marker.

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